

CULTURAL STUDIES

SOCIAL DICTIONARIES

Series edited by

Wit Pasierbek and Bogdan Szlachta



CULTURAL STUDIES

edited by Leszek Korporowicz, Agnieszka Knap-Stefaniuk and Łukasz Burkiewicz



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S O C I A L
DICTIONARIES

CULTURAL STUDIES

EDITED BY

Leszek Korporowicz
Agnieszka Knap-Stefaniuk
Łukasz Burkiewicz

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Foreword

In 2019, the team members of the Ignatian Social Forum decided to continue the work that was initiated by the publication of the *Social Dictionary* in 2004. Scientists from both Polish and foreign academic centres contributed to this publication, which contains over one hundred extended essays that discuss the findings of recent humanities and social science research.

This new project is more extensive than the original *Social Dictionary*: over twenty volumes present the state of humanistic and social knowledge in the third decade of the 21st century. This knowledge concerns man, who is developing within diverse civilizations, cultures and societies, who adheres to many religions, and who exhibits diverse patterns of behaviour. Like the first four volumes (already published in Polish and in English; electronic versions are also available), each new volume is devoted to a research area that is considered particularly important to the humanities and social sciences: each investigates man and his social environment, political and public affairs, and international relations. The analyses of these areas are undertaken from diverse research perspectives; thus, they lead to a more thorough presentation of the problems typically addressed by only one discipline and substantially broaden the scope of the reflections offered by the Authors of the articles. These Authors look for an 'interpretative key' that will allow them to present the most significant issues related to each of the

volumes' main research areas, which are sometimes controversial or debatable among scientists. These research areas give the titles to the volumes of the new *Social Dictionary*. This 'interpretative key' would not be important if the articles published in each volume resembled succinct encyclopaedic entries; however, it becomes significant because the entries take the form of 20-page articles that follow a uniform pattern. The considerations presented by the Authors focus on the essence of the concepts they analyse, including their history, subject matter, and practical aspects. Written by Polish scientists representing not only different academic centres and scientific disciplines but also different 'research sensibilities', the twenty volumes are based on theoretical reflection accompanied by practical considerations. We also treat Catholic social teaching as an element of the 'interpretative key' because it is impossible to ignore twenty centuries of the legacy and richness of Christianity.

We hope that this volume will satisfy Readers as it offers not only an opportunity to learn about scientific approaches to the vital problems faced by contemporary man, states, and societies, but also an insight into sometimes difficult aspects of modernity as viewed from a Catholic perspective. We also hope that Readers will appreciate the effort of Polish scientists who, while undertaking original reflection on these issues, go beyond the mere presentation of other people's thoughts as they are aware of the importance of the intellectual achievements of Polish science.

Series editors
Wit Pasierbek and Bogdan Szlachta

Introduction

Cultural studies is certainly one of the least defined areas of scholarly inquiry, which makes its nature less rigorous, especially in methodological terms. Cultural studies is not, in fact, a precisely defined discipline: it is a discursive formation that frequently contests broadly understood positivist traditions and thus animates the type of imagination, sensibility, and even cultural empathy that crosses the borders of discourse and becomes a form of cultural practice. This does not mean that cultural studies does not adhere to any research conventions. Quite the opposite! Its origins date back to the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies (called British Cultural Studies) established in the early 1960s, whose vision of culture became the dominant perspective within cultural studies for many years. It is worth noting, however, that reflection on culture and man – who is both a creator of culture and is determined by it – is one of the oldest topics of discussion in history, although this simple truth is not obvious to everyone. Ancient civilisations produced analytically mature texts, artistic works, and even institutions in which different cultures were analysed. These studies were a permanent element of these civilisations' intellectual horizon and continue to be influential today. This is why it would be illegitimate to claim that cultural studies began with the establishment of the British School and that all research approaches were inspired by this school and then developed further in universities worldwide. Similarly, the research problems, questions, and methodologies developed within all these various approaches need not be limited to analyses of the same research objects. A shift away from

the perspective dominant in these studies, i.e., from viewing culture in the context of power relations and as an artefact of social structure, becomes necessary to eliminate the cognitive limitations in the understanding of axiological and personal human potentials.

Thus, rather than demonstrate the entire range of the previous or potential future output of broadly understood cultural studies, one of the aims of this volume is to draw attention to man's subjective, transgressive, and creative attributes that are manifested in culture and are undervalued yet active in humanistic reflections on culture. The articles published in this volume certainly do not cover all the problem areas of the continuously developing cultural studies, which currently combines the classical issues of dignity, freedom, and the nature of mankind with the challenges posed by the contemporary environment of human existence in both its individual and community dimensions. Undoubtedly, key determinants include the advanced and ever-changing nature of the information society, virtual and hybrid reality, all forms of transhumanism, and the deconstruction of man's identity, heritage, and spirituality because these are manifested in cynical attitudes to religion, nation, and the social responsibility of the individual, all of which have been replaced by consumerist attitudes.

The authors of the articles published in this volume also consider the personalistic vision of man and culture, the Christian heritage of Europe, and the moral challenges associated with today's cults of money and optimisation. Importantly, they do not neglect to present Polish scholars' often-significant contributions to reflection on culture. Polish reflections on the general laws of culture can be traced back to the late Middle Ages, and – despite differences in the conceptual conventions between these and contemporary reflections – we can find extremely vital issues and ideas in this centuries-old thought that are still relevant and concerning for contemporary people; ideas that directly influence the mentality of the organisations they create; ideas that polarise attitudes and create turbulence in the world of their values. The authors of this volume hope that their articles will encourage Readers to perceive culture and cultural studies not as a by-product of the hard, economic, macro-structural and technological reality but as a factor that allows them to exist and sometimes even conditions their existence; ideas that create resources which are vital for the social order. For this reason, cultural studies should

act as a kind of 'conscience' rather than a transgression against the dynamisms of the development of these resources, while finding in the cultural condition of its subject everything that strengthens, multiplies, and opens up culture for future generations.

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Cultural studies: understanding and problematising the concept

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: Being part of the contemporary social sciences and humanities, cultural studies is a discursive formation with a different scale of institutionalisation that focuses on the various functions of symbolic culture.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: The origins of the term 'cultural studies' are usually associated with the establishment in 1964 of a research centre at the University of Birmingham called the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). This centre, directed by Richard Hoggart, gave rise to the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies (also called British cultural studies) and published such influential journals as *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* and *Cultural Studies from Birmingham*. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, cultural studies were introduced into the curricula of universities in many other countries. In Poland, this discipline developed in various forms, although mostly in the area of cultural knowledge.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: The range of issues addressed and research conceptualisations developed within cultural studies is extremely diverse. Well-known scholars in this discipline include Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall, and Edward Palmer Thompson, who are together known as the founders of British cultural studies. The output of their successors, including Paul Willis, Dick Hebdige, Angela McRobbie, Iain Chambers, and Paul Gilroy, is also meaningful. On the other hand, numerous scientific accomplishments have also been achieved outside the British cultural studies community. Analysing the social divisions and

lifestyle consequences of fast-growing industrial societies after 1945 posed new challenges for cultural scholars. Cultural scientists frequently argued against cultural reductionism; however, scholars' focus of attention on the relationship between culture and power resulted in oversimplification because they often neglected the relationship between culture and man in their analyses. In a way, interest in the subjective attributes of the human person, and thus also in the different models of cultural studies, was eliminated.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: This article abandons the reporting form of presenting cultural studies, which is prone to simply describing its diversity. Instead, an attempt has been made to revitalise considerations on the relationship between the person, culture, and cultural studies themselves. In this context, of particular interest is the sources of these relationships and the results of particular types of interaction.

Keywords: cultural studies, cultural knowledge, cultural science, culture, interdisciplinarity

Definition of the term

Cultural studies have never been homogeneous. This discipline is made up of various research initiatives, intellectual trends, and publishing projects which have no shared common measure, clearly defined scope, or precisely developed methodology (Korporowicz, 2018). In view of the fundamental diversity of the forms of interpretation within cultural studies, this article follows a specific argumentation that focuses on four fundamental paradigms.

First, the proposed conception of cultural studies is not based on a reporting form because the dynamics of the development of these studies are far from complete and there is no complete and finished canon of interpretation for the studies that already exist, nor for those that might emerge in the future. The authors of this article attempt to outline the general directions within contemporary cultural studies without, however, pretending to be able to describe them fully.

Second, at this point it is worth proposing an alternative to the functional understanding of culture which dominates in academic discourse today and which is focused on its objective aspects. For a change, it would be worth discovering and appreciating subjective aspects of culture. In doing so, it is important to strive to open up rather than restrict the humanistic imagination of the individuals and institutions interested in studying culture in its most diverse manifestations and contexts.

Third, the proposal of cultural studies presented in the article in no way exhausts the issue, nor does it aspire to do so. It merely seeks to fit in with the diversity of meanings that are typical of this concept, thanks to which the issue can be approached from many perspectives. At the same time, the authors would like to encourage others to undertake similar initiatives and studies.

Fourth and most importantly, both the very conception of this volume and the choice of articles included in it precludes following the approach to cultural studies proposed by thinkers from the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies. Moreover, the proposal presented in this article does not follow in the footsteps of contemporary cultural knowledge, the identity of which is still ambiguous (Szlachta, 2018). This proposal shifts the traditional interest in the relationships between culture and power to that of the relationships between culture and man. The former reflect the

continuation of the tradition of social and humanist thought that was first developed by the 15th-century Krakow humanist movement at Krakow University. Unfortunately, this tradition so far remains unexplored despite its great research potential.

The contribution this volume makes does not lie in enumerating and explaining all the terms present in the field of cultural studies and the differences in meaning between them. The articles in this volume are not devoted to new or unique notions, but they offer a symbolic and subjective interpretation of cultural reality based on conceptualising its foundations, products, meanings, and the values assigned to them. The source of these notions is the human person, which in this context is treated as an irreducible subject of culture who enters into relationships with other persons and who brings communities, societies, and their structures into existence. In order to fully understand the picture presented in this volume, it is also important to reflect on the personalistic and Christian vision of man¹. Thus, cultural studies are defined as the outcome of the totality of the activity of discursive formation with varying degrees of formalisation, the purpose of which is to analyse, sensitise and discover the diverse functions and modes of existence of symbolic culture.

Historical analysis of the term

The industrial society that developed rapidly after 1945 brought a new perspective on culture in its various contexts (Barker, 2012). In 1964, the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) was established at the University of Birmingham by its first director, Richard Hoggart. Since then, the origins of the term 'cultural studies' have most often been associated with this city and this centre. The Centre, which initiated its own type of research, called the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies (also called British cultural studies), later evolved into a separate department called the Department of Cultural Studies. The Centre published

1 This approach draws heavily on the approach adopted in the Jagiellonian Cultural Studies Centre [*Jagiellońskie Studia Kulturowe*], which was established at the Faculty of International and Political Studies at Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Korporowicz, 2016) several years ago.

such influential journals as “Working Papers in Cultural Studies” and “Cultural Studies from Birmingham”. It ceased its activities in 2002 and its staff dispersed to other universities throughout the UK². During the 1970s and 1980s, the research areas of cultural studies significantly expanded, including studies conducted at universities abroad, particularly in the USA and Australia, but also in Central and Eastern Europe (Turner, 2002). Unfortunately, many concepts focused on issues that reduced culture to the functional sphere of social structure, in which the agentive and subjective potentials of culture were neglected (Korporowicz, 2016).

In Poland, cultural studies have found diverse applications in the field of cultural knowledge, a discipline that borrowed its name from the German *Kulturwissenschaft*, introduced in the 19th century by Gustav Friedrich Klemm (Rokicki, 2008)³, a pioneer of cultural studies. However, it should be emphasised that cultural studies cannot be reduced to cultural knowledge, mainly because of the extensive interest in the various forms of symbolic culture in cultural anthropology, sociology, psychology, ethnology, philosophy, and the history of culture. One example is the culturalist sociology of Antonina Kłoskowska, who developed many categories and concepts that are still frequently used within all these sciences today and which systematise the understanding of the social frameworks of culture and the typology of its values. Among the most valuable studies that oppose sociological reductionism are those devoted to autotelic values, the cultural canon, the difference between cultural identities and identifications, and the syntagma of national culture (Kłoskowska, 2012). Trendy paradigms that oppose reductionism include the concept of complementing semiotic analyses, which is of great value in symbolic anthropology as it plays the role of an axiological dimension which complements not only the understanding but also the

2 The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies was replaced by the Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Culture, established in 2002.

3 Research on Polish cultural knowledge has been conducted, among others, as part of the research grant ‘Kulturoznawstwo polskie. Historia i dziedzictwo dyscypliny’ [*Polish Cultural Knowledge. History and heritage of the discipline*] conducted between 2014 and 2018 at the Faculty of Historical and Pedagogical Sciences of the University of Wrocław. The project was funded under the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (Fereñski, Gomółka, Wójcicka, and Zdrodowska, 2018).

research practices of cultural and intercultural competences. Without such categories, contemporary cultural studies would be unable to effectively meet the challenges of contemporary multicultural societies, nor would they be able to understand the significance of cultural settings. Moreover, it would be extremely difficult to notice the autotelic value of cultural identities, especially religious and national ones and transformations of contemporary cultural spaces under conditions of virtual and hybrid reality. Hybrid reality relativises the physical boundaries and the functional meaning of a place but does not eliminate the existential dimensions of symbolic culture in augmented worlds, i.e., the emotions linked to the personal experience of development, community, and identity in all their possible dimensions.

A similar contribution has been made by the sociolinguistic and largely interdisciplinary studies conducted by Jerzy Smolicz, who proposed the concept of 'core values', which is important for cultural studies (Smolicz, 1999). Although these values' nature, functions, and content are undergoing substantial deconstruction and reorganisation today, analysing them enables a multivariate look at the construction of different models of intercultural relations, ranging from separation or encounter at their peripheries, to increasing synergies, integration, and even a kind of polyvalence in the area of interpenetration. In analysing such phenomena, cultural studies can draw on the methods of the pedagogical and ethnographic sciences, on numerous reflections from the field of the philosophy of culture and personality, as well as on psychiatry and psychopathology. The phenomena of axiological polarisation are described in this volume in articles dedicated to culture wars, acculturation, and communicative competences.

Polish cultural knowledge scholars very often point to the convergence of their discipline with British cultural studies (Moraczewski, 2018). Although Polish cultural knowledge is a young discipline (it was formally established as a separate discipline in 2005) (Szlachta, 2018)⁴, the first cultural knowledge circles in Poland emerged as early as in the late 1960s. In 1966, at the Congress of Polish Culture, Stefania

4 Resolution of the Central Commission for Degrees and Titles of 24 October 2005 on defining the fields and disciplines of science and disciplines of the arts (M.P. No. 79, item 1120).

Skwarczyńska promoted the idea of a new university course called 'Cultural Knowledge' to be taught at the University of Łódź. However, the first cultural knowledge university course was introduced not in Łódź but in Wrocław in 1972, chaired by an expert in the field, Stanisław Pietraszko. Chronologically, the second centre was Poznań (1976), where the local cultural knowledge community began to gather around Jerzy Kmita. By the end of the 1970s, cultural knowledge was taught in Wrocław, Łódź, Poznań, and Katowice. The following years saw the emergence of other national academic centres that practised cultural studies in the form of cultural knowledge, including Warsaw, Białystok, and Krakow, as well as others which, due to publishing limitations, we are unable to enumerate and adequately describe. In most cases, Polish schools of cultural knowledge, like the Birmingham school, focused on exploring contemporary postmodern culture created or developed within the last 50 years, while very often following their own references or goals defined by the scientific climate of their universities⁵.

Enumerating and emphasising the importance of the above-mentioned centres and presenting the trends in Polish research on culture should be complemented by an outline of the very long history of research of this kind, which dates back to the late Middle Ages. This history provides excellent examples of understanding and researching culture (although not always referring to culture explicitly), especially in anthropological, theological, and axiological contexts, which link the question of culture to the fundamental attributes of man and humanity. Polish cultural studies have a rich tradition of thought on culture which is worth drawing on; this tradition is linked with the accomplishments of Polish humanist thought developed over several hundred years. This is particularly important because, in a sense, this thought opposes the reductive tendencies of the Western tradition. Influential sources of the Polish research tradition can be found in the living heritage of one of the first centres of social personalism, called the Krakow school of pragmatism, also known as Krakow humanism. The humanistic and personalistic threads particularly provide a valuable basis for those cultural studies that seek to go beyond the mere description of 'soft'

5 Bogdan Szlachta (2018) wrote about the need to complement the study of contemporary culture with historical research.

consequences of globalisation processes and macro-structural transformations of consumer behaviours under free-market conditions. These inspirations come from the entire universe of thought and intellectual history centred around Krakow University in the early 15th century and were reflected in the ideas of Paweł Włodkowic and the numerous scholars with whom he collaborated (Płotka, 2017). The ideas promoted at that time absorbed the concepts that had already been developed in Italian humanism and were effectively promoted in many European universities by Krakow scholars who sought to solve the central problems of relations between people, communities, and states. The essential premise of these scholars' search was to examine autotelic values and cultural experiences that should not be lost in the process of creating a social, moral, and interpersonal order. The axiological direction of contemporary research and the understanding of humanity and culture within cultural studies deserves revitalisation and interest because of its close connections with contemporary conceptions of human rights. It is not just axioms that stem from human rights but also dilemmas linked to cultural rights, the norms of interacting in a world of pluralist cultures and values, and the efforts made to preserve human dignity within contemporary models of the social sciences and humanities.

Discussion of the term

New research challenges stem from the rapidly changing world, especially after the Second World War and the growth of industrial society, which led to new social divisions and lifestyle consequences. At this point it is worth returning for a moment to British cultural studies, which became a reference point for many other cultural studies. In the 1950s and 1960s, British researchers from the Birmingham Centre observed the expansion of mass culture with its political, axiological, and psychological consequences, which rapidly became part of the new power relations. In this context, Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams (but also Edward Palmer Thompson and Stuart Hall) began researching the working-class culture of British towns and villages. The following generation of researchers gradually broadened the scope of research in their field, while remaining strongly influenced by their masters. Paul

Willis studied the youth culture of the British working class; Dick Hebdige was interested in popular culture and subcultures; Angela McRobbie addressed women's movements, gender, sexuality, and youth gender culture from a feminist perspective; Iain Chambers analysed metropolitan and postcolonial cultures, and Paul Gilroy undertook critical studies on race and African American culture (Storey, 2006). In their studies, they drew inspiration from various sources, including Roland Barthes' structuralism, Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, and Louis Althusser's structural Marxism (Williams, 1958; Baldwin, Longhurst, McCracken, Ogborn, & Smith, 2008; Dziamski, 2016). In the construction of the linguistic image of the world and its symbolic representations, in the role played by media audiences, and in the hegemonic practices of authorities, these references corresponded with interdisciplinary attempts to appeal to structural and, subsequently, post-structural interests in semiotics. The representatives of British cultural studies – as well as researchers following in their footsteps – started from an assumption they viewed as natural, proper, and non-negotiable, namely that culture is a peculiar battlefield on which various groups seek to impose their own image of the world onto others. It should be noted, however, that culture has not always been presented as a useful tool in power relations. In their analyses, many cultural studies experts have openly argued against cultural reductionism and emphasised specific and active features of cultural reality that cannot be reduced to economic and political factors. Focusing on the relationship between culture and power is reductionist as it ignores the essential relationship between culture and man, thus eliminating interest in the subjective attributes of the human person and, consequently, in the different models of cultural studies.

The dignity of the person is the starting value in cultural studies understood in this way and the foundation of all other assumptions. This dignity is irreducible and inalienable (Bartnik, 2013). In the book *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*, which is a synthesis of the achievements of cultural studies by Chris Barker, a prominent contemporary representative of the field, reductive tendencies are almost exaggeratedly apparent. When presenting the issue of subjectivity and self-identity, he defines the former as “the condition of being a person and the processes by which we become a person; that is, how we are constituted

as cultural subjects and how we experience ourselves” (Barker, 2012, p. 220). However, a couple of questions are worth asking here: Is subjectivity the result of the processes by which we are ‘constituted’? What is the actual ‘subject’ of these processes? Similar processes of objectification are visible in his attempt to define the concept of self-identity, which, according to Barker, can be understood as “the conceptions we hold about ourselves and our emotional identification with those self-descriptions” (Barker, 2012, p. 220). This can lead to the conclusion that the source of self-identity is the individual’s conceptions about himself. Again, however, a question arises: What is the actual cause of these conceptions and are they not a cultural artefact? Can they be regarded, for example, as an expression of other determinants and as an essentially secondary phenomenon (although this would mean that it lacks subjectivity)? Confusing the relatively homogeneous and coherent category of identity with the category of identifications is another problem. Individuals and groups can have a great number of identifications which are functional, ad hoc, partial, and changeable. However, in Barker’s theory it is social identity that becomes the most degraded – he limits it to “the expectations and opinions that others have of us” (Barker, 2012, p. 220). The scholar confirms this belief by assuming that “subjectivity and identity are contingent, culturally specific productions. For cultural studies what it means to be a person is social and cultural ‘all the way down’. That is, identities are wholly social constructions and cannot ‘exist’ outside of cultural representations” (Barker, 2012, p. 220). This is not the first time that Barker fails to answer the question of what these *nomen omen* ‘representations’ actually represent, even aside from the fact that they are, like the language of their expression, subject to the external influence of the environment. There are, in fact, many more contradictions in such reasoning, which is pursued by most representatives of cultural studies. Barker accepts the existence of a peculiar inner world, without, however, attempting to identify and locate its sources. He writes that “though the self is conceived as possessing an inner unified core, this is formed *interactively* between the inner world and the outside social world” (Barker, 2012, p. 224). Thus, we do not know how this inner world exists or who could be regarded as the subject of this world. Furthermore, it is pure tautology to claim that the entirely social nature of this subject enters into relations with the social world.

In order to go beyond the search for principles of reproduction, adaptation, and the description of representations of power relations, attention in cultural studies must turn not only to factors that condition and 'push' man and culture towards something but also to what animates the potentials of man's subjectivity. Hence, it is important to determine the direction in which culture 'pulls' man when it generates teleological, transgressive, and logocreative dynamisms and mechanisms, namely all the elements of discovery which give and transform the sense of human activities and the products of those activities. These dynamisms and mechanisms are so important that they can moderate man's experience of many of the primary needs of human life and contradict the widespread belief in their unalterable hierarchy, in which biological needs, safety needs, and social needs determine the need for self-actualisation, and – the highest needs in the hierarchy – transcendental and spiritual needs. Autotelic values have such power that experiencing them can overtake or even overcome behaviours and actions of an instrumental, adaptive, and conformist nature. When autotelic values are 'at work', it is not just man's creative and innovative attitudes that are revealed but also the accompanying moral motives that organise the cultural experiences present in situations of dilemmas, re-evaluations, and potential social changes.

The long and wide-ranging history of analyses of the concept of 'logos' within cultural studies reveals at least eight fields of possible conceptual actualisations in this context. These analyses include both individual and communal ways of acting and lively dynamics not of the field itself but of the semantic 'space' of the concept. Some of these groups, or at least fragments of their scopes, can become the subject of analyses that see, in culture, signs of rationalisation, adaptation and even the optimisation of human action. This also includes the ability to recognise not only the rules, structures, and patterns of relations that are the tools for the ordering of the world, but also the logocreative dynamisms that lead to the development of an abstract, speculative 'world view' and of a particular kind of competence for recognising and systematising problems. These dynamisms constitute various manifestations of human intellectual culture. There are also semantic fields of logos that point to entirely different types of abilities and have their own cultural application. These are, e.g., the ability to recognise values, including autotelic values, the

inner deliberation of the soul, the will to fulfil the meaning of actions and existence, the readiness to and the art of engaging in dialogue, or the contemplation of the Absolute in connection with the divine order of the world. There is no reason why the above-mentioned areas and the logocreative dynamisms of culture associated with them should be outside the spectrum of interest of cultural studies.

Another challenge is to show rather than eliminate the developmental perspective of human experience and cultural competence, which allows people to know better not only how we 'are being constituted' but also how we determine our destiny. This fundamental difference in perceiving cultural studies determines not so much the tasks these studies face as it indicates their general specificity, which does not allow them to be likened to sciences that deal with objective aspects of human reality and the ways in which this reality is determined. For this reason, each of the aforementioned areas in which the logocreative dynamisms of culture operate reveals qualitatively and developmentally different levels. The differences here reflect radical differences in the cultural activity of individuals, groups, and organisations, which is oriented towards almost mutually exclusive values. A kind of 'flattening' and reduction of the contradictions that occur here is often characteristic of over-socialised, adaptive, and almost socio-technical visions of human cultural 'behaviours'. Kazimierz Dąbrowski's theory of positive disintegration is an inspiration for and a good example of a multi-level and differentiating analysis of the development of human potential. It is convergent with the axiological optics of psychology and humanistic sociology, which are sensitive to the perception of the reality of the aforementioned attributes of humanity, such as human dignity, freedom, and responsibility (Dąbrowski, 1979). Dąbrowski's conception identifies five levels of realisation of particular attributes which shape divergent types of not just behaviours but, primarily, actions, and thus relations, ties, and cultural identities. The level of primary integration is the least demanding, the most static, and to an extent, the most natural. It is full of functional automatisms, cognitive schemas, and matrices of valuations formed in the process of primary socialisation. This level ensures the relative stability of the social order, although it considers all existing divisions and mechanisms of reproduction, even when they realise the most dehumanising and anti-developmental types of cultures and communities.

Hence, cultural studies considers only the adaptive processes of culturalisation and personality in the form of a system of automated habits (as in the early models of the American cultural anthropology school of culture and personality approach [American psychoculturalism]). In doing so, they unfortunately eliminate the developmental significance of transgressions. According to Dąbrowski, disintegration processes are necessary in order to make transgressions possible; however, by triggering developmental dynamisms, these processes lead to higher levels until secondary integration is achieved. These levels include the activation of a sense of lack of fulfilment with the simultaneous need to search for and realise the multiple meanings of individual and social life, the liberation of a specific vision of the 'vertical dimension of culture', and the creation of oneself and one's relationships, bonds, and reflexive forms of identity. These differences cover the development of ways of communicating and communication competences understood not as messages but as a symbolic interaction characterised by an intensification of exchange, reciprocity, intentionality and, above all, subjectivity and agency. The values that are important in the dynamisms of cultural development understood in this way go beyond the canon of dysfunctional avoidance, reduced rationalisation and cultural assimilation. They also transcend the axiology of optimisation promoted in contemporary management models supported by artificial intelligence and decision-making theories. The socio-technology of the parameterisation and technocratic evaluation strategies that serve these models become a real test of cultural studies' ability to defend their social responsibility and the elementary truth about human beings.

However, all the dynamisms that animate cultural transgressions do not make them a value per se. This applies not only to the individual, who, succumbing to the cult of individualism, often becomes alienated and ceases to understand himself, but also to the transgressions of communities, which in the age of globalisation cannot escape from interaction. The resulting questions about the principles guiding cultural relations were posed during the aforementioned period of Krakow humanism. Moreover, the answers formulated at that time are equally as valid today, although, from the perspective of methodology, they require from contemporary cultural analysts and researchers not only a formally updated description but also an axiological imagination. The concept of the law

of nations developed by Włodkowiec offers three principles that protect but also restrict the rights of particular communities, their cultures, and their interactions. Contemporary cultural studies can inherit this kind of inspiration in the context of the axiology of intercultural relations. The principle of the mutual defence of dignity – of both persons and communities – becomes paramount. Despite the ontological differences between them, communities build a dignity and identity which exceed the identities of their members. The practice of contemporary relations, which we observe in the modern technocratic vision of Europe, confirms the vitality of the identity and dignity of nations.

The first principle states that the defence of one's dignity must not violate the dignity of other communities and absolutely forbids intentionally ignoring, violating, and destroying their dignity. An extreme case in point is the ideology of 'Rashism', which is a planned genocide that denies murdered individuals and their communities and cultures any rights or dignity. The first principle is called for by intellectuals and most European politicians concerned by the imbalance in geopolitical structures. The second principle, which stems from the Jagiellonian axiology of the law of nations, is to refrain from assigning particularistic needs and interests the status of apparent values that represent the wider community. This leads to the destruction of the ability to communicate through universalising values as such behaviours are based on manipulation and the emanation of power in power relations (but also on the abuse and over-interpretation of the interests of small groups). Needs will always be particularistic, ad hoc, and one-sided. Their escalation blocks the way to finding true attributes of communication, such as reciprocity, exchange, and recognition of the parties' subjectivity. The third principle prescribes refraining from alienating practices which deprive others – but also oneself – of membership in a family of families, a community of communities, and a supra-local network with open channels of interaction and mutual enrichment of one another's capacities. Any subject who pursues such practices violates his own rights, even if he does so only towards himself through various methods of self-isolation.

Contemporary cultural studies often avoid the axiological perspective; thus, their application of these principles is unlikely, mainly due to the fear of being accused of ethnocentrism and a lack of clearly defined criteria in their application. However, avoiding this type of sensibility and

escaping from philosophical anthropology – and from the metaphysics of the human person and culture – sooner or later leads not only to dehumanisation and the naturalistic reduction of human qualities described within the categories of ‘behaviour’, but also to conceptual helplessness in intercultural studies, which are a developmental area of cultural studies. The fundamental difference is that while cultural studies focus on a relatively homogeneous construct of behaviours, meanings, and values with a crystallised principle of coherence, intercultural studies are situated at the crossroads of mixed or distinct codes and values (Paleczny, 2017). In both cases, however, it is nevertheless a question of finding ways to meet life’s challenges with dignity in an age of increasing interactions, conflicts and synergies.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

Participants of the academic discourse have always agreed with Raymond Williams’ thesis on the ambiguity of the concept of culture. According to this British scholar, who is also one of the founders of British cultural studies, the word ‘culture’ is one of the most complicated and difficult to define, not only in the English language, and its interpretation is constantly changing, expanding, and dispersing (Williams, 1976). Cultural science, cultural knowledge, and cultural studies have never been a unified whole but this need not always be taken as a disadvantage because the multiplicity of the conceptions of understanding cultural studies can actually be an advantage as it makes the number of possible interpretations infinite (Baldwin, Longhurst, McCracken, Ogborn and Smith, 2008). The diversity of the schools or ways of practicing cultural studies, which are linked to old scientific disciplines (e.g., history, literary studies, ethnology, etc.) and new ones (cultural studies), yields a wealth of insights and interpretations that are at our disposal. The capacity of the field of culture studies is so multidimensional that there is ample room for different ways of understanding it. This situation leads to the need to build an identity for a specific model of cultural studies, whose developmental capacities have certainly not been exhausted yet.

In this volume we take the position that the complexity of cultural phenomena should create an open character for all analyses devoted to them and should not annex alternative or complementary analyses. In addition to methodological and ideological considerations, it is important to get closer to, reveal, and understand the truth hidden in culture: first and foremost the truth about who man is and who he can be, in both his positive and negative versions. This perspective should be distinguished from the question of what man is in his natural and social formation. Humanistically and personalistically inspired cultural studies offer many possibilities because they refer to a centuries-old tradition in which they find many current challenges, dilemmas, and proposals. The fundamental problem, however, is the possibility of realising the manifold forms of human subjectivity, which modern civilisation wants to turn into causal functions of individual autonomy in a system of increasingly particularistically defined needs. Many contemporary problems are not far removed from the fundamental challenges people faced in the past and can be analysed within cultural studies, taking into account both present and future tasks of this discipline. This research concept demonstrates the vital role played by cultural heritage and exposes the need to revitalise many side-lined ideas, thoughts, and categories. In this way, the authors of the article have gone beyond analyses of social relations, power structures, and the mentality they have generated, which determine culture. The fundamental source for understanding and perceiving culture – and thus the area of interest to cultural studies – is not the human being but his humanity in the context of the realities of man's opportunities and the threats he faces. This does not imply neglecting the question of humanity in a particular environment, the methodological problems, or the functions of the methodological tools, but these should definitely not be the main focus of cultural studies research.

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The Catholic Church and culture

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: In this article the Church is understood as the community of all who are baptised in the Catholic Church, while culture is man's effort to achieve the fullness of his humanity and to make social life more human.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: Throughout its history, Christianity has exerted an impact on a number of different cultures. As a rule, its intention was not to destroy these cultures but to introduce a certain symbiosis to express new Christian content within the existing culture and to eliminate only those of its elements that were openly contrary to this religion.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: In contemporary academic discussion, the dispute over culture in the singular and cultures in the plural occupies an important place. While recognising the existence of cultures (plural), the Church also defends the existence of culture (singular), the singularity of which results from the existence of a single human nature that is not dependent on time or place.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: In the Western world today, the culture based on Christian anthropology is consistently undermined. It is the Church's task to remind the world of the inviolable dignity of the human person, of the moral order rooted in human nature, and of man's call to eternal life. The Church should also search for language in which these truths can be expressed in a way that is comprehensible to modern man.

Keywords: anthropology, culture, anti-culture, inculturation, Catholic Church

Definition of the term

In public discourse the term 'Church' can be understood in at least two ways. The first meaning is used by the Catechism of the Catholic Church, which defines it as the liturgical assembly, the local community of believers, or the whole universal community of Christians. According to this understanding, the Church is the world-wide community of believers in Christ: the People of God, who exist in the form of local communities and actualise as a liturgical, primarily Eucharistic, assembly (CCC, 752). In the second, more colloquial meaning, the Church is equated with ecclesiastical hierarchy, i.e., clerical persons (e.g., bishops, presbyters, or deacons). Although this second interpretation is theologically incorrect, this usage of the word should also be acknowledged.

The term 'culture' has numerous meanings. In the most general terms, it refers to all manifestations of social life that are not solely concerned with the prolongation and preservation of biological life. In this perspective, culture is the opposite of nature; as such, culture does not appear in the world by itself but only through human effort. Through it, man 'cultivates' his intellect and will, trains the faculties of spirit and body, and thus develops his humanity. As a result of these activities, man creates various material heritage objects in which he expresses his spiritual experiences and through which he communicates these experiences to other people. Depending on their function, these artefacts are usually divided into 'high' and 'low' culture. The former is related to the pursuit of higher values, including aesthetics, while the latter serves to relax and maintain social contacts (e.g., dance, leisure, sports) (Scruton, 2007, p. 159).

In this article the Church is broadly understood as the community of all the baptised in the Catholic Church, while culture is understood as man's effort to achieve the fullness of his humanity and to make social life more human.

Historical analysis of the term

The Christian religion originated geographically in Jerusalem, a place that lies at the crossroads between Asia, Africa, and Europe. It is, in a sense, a continuation of the faith of Israel and thus also the history

of its struggles with other cultures: Egyptian, Hittite, Sumerian, Babylonian, Persian, and Greek. According to Joseph Ratzinger, “all of these cultures were at the same time religions, comprehensive historical forms of living. Israel painfully adopted and transformed them in the course of its struggle with God, in struggle with the great prophets, in order to make ready an ever-purer vessel for the newness of the revelation of the one God” (Ratzinger, 1993). Until the Enlightenment, the idea of separating culture and religion was unimaginable. This also ruled out “double membership” in both a given national culture and in a religious culture that differed from it (Ratzinger, 1993, section 2).

At the time of Christ, the Jews were influenced by Greek culture, from which they adopted, to an extent, not only the Greek language (e.g., the Septuagint) but also Greek style, literary form, and certain themes (e.g., the two Biblical Books of Maccabees were not only written in Greek but also according to the rules of Greek historiography) (Wojciechowski, 2006, pp. 47–49). Although the apostles belonged to a Semitic culture, when Christianity came into contact with the Greco-Roman world they managed to assimilate from it the achievements of the ancient geniuses rather than adopt a hostile attitude towards its culture. Although Jesus spoke Aramaic, not Greek, the Books of the New Testament were written in this latter, ‘foreign’ language. This involved the adoption of Greek literary forms, styles, certain ideas, and the translation of Hebrew and Aramaic words into Greek. Jesus’s command “Therefore go and make disciples of all nations” (Matthew 28:19) meant that his disciples were obliged to come into contact with the Gentiles to teach them that the salvation available to every human being in Jesus Christ meant the fulfilment of the expectations and hopes of the Greco-Roman world. Christians firmly rejected Greek and Roman beliefs but were nevertheless convinced that pagans had the capacity to discover the existence of God and adopt basic moral principles by the power of natural reason (Romans 1–2). However, Saint Paul did not say that pagans would be excused if they adhered faithfully to their pagan religion (Ratzinger, 2021, p. 404). He referred to the category of conscience, which has access to the fundamental moral truth.

Christianity, for Jews and Greeks alike, meant a new beginning, i.e., a break with previous ways of thinking and experiencing faith, such as Abraham leaving his country, his kindred, and his father’s house (Genesis

12:1), which was thus a break with the culture in which Abraham grew up. The cross of Christ, through which salvation is accomplished, was also a new beginning, and although initially the cross was associated with suffering, rejection, and exile, it soon became “a new centre of magnetic pull” (Ratzinger, 1993, section 2).

In decisively rejecting polytheism and the cult of emperor worship, abortion, child abandonment, and double morality, Christians, many of whom came from Greco-Roman culture, adopted various attitudes towards the values of the previous culture. At one extreme we have Saint Justin, who – referring to the Stoics – wrote that the Christian

doctrines, then, appear to be greater than all human teaching. [...] For whatever either lawgivers or philosophers uttered well, they elaborated by finding and contemplating some part of the Word (Justin, Chapter 10).

The grains of truth scattered in the world belong to Christians, even if they were not the ones who discovered them. At the opposite end of the scale, we have Tertullian's question: “What has Jerusalem to do with Athens, the Church with the Academy?” The list of names linked with both extremes can be multiplied, and both are represented throughout almost the entire history of the Church. The fact is, however, that the culture of Greco-Roman antiquity reached us through Christianity, which drew from it, albeit selectively. This applies to secular knowledge as well as literature, art, and law.

As far as later periods are concerned, let us give several examples of ‘confrontational’ and ‘conciliatory’ attitudes towards the cultures encountered by Christianity. The former includes the appearance of Latin translations of Aristotle's writings and, it was said, an attempt to ‘enclose God in Aristotele's syllogism’, which led to the publication in 1277 of a list of 219 theses condemned by the Bishop of Paris, Stephan Tempier. Moreover, in 1633 the Inquisition condemned Galileo's views. Drama is added to this event by the fact that although the basic theses presented in his *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* were true, they were derived from false premises. The latter can begin with an ecclesiastical endorsement of cultural diversity in the form of a plurality of liturgical rites and languages. The Fourth Lateran Council stated:

Since in many places peoples of different languages live within the same city or diocese, having one faith but different rites and customs, we therefore strictly order bishops of such cities and dioceses to provide suitable men who will do the following in the various rites and languages: celebrate the divine services for them, administer the church's sacraments, and instruct them by word and example (Fourth Lateran Council, section 9).

Another example is the *Treatise on the Power of the Pope and the Emperor Respecting Infidels* by Paweł Włodkowic, presented at the Council of Constance. This is an appeal to respect the rights of pagans, including the right to property, to which they are entitled under natural law and, therefore, irrespective of their religion. This was in the context of attempts by the Teutonic Order to convert pagans by violence. The rights of the Indians were discussed by Paul III in his encyclical *Sublimus Deus*, published in 1537, in which we read:

The enemy of the human race, who opposes all good deeds in order to bring men to destruction [...], invented a means never before heard of, by which he might hinder the preaching of God's word of Salvation to the people: he inspired his satellites who, to please him, have not hesitated to publish abroad that the Indians of the West and the South, and other people of whom We have recent knowledge should be treated as dumb brutes created for our service, pretending that they are incapable of receiving the Catholic Faith. We [...] consider, however, that the Indians are truly men and that they are not only capable of understanding the Catholic Faith but, according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive it. Desiring to provide ample remedy for these evils, We define and declare by these Our letters [...] that, notwithstanding whatever may have been or may be said to the contrary, the said Indians and all other people who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they be outside the faith of Jesus Christ; and that they may and should, freely and legitimately, enjoy their liberty and the possession of their property; nor should they be in any way enslaved; should the contrary happen, it shall be null and have no effect (Paul III, 1537).

Another manifestation of the Church's acceptance of cultural differences is the conviction that "the Catholic Church does not identify with any [particular] culture", as Pius XII wrote in 1956 (1956, p. 211). Thus, the adoption of the Christian faith does not, as a rule, involve adopting the culture of the evangelisers. Why this is the case is explained further by Pope Pius XII:

The divine Founder [of the Church], Jesus Christ, has not given it any mandate or purpose of a cultural nature. The purpose which Christ gives to the Church is strictly religious; it is the synthesis of all that is contained in the idea of religion, the one and only true religion: the Church is to lead people to God, so that they may give themselves unreservedly to Him and find in Him perfect inner peace (Pius XII, 1956, p. 212).

As early as 1659, the recently established Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples issued the following directives for missionaries:

Do not regard it as your task and do not bring any pressure to bear upon the people to change their manners, customs and uses, unless they are evidently contrary to religion and sound morals [...]. People love and treasure [...] their own country and that which belongs to it; in consequence there is no stronger cause for alienation and hate than an attack on local customs, especially when these go back to venerable antiquity. [Alienation is increased] when an attempt is made to introduce the customs of another people in place of those which have been abolished (Surlis, 1986, pp. 245–246)¹.

In 1936, Pius XI wrote: “it is necessary never to lose sight of the fact that the objective of the Church is to evangelize not to civilize. If it civilizes it is for the sake of evangelization” (Surlis, 1986, p. 248). In Pius XII’s encyclical *Evangelii praecones*, written in 1951, we read:

The Church from the beginning down to our own time has always followed this wise practice: let not the Gospel on being introduced into any new land destroy or extinguish whatever its people possess that is naturally good, just or beautiful. For the Church, when she calls people to a higher culture and a better way of life, under the inspiration of the Christian religion, does not act like one who recklessly cuts down and uproots a thriving forest. No, she grafts a good scion upon the wild stock that it may bear a crop of more delicious fruit (Pius XII, 1951, no. 56).

Following the thought of John Paul II, we encounter the conviction that “the Nation exists ‘through’ culture and ‘for’ culture” (John Paul II, 2008, 14). The nation has thus, first and foremost, been created by culture, and it sustains its existence through the development of that

¹ This was a radical change from the position voiced by Pope Clement VIII half a century earlier; he had not only assisted in the trial of Giordano Bruno and made a series of decisions which restricted the rights of Jews in papal cities, but he also supported the attempts to Latinise St. Thomas Church in India.

culture. Such cultural communities, which are collective entities rooted in human nature, are entitled to natural rights. Natural rights to which the nation is entitled include the right to exist, which does not automatically include the right to state sovereignty; the right to its own language and culture, through which it expresses its spiritual 'sovereignty'; the right to shape its life according to its traditions; and the right to build its future by providing an appropriate education for the younger generation. These rights are accompanied by the obligation to live together with other nations in a spirit of peace, respect, and solidarity (John Paul II, 1995). Since even a stateless nation must exist in some geographically defined space, concepts such as 'cultural profile', 'cultural equilibrium', and 'the characteristic culture of a region' have emerged. The guarantee of the historical rights of nations also implies that the majority nation has some level of 'right to cultural domination' in a specific territory, both now and in the future. This right, however, must coexist with openness, a culture of hospitality, and a willingness to engage in dialogue with other cultures (John Paul II, 2001, 14). Immigrant communities also possess the right to nurture their cultural identity, which is expressed by John Paul II:

The cultural practices which immigrants bring with them should be respected and accepted, as long as they do not contravene either the universal ethical values inherent in the natural law or fundamental human rights (John Paul II, 2001, no. 13).

Thus, immigrants have every right to continue their own cultural traditions, although this should also be accompanied by their capacity to put down roots in their new country of residence. Universal values are the ethical minimum for any authentic dialogue between cultures.

Despite the cultural relativism that is widespread in some intellectual circles today, the Church reminds the world about the limits imposed by natural law on our obligation to tolerate other cultures without at the same time attempting to purge them of elements that are manifestly contrary to this law. Joseph Ratzinger referenced the Aztec faith as an extreme example that challenged the dogma of relativism in religion and culture. In 1487, on the occasion of the consecration of a rebuilt main temple, they sacrificed about 20,000 people in four days because they believed that the sun feeds on the blood of human hearts and that only through human sacrifice could the annihilation of the world be prevented.

Men and women were first skinned and then sacrificed to various deities of vegetation and the earth, and small children were sacrificed to dwarf rain deities (Ratzinger, 2021, p. 301). The question then arises as to whether the fact that Christianity was instrumental in the disappearance of this and similar religions deserves recognition or condemnation from the point of view of the history of religions and ethics. This is an extreme example and, one might say, used 'in bad faith', but this does not invalidate the question posed.

Discussion of the term

The term 'culture' has its roots in the devotional worship of gods (*cultus*): prayers were raised and sacrifices offered in order to appease their wrath and ask for their blessing. The cult of the goddesses of agriculture and harvest, Persephone and Demeter, associated with the ritual ploughing of fields and sowing, added a new term to the Roman vocabulary: *agricultura* (*cultus agrorum*). The transition from cultivation understood literally, i.e., as cultivating, tending, and breeding, to a metaphorical meaning was not difficult. The new sense of the word can be found, for example, in Cicero, who introduced the term *cultura animi* (Cicero, 1931, p. 84). Since then, rational human activity, especially the 'cultivation' of higher ideas, has been associated with this expression, which reveals the juxtaposition between nature and culture. Nature (from the Latin word *nasci*) refers to that which has grown of its own accord without human involvement, while culture denotes the totality of that which is 'cultivated' by man (from the Latin word *colere*) (Rickert, 1998, p. 25).

Thus, in the classical tradition culture meant the *cultivation* of natural goods and values, by means of which man 'cultivates' his intellect and will and develops the faculties of his spirit and body, through which he reaches the fullness of his humanity. It is a matter not of simply transforming nature, as ants also do this, but of what takes place inside man through his spiritual efforts. Just as the earth, when it lies uncultivated, produces only plants of little use, so also does man when he does not undertake inner work – bears no spiritual fruit. Culture, therefore, is always linked to a certain personal effort that man chooses to make in order to ennoble his spirit and thus also the world around him through

his work on himself. This “cult of man” is man’s proper way of being and it distinguishes him from other creatures (John Paul II, 2008, 10–11). If we chose to use the word ‘culture’ in the sense of human creations, it is probably insofar as they refer us back to the spiritual determinants in which they were created, and thus back to what was happening inside man – their creator – and in his environment. A creation invites us to embark on the same path, while also showing us the possibilities and ways of creating other similar creations.

An ‘ecclesiastic’ definition of culture can be found in the Constitution *Gaudium et spes* of the Second Vatican Council:

The word culture in its general sense indicates everything whereby man develops and perfects his many bodily and spiritual qualities; he strives by his knowledge and his labor, to bring the world itself under his control. He renders social life more human both in the family and the civic community, through improvement of customs and institutions. Throughout the course of time he expresses, communicates and conserves in his works, great spiritual experiences and desires, that they might be of advantage to the progress of many, even of the whole human family. Thence it follows that human culture has necessarily a historical and social aspect and the word ‘culture’ also often assumes a sociological and ethnological sense. According to this sense we speak of a plurality of cultures (*Gaudium et spes*, no. 53).

Several aspects of culture are mentioned in this definition. The first concerns perfecting man’s spirit and body. The second is the various artefacts (including social customs and institutions) in which the spiritual experience of man is recorded and through which it is accessible to other people as an inheritance from the past. The third relates to the use of culture in the singular and cultures in the plural. John Paul II referred to this when he spoke at UNESCO in 1980:

Man lives a really human life thanks to culture. Human life is culture in this sense too that, through it, man is distinguished and differentiated from everything that exists elsewhere in the visible world: man cannot do without culture. Culture is a specific way of man’s “existing and “being”. Man always lives according to a culture which is specifically his, and which, in its turn, creates among men a tie which is also specifically theirs, determining the inter-human and social character of human existence. *In the unity* of culture as the specific way of human existence, there is rooted at the same time the *plurality of cultures* in the midst of which man lives. In this plurality, man develops without losing, however, the essential contact with the unity of culture as the fundamental and essential dimension of his existence and his being (John Paul II, 2008, no. 6).

The issue of the singularity and plurality of culture is widely debated today, mostly because, in the past, culture in the singular was sometimes identified with European or Western culture, which entailed a refusal to recognise the value of all other cultures as they were considered primitive. In this view, there was one 'true' culture of the imperial centre and a multitude of backward and peripheral primitive cultures (Burszta, 1997, p. 24). Since Western culture was equated with Christian culture, this affected attitudes towards the Church in general. Adopting the principle of cultural universalism, i.e., recognising that in addition to 'culture' in the singular there are also 'cultures' in the plural, gives the concept of culture new meaning. First, 'cultures' in the plural simply means certain locally pursued lifestyles, together with all the forms in which they are expressed. Thus the term culture is merely descriptive. In different places and times, the fundamental question of the meaning and purpose of human existence is answered differently; but, whatever the circumstances, these answers are of equal value. For example, within contemporary cultural relativism, Christian missions are seen as a manifestation of the arrogance of a culture that sees itself as dominant and grants itself the right to destroy other religious cultures (Ratzinger, 2022, p. 300). Second, 'culture' in the singular has become a conceptual 'umbrella term' under which these various lifestyles can take refuge and thus acquire the status of being 'cultural' and equal to others. In this process, culture is transformed into a meta-culture, i.e., a theory of culture, knowledge of which allows researchers to effectively describe any form of culture, including their own (Burszta, 1997, p. 25), but culture in its traditional, essential sense disappears. The change is qualitative. In the rightful process of 'deconstructing' cultural Eurocentrism, the very notion of culture in the traditional sense has also been 'deconstructed'.

However, the principle of cultural universalism (which is correct and proper in itself) becomes questionable when it is combined with the thesis of the absolute equality of cultures, i.e., when 'culture' in the singular disappears from our sight and only 'cultures' in the plural are considered. The pluralism of cultures in the world is a fact, and it is the task of science to describe and explain it. It does not follow, however, that all the phenomena described by science should be equated because then, as Leszek Kołakowski observes, the difference between cannibalism and vegetarianism would be reduced to a sense of taste.

One could also imagine, for example, a study devoted to the 'culture' of the Gulag Archipelago, or the 'culture' of the Third Reich, in which one might find emotionless and balanced descriptions of the customs in the concentration camps written by 'impartial observers'. But from the point of view of the 'cult of man' and the 'cultivation' of higher ideals, would these customs merit the name of culture?

In fact, the Catholic approach starts from a different premise to that of the criticised attitude of 'Eurocentrism' in that it does not equate any historically existing cultures with culture in the singular; Catholicism is rooted in a particular anthropological vision. The name of culture in the singular deserves to be given to everything that serves the true development of man (as defined in this vision), and the elements that serve this development are scattered in various specific cultures in the plural, albeit with varying intensity.

The traditional definition of culture is not only descriptive but also normative. It suggests that, in addition to the products of the human spirit that deserve the label 'culture', there are also those that, because of their harmfulness – that is, the fact that they increase the distance between man and his goal, understood as the attainment of higher values – should rather be called 'anti-culture'. John Paul II spoke of this in Włocławek:

Do not yield to the 'carnal man' (cf. 1 Corinthians 3:3). [...] Nor become entangled by this civilisation of desire and use which reigns among us and gives itself the name of Europeanness; reigns among us using various means of communication and seduction. Is it a civilisational – or rather an anti-civilisational – culture, or rather is it anti-culture? Here it is necessary to return to elementary distinctions. After all, culture is that which makes a person more human. Not that which merely 'consumes' his humanity (John Paul II, 2008b, p. 527).

The connection between the concept of 'culture' and of making value judgements seems inevitable. After all, if something is cultivated, is it not precisely because of the values in which realisation is the aim of this 'cultivation'? Is it not the case that the fundamental question culture begets about the meaning of human life concerns values? What is questionable in contemporary theories of culture, however, is not the acknowledgement of the existence of a plurality of cultures or the possibility of providing an impartial, non-evaluated description, but the radical thesis of the absolute equality of all cultures, which is itself, after all, also of a valuing nature.

The nature of the reciprocal relationship. Posing the problem as being between 'Church and culture' suggests that culture is something external to the Church. Is this really the case? To answer this question, we must first analyse the relationship between religion and culture. Is religion, then, something external to culture? Ratzinger observes that the conception of culture which differentiates it from religion and even sets it in opposition was developed in Europe during the Enlightenment. Thus, thinking of religion as something external to culture does not have a long tradition. The vision of a natural community devoid of culture and the vision of a natural culture devoid of references to religion are equally abstract. As Ratzinger says:

In all known historical cultures, religion is the essential element of culture, indeed it is its determining core. It is religion which determines the structure of values and thereby forms its inner logic (Ratzinger, 1993, section 1).

Since different cultures answer the question of man differently, is not the question of God already included in the question of man, his origin, the meaning of his life and vocation?

One can neither understand the world nor live uprightly if the question of the divine goes unanswered. Indeed, it gets to the root of the great cultures to say that they interpret the world so as to order it to the divine (Ratzinger, 1993, section 1).

To search for an answer to the fundamental question about the meaning of human life without asking the question that is essential to man is bound to be unsuccessful. Thus, religion is not something external, i.e., something added to a pre-existing culture, but – as its etymology also indicates – it has its origin in culture. Pius XII wrote that:

In the great civilisations which have discovered scientific research, culture has always been organically connected with religion. [...] There has never been a people without religion. Irreligiosity always implies a desire to separate oneself from religion; it is a negation, a rejection; it is never an original or permanent attitude. The decadence of culture is usually preceded by the decadence of religious life. If, therefore, religion [...] is radically independent of the forms and degrees of culture, a culture that wishes to be authentic, healthy, and lasting demands an intimate relationship with religion (Pius XII, 1956, p. 213).

John Paul II observes that “The synthesis between culture and faith is not just a demand of culture, but also of faith.... A faith which does not become culture is a faith which has not been fully received, not thoroughly thought through, not faithfully lived out” (John Paul II, 1982, no. 2). This sentence seems to assume that there can be a faith that has not yet become a culture. His further words suggest that what is meant here is the germinating seed of faith that develops when it finds its expression in culture. This point is made unequivocally by Pius XII:

The Catholic Church is not attached to any culture. [...] In principle, this follows from the radical independence of religion from culture. The latter does not allow religious values to be judged. Thus, the golden age of Greek culture, which lasted only two hundred years, occupies a unique place in world history, whereas the people of Israel in Palestine did not produce any comparable cultural heritage. However, it is impossible to draw conclusions regarding the purity and sublimity of the religious concepts of these two cultures based on their cultural achievements. Many centuries before the flowering of Hellenistic culture, the people of Israel had already – in the Psalms and the Prophets, and even much earlier in the Book of Deuteronomy – expressed their idea of God and the moral basis of human life with a purity and perfection that Hellenism never achieved, not even in the thought of its spiritual coryphaeuses: Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Does the flowering of Arab culture in Spain at a time when Christian culture, in its infancy in the north, was gradually rising with strenuous effort prove the superiority of Islam over Christianity? No doubt Arab scholars reproached Christians for their inferiority, but one should never judge a religion by the cultural development of its adherents (Pius XII, 1956, pp. 211–212).

The Greeks were culturally superior to the Jews, but it was the latter who professed the true and sublime religion, as with Islam and Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula at the time of the Emirate of Córdoba. The level of maturity of religion and the level of the development of culture do not always coincide. It is no different today when we compare, e.g., formerly Christian Europe with much of Africa. A university degree is not necessary for salvation. Even a doctorate in theology does not guarantee a good relationship with God. Professorship is not equivalent to truthfulness. Not to mention the level of civilisation: access to the internet, state-of-the-art medicine, and the high standards of everyday life do not equate to a high level of culture, still less to a depth of spiritual life. However, this does not mean that these factors are absolutely independent of one another either.

Furthermore, if religion and culture are always intertwined, and if religion is at the heart of culture, it is hard to imagine removing one religion from a culture and replacing it with another. This would be like transplanting an organ, which would then be rejected as foreign (Ratzinger, 2021, p. 290). Thus inculturation cannot be understood as an encounter between (acultural) 'pure Christianity' and (areligious) 'pure cultures'. Since there is neither a religion stripped of culture nor a culture completely devoid of religious elements which could be synthesised within both, inculturation is also inreligionisation, i.e., an implantation of Christianity into the existing religious heritage of a people. Hence, instead of inculturation, Ratzinger proposes a new term: interculturality (Ratzinger, 2021, p. 293). Thus the Church encourages the faithful to "recognize, preserve and promote the good things, spiritual and moral, as well as the socio-cultural values found among [other religions – P.M]" (Vatican II, no. 2), which is, however, accompanied by a warning against syncretism and a reminder about religious criticism to those who view all religion only positively. For what is revealed in religions and cultures – as well as in man – is not only *mysterium pietatis* but also *mysterium iniquitatis* (John Paul II, 2001, no. 8).

Every culture has its statics and its dynamics as well as elements that determine its continuity and its vitality. Properly understood, inculturation presupposes this vitality, i.e., a constant search within a particular culture for an ever deeper and ever more correct answer to the question of who man is. The conviction that there exists a nature common to all humans means that the ultimate answer to this question is also common, although we may pursue it along different paths and by transcending different limitations. Inculturation presupposes the potential universality of every culture which is rooted in a shared truth about man. Understanding is achieved through anthropology. An encounter between different cultures involves a deepening purification of the individual's convictions and values until he reaches the point when a decisive transformation from the previous form of culture takes place, as Ratzinger argues:

Such a procedure can even lead to the resolution of the latent alienation of man from truth and himself which a culture may harbor. It can mean the healing pass-over of a culture. Only appearing to die, the culture actually rises, coming fully into its own for the first time (Ratzinger, 1993, section 1).

This process always takes place within a community, since culture is inseparable from the social subject (Ratzinger, 1993, section 1).

What knowledge of man does Christianity wish to share with cultures that were originally alien to it, and what truth about man does Christianity wish to defend in the modern world? A fundamental breakthrough in the history of European culture was brought about by the Christian conviction that man – created in the image and likeness of God, as told in the Book of Genesis (Genesis 1:26–27) – is thus also part of the Judaic religious heritage. This is rooted in the belief in the inviolable and inalienable dignity of every person, male and female, and consequently also in the claim that social life is founded on the monogamous indissoluble marriage between a man and a woman, whose aim is to have offspring. Man's likeness to God implies his unlikeness to the world. Although man, like animals, possesses a body, the spiritual element in him opens up an ontological gulf between him and the rest of creation. This is vividly expressed in the biblical scene in which Adam, having surveyed creation, fails to find a suitable helper among therein (Genesis 2:18–20). Rooted in man's creation in the image and likeness of God is the conviction that God is the Father of all men, which leads to the idea of universal brotherhood. Saint Paul wrote: "There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28). The Christian idea of brotherhood is primarily based on common faith but is also rooted in the belief of the descent of all people from the same Creator. This description of the creation of man also includes the profound realisation that man is not God and is therefore obliged to obey his Creator. This is expressed by the existence of only one prohibition to which man is bound in the Garden of Eden. Man is a free being in the likeness of God, but his freedom is not absolute as it must be realised within the confines of moral law. "Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness..." – these commandments are the foundation of a free society. This knowledge came to Europeans from afar, as it was originally revealed to the Israelites at Sinai. Freedom is necessary in order that man choose God freely, but it is also inevitably linked to the possibility of rejecting God. The awareness of freedom is thus complemented by the awareness of man's sinfulness and thus of man's irremovable tendency to choose evil despite his essential

goodness. Minimising the consequences of this awareness requires both man's orientation towards God and certain institutional safeguards for social life. Being created in the likeness of God is also a reminder of the priority – in terms of dignity – of spiritual values over material ones in the life of individuals and societies.

The Church as a cultural subject. Can the Church be separated from a culture in which it has historically grown? Are the *Hosanna*, *Kyrie*, and *Gloria* which are preserved in the liturgy merely dead relics of a distant past? Can the relationship between theology and Greek philosophy – treated as accidental – be a thing of the past? Can canon lawyers stop studying Roman law? John Paul II commented on the nature of this relationship with reference to Jesus Christ: "The Son of God himself, by becoming man, acquired, along with a human family, a country. He remains for ever Jesus of Nazareth, the Nazarene" (John Paul II, 2001, no. 6). The cultural reality in which the faith of Israel was expressed is thus permanently present in the person of the Son of God. Things take a similar turn when it comes to the Church and its transmission of the faith. In the *Catechesi tradendae*, we read:

the Gospel message cannot be purely and simply isolated from the culture in which it was first inserted (the biblical world or, more concretely, the cultural milieu in which Jesus of Nazareth lived), nor, without serious loss, from the cultures in which it has already been expressed down the centuries; it does not spring spontaneously from any cultural soil; it has always been transmitted by means of an apostolic dialogue which inevitably becomes part of a certain dialogue of cultures (John Paul II, 1979, no. 53).

Through the Incarnation, God has bound himself to a particular culture, and today "we cannot repeat the event of the incarnation to suit ourselves in the sense of taking away Christ's flesh and offering him another" (Ratzinger, 1993, section 2). Ratzinger states that if culture were reduced to aesthetics, then such a separation would be possible. If, on the other hand, culture carries within it the burden of the answers given over the centuries to questions about the meaning of human life, the fundamental values to be followed in it, or man's relationship to God, then such a separation is not possible. For the faithful, the Church is not an ahistorical and acultural institution of salvation but its own cultural subject. The incarnation of the Church means that it is rooted in a particular culture and history, although not in any single national culture or

history of a particular ethnic community. "This cultural subject Church, People of God, does not coincide with any of the individual historic subjects even in times of apparently full Christianization as one thought one had attained in Europe. Rather the Church significantly maintains her own overarching form (Ratzinger, 1993, section 2). Nevertheless, it is a historical and cultural subject.

Thus, Christianity is also a culture in the plural, albeit a specific culture. Perhaps it would not be unreasonable to use the term 'meta-culture' to describe it. The Basilica of the Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, Notre Dame in Paris, frescoes by Giotto or Fra Angelico, the *Passion* by Johann Sebastian Bach, the Latin liturgy or Gregorian chants, a systematic theology that draws extensively on Greek philosophy, and canon law that refers to Roman law – these are not merely accidentally linked to Christianity. They are not merely the expression of a certain aesthetic or of the intellectual tastes of past generations but also of their spiritual experiences, like Saint Augustine's *Confessions*, *The Little Flowers* of Saint Francis of Assisi, Thomas à Kempis's *The Imitation of Christ*, Saint John of the Cross's *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Thérèse of Lisieux's *Story of the Soul*, and *Diary* of Saint Maria Faustyna Kowalska. Is it possible to be a Christian today without being familiar with these works? It undoubtedly is, but with a much poorer spiritual experience. It is a bit like one man's attempt to start the history of Christianity from scratch, except that he is in a much worse position than the apostles because his starting point is not the Semitic culture in which Jesus grew up but some other pagan culture. As Ratzinger says:

Whoever joins the Church must be aware that he is entering a cultural subject with its own historically developed and multi-tiered inter-culturality. One cannot become a Christian apart from a certain exodus, a break from one's previous life in all its aspects. Faith is not a private way to God; it leads into the People of God and its history (Ratzinger, 1993, section 2).

Christianity's encounter with a culture that is originally alien to it does not aim to eradicate it but to purify and complete it while preserving the duality of cultural subjects. In the *Catechesi tradendae* we read:

the power of the Gospel everywhere transforms and regenerates. When that power enters into a culture, it is no surprise that it rectifies many of its elements. There would be no catechesis if it were the Gospel that had to change when it

came into contact with the cultures. To forget this would simply amount to what St. Paul very forcefully calls 'emptying the cross of Christ of its power' (John Paul II, 1979, no. 53).

Christianity transforms and purifies but it does not destroy. At the same time, the fact that the Church is not attached to a particular national culture allows it to be a universal Church in the sense that its community is present in many national cultures.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

This article has attempted to answer the following several questions: Is religion something external to culture? Is culture external to religion? Does the Church equate itself with any particular culture? Is there a Christian culture? The context for answering these and similar questions is delineated by the profound crisis which is taking place in the contemporary Western world. This culture – as Pope Francis points out – often draws inspiration from sources that are contrary to the Gospel. Christians have lost the capacity to be creators of culture and have reduced themselves to the role of its passive recipients:

New cultures are constantly being born in these vast new expanses where Christians are no longer the customary interpreters or generators of meaning. Instead, they themselves take from these cultures new languages, symbols, messages and paradigms which propose new approaches to life, approaches often in contrast with the Gospel of Jesus (Francis, 2013, no. 73).

Cultural creativity is active on a massive scale, but at its starting point it adopts an anthropology different from Christianity. Since Christianity has not completely lost its influence – even in highly secularised Western societies – the result is the clash of two anthropologies: Christian and materialist. Michał Gierycz described this clash by referring to the distinction drawn from Thomas Sowell between constrained anthropology (which views man as a creature who is constrained and imperfect in nature and is aware of the presence of the effects of original sin in the world) and unconstrained anthropology (man creates himself without

acknowledging any externally imposed limitations) (Gierycz, 2017). The ongoing disputes in the West over abortion, euthanasia, in vitro fertilisation, surrogacy, the legal recognition of same-sex unions, and the right to conscientious objection are concrete examples of this very conflict. They can also be interpreted as manifestations of the breakdown of a culture based on the axiom of inviolable human dignity. However, what poses a particular cultural challenge today is technological development, although this is not about technique or technology alone but about freeing this field from ethical questions. At one time, Robert Spaemann wrote:

It is understandable that scientists who conduct experiments on animals do not want to be prevented from doing so; that specialists in human biology can obtain momentous cognitive results from experiments on embryos and want them to be at their disposal. But the desire to obtain knowledge is not itself knowledge. It competes with other desires. It encounters boundaries that are of quite a different nature. Therefore, scientists should not seek to be judges in their own case. When it comes to deciding the significance of this desire compared to other desires, everyone is as competent as a scientist. Nor should politicians be intimidated here (Spaemann, 2012, p. 217).

In this context, the question that arises is this: At what point does this new technical culture, freed from the 'burden' of ethical questions, cross the red line separating culture from anti-culture? The industrial 'production' of humans, liberal eugenics, human enhancement, transhumanism – are these not all forms of cancel culture? This is not a dispute between two visions of history but an attempt to cancel culture based on Christian anthropology. Joseph Ratzinger draws attention to the arrogance that sometimes accompanies those who try to modernise 'backward' cultures by destroying communal bonds, which leads to man's spiritual uprooting and invalidates the great questions that previous generations have lived by:

Technology [...] appears to be neutral [but] in reality modern civilization [...] deeply encroaches upon the basic understanding of man, the world and God, [...] changes standards and behavior. It alters the interpretation of the world at its base. The religious cosmos is necessarily moved by it (Ratzinger, 1993, section 3).

In this situation, it is the Church's task to remind people of man's great dignity, of the moral order rooted in his nature, and of his vocation to eternal life in heaven. At the same time, the Church must look

for a language in which this content is comprehensible to modern man and should create and sponsor cultural works that express this content in an artistic form. The institutional Church should once again become a patron of culture. If the Church were to abandon its religious and cultural mission, humanity – in the light of the current experiences of the West – would risk falling into a dead silence over questions about human dignity and the meaning of human life.

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Cultural subjectivity

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: Cultural subjectivity is analysed in the context of both the cultural system and the socio-cultural system. The concept of subjectivity is clearly separate from agency, which does not take into account the core category, namely subjective values. Individual subjectivity is understood as the state and process of realising one's individuality and the humanity to which all people are entitled, whereas collective subjectivity is the state of society and its culture and the ways in which it fosters the expression of individual subjectivity. Cultural subjectivity is understood as 1. the essential property of products of culture which foster individual and collective subjectivity; 2. Respecting the cultural rights of individuals and their collectivities in social relations, in communities, and in institutions.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: In its historical context, subjectivity has been interpreted by referring to the personalistic understanding of the human person, to the idea of the subject inherent in critical realism, and to the phenomenological *personae dramatis*, also used in the philosophy of drama. Subjectivity is also presented as the result of the choice and practice of being-towards-Good in the five dimensions (orders) of the world: natural, practical, social, cultural, and transcendental.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: The concept of cultural subjectivity consists of two terms which are difficult to define: subjectivity and culture/culturality. They raise a great deal of doubt and are the focus of endless and perhaps unresolvable disputes. Both, however, are absolutely central to the understanding of man and society, and subjectivity and culture (culturality).

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: According to Margaret S. Archer, man's subjectivity is the outcome of the processes of morphogenesis and morphostasis. It is triggered by man's activity that is oriented towards the realisation of concerns within the framework of planned projects and a specific *modus vivendi* with the world orders: natural, practical, social, cultural, and transcendent. In the article, subjectivity is understood as an individual and collective conscious transcendence towards the Good that is realised by consciously choosing to practise the idea of the Good. In this view, culture is that which fosters the expression of individual and collective subjectivity.

Keywords: person, humanity, culture, subjectivity, cultural rights

Definition of the term and historical analysis

Man and subjectivity. Émile Durkheim knew that for a sociologist (even a sociologically minded one like him), man, with his individual psyche, is an essential link in understanding society. He wrote that “sociology [...] cannot deal with human groups, which are the immediate object of its study, without ultimately reaching the individual” (Durkheim, 1914, p. 206). The sets of relationships between individuals is the final element as society can only be established when it permeates individual consciences and shapes them in its own image and likeness” (Durkheim, 1914, p. 206). Man, called *homo duplex*, is torn between what is animal (*profanum*) and what originates in culture (*sacrum*) and elevates him. Roman Ingarden also wrote that man is split between corporeality (which a human being opposes in order to prevent being degraded to the level of animals) and the world of values, which, co-created by man, is the world of culture. The person in Ingarden’s conception differs fundamentally from Durkheim’s individual. Ingarden wrote that “human nature consists in a constant effort to transcend the level of the animal nature inherent in man and to rise above it with humanity and the role of man as the creator of values. Without this mission and without this effort to grow beyond himself, and without rescue, man falls back into his pure animality, which constitutes his death” (Ingarden, 1987, p. 25). For Edith Stein, the dialectic of the split of man was also important. In her view, the human ‘self’ is a life that becomes self-conscious in the development of its existence. “It dwells in body and soul”, as Stein puts it, and thus concerns man conceived as a certain whole. She believed that personal life springs from the ‘self’, which spiritually “encompasses and embraces” both soul and body. The person, on the other hand, is the ‘self’ that is conscious and free in its actions. Stein attributed this spiritual nature to the human soul. As a result of its entanglement with matter, however, this soul differs from ‘pure spirits’. Only when the soul is fully realised does it become a life filled with meaning. The subjectivity of the human person, if I correctly understand Stein’s concept, lies in transcendence and openness to God. Thus, it is also openness to the meaningfulness of the world and to other people as a value.

Openness becomes an important category here, which – taking into account the transcendent level (as in Stein and Wojtyła) or not

(as in Ingarden) – means a sensitivity to moral values. This is key to understanding humanity, which seems to result from the development of potency present in man and requires being chosen by the subject himself. It is not an act but a process which lasts a lifetime and requires sustaining throughout man's entire life.

But why should man transcend his biologicality? I suspect Durkheim would point to needs and social coercion, as would many behaviouristically and/or sociologically minded scholars. Man appears here as an automaton with a thermostat-like regulator. For reasons unknown to himself, he is wholeheartedly oriented towards the preservation of homeostasis and the parameters set (but by whom, by what, and which parameters?). For Ingarden, the answer would be ambition, which – I would suggest – is given to man by nature, whereas, for Stein, it occurs through sensitivity to the call of God (which we either respond to or not). Similarly for Józef Tischner and Emmanuel Lévinas, who wrote about the intrusion into ethics through the 'Face of the Other': "The face, still a thing among things, breaks through the form that nevertheless delimits it. [...] [T]his new dimension opens in the sensible appearance of the face" (Lévinas, 1971, p. 64). It seems to me that what is missing in all these cases is a concept that would allow us to understand and synthesise all these dimensions together as they seem to truly exist, albeit not separately. In my opinion, concern – as proposed by Margaret S. Archer – is such a concept.

The tension between body and soul offers an opportunity for the formation of the person, i.e., someone who is characterised by self-awareness and freedom in his actions: someone who has agency, as Archer would probably say. For me, this perspective is inadequate for capturing humanity and subjectivity, as I will discuss below.

Archer's vision of man is in line with critical realism and opposes the 'model of Modernity's man', who is reduced to rationality, indeed to instrumental rationality, which achieves its vulgar fullness in the concept of *homo economicus* (Archer, 2000). She also disagrees with the theory of the oversocialised man, as in Durkheim, or the 'enlightened man' who knows everything and understands nothing: "On the one hand, Enlightenment thought promoted an 'undersocialised' view of man – Modernity's man – whose human constitution owed nothing to society and thus was a self-sufficient 'outsider' who simply operated in

a social environment. On the other hand, there is the later but pervasive 'oversocialised' view of man, whose every feature, beyond his biology, is shaped and moulded by his social context. He, as Society's Being' thus becomes such a dependent 'insider' that he has no capacity to transform his social environment" (Archer, 2017).

In her conception, the 'self' is what is ultimately human. Therefore, man does not have to constantly experience the drama of slipping into animalism. In her opinion, man's effort is directed towards real 'concerns' and not towards nostalgia for the beastly state (as Durkheim argues) or clinging to humanising values (as Tischner claims). The essence of human subjectivity stems from the processes of morphogenesis and morphostasis which are set in motion by human action, oriented towards the realisation of concerns within the framework of planned projects and a specific *modus vivendi* with the natural, practical, and social world orders (Archer, 1996, 2000). While agreeing with this, I believe at the same time that subjectivity and humanity are also something much more that is far more complex.

Discussion of the term

Subjectivity and humanity. In the field of sociology, Piotr Sztompka's 'subjectivity equation' was well known in his time; in this equation, to be a subject = to want to act + to be able to act. I am convinced that Sztompka accurately and synthetically captured a certain orientation – and admittedly also a certain tradition – of understanding subjectivity, with which I strongly disagree as I think that while this may be an equation suitable for agency, it is hardly one for subjectivity. And this is where I enter into discussion with Archer, and even more so with Sztompka. Because, in my opinion, subjectivity should be understood as a special case of agency. This was the view of Karol Wojtyła, who wrote in his book *Person and Act* that "what appears in the integral experience of man – taking its interior aspect into particular consideration – is the diversification and even, so to speak, the opposition of subjectivity and efficacy [agency – K.W.]" (Wojtyła, 1969, p. 74). In his work, the future Pope John Paul II showed the fundamental dimensions of the human person, the most important of which is orientation towards

values, freedom, and responsibility. Wojtyła believed that man becomes a person through acts:

Through morality, through the moral value that the act really introduces into man, we reduce this act, that is, conscious action, to the moment of freedom. This freedom is most properly made manifest to every man in the lived-experience that can be summarized as 'I can but do not have to'. [...] For the human 'I will' is formed between 'I can' and 'I have to', thus constituting the dynamization proper to the will. The will in man is what allows man to want (Wojtyła, 1969, p. 105).

In the literature on subjectivity, will is usually confused with agency. Within this approach, a person is free when he has the capacity to do whatever he wishes, although at the same time he may also not be free from his 'wishes'. Thus, it seems legitimate to propose, in place of Sztompka's 'equation', a different one, which I would like to call Wojtyła's equation: to be a subject = I want + I can + I don't have to. However, it is worth asking why should I not have to if I want and I can? Wojtyła's answer would seem to be 'because sometimes I ought not to'. This 'I can' could in this case mean 'I am able to', i.e., there are no sufficient obstacles to my agency. But, after all, sometimes I cannot because my values do not allow me. So, maybe I could, but I cannot because of the moral values I have chosen while making this choice in the act of exercising my freedom. Another aspect of subjectivity emerges from Wojtyła's reflections which is exemplified by a situation in which 'I do not want to' + 'I could not', but 'I ought to'. This obligation derives from the moral values that I, as a free individual, have adopted. Here the question of the nature of these values appears. Are they, as for Durkheim, a cultural product of society binding through the mechanisms of social control and coercion? Are they, as for Ingarden, of unknown origin (but a part of culture, so probably a product of society)? Or are they, as for Wojtyła, Stein, Tischner, and Lévinas, a call of transcendent origin? I think both answers are true. And I would add here a third source, namely the biological nature of man and the world; and a fourth, namely the free and creative psyche of the human person. What is precious to us is also our concern to achieve a *modus vivendi* with the three aforementioned orders: natural, practical, and social. But our concerns also include transcendent 'calls' ("without formulating any judgements regarding the source and nature of transcendence"). As I understand

it, the notion of the social covers various social actors and values as products of these actors. Arguably, culture should also be placed in the social. However, when the socio-cultural system is separated from the cultural system, the matter becomes somewhat complicated. In addition to the values produced within the former system, there are also values internal to the cultural system, or perhaps those of an objective nature, i.e., universally important for man's well-being, including his subjectivity, but independent of the social games played within the socio-cultural system. I also think that there exist subjective values, which are precious to a particular subject and which are the result of his creative and reflective psyche. Thus, values form complex and internally and ontically diverse wholes which are variously structured. It is possible, as Archer does, to understand personality through the individual and unique structure of concerns proper only to a particular individual, but it is also necessary to see their link with structures of values, which are complex and differ in terms of generative and morphostatic mechanisms.

If the aforementioned 'I can' were reduced to the absence of external obstacles to action, obstacles internal to the subject would still remain. These obstacles can be related to needs, values, and desires. 'I can' can also be dependent, e.g., it can require instrumental capacities related to the subject's specific traits, such as intelligence, the ability to think in abstract terms, resistance to disease, absence of allergies, beauty, strength, etc. The type of action and potential external obstacles require specific traits. For example, when a man wants to seduce a woman, it is an advantage if he is handsome and charming. In order to catch a tram, it is useful to have strong and fast legs. On the other hand, it is always good to understand a situation, to know what one wants, etc.

Under these circumstances, the phenomenon of subjectivity has, in my view, at least three basic dimensions: subjective values, subjective qualities (the media of subjectivity), and subjective action that is agency.

Moral values are central here. Ontological reflection on man and the world leads us to categories of objective values, which include objective moral values. These values are somehow assigned to us. We are in some sense 'called' to them. This will probably not raise any doubts among religious people, as they believe that it was God who created the world and people and, for their sake, commanded them to observe certain values and morals. These values, from their point of view, are

objective. But non-believers do not have to totally reject this view. Even if man and the world are purely the product of the evolution of matter after all, the relative constancy of the nature of the world and of man creates some fairly constant requirements if the world is to survive and if human are to survive and realise their concerns. Archer writes of three orders in which human activity takes place and to which the ultimate concerns are related: natural, practical, and social. She also takes into account a fourth order, called the transcendental order. In her view, the human personality is formed as a result of reflexively that addresses these three or four types of concerns (related to these orders), working them through, and creating configurations of ultimate concerns. Personally, I would definitely add to this picture transcendental and cultural orders (by which I mean the type of culture mentioned above: a culture that fosters individual and collective subjectivity and thus also the development of humanity in man). There are two main types of such requirements. The first is the realisation of concerns, especially ultimate concerns, and in particular the intention to survive. The second is less obvious: it is the development and realisation of human potential (at the individual and collective levels). I closely relate the latter to my concept of subjectivity. These are arguments for the recognition of a fifth order, which complements the three dimensions (natural, practical, and social) and a fourth which I have added, i.e., transcendent. This would be the order of the cultural foundations or the core of the cultural system.

Subjectivity, and social subjectivity. Man, in order to exist and to maintain a minimum of mental health and the capacity to develop identity and personality, must possess an elementary conviction that he understands the world in which he lives and his place in it. This is not merely a matter of curiosity, nor merely a condition for effective action; it is also a fundamental existential need and is why we seek to learn about the world. We subject the world to reflection. We apply various practices of understanding and interpreting the objectively existing order in which I distinguish the following dimensions: ontic order, moral order, and cognitive order. As a result of the practices of understanding, interpretation, and experiencing, we accumulate a more or less conscious, coherent, complete, and realistic set of beliefs that relate to the theoretical (or actual) category of the world order. Our image of this order and its representation (I cannot say if this representation is true

or not, though certainly it relates to reality) constitute a shared intellectual and emotional space. It is a kind of mental 'topographical map' that orients us and our lives in time and space, especially in the 'space' of sense and meaning. It is a fundamental dimension of human identity. I call this space 'the horizon of reference' or a 'mental order'. We directly refer not to the order of the world, because it is not directly accessible to cognition, but to the horizon of reference; this is what we usually treat as real and true. What must be strongly emphasised, however, is that horizons of reference refer directly to objective reality, which exists independently of our knowledge.

The horizon of reference delineates the order of human life, which we can call an *existential order*. By this term I mean the organisation of the world experienced by a concrete experiencing subject. How we understand the world is one thing and how we orient our lives and what order we give to it is another. An existential order is a certain reality. Within the horizon of reference, we can identify the ontological horizon, the axiological horizon, and the epistemological horizon. Therefore, below we will talk of horizons of reference in the plural. Within the existential order we can distinguish concrete practices of life oriented towards certain values and based on certain convictions about the nature of the world, of people, and of oneself. Practices of life are thus to some extent oriented by the content of the horizons of reference and can be expressed within the subject's actions. The existential order consists of practices of life, the framework of action that organises them, and the certain elements of horizons of reference adopted for this action. Ethical, ontic, and cognitive frameworks determine the sense and meaning of one's life, which are inscribed in ideas about the sense of people, life, and the world.

Man communicates with others in the process of action in the practice of life. To an extent, this communication is determined by individual horizons of reference and takes place within the concrete framework of subjects' actions. Thus, a shared practice of life is created within interactions between subjects as well as in the shared natural, practical, and social contexts (according to Archer) and in the contexts of culture and transcendence. The process of creating shared practices of life leads to the double result of individual horizons of reference and of existential orders. It is also the process of structuration which results in a certain pool of basically agreed on and shared horizons of reference (Wielecki,

2003, pp. 294 ff). This pool is created as a result of actions directed towards the realisation of concerns (needs, desires, and values) which activate morphogenetic and morphostatic processes.

What is important is that serious disturbances (collapse, disintegration) of horizons of reference can lead to deep frustration and sometimes even to disorders of human psychological and social development and serious mental illnesses and neuroses.

The role played by the transcendent order is significant. A very strong motivation for the creation of horizons of reference is the need to make sense of the world and one's own role in it. How this need is met determines a person's basic life orientation (I call it primary orientation): subjective or, on the contrary, authoritarian (in practice, we are rarely so radically determined and consistent and we adopt various intermediate or mixed orientations). In short, we can say that subjectivity requires an understanding of one's being as being-in (I am obviously referring here to Heidegger and his being-towards-death), as being restricted in one's existence and in the possibilities of one's cognition, and as being immersed in the streams of the lived world. It also requires understanding oneself as being-towards, although not towards-death but rather towards goodness, truth, freedom (and other subjective values), towards subjectivity itself (as I mentioned above, a feature of the triad: values, media, action), and also, according to some philosophers, towards God and the Other. Subjectivity, then, is being towards all that man is unable to learn about sufficiently to have some foundation for his being. Subjectivity is nevertheless a certain quality and state of being within the practice of life in which the perceived sense is towards Good, which is never fully comprehensible. Subjectivity, as Being-towards-Good – by the power of the subject's will and thanks to a 'transcendental support' – can become something ontically separate, i.e., a being that is emergent and has agency. At the same time, it can only be the result of the free choice of life towards subjectivity.

As Robert Spaemann wrote, the certain potential (*potentio*) of the world can be fulfilled in man's life. For although every human being is a person, not everyone achieves perfection, which is understood here as potential and at the same time as the fulfilment of humanity. It is a matter of choosing the development of the potential for perfection, which, however, requires the transcendence of the person. Subjectivity

is precisely the state of conscious transcendence through choosing to practise the idea of the Good. This is the path of “the development of the potential for perfection”, that is, the fulfilment of humanity in the person. It is the subjective path. Subjectivity can thus be understood as a way of being human and as the outcome of this way, this path (cf. Gabriel Marcel’s *Homo viator*). Humanity and subjectivity seem to mean the same thing, although the former word is more literary and captures the essence of things more accurately, and the latter is rather analytical and allows the idea of humanity to be developed in philosophy, sociology, psychology, and other sciences.

Because of this Good, and because it can never be fully grasped, man takes on the challenge of a difficult, creative, and searching existence. The Good towards which the subject strives is, in my view, a highly complex concept. It has a certain pattern in which particular qualities and components acquire their sense in relation to one another. This sense is a net result, something qualitatively different from its constitutive components. I believe that subjective action (resulting from an individual’s agency), supported by subjective human qualities oriented towards subjective values, together form a full pattern of subjectivity. For this reason, I propose a three-element model of subjectivity which is broader than the concept of agency. After all, subjectivity occurs when it is chosen and realised. This means that it is primarily relational in nature and an attribute of action. Subjectivity actualises this subjective potential and incorporates it into action. Let us add that these are actions (resulting from an individual’s agency) that situate the individual in certain relationships – mainly with other people, but also with nature, culture, the environment, and transcendence. Ultimately, it is also about actions aimed to fulfil the subjective pattern of the Good.

So far, we have considered only what is called the ‘narcissistic structure of subjectivity’. But with the claim that subjectivity is (also) action, we point to the fact that it means transcending oneself, i.e., the subject transcends himself thanks to his reflexivity and his entering into a relationship with what is outside him. This all follows from the very notion of action. If subjectivity implies a duty, then of course it is to oneself, but equally – through the face of *the Other* – to one’s fellow human beings. If it is a choice, then it is the choice of how man participates socially and his preference for a certain type of society. In a subjective society,

other people are not a factor that degrades a person; on the contrary, they enhance the opportunity for a person's development. This is no small thing. We understand this as a contractual, relational, and dialogical value, behind which there are other strong evaluations, as Charles Taylor would say.

In the 'narcissistic structure of subjectivity' pattern, we discover that it is the person who is the strong evaluation. The relational nature of subjectivity means that the other and his subjectivity is also the good. Subjectivity is thus a certain pattern that incorporates all the components already mentioned into the order that regulates relations between people. This pattern states that the value for the subjective me is the 'I' myself, but the 'I' is self-limiting because of the equivalent and complementary good of the other, behind which is the transcendent Good, i.e., the third dimension of subjectivity (next to the narcissistic and altruistic). In a different perspective we can also speak of phases of subjectivity. The pre-subjective phase (primary narcissism, as Sigmund Freud termed it) is the first phase. The second phase, which Levinas calls the state of 'intoxication with one's own identity' (Lévinas, 1971), is the egocentric phase, during which the 'narcissistic structure of subjectivity' develops. The third phase, called the phase of socialised or altruistic subjectivity, is higher, not mandatory, and takes place later in one's development; it is possible thanks to the practice of reflexively negotiating horizons of reference with the existential order and framework of action, but it is not a necessary phase. A fourth phase – transcendental (in a religious or non-religious sense) – can also be distinguished.

Let us also note that we can speak of social subjectivity in the sense of a construction of society or a community based on dialogical communication, democratic rule-making, and jointly making important decisions. These qualities are worth being included in the equation of social subjectivity. Moreover, a society that can be defined in this way provides opportunities for people and groups to preserve their individual subjectivity and for society's complex collectivities to maintain their collective subjectivity. It is thus open to human initiative, creates space for all subjective activities of citizens, and respects their originality and diversity. Perhaps we would expect even more, namely that a subjective society would facilitate the subjectivity of people and groups and that it would deliberately work towards stimulating and expanding their subjectivity.

But, of course, problems will arise when inevitable conflicts of interest, differences of opinion, cultural differences, etc., surface.

Thus, we see that there is a close relationship between individual subjectivity and collective subjectivity. Although a subjective society dominated by non-subjective people is impossible, it is possible that a non-subjective society will have subjective citizens. However, it will certainly not be easy for them to become subjects. Contrary to behaviouristically and sociologically minded sociologists, human personality is not shaped by social experiences like plasticine, nor is it subject to strict conditioning in the sense that, e.g., authoritarian structures shape the authoritarian personality of citizens. A certain minimum range of subjectivity is inherent in human beings from the moment of birth, and perhaps even earlier. Admittedly, the type of social order determines the nature of the socialisation processes, but man independently – guided by his needs, desires, values, fears, hopes, dreams, and previous experiences – reflexively and emotionally works through (i.e., understands, interprets, and emotionally comments on) what he experiences at a given time.

However, this does not change the fact that a democratic social order increases the chances for individual subjectivity, an autocratic order reduces these chances, while totalitarianism hinders them to a great extent. Totalitarianism can be defined as a socio-economic formation in which violence and terror are the main instruments of governance and features of social relations which are approved of, sometimes euphorically, by citizens (cf. Nazi Germany, Communist Russia, or Putin's Russia – Rashism). Totalitarianism is a good example that demonstrates how, in the collective dimension, 'want' + 'can' equals neither individual nor social subjectivity, and the common good does not necessarily imply any subjectively understood good.

The problem with defining culture. I will not present here the long and never happily resolved debate of what culture is. I will leave aside its numerous definitions, which tend to be either too broad (e.g., culture is that which is not nature) or too narrow (e.g., culture is a system of symbols and meanings). Instead, I will refer to Archer's concept of culture and analytical dualism. She distinguishes two levels of culture: the cultural system and socio-cultural interaction. Failure to distinguish

them analytically by means of analytic dualism results in what is called conflation or the 'gluing together' (reduction) of separate beings into one fictional being. Archer's starting point is David Lockwood's approach to social integration and systemic integration as essentially separate phenomena. Archer herself explains:

the advantages of approaching the structural domain by distinguishing analytically between System and social integration also accrue in the cultural realm, yielding similar improvements in the explanation of stability and change. The whole enterprise thus looks towards a promising land where the theoretical unification of structural and cultural analysis might be accomplished. This promise was one which none of the theorists already examined ever under-valued. It was the golden apple which the downwards and upwards conflationists thought they could grab by their familiar tactic of rendering one the virtual epiphenomenon of the other and which the central conflationists thought they could graft by their usual strategy of elision. But in theoretical development there are never easy pickings: like those who borrowed the mechanical analogy, the organic analogy or even the cybernetic analogy, the conflationists are punters with their 'formula' for breaking the bank (Archer, 1996, p. 103).

This golden apple is the decisive separation of the cultural system from socio-cultural interaction. The starting point is the concept of culture according to Archer, "a Cultural System is held to be roughly co-terminous with what Popper called Third World Knowledge" (Archer, 1996, p. 104). Her explanations regarding the cultural system are clearer now:

the Cultural system is that sub-set of items to which the law of contradiction can be applied – i.e., society's register of propositions at any given time. Contradictions and complementarities are *logical* properties of the world of ideas, of World Three as Popper terms it, or, if preferred, of the contents of 'libraries'. We use these concepts every day when we say that the ideas of X are consistent with those of Y, or that theory or belief A contradicts theory or belief B. In so doing, we grant that a Cultural system has an objective existence and particular relations amongst its components (doctrines, theories, beliefs and individual propositions). These relationships of contradiction and complementarity are independent of anyone's claim to know, to believe, to assert or to assent to them, because this is knowledge independent of a knowing subject – such as any unread book. However the above is quite different from another kind of everyday statement, namely that the ideas of X were influenced by those of Y, where we refer to the influence of people on one another (Archer, 2017, pp. 11–12).

Now we have moved to the Socio-Cultural level, which depends on causal relations, i.e., "the degree of cultural uniformity produced through

the ideational influence of one set of people on another through the whole gamut of familiar techniques, which often entail the use of power: argument, persuasion, manipulation, distortion and mystification” (Archer, 2017, p. 12).

Of course, it must be understood that

at any moment, the Cultural System (C.S.) is the product of historical Socio-Cultural (S-C) interaction, maintained in the present, but having emergent properties and powers which pertain to that level. Like structure, some of its most important causal powers are those of constraints and enablements. In the cultural domain, these stem from contradictions and complementarities. However, again like structure, constraints require something to constrain and enablements something to enable. Those ‘somethings’ are the ideational projects of people – the beliefs they seek to uphold, the theories they wish to vindicate, the propositions they want to deem true. In other words, the exercise of C.S. causal powers is dependent upon their activation from the S-C level. What ideas are entertained Socio-Culturally, at any given time, result from the properties and powers belonging to that level. Obviously, we social agents do not live by propositions alone; we generate myths, are moved by mysteries, become rich in symbols and ruthless at manipulating hidden persuaders. These elements are precisely the stuff of the S-C level, for they are all matters of inter-personal influence – from hermeneutic understanding at one extreme to ideological assault and battery at the other. It is interaction at the S-C level that explains why particular groups wish to uphold a particular idea or to undermine one held by another group. Once they do so, then their ideational projects will confront C.S. properties (mostly not of their own making) and unleash upon themselves these systemic powers, which they may seek to realise or contain. However, the S-C level possesses causal powers of its own kind in relation to the C.S. (Archer, 2017, p. 13–14).

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

The subjectivity of culture (i.e., Archer’s Cultural System). Thus, we can probably use the terms ‘culture’ and ‘cultural system’ in the sense in which Archer understands the Cultural System and Socio-Cultural interaction, respectively. Sometimes, culture is assumed (e.g., by Durkheim) to shape man. Oswald Spengler was not only convinced that people are determined by culture but also that culture has its own distinct life, including its inevitable declining phase, which he called

civilisation: "It is not a matter of choice – it is not the conscious will of individuals, or even that of whole classes or peoples that decides. The expansive tendency is a doom, sometimes daemonic and immense, which grips, forces into service, and uses up the late mankind of the world – city stage, willy-nilly, aware or unaware" (Spengler, 1991, p. 28).

According to others, however, it is people who create culture. Ernst Cassirer was convinced that the development of every man (thus probably also of subjectivity) takes place in the act of creating culture and at the same time changes the world. Arthur Schopenhauer was convinced that culture is a palliative – a means of temporarily relieving the agony of existence. Nevertheless, it was something very important, as confirmed by Blaise Pascal:

Nothing is so insufferable to man as to be completely at rest, without passions, without business, without diversion, without study. He then feels his nothingness, his forlornness, his insufficiency, his dependence, his weakness, his emptiness. There will immediately arise from the depth of his heart weariness, gloom, sadness, fretfulness, vexation, despair (Pascal, 2018, p. 38).

Hence, we also have an easy, entertaining culture of escape, whose aim is to bewilder, to let us forget, and to distract us from the real drama of existence. But, as Søren Kierkegaard wrote, another culture is also possible: a difficult culture, a culture of ethical and religious demands. Similarly, for those who seek a deeper perspective, there is art: disturbing and calling for action, art that shows the price of despair; art that lurks beyond the threshold of escape and reveals the consequences of this easy choice. Friedrich Nietzsche distinguished between the Dionysian and the Apollonian culture. He strongly favoured the former as it performed a servile function in relation to the value of the unfettered expression of the abstract vitality of nature, which for some reason wants to fulfil itself through spontaneous, amoral, nihilistic, anti-intellectual, and animalistic man. The Apollonian culture – which is synonymous with harmony, order, and conventionalism – is the absolute opposite of the ecstatic nature of the Dionysian culture. As Nietzsche claimed, this was precisely the type of culture that would replace God were God killed by modern society.

The focal point of Paul Natorp's ethics was duty, the role of which was to regulate the contradictions between will and the community. Duty

obliges us to submit to the communal ethical will. And this is where the special role of art – as the crown of culture in general – comes in to play. Natorp argued that being and duty unite in the third world created by art. It is in art, accessible through a well-understood aesthetic, that true duty is revealed as being the most essential criterion for evaluating creativity. For José Ortega y Gasset, art is also a special case of culture as an expression of an act of life that transcends itself. This is how Tadeusz Gadacz summarised the Spanish philosopher's views:

Art is a noble sense through which man can express what cannot be expressed in any other way. In art, life reveals itself to itself as something that surpasses itself all the time. Art gives wings to imagination and gives meaning to the everyday. Thus, it should grow out of the great concerns of humanity and of eternal reality, as otherwise it is empty and purposeless. And since suffering is the essence of reality, according to Ortega, art can but be tragic (Gadacz, 2009, p. 181).

Ortega y Gasset criticised the various aberrations of twentieth-century art and argued that they lead to dehumanisation. This particular function of culture, and art in particular, which elevates man and societies in their development, was also highly valued by Max Scheler. Referring to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's poetics and thought, he wrote that the creator of culture extracts the spiritual reality from material reality. The actuality of the world has nothing to do with it; it is about a different actuality which belongs to a different reality. According to Scheler, there are two realities: the spiritual reality manifests itself in the material reality through the works of great artists and outstanding philosophers. In fact, every person feels and expresses this spiritual order to a differing extent, although some do so to a much greater and more expressive degree. This would confirm my thesis about horizons of reference. Scheler's writings seem not to deny this possibility.

It is thus also possible to speak of two types of culture: spiritual culture and mass culture. When John Paul II wrote about the historical and geographical nature of culture as something that is spiritual in nature and at the same time is also concretised in time and space, he also had the deepest dimension of culture in mind:

Keeping in mind this brief sketch of man's original state, we will now return to the first chapter of the Book of Genesis, where we read that God created man in his image and likeness and said: 'Be fruitful and multiply, fill the earth and

subdue it' (cf. Genesis 1:28). These words are the earliest and most complete definition of human culture. To subdue and have dominion over the earth means to discover and confirm the truth about being human, about the humanity that belongs equally to man and to woman. To us and to our humanity. God has entrusted the visible world as a gift and also as a task (John Paul II, 2005).

Ultimately, however, Wojtyła was always concerned with man, who

[...] lives a really human life thanks to culture. [...] Culture is a specific way [of] man's 'existing' and 'being'. [...] Culture is that through which man, as man, becomes more man, 'is' more. [...]. The nation is, in fact, the great community of men who are united by various ties, but above all, precisely by culture. The nation exists 'through' culture and 'for' culture and it is therefore the great educator of men in order that they may 'be more' in the community. It is this community which possesses a history that goes beyond the history of the individual and the family (John Paul II, 2005).

Culture in the strict sense of the word is understood here as the cultural system and is thus sometimes understood in different ways. However, we find many arguments on which we can base Margaret S. Archer's concept. Culture as the cultural system can be described as a socially constituted reality which is, however, relatively independent of its social perception and acts of its use. It is an emergent being, i.e., has its own agentive forces: morphogenetic mechanisms of change, and morphostatic mechanisms of continuity. Some authors find overarching, transcendent orders, patterns, calls, or vocations that determine whether human cultural products can be considered exactly 'human' and, therefore, whether they deserve to be called culture at all. Others look for similar premises in the natural world or in societies advanced in their social and cultural development, in which people have reached a level of development in which they themselves establish such patterns, rules, calls, and vocations. What then emerges is a conception of culture as a factor that is not only relatively ontically separate but also expects something of people and calls them to do something.

In several of the aforementioned concepts, culture is that which fosters, calls upon, and sometimes is the only factor enabling the development of what is positive in man and in society. We can perhaps briefly say that it is that which conditions and fosters man's journey towards a state of personhood and subjectivity; it has the same function in relation to social subjectivity. Previously, I proposed understanding subjectivity as

individual and collective conscious transcendence towards the Good by choosing to practise the idea of the Good that is Hope. This is the way in which the potential of perfection is developed, i.e., the fulfilment of humanity – in man or in a community or in society. This Good can be understood in a theistic way, to which I am personally inclined, or as a certain idea that is the most perfect achievement of human thought. The same is true of hope (Rembierz, 2020).

But what is to be done with man's cultural products that do not fulfil this function but instead hinder its realisation or are even an explicit choice of Evil? I would call these anti-culture or mass culture. Thus, in my opinion, the main criteria for ordering a cultural system are not logical relations, as Archer wants, but moral values, with are both subjective and non-subjective.

Socio-Cultural Interaction. I understand socio-cultural interaction to mean the 'space' of people's lives in communities in which the cultural system is used. Society and its constituent communities are people who come together (i.e., who are somehow structured) in uncountable groups, strata, and social classes – who are guided by individual needs, drives, concerns, and desires as well as by collective and even more numerous goals, interests, and aspirations. They form nodes of motivation that cannot be counted nor defined and which are guided by equally numerous values, stereotypes, fears, patterns, and dreams developed in the spheres of culture and anti-culture. These cultural resources (culture and anti-culture) are used in this collective game. Thus, we now speak of socio-cultural interaction.

The dependence of culture on interests was discussed by Karl Marx in particular. To this day, Marxist scholars practise the unmasking of culture by pointing out whose (mainly which social classes) and which interests are hidden insidiously behind supposedly objective values, ideas, and all other cultural products. In the light of these concepts, culture is treated as a weapon in the 'class struggle'. I am not saying that the proponents of such views are downright wrong. These views seem valid to me, but somewhat less so. I do not deny that when Michel Foucault wrote about the political or ideological background of such supposedly objective categories as mental health or the values of culture, he was generally right. He was right when he wrote about

the social or cultural power that shapes the social order and determines 'truth'; likewise, he was right when he exposed the epistemes present in culture which determine the themes, contents, and forms of social discourse and trigger violence (not only physical) in the name of the interests of those in power. Foucault perfected this anthropology of suspicion. Another example of this fixation on ideology, class struggle and power is Pierre Bourdieu's ideas, especially in his book *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, in which he introduced such concepts as cultural rape or symbolic violence to demonstrate how culture, especially higher culture, can be an instrument for the reproduction of social structure and social order with its system of governance. Bourdieu wrote about culture as a form of capital similar to Marx's financial capital.

However, it seems to me that the issues of culture, subjectivity, and subjective social relations within a system of socio-cultural interactions are equally important. I think that it is primarily a question of the cultural rights of individuals and collectivities. Leszek Korporowicz borrowed the concept of cultural rights and cultural security from Paweł Włodkowic and elaborated upon it wonderfully within the Polish humanities (Korporowicz, 2011). It seems to me that, to a large extent, the question of subjectivity in general, and even more so of cultural subjectivity, regards whether, and to what extent within a system of socio-cultural interactions, people and communities can enjoy the cultural rights to which they are entitled by natural rights. Among other things, this is about the freedom to manifest one's cultural identity, including cultural security, and the willingness to respect others' identities (individual and communal). It is also about the protection offered by the social system to individuals and communities against their cultural rights that would go beyond the limits of necessary social compromise, and protecting individuals and communities against such influences from the cultural system and a system of socio-cultural interactions that would hinder or prevent their subjective orientation towards the Good.

Culture is perhaps the only and the necessary path to the subjectivity and fullness of humanity or the community. Art could, I suppose, reveal this to people and make them aware of their position and the choices they face, but it would also encompass values necessary for people to cultivate humanity. Thus, I believe, we can also speak of two kinds of culture: spiritual and mass culture. In the case of the former,

it is not about subjects or objects being devoid of spirituality but about a lack of the spiritual element in their relationships. This is one of the most important characteristics of the social mass, as was described by both Ortega y Gasset and Hannah Arendt. The second type of culture is characterised by the atomisation of people, whereby they become individuals or elements of a system, a state of alienation, a lack of transcendence, or egocentric individualism, i.e., closure to others.

Some light can be shed on this mass society or the social mass as the 'subject' of mass culture, i.e., anti-culture, by Stein's thesis of contagiousness within the mass. Its singularity lies in that "infection does not spread merely to 'lower' sensate conditions and impulsive movements. Rather it plays itself out in the mental sphere" (Stein, 2000, p. 244). And the result can be that

If a do-so obligation – a value as what ought to be realised – is placed before the eyes of a mass of individuals, then it is entirely possible that, guided by the same 'idea', they let themselves be carried away to an isomorphic doing. This approximates a *collective* concerted action as to its external aspect and practical result, but no *inner* communality is present – which means that the mass does not cease to be a mass (Stein, 2000, pp. 254–255).

The second type of culture, related to the existence and action of the masses, thus leads to dangerous consequences. Stein's aforementioned distinction between the forms of social existence is relevant to the formation of people individually and to the culture that develops there: "character is rooted in the distinctiveness of individual persons. But although a constructive impetus in the character of the individuals corresponds to the character of the community, the communal character and communal type are not exhausted by this" (Stein, 2000, p. 262). Community is therefore more than that. It does not produce a social mass and mass culture as such. One can perhaps suppose that it is characterised by a high level of individual and collective subjectivity, while its system of socio-cultural interactions is characterised by cultural subjectivity.

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The importance and role of history in cultural studies and cultural science

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: The origins of history as a scientific discipline stretch back to antiquity. The Greek etymology of the word 'history' means 'inquiry'. Thus, history is about the acquisition of knowledge about the past through the study and critical analysis of materials created by individuals and societies. History entails analyses of the past from the perspective of the significance of a whole range of causes and effects of human activity.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: Since the time of Herodotus and Thucydides, historical writers have attempted to explain the events of the past by referring to various types of sources. Over the centuries, historians' research methods and areas of interest have changed. Political and religious events that had attracted the attention of scholars in the Middle Ages and the early modern era were replaced by economic and social issues in the 19th century, then, in turn, by civilizational and cultural issues in the 20th century.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: Cultural studies and cultural science employ both historical research methods and those drawn from social science and other sciences. Recently, Marxist methodology has played a substantial role in this area as cultural studies in many universities are currently dominated by this particular methodology, which has relegated the traditional historian's research methods to the background.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The toolkit and research methods developed throughout the centuries which aided historians in the establishment of historical

facts are today increasingly being replaced by 'innovative' research methods and objectives in the social sciences and other science disciplines. Bold hypotheses which have little to do with reality frequently replace the search for reliable sources and their critical evaluation that would help establish their reliability and authenticity and would thus legitimise the conclusions drawn. The classical languages, Greek and Latin, have fallen victim to these changes and are now far less often taught than in the past in all types of schools, including universities.

Keywords: history, cultural studies, cultural science, humanities, historical methods, neo-Marxism

Definition of the term

The word history – derived from the Greek ἱστορία – means ‘inquiry’. It refers to the acquisition of knowledge about the past, gained by study and documentation. Since the earliest times, one of the most important areas of interest in history has been the analysis of traces of human cultural activity. Apart from oral accounts, those searching for knowledge about the past primarily used written sources, although other products of human activity in the material and spiritual spheres can also be treated as historical sources. Hence, a natural division was introduced within this discipline between written and unwritten sources. The reconstruction of complex historical processes requires interaction with other disciplines, which act as history’s auxiliary sciences. The correct process of analysing diverse social, political, and cultural phenomena is aided by appropriate and adequate sources and research methods. These define the principles, procedures, and techniques of historians’ research work. An attitude to the historical past is an attitude to something that has passed but which – in the mass consciousness – still has an impact on the dynamically changing present. Learning about the past helps to keep a distance from the present and to understand it better. The end result of historians’ research work is historiography.

Historical analysis of the term

Herodotus, who lived in the 5th century BC, is considered the founding father of history. His *Histories* (ἱστορίαι), later divided into nine books, tells the story of the wars between the Greeks and the Persians and provides detailed descriptions of the lands and countries around the Mediterranean Sea. Herodotus (born c. 484 BC) introduced the name *ἱστορία* to mean the quest to gain knowledge, using for it a variety of methods, unknown facts, and truths related to these facts (Witkowski, 1925, p. 24). Thucydides (born c. 460 BC), a generation younger than Herodotus, the author of *The Peloponnesian War*, is credited with developing a distinct historical method which is still used today. The most important elements of this method include understanding the succession of events, i.e., the role of chronology in explaining the historical

process; the critical use of eyewitness accounts of events; taking into account the psychological factor in making key political decisions; and the use of social engineering to manipulate the masses. He believed that it is crucial to inquire into the real cause of things hidden behind apparent causes. He is considered the father of real history, as the history practiced by Herodotus was merely a heroic and fairy-tale history. In contrast to Herodotus, Thucydides rejected the possibility of god's influence on the fate of people and nations and sought a cause-and-effect explanation of events, by which he established a paradigm for realistic thinking about the past (Kimla, 2009, p. 22). The second no less important trend of ancient interest in history was biography, the main task of which was to support rhetoric and philosophy, that is to serve as an example of good and bad human qualities. In a sense, it also satisfied the antiquarian and sensationalist interest in other people's lives. The best example is Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans*, in which he described the valour and civic virtues of his heroes; these virtues continued to exert a powerful impact on people in the following centuries. Plutarch's writings primarily influenced English and French historical literature, although its traces can also be found elsewhere. Shakespeare himself paraphrased passages from translations of passages from Plutarch's *Lives* and sometimes even quoted them verbatim.

One of the best-known Roman historians was Titus Livius (b. 59 BC) from Padua. His most important work was a history of Rome in 142 books, entitled *From the Founding of the City (Ab Urbe Condita)*. Although only several of these volumes have survived to the present day, they are regarded as the main source of knowledge on the history of Rome from its foundation in 753 BC until the time of Emperor Augustus. Livius relied not only on earlier Greek and Roman authors but also on the archives that were available to him, including documents of the Senate, diplomatic correspondence, and military materials. His exaggerated descriptions of Roman heroism were meant to emphasise Rome's triumphs. His works exerted a real impact on European culture when they were discovered by the founders of Italian humanism. Dante Alighieri praised him in *Canto XXVIII* of *The Inferno* (Willson, 2018, p. 18), as did Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374), Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), and Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini (1405–1464), among others (Billanovich, 1951, pp. 137–208). Throughout his entire life, Piccolomini

was vitally interested in the people around him and the world in which they lived. When he worked as an imperial secretary, clerk, and diplomat, he gained comprehensive knowledge and experience of matters of the highest importance, which was further enhanced when he became a cardinal and later the pope. In his works he used the documents available to him from the chancelleries where he worked and public letters, which were extremely popular in his time. These particularly helped him to write biographies of his contemporaries, which he included, for example, in the work *De viris illustribus*, where, breaking with rigid medieval patterns, he presented a new idea of the relationships between the individual and the world around him (Veit, 1964, pp. 170–171).

Wincenty Kadłubek (c. 1150–1223) is considered the first native Polish historian. In his youth he probably studied at the university in Paris, as evidenced by his use of the Latin language and his references to ancient and medieval literature, philosophy, and Roman law. Kadłubek was known as ‘the father of Polish culture’ due to the importance of his pioneering *Chronicle*, which shaped the historical and national consciousness of successive generations of Poles for centuries. He was the first to call Poland a Republic as he recognised that it did not belong to monarchs but to a society governed by positive law. In his work, he also frequently emphasised the importance of his love for his homeland and his work for the common good through the formation of *virtus* as its highest level, which translated into the prosperity of the Republic itself (Janicki, 2010, pp. 35–60).

Another famous Polish historian was Jan Długosz (1415–1480), author of the *Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland*, which comprises 12 books. This great historian, who followed the path set by his aforementioned ancient and medieval predecessors, based his long-lasting historical studies on a wide range of source materials, to which he applied a critical approach. In his scientific work, he was always guided by the search for the truth, which, together with the good of the state, the nation, and the Church, were the highest values for him. In their defence, he was not afraid of being criticised by knights and the mighty, and even by the king himself. He was known for his extraordinary diligence and care in selecting sources, on which he based his descriptions of historical events. He also did not hesitate to use works by foreign historians which were sometimes regarded as controversial, including

the aforementioned Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini (Rokosz, 2018, pp. 151–167).

Długosz's followers were not so principled and they leaned towards a more courtly history, as was popular in other countries and cultures. Western historians followed in the footsteps of Machiavelli, for whom what mattered most was political effectiveness. They sometimes rejected historical truth in favour of a 'beautiful narrative', which was usually built around manipulated and skilfully selected facts. At the beginning of the early modern era, this practice became increasingly widespread and had a negative impact on the perception of history as a science. For this reason, history was not offered as a distinct discipline in university programmes. This does not mean, however, that history was not taught in universities at that time. Lectures in philosophy, law, theology, as well as the classical languages – Greek, Latin, and Hebrew – were saturated with historical knowledge. This applies equally to university programmes in both Protestant and Catholic countries of the time. A good example is the Jesuit's *Ratio studiorum* of 1599, which postulated the need to analyse the writings of the Church fathers, great philosophers, and ecclesiastical and conciliar documents, to consider current political events from a historical perspective, and to teach the use of heraldry and the genealogical tables of the ruling families (Piechnik, 2003, p. 145). In the early modern era, history was still treated as a literary occupation, and history did not become a university science until the 18th century, when philologists began to study the history of ancient Greece and Rome; later, these interests were also extended to other eras.

In the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, history began to be appreciated as a scientific discipline in the mid-18th century. The marked increase of interest in history in Poland at that time stemmed from its strong links with France, where it was noticed that, as a field of study, history could be helpful in shaping national and patriotic consciousness. At Collegium Nobilium, founded in 1740 by Stanisław Konarski, history was introduced alongside other subjects with the aim of moulding graduates into good and informed citizens. It was believed that this aim would be achieved by teaching students about the political and social realities of the surrounding world rather than by affecting their ethics and morality. Adam Naruszewicz emphasised this educational aspect of history as a subject taught in schools and universities and recommended – in his

Memoriał względem pisania historii narodowej [*Memorial regarding the writing of a national history*] (1775) – that the study of history should be based on the broadest possible base of source materials. In his opinion, their critical analyses would lead to distinguishing truth from falsehood and good from evil. Naruszewicz also encouraged the practice of reasonable criticism, without which “all histories, be they written with the best pen, use time wastefully”. According to Naruszewicz, the task of the historian was to follow human actions by examining their causes, analysing their means, and evaluating their effects. Having recognised these matters, a man schooled in history had a duty to share his findings with others in order to pass on relevant cautions and instructions (Ilnicka-Miduchowa, 1965, pp. 88–89).

Influenced by these ideas, the second half of the 18th century saw a major turn in pedagogical and didactic thought in Poland. The vision of history advocated by, among others, Montesquieu in his work *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and their Decline* was used to analyse the causes of the crisis faced by Poland itself. Unfortunately, attempts to implement political reforms did not prevent Poland's loss of independence and subsequent partitions. In the new reality, the importance of history increased even more, as it became a tool and an aid in preserving and cultivating Polish culture and national identity. Historical studies conducted in this vein were promoted by Stanisław Staszic with the aim of arousing patriotic feelings, especially in young people, and to make them aware of the many tasks and duties they owed to their homeland (Ilnicka-Miduchowa, 1965, pp. 91–92).

These aims guided successive generations of Polish historians in the 19th century, when history developed rapidly as an academic discipline. This was accompanied by the flourishing of publications of historical sources, including such well-known publishing series as “Monumenta” and “Scriptores”, as well as numerous diplomatariums. From the earliest times, documents have been the primary focus of historical research. Historians' interest was also directed towards architectural monuments, statues, inscriptions, and paintings, which led to the emergence of related historical disciplines, such as archaeology and art history. Despite their initial close links with history, over time archaeology and art history developed a different toolkit and their own research methods (Gooch, 1935, p. 64ff.).

The traditional historical method consisted of theoretical research principles and techniques that allowed the critical use of primary sources for a simple reconstruction of facts. Establishing facts based on readily available sources was called the inductive method and was characterised by a high degree of certainty. A proponent of this way of practicing history was the German scholar Leopold von Ranke (1795–1866), who emphasised primary sources and a narrative history. Starting from traditional historiographical pragmatism, he argued that a historian should reject his prejudices and beliefs and write only about what really happened (Assis, 2014, p. 42). Deductive methods of historical research were developed to deal with the absence of sufficient sources; these methods consist in establishing facts based on indirect sources or not based on sources at all. This method was elaborated on by, among others, Ranke's pupil, the Swiss scholar Jacob Burckhardt, who focused on European cultural history. His greatest contribution was to demonstrate the close relationship that exists between the state, the church, and culture. Dynamic processes that take place between these institutions have a profound impact on other social institutions and everyday life in society. Jacob Burckhardt's work brought cultural history into interdisciplinary research, which was later conducted by, e.g., Johan Huizinga and Peter Burke. The growing role of history as an academic discipline was fostered by the continuous expansion of the source base and the emergence of new and increasingly refined research methods (Gordon, 1991, pp. 1–22).

The opening of the Vatican Archives to scholars in 1881 by the order of Pope Leo XIII was a milestone in the development of historiography. This event led to the rapid development of foreign scientific institutions located in Rome (e.g., *Ecole Française*, *Deutsches Historisches Institut* in Rome, the American Academy), where historians conducted research in the Vatican's valuable archives. One of the most important historians who used the resources of this archive in their work was Ludwig von Pastor, the author of a multi-volume work dedicated to the history of the papacy and the Holy See. Polish historians affiliated with the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Krakow conducted research in the papal archives at the turn of the 20th century, as did those affiliated with the Polish Historical Institute in Rome (founded by Karolina Lanckorońska) after World War II. Many years of research efforts resulted in the publication

of dozens of volumes of source publications, including the *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana* series. Thanks to the publication of these materials, little-known facts from the history of politics, diplomacy, culture, and everyday life in Poland in the past were uncovered. However, the largest body of information is devoted to the operational activities of land, municipal, and ecclesiastical institutions in Poland. After World War II, based on these materials, many scholarly works were published which were devoted to the cultural and religious transformations of Poles in centuries past (Wyrozumski, 2018, pp. 11–28). In the second half of the 19th century, two historical schools developed in Poland which entered into ideological dispute with each other about the causes of Poland's fall: the Krakow school and the Warsaw school. The Krakow school, represented by Józef Szulski, Stanisław Smolka, and Michał Bobrzyński, blamed the fall on Poland's internal shortcomings: its political system, law, and lack of respect for state institutions. Representatives of the Warsaw school, Adolf Pawiński, Tadeusz Korzon, and Władysław Smoleński, blamed external enemies for the disastrous partitions. They also promoted the historiographical method, which was modern for the time, was positivist in character, and was based on the idea of progress and modernisation. This stood in opposition to Krakow's conservatism, which postulated a return to cultural and civilizational sources anchored in classical culture and the Catholic religion.

The ideas and research methods used within other sciences, primarily philosophy and the newly established science of sociology, exerted a tangible impact on historical research at the turn of the 20th century. This applies especially to theses formulated on the basis of comparisons of historical events and historical processes and the search for cause-and-effect relations between them, regardless of chronological subject matter or territorial context. The Marxist theory of history and its original research method played a controversial role in this respect. For Karl Marx, history was not merely a temporal sequence of events – to be described by a conscientious historian, as Ranke's principle would have it – but an objective process that could be explained on the basis of the laws that govern it, in the same way as is done within the natural sciences (Gordon, 1991, p. 316). Marx and his followers argued that the main cause and driving force behind historical events was the economic development of society and the social and political upheavals caused by

changes in modes of production. This idea inspired, among others, the French *Annales* school, which – already by the 1930s – placed economic and social history above political history. Its representatives, including Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, Fernand Braudel, and Jacques Le Goff, changed research paradigms by turning their attention to macro- and micro-history and processes of long durations, which included historical processes taking place on multiple levels: political events, economic processes, and cultural-religious transformations. They believed that in order to understand history it was necessary to analyse phenomena from broadly understood social life and culture.

Marxist methodology was imposed on Polish science after the Second World War. Despite initial resistance by Polish historians, it soon gained some genuine support, as is evidenced by the Poznań historical school, created by Jerzy Topolski (1928–1998). In fact, there is still no shortage of scholars at universities today who are fascinated by historical Marxism (Wrzosek, 2013, p. 20), most of whom can be encountered in departments of historical anthropology and in the institutes of cultural studies.

Discussion of the term

As an independent discipline, cultural studies (*studia kulturoznawcze* in Polish, and *Kulturwissenschaft* in German) emerged in Germany in the 1920s. Cultural studies were based on history, the philosophy of culture, art history, and sociology. During the National Socialist dictatorship, attempts were made to use this research to promote German culture and the ‘German spirit’ in the world, as exemplified by the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Art History and Cultural Studies (*Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaft*), founded in Rome in 1934 (Donà, 2011, pp. 39–56). After the Second World War, the idea of cultural studies moved to the British Isles and the United States, where it was promoted by scholars who were proponents of Marxist methodology. Although they rejected the Soviet model of communism, they saw in Marxist dialectics and historical Marxism the possibility of explaining political and social problems in an era in which the world colonial system was disintegrating. Another no less important research perspective was linked with the transformations taking place within popular culture. This interest in culture stemmed from the

desire of the left to influence the consciousness of the broad masses of society, especially workers and wage labourers. Studies in this area drew on the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci's ideas of hegemony within class relations and cultural domination, in which the working class represented a disadvantaged segment of the social hierarchy. Gramsci argued that revolution was needed not only within political theory and practice but also within the theory of historiography, where it was to be supported by 'a long march through the institutions', i.e., the conquest of universities by the proponents of the world revolution and a paradigm shift in the social sciences and humanities (Hall, 1992, pp. 277–294).

Similar approaches were also promoted by left-leaning German scholars from the Frankfurt School. As early as in the 1930s, they conducted interdisciplinary studies into the history and theory of the labour movement and the origins of anti-Semitism. After the institute moved from Frankfurt to the USA, historical Marxism also took hold at many American universities. The Frankfurt scholars represented a range of different disciplines encompassing many perspectives and theoretical and methodological practices. Over time, the theoretical and methodological concepts of the new humanities were developed in the multi-ethnic and multicultural American society. The 1968 student revolution was a turning point that challenged the previous position of the traditional humanities. Although these student protests began in Europe, they also reached the United States, where the slogans of the youth rebellion became intertwined with opposition to the Vietnam War. In the streets and at universities, pacifism and the need to reject bourgeois lifestyles were promoted, and a sexual life unfettered by traditional morality was advocated. The family and traditional religiosity stood in the way of these demands, and they became the target of the attack. In academia, this agenda was pursued within 'the new humanities', which manifested in increasingly loose university curricula. This freedom in the choice of seminars and courses over time led to the development of interdisciplinary theories which resulted from the combination of sometimes differing research traditions and methodologies. The best well-known example of this is the development of *gender studies*, which is the interdisciplinary study of cultural gender (Saryusz-Wolska, 2012, p. 306).

'The new humanities' extend across traditional scientific disciplines and have become an interdisciplinary mix devoid of its own scientific

toolkit. Perhaps for this reason, the theses put forward by the proponents of 'the new humanities' resemble the ideological calls of revolutionaries rather more than the theses put forward by scholars who care about the toolkit and method used to uncover the truth. In the opinion of some contemporary academics, building a new and better world is much more important than science, as evidenced by the following words of a Polish researcher who represents this trend:

Cultural studies should teach us how to live in a multicultural society devoid of grand, world-ordering narratives. They should remind us that the task of the humanities and social sciences is not merely to produce science but to change (improve) the world. We decide what values and principles our world will be based on. We decide what tradition we will continue and whose heirs we will consider ourselves to be (as quoted in Dziamski, 2020, p. 64).

In the understanding of the role of science outlined above, historical research based on painstaking analyses of sources and articles and monographs written on their basis is unnecessary as it only stands in the way of the main goal of "changing (improving) the world". This is because knowledge based on sources and the painstaking search for the truth is often in opposition to the theses of researchers from 'the new humanities' and destroys the visions of the world they construct. One example of the dispute between historians and cultural studies scholars representing the anthropological perspective is their application of concepts related to colonialism to the relations between peoples and countries that were once part of the Jagiellonian monarchy (Sowa, 2020, p. 280). These theses have been vehemently protested by legal historians who have questioned the scientific value of such works based on faulty methodology, a priori assumptions, selective use of sources, and ignorance of historical, social, legal, and constitutional realities (Matuszewski and Uruszczak, 2017, pp. 177–223).

Several years ago, Polish colonialism was even mentioned by the President of the Swedish Royal Academy during the presentation of the Nobel Prize for Literature:

Poland, Europe's crossroads, perhaps its heart – its history exposes to Olga Tokarczuk a victim ravaged by great powers but with its own history of colonialism and antisemitism (as quoted in Rudnicka and Chvankova, 2020, p. 52).

In a similar vein, Poland is also portrayed elsewhere as a post-colonial and slave-owning state, with all the social and political consequences this entails (Janicki, 2021). The spread of such views, if unsupported by facts, is extremely dangerous and threatening. It can be used to divide and conflict close-knit societies and peoples, which seems to be of crucial importance in our times.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

In many universities today, historical research is giving way to the onslaught of 'the new humanities'. Traditional research methods and the historical toolkit are no longer of key importance. The teaching of classical languages, i.e., Greek and Latin, has fallen victim to these changes, despite the fact that knowledge of these languages is the *sine qua non* for the continuation of effective research into past historical eras. For this reason, the field of humanities research – including history – has in many cases been limited to contemporary problems that do not require additional knowledge and skills. In order to stop this tendency, the teaching of the historian's toolkit and traditional historical research methods must be restored and applied in analyses conducted within cultural studies.

Nowadays young scholars focus mainly on contemporary problems and primarily use the methods and toolkit of 'the new humanities', in which the subjective belief of an individual in the validity of his arguments – a belief rooted in his will, feelings, and imagination – is a sufficient point of reference and verification of the sources he has used.

The study of history should be practised at universities in the traditional manner and should include the historian's toolkit and research methods inherent in the discipline. This way of studying history allows students to acquire skills without which it is impossible to know and understand the mentality of people who lived in previous eras. Moreover, understanding the distant past helps to better understand what is happening in modern times. Thus, it allows us to understand ourselves better.

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Communicative competences, cultural competences, and intercultural dialogue

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: There is a close relationship between the reality indicated by the concepts of communicative and cultural competences and intercultural dialogue that occurs in concrete social realities. Communicative competences, defined as the ability to learn and engage in symbolic interaction, shape our ability to recognise and transform cultural content, which is a new type of cultural competence. Intercultural dialogue is one of many communication processes and depends on the characteristics and the level of development of these competences. Intercultural dialogue and cultural competence co-determine each other, making one impossible without the other.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: Since the 1960s, the findings of studies on linguistic competence, which revolutionised its behavioural understanding, have increased the interest of social analysts in all three concepts: communicative competences, cultural competences, and intercultural dialogue. Their analyses have led to the inclusion of elements of communicative context in their scope of research. Progressing multiculturalism necessitated taking into account the dynamics of interactions and the interpenetration of communities, both of which have resulted in the formulation of intercultural dialogue.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: Going beyond behavioural traditions in analysing language acquisition has revealed the creative potentials of human interactions through the use of other areas of symbolic culture. Communicative competence means knowing the rules formulated within these areas, but the symbolic dimension of this process does not function autonomously. The same meanings can have different values and

be associated with different emotions, hence cultural competence is the ability to recognise these elements. When these two competences makes it possible to realise the aforementioned values in relation to other cultures, an intercultural dialogue is created.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Intercultural dialogue is dependent on the underlying values that reveal the importance of the interactive nature of communication processes which far exceed the one-way transfer of information, the ability to decode meanings, and the instrumental goals of shaping attitudes. However, the greatest communicative potentials are present in the combination of the behavioural, semiotic, and axiological dimensions of symbolic interactions, which can give the aforementioned competences specific features of dialogue, both within and between cultures, thus allowing transgressive and autotelic actions to be undertaken.

Keywords: dialogue, communication, symbolic interaction, cultural transgression, communication of values

Introduction

Contrary to many of the conceptions of the progressing processes of globalisation, these processes do not lead to cultural standardisation, assimilation, or unification. On the contrary, while such phenomena can indeed be identified in the field of techniques, technology, and even management, in the symbolic sphere – and especially in the sphere of values – an equally serious consequence is the increasing diversity and mixing, and various forms of hybridisation. These are a natural consequence of the objective factors of mobility, deterritorialisation, the overlapping and mixing of human groups and material and symbolic goods, as well as entire segments of given cultures in the form of customs, thinking patterns, ideas, and religions. These phenomena lead to an intensification of social interactions which, in varying proportions, lead to dysfunctions, conflicts, and sometimes even wars, but also to synergetic dynamisms and the real encounter of people and cultures. It is not without reason that the importance of dialogue between cultures and their participants is increasingly recognised in both practice and scientific theory.

In order for this dialogue to become possible, very specific skills are needed that distinguish it from communication in its broad sense, especially from those communicative activities that do not always exhibit dialogical features. The growing need for dialogue calls for attention to the conditions of its occurrence at all distinguishable levels, which at the same time define its important participants. The first level is the intrapersonal level: we are engaged in an internal dialogue and we are ourselves both the subject and object of observation. These internal conversations contain a cultural component since the questions we ask ourselves, and the concepts and terms that define our state of mind and the content matter of our thoughts are to a significant extent and in various ways an artefact of specific cultures. The second level is the interpersonal level: dialogue at this level takes place between people. The third level covers interactions between groups: from the smallest, i.e., families and local communities, to larger, ranging from regional, ethnic, and national communities, and ultimately, to entire civilisations. The fourth level is the vital area of dialogue between formalised entities: organisations and institutions of equal scales of size, ranging from

one-person organisations, through multi-thousand-person corporations, multi-million citizen states to international structures. The global level is the highest level of interaction: it embraces the links between all these entities, facilitated with the help of modern communication techniques.

Analysing the determinants of intercultural dialogue and the factors that support it (for which the contemporary world strives regardless of the results) reveals a set of crucial relationships. In addition to geopolitical infrastructure factors, and at a local level the institutional, economic, and demographic determinants of particular communities, it is important to be able to exploit the attributes of a non-reduced and fully mature communication process and its underlying competences, especially when they are analysed in the context of expanded cultural and intercultural competences. Therefore, it is impossible to detach the practice and the concept of intercultural dialogue from the many other categories and their fundamental interrelationships. Understanding them is a challenge not only for contemporary cultural studies, especially those which, like 'Jagiellonian cultural studies', are inspired by the creative coexistence of cultures and by the needs of an increasingly diverse and axiologically chaotic contemporary civilisation.

Contrary to many oversimplifications, the communication process and communicative activities are not a simple transfer of information from sender to receiver. Following the meaning of the etymologically indigenous part of the term 'communication', i.e., the Latin term *communicare*, it can be said that it refers to communal – and thus clearly interactive – activities. So, it embraces such important attributes as reciprocity, exchange, interdependence, subjectivity, causality, and intentionality, which make communication more than merely perception or expression. Communication is not a random sequence of undirected behaviours. Neither is it far removed from strategies of one-way influence, impact, or control, in which participants of communication are denied not only full subjectivity but also values such as the right to autonomy or, ultimately, irreducible dignity. Numerous strategies applied within marketing, advertising, propaganda, instrumentally understood socialisation, education, and management apply a technocratic understanding of communication activities which eliminates vital components of traditionally understood upbringing.

In an era of encounters between cultures and culture clashes, interactional communication skills are a key component that is necessary

for successfully coping with difficult situations and eliminating emerging dysfunctions. They are also necessary for exploiting emerging opportunities and finding developmental potentials. It is no coincidence that communicative competence, cultural competence, and intercultural dialogue are the focus of attention of both theorists and practitioners who consciously initiate social change.

Definition of the term

The notion of communicative competence proposed by the American creator of the ethnography of communication, Dell Hymes, was an extension of earlier concepts of linguistic/language and sociolinguistic competences first researched and debated in the 1960s (Hymes, 1972). This is a fact worth remembering in the context of many contemporary definitions that reduce the original meaning of these concepts in which their creative, dynamic, and transgressive components were emphasised. Noam Chomsky (1968), one of the revolutionaries of modern linguistics, paid particular attention to the properties of linguistic competence. Referring to numerous experimental studies, he strongly argued against behaviourist conceptions of language acquisition, and indirectly against conceptions of learning in general because, according to Chomsky, they assumed the primacy of the reproductive aspects of the learning process of linguistic behaviour, which was oriented towards memorising and reproducing linguistic structures heard in the immediate socialising environment. Chomsky proposed a completely different aspect of the process: not reproduction but the discovery of abstract grammar structures of a particular language, which allows the individual to generate infinite variants of these structures. This highly creative activity is possible thanks to the dispositions of the human mind, which make it possible to totally unconsciously overcome any errors, mistakes, and even deficiencies in the actual 'linguistic material' with which children are confronted. This ability stems from the fact that every sentence is the realisation of an abstract set of rules, the recognition of which makes it possible to generate, by means of a finite number of rules, an infinite number of sentences. The possession by a human being of what Chomsky calls the *device* of language acquisition ensures the activation

of an acquisition model which is far removed from passivity and the imitative model. Chomsky was inspired by the 17th-century grammar school, Port-Royal Grammar, and Descartes' thought, both of which, in his opinion, introduced an indispensable creative element not only into linguistic research but also into general psychological and humanistic research. For this reason, the inclusion of generative-transformative components in all types of competences invented by representatives of the social and cultural sciences should be a permanent part of their conceptual imagination.

There has also been criticism of the concept of linguistic competence. For example, it was very quickly pointed out that the abstracted ability to discover grammar structures is located in the context of the real practice of language use. Its source is not the human mind but the social rules of interaction, the recognition of which constitutes a distinct type of competence – in this case, sociolinguistic competence. The discovery of the reality of situational conventions and their functional significance leads to the next steps in extending analyses of the cultural dimensions of human interaction defined as communicative competence. These refer not only to natural language, which is the primary instrument of communication, but also to many other channels used for the transmission and exchange of meanings, such as the totality of human behaviours (body language) and the symbolic dimensions of space, sound, colour, and even taste, in which the intersubjective rules for assigning meanings are encoded.

In this sense, communicative competence is the ability to recognise, learn, use, and transform meanings that become the object of exchange through the various elements of man's natural and symbolic interactional environment in the context of specific social determinants.

Hymes relativises the juxtaposition of competences in the perspective of the ability to recognise abstract formal structures and to utilise them. The integration of these approaches is manifested in the fourfold analysis of the problem, which is expressed in four questions:

1. Whether (and to what degree) something is formally *possible*?
2. Whether (and to what degree) something is *feasible* in virtue of the means of implementation available?
3. Whether (and to what degree) something is *appropriate* (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated?

4. Whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually *performed* and what its doing entails? (Hymes, 1972, p. 281).

If communicative competences are to characterise total readiness for symbolic interaction, they must be embedded not only in the cognitive processes of recognising and learning meanings but also in the dynamics of both decoding and encoding the associated values and thus also in the associated emotions, feelings and experiences. It is this aspect of the actual capacity to participate both in the sphere of symbolic interactions and in the entire contextually localised cultural sphere that makes the notion of cultural competence, which is built on the notion of communicative competence, even more capacious. The semiotic dimension of these highly integrated human aptitudes and skills is complemented by an axiological dimension. The mutual complementarity of these dimensions allows the building of a mature sense of identity and ensures the fullest kind of cultural participation. Cultural competence, like communicative competence, includes the necessary component of generative-transformative skills, which expose its creative character and potential for continuous development. Thanks to this component, the synergy of behaviours, meanings, and values allows man to find in himself not only mechanisms of adaptation and reproduction but also potentials for personal development which involve the attributes of his dignity and subjectivity as fundamental values of all cultures. Cultural competence is thus the totality of skills to creatively identify, create, and transgress the contents of culture in the context of challenges posed by its historically created environment.

Intercultural dialogue becomes possible when communicative and cultural competences overcome their ethnocentric limitations and are liberated from the primordial need for reproduction. It differs from international communication in that it moderates the interaction of cultures which exposes the values of cognitive and axiological openness, empathy, and the positive ways of transcending the conservative forms of identity in each culture; these forms make it possible to search for shared values (Tischner, 1981). Dialogue makes it possible to overcome barriers of antagonistic relationships as it is not motivated by a persuasive intention but goes beyond tolerance reduced to mutual indifference (Nikitorowicz, 2000). Intercultural dialogue is thus the highest form of communicative and cultural competences: from the limited content of particular cultures

it is able to generate values that transcend these restrictions. The idea of this transcendence, which in the case of cultures can be derived from the relationship between persons, was expressed by Karol Wojtyła: "On the plane of human experience, all people can, in principle, meet, regardless of the philosophical or religious views they otherwise hold. From the perspective of what they themselves experience, that is, what they themselves acknowledge as a fact about themselves, they can then jointly examine the cognitive value of the views they have adopted. They can critically evaluate them together and conduct a reliable dialogue with one another" (Wojtyła, 1994, p. 497).

Historical analysis of the term

If we assume that the set of concepts termed 'competences' is linked to the linguistic competence of Noam Chomsky's approach, research into these concepts began in the late 1960s. This was a period of fierce polemics with behaviourist approaches in the context of a resurgence of parallel humanistic perspectives in the social sciences. Although these approaches stemmed from totally different inspirations, they shared an interest in the discovery and exploration of the creative components not only of language acquisition but of the actual use of language and of other elements of symbolic culture in its integrated form. This period saw a gradual departure from behaviourism and a rejection of its radically reductionist assumptions which eliminated even the chance to notice man's subjective and agentic roles. Later interest in the contextual and socio-situational factors of actual language use gave rise to the socio-linguistic studies of the 1970s (Labov, 1970, Bernstein, 1961), which became the immediate background for an innovative area of ethnography of speech and, even more broadly, of the ethnography of communication. Its creator, Dell Hymes, drew attention to the multifacetedness and specific knowledge possessed by participants in communicative processes on the subject of particular factors of communication and the relationships between them. The concept of communicative competence which emerged from these analyses led to noticing great differences in this area, even within relatively homogeneous national, ethnic, environmental, and organisational cultures. The practical consequences of

these differences and the different levels of development of specific skills allowed researchers to link them with participants of given components of the social structure which exposed the exclusion, neglect, and socio-communicative barriers faced by migrants, and the criminogenic factors of social and cultural distances. Even more serious consequences of diverse communicative competences were noticed in the interactions of representatives of cultures which were less ethnically and nationally homogeneous. With the rapid progress of globalisation processes and the internationalisation of the labour market, this problem has become a challenge not only for corporations but also for the social, educational, and ethnic policies of countries with high levels of multiculturalism.

The concept of cultural competence has garnered even greater attention than the concept of communicative competence. Since the 1980s, it has become a key category in the models of integrated research in almost all social sciences and humanities faculties. Interest in this concept has also provided insight into and even the modelling of cultural and intercultural relations in particular environments. The concept has found numerous applications in sociology and cultural anthropology, cultural studies, education, management, politics, and social psychology (Korporowicz, 2011). Thanks to its great interpretative potential, the concept of cultural competence has gained a lot of attention. Jurgen Habermas (1984, 1999) linked it to the concept of communicative activities characterised by different types of rationality oriented towards utilitarian-instrumental or emancipatory actions, which played a big role in social discourse, reflexivity, and conscious value formation. Thus, he identified various types of communicative and cultural competences. Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and Michael Foucault (1995), who were also active in the 1980s and are considered among the most influential intellectuals in the Western world, almost explicitly linked the notion of cultural competence to power relations and the mechanisms of their reproduction which take place through the culture that serves them. The prevalence of seeing cultural competence as an artefact and a functional component of power and social structure resulted in critical and reduced conceptualisation of the concept and the problem and to marginalisation of the previously exposed creative and personal elements which were hidden in the systemic logic of power and governance.

The intensification of civilisational transformation processes, the increasing level of multiculturalism, and the need to cope with the new

challenges brought about by the end of the century have all led to a situation in which the concepts of communicative and cultural competence became a conceptual bridge in the creation of the notion of intercultural competence. This competence is most strongly linked to intercultural communication and draws attention to the opportunity for intercultural dialogue (Wilczyńska, Mackiewicz, and Krajka, 2019). Given the multiplicity of the conceptual apparatus that has developed over the last fifty years in the field of cultural studies, it is important not to use these terms interchangeably and to recognise not only the different sets of questions to which these concepts and competences aspire, but also the different qualities, characteristics and dispositions in the field of human talents on which they have systematically focused. While all concepts related to different types of competences are based on behaviourist and cognitivist approaches, concepts referring to dialogue grew out of much earlier personalist (Bartnik, 2013) and existentialist concepts which encouraged axiological thinking. A commonly overlooked example of the early achievements of the Polish school of pioneers of social personalism is the school of Krakow pragmatism (today called Krakow humanism), which analysed international and intercultural relations as a value. Its origins trace back to 15th-century Krakow University and Paweł Włodkowic, its prominent representative (Płotka, 2017). The ideas then formulated regarding the law of nations can be found today in the concept of cultural rights and cultural security, in which dialogue between cultures at their different levels is the key challenge for contemporary interpersonal and community relations concerning integration of the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed for successful dialogue.

Discussion of the term

Each of the three terms discussed in this article takes on additional meaning in the context of each other as well as in the context of other competences, including linguistic, sociolinguistic, and intercultural. At this point, it is worth pointing out the problems shared by these three concepts which determine the way in which they are understood in the context of humanistically oriented cultural studies as the fundamental premise of their analysis. Cultural studies, which should go beyond the

functional, structural, and adaptive understanding of culture due to its role in the totality of power relations and the mechanisms of social reproduction, direct the search for what, in culture, defines the developmental potentials of man and his humanity (Bartnik, 2013) This perspective makes it possible to notice what is transgressive, intentional, agentive, interactional and, primarily, subjective in the area of communicative competence, cultural competence, and intercultural dialogue.

Thus, the transgressive attribute means that communicative competence is not only about the ability to passively reproduce existing codes and contextual patterns of understanding; it is also about the ability to change, transform, and creatively generate new ones. Moreover, a similar ability is transferred to the ways of participation in culture as cultural competence together with the patterns of values, emotions and feelings attributed to these ways. These patterns transgress their adaptive and instrumental functions, as well as the functions embedded within the boundaries of given roles and their assigned conventions. Intercultural dialogue has similar attributes of transgression. In order to overcome conflicts or develop new principles of cooperation and coexistence, this dialogue often has to move away from stereotypical practices in the relations between different cultures.

The attribute of intentionality reveals that all the aforementioned concepts describe a reality that does not have to result from coercion (not even transgressive coercion), nor does it have to result from external determinants that are independent of man. Intentionality contains a teleological component directed towards something or someone in accordance not only with what 'pushes' but also with what 'pulls', inspires, and fascinates – what becomes the object of dreams, prospects, and hopes. This constitutes the great value of human competences and almost necessarily builds a sense of dialogue.

Thanks to the third attribute of communication, i.e., agency, the qualities that guide the realisation of communicative competence, cultural competence, and intercultural dialogue are not only in the realm of plans but can be their most real correlate, i.e., the implementation element, which can be translated into observable and experiential results. Exceeding existing standards can be done in a guided manner and in accordance with the intentions of those who undertake it. Competences and dialogue are thus achieved, their existence is confirmed, and they

encourage further development or send signals that they are dysfunctional or underdeveloped.

This concept of communication requires the attributes described above to meet the most important criterion of their validity, namely interactivity, which entails reciprocity, exchange, and the cooperation of what becomes the content of communication rather than of messages. This is an often-forgotten test and an actual feature of processes that merely simulate communication and impersonate its relatively good name, as is the case with mass communication, advertising, propaganda, or persuasion of various kinds. The attribute of interactivity must also be a feature of cultural competence if it is to lead to actual participation in a cultural community. Perhaps one function that is of little use in this context should be excluded, namely the function of being a passive 'official' who shuts up the developmental dynamisms of his personality, community, and nation.

All the aforementioned attributes would not reflect their most human dimension if they did not touch upon human subjectivity and dignity, which are the most fundamental potentials of any competence or dialogue. When we are engaged in the process of interaction, these values make it possible for us to find respect for each of the participants in this interaction as well as to appreciate their uniqueness and sense. This sense prevents the randomness of transgressive activities and directs these activities into an intentional search, as this sense of meaning pursues planned and often autotelic goals. This is the essence of intercultural forms of dialogue, and these very forms of dialogue can be considered the most creative.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations.

The presentation of the three terms in the article is not homogeneous. Communicative competence is part of a broader notion of cultural competence, but intercultural dialogue is not. This dialogue can – to an extent – be linked to the notion of intercultural competence (which has not been analysed in detail here); not in terms of their overlapping, but in terms of the differing values to which they refer. However, if it is

assumed that the most fundamental challenge today is the social importance of intercultural dialogue in the increasing scale of multiculturalism in modern societies, then the important question arises as to what type of communicative and cultural competences this dialogue inhibits or develops (irrespective of intercultural competence which moderates and describes reality). There is an interesting theoretical and practical way of systematically linking these three terms to a theory which focuses on the developmental dimensions of personality and cultural reality. This theory, as proposed by Kazimierz Dąbrowski, assumes the multi-level development of cultural entities and processes and diagnoses them through a diverse set of indicators derived from many years of psychological, therapeutic, and research practice conducted in the 20th century in both Europe and America in cooperation with the most eminent founders of humanistic psychology with wide horizons of philosophical and social analyses (Dąbrowski, 1985).

According to this theory, the first level, called primary integration, is characterised by efforts to constitute and maintain the fundamental coherence and functional adaptation of outcomes of man's activity. This means efforts focused on the systematic reproduction of behavioural patterns, meanings, and values. In the case of communicative and cultural competences, this means a schematic adherence to codes and the acknowledgement of stereotypical processes of recognising, learning, and realising specific cultural contents. At this level, intercultural dialogue is practically non-existent as it requires reflexivity, self-awareness, and distancing from the individual's canons of mental and cultural reality as well as the power relations and social relationships that maintain them. For the individual, transgressive activities are avoided in the reality of closed, ethnocentric competences subordinated to adaptive needs. In the social dimension, it is a form of activity that preserves all forms of conformism and is prone to the totalitarianism of a limited universe of symbolic culture. In this situation, intercultural relations reproduce conflicts and close channels of communication with different cultures. Intercultural dialogue becomes a dysfunctional form, which can shatter the existing forms of cultural identity treated as a means for protecting borders and conservatively conceived security.

In order to change the well-established forms of petrification and to respond to the developmental needs of contemporary interactions

between cultures, the level of primary integration must undergo serious loosening and even disintegration. Dąbrowski calls this disintegration positive, although its consequences may be destructive in many respects. Viewing the process from a developmental perspective, what becomes important is to look for developmental dynamisms which, if identified early, will make it possible to move swiftly through the painful perturbations of the transition period. This is because communicative and cultural competences are today losing their regulatory functions: they are full of semiotic and axiological ambivalences and, as in the case of the previous level, do not offer prospects for opening up to conscious and intentional forms of cultural interaction, and thus for targeted forms of dialogue. Cultural competence loses the ability to link different forms of cultural participation by atomising systems of attitudes into unrelated, sometimes contradictory, forms of engagement. In this situation, different types of meanings, emotions and values are mixed up, as exemplified by the failure to distinguish between patriotism, nationalism, and chauvinism; wisdom, knowledge, and information; and truth and fiction.

Revealing and animating developmental needs and dynamisms is characteristic of the third level of development of communicative and cultural competence, in which what 'is' is distinguished from what 'could be'. Furthermore, the ability to recognise, learn, and create targeted forms of interaction becomes the conscious and reflexive form of an intentional exchange of meanings and the search for their sense and value. In cultural competences, the inner sources of self-evaluation of the way in which one participates in culture and the internalised forms of existential concerns are revealed. In the broader context of cultural development, the following transformations are activated and begin to play the role of developmental dynamisms:

- activating the capacity to differentiate values and motives for action,
- animating developmental dynamisms: surprise at oneself and one's surroundings, self-concern, feelings of inferiority towards oneself, dissonance of the actual and the attainable self, dissatisfaction with oneself, feelings of shame and guilt, positive maladjustment, working through inner conflicts,
- the need for internally and culturally meaningful contents,
- an increasing vision of the sense of the unfulfilled,

- critical thinking,
- the renaissance of targeted needs for self-reflection and self-evaluation.

In the field of intercultural dialogue, this is a real breakthrough which allows both the individual and the group to perceive their subjectivity and thus their ability to understand the indigenous values of other cultures in relation to their own values. It gives rise to the need to transcend the previous, sometimes hostile, standards or chaos in intercultural relations, to develop a recognisable purpose and strategy, and to build bridges for possible cooperation.

The aim of the next two levels of development, which can be synthetically called advanced developmental needs, is an expressive selection within the found contents and values of one's culture (and other cultures), one's heritage, one's preferences, and one's capacities (Rembierz, 2017). This level reveals subjective tendencies to transform communicative and cultural competences in the following directions:

1. Coexistence and creative interference of many types of competences,
2. Transformation of their previous relations,
3. Overcoming one-sidedness within particular types of competence,
4. Activation of targeted self-transformations.

This level finalises all possibilities not only in terms of the full potential of the logo-creative dynamism of each type of competence, but it fully prepares them for the intercultural dialogue that becomes an opportunity for each.

A comparative analysis of the different concepts at all these levels reveals, first, the significant impact exerted by the nature of communicative and cultural competences on the possibilities of developing intercultural dialogue, and second, the differences in the contents of this impact. On the first two levels, it means the virtual elimination of intercultural dialogue, which has no chance of taking place at the same time as the strong petrification of competences and cultures is happening. The next levels deserve the attention of both researchers and representatives of educational, management, and political practices.

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Intercultural communication and competences

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: The term 'intercultural competences' is defined as an individual's predispositions, abilities, and psychological and socio-cultural skills which allow him to understand, exchange, and transform symbolic content during communication processes in intercultural relations. Intercultural competences are developed through a combination of various factors, including knowledge, experiences, and specific motivations, as well as value systems presented in public discourses. The process of acquiring intercultural competences is intensified through contact with representatives of other cultures and observing their achievements.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: Theoretical and research approaches to intercultural communication draw on the findings of the humanities and social sciences and are also inspired by practice, i.e., by encounters with otherness through conquests, colonisations, and independence movements. The pragmatic nature of communication and intercultural competences also results from direct contact between representatives of different cultures, including merchants, missionaries, politicians, and many others. The intensification of intercultural contacts increased in the 19th and 20th centuries as a result of globalisation and migration.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: It is worth emphasising the rationale for undertaking reflection on communication and intercultural competences, which today appear to be a civilisational imperative that exceeds purely cognitive or practical value. This diversity entails the adoption of different models in approaching the issue.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Nowadays intercultural competences are both an indispensable skill of the individual and a social attitude which allows him to take up challenges and initiate interactions between different cultures in all areas of life in a multicultural society. The development of communicative and intercultural competences of the participants of intercultural interactions does not mean that their individual cultural identities should not be recognised and nurtured.

Keywords: intercultural communication, intercultural studies, social communication, intercultural competences, social competence

Introduction

The starting point for the reflection presented in this article is an assumption that the individual actualises his personal potentials during the processes of socialisation. As a result of socialisation, interaction, and the transmission of patterns, he is capable of adopting, developing, and changing these potentials when in contact with both his own and other cultures. In this way, cultural competence carries the developmental potential of intercultural competences. The difference between these competences lies in the fact that the latter exposes the individual's ability to transform, reconfigure, and transgress previously learned patterns. It should be noted at this point that the concept of intercultural competences was popularised by Noam Chomsky, who defined them as a skill, a predisposition, a creative sensitivity, and the ability to recognise patterns, accompanied by openness, sensitivity, and creativity. A question that springs to mind in this context is: how much of intercultural competences is innate, how much processed, and how much is acquired? It is assumed that direct contact with cultural diversity is a source for the acquisition of intercultural competences, which adjust, modify, and redefine the individual's life orientations. This happens through interactional competence, i.e., the processes of creating and modelling, which are an important feature of intercultural competences that cannot be reduced to the reproduction of a model. Intercultural competences are defined as the individual's psychological and socio-cultural skills built on his particular predispositions and aptitudes, which enable him to recognise, exchange, and redefine the content of both his own culture and foreign cultures through the interaction of communicative processes. The development of intercultural competences is a combination of various factors, including socialisation (especially through contact with different types of cultures), knowledge, motivation, and the content of public discourse. The process of acquiring intercultural competences is intensified and deepened during contact with representatives of other cultures, as well as with their institutionalised heritage, whose meaning, values, and functions are negotiated in these contacts¹.

1 This article is based on a publication by Rafał Wiśniewski (2016).

Definition of term

Intercultural communication: sources and traditions. It should be remembered that intercultural contact with representatives of different cultures, which takes place without intercultural communication – understood as intentional and purposeful interactions – may reinforce prejudices and stereotypes instead of broadening horizons. However, interactions that consciously explore and exchange values in the process of intercultural communication are an intrinsic human experience throughout history. Indeed, by crossing borders people come into contact with other people and their cultures, which enforces various forms of reciprocal learning, interpenetration, and even enrichment. The increased interest in intercultural communication in theoretical reflection and research on the subject has resulted in a variety of concepts and positions. Even without an in-depth analysis of this phenomenon, the interchangeable use of the terms ‘multiculturalism’ or ‘interculturalism’ can easily be noticed. However, the concept of interculturalism means “something more than multiculturalism in the sense of cultural diversity and something more than transculturalism in the sense of crossing borders” (Waldenfels, 2002, p. 117). A similar position is presented by Leszek Korporowicz, who emphasises that

the perspective of interculturalism better reflects and emphasises the *transcultural* character of the processes of reciprocal learning and of the inclusion of other groups in the area of cultural standards and values in a way that excludes coercion and assimilation” (Korporowicz, 1997, p. 69).

For this reason, in this article the concept of intercultural communication will be used as it emphasises the interactional processes of different groups and cultures. This translates into the central issue, namely analysis of the process of developing intercultural competences in a different cultural environment.

Theoretical and research approaches to intercultural communication draw on the findings of the humanities and social sciences: history, archaeology, cultural anthropology, psychology, intercultural pedagogy, cultural studies, the legal sciences, and sociology. From a practical point of view, encounters with otherness through conquests, colonisations, and then independence movements (the macro-structural perspective) were very important. The pragmatic nature of communication and

intercultural competences also resulted from direct contact between representatives of different cultures, including merchants, missionaries, politicians, and many others. The intensification of intercultural contacts increased in the 19th and 20th centuries as a result of various social, economic, and cultural processes. The need to consider other cultures (not only distant and overseas cultures) arose from cooperation and various transfers within heterogeneous societies, because people living within one country had to develop successful mechanisms for coexistence. This aspect was explicitly addressed in anthropological research in an approach termed 'configuralism' or 'psycho-culturalism', developed by, among others, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Ralph Linton, and Margaret Mead. However, this approach suffered from numerous shortcomings, including reductionism which stemmed from social behaviourism. It is assumed that interest in intercultural communication as a scientific discipline dates back to the 1950s, when American researchers Edward T. Hall, Ruth Benedict, and John Useem undertook reflection on effective communication processes between people from different cultures. Since the 1990s, research on intercultural communication in the United States intensified through the work of William B. Gudykunst, Young Yun Kim, Richard L. Wiseman, and many others (Gudykunst, 2002, p. 183). Obviously, processes related to globalisation must not be neglected, which is reflected in various socio-cultural and geographical contexts. Reflection on intercultural communication is undertaken not only in North America but in most of the world's major academic centres.

Analysing a broader perspective on intercultural communication, William B. Gudykunst (2005) observed that researchers of intercultural communication adopt one of three perspectives: 1. they assume that culture and communication are inextricably linked; 2. they describe how communication changes depending on culture; or 3. they study effective communication between people from different cultures. In this context, intercultural communication can be defined as "communication between people from different national cultures, and many scholars limit it to face-to-face communication" (Gudykunst, 2002, p. 179). In the age of information societies, however, this limitation is illegitimate. Both the style and the core of intercultural communication are deeply marked by cultural values and the beliefs of those who communicate. This often happens outside verbal language and challenges both parties: the sender and the receiver

of a message. Furthermore, intercultural communication researchers argue that cultures are not synonymous with geographical boundaries but are based on beliefs and lifestyles. People taking part in communication rely on shared assumptions about what is being communicated, to whom, when, where, and how. When cultural values and beliefs are not shared by both parties, problems with communication and mutual understanding occur (Wederspahn & Sheridan, 2009). Intercultural communication is continuously changing and transforming; through communication, people participate in cultural change, which can complicate its effectiveness but at the same time carries the potential for conflict resolution. Linda Beamer (1992) suggested analysing intercultural communication by focusing on the decoding process and the role of perception; she argued that the way in which a receiver understands signals depends on certain social values that are not directly sent by the sender. However, this approach limits the interactional analysis as it assumes an equivalence between encoding and expressing meanings. Other models take into account the role of the environment as a specific context for communication. Edward Hall emphasised that communication takes place on a continuum between high-context and low-context cultures. In high-context societies, external conditions and internalised cultural values primarily determine the meaning of communication; in low-context cultures, on the other hand, the 'content' of communication disappears from this context and is expressed in its very components: words, data, and materials. According to William B. Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim (1984), a person who takes part in communication and is both an encoder and a decoder of the message is 'surrounded' by four contexts: environmental, cultural, socio-cultural, and psycho-cultural. To sum up, communication is a continuous, ever-changing two-way process situated in a specific context.

Despite the differences between them, scholars agree that intercultural communication is based on interactions between individuals, groups, and even organisations from different backgrounds, each bringing their own system of values and meanings to the process. The communication process itself takes place when each participant shares his resources with others in order for them to understand one another and the world in which they live. On the basis of this assumption, a mathematical model has been developed which demonstrates that the differences between cultures disappear as communication processes

proceed. However, a question that can be posed here is whether this is simply cultural communication without the prefix 'inter' (Kincaid, 1979, p. 31). In other words, intercultural communication:

[...] encompasses the entire area of the broadly understood anthroposphere. On the one hand, the interactional network that constitutes social life enables the transmission of diverse patterns which are realised in all areas of culture, where they restore and consolidate the axiological core that guarantees the cohesion of human societies. On the other hand, however, we should not succumb to the illusion of the permanence and stability of axionormative systems. When analysing symbolic actions, interactions, and cultural practices, it is important to remember that meanings, values, and emotions are linked to power and symbolic politics (Maślanka & Wiśniewski, 2014, p. 6).

Competence. Before turning to intercultural competences, it is necessary to analyse the term 'competence' itself. This term is used in both scientific discourses and everyday language. In the social sciences, it usually means the ability to do something in a satisfactory way; it can also refer more broadly to the sphere of a person's power (Winniczuk, 1994, p. 208). In organisational studies, this term is understood as dispositions "in terms of knowledge, skills, and attitudes that ensure the fulfilment of professional tasks at a level that is effective and/or distinctive in relation to the standards set by an organisation for a particular position" (Król, 2006, p. 82). On the other hand, in studies on human capital in Poland, it is assumed that competence includes "knowledge, skills, and attitudes related to the performance of particular activities, regardless of the mode in which they are acquired and whether they are confirmed in a validation procedure" (Strzebońska & Dobrzyńska, 2011, p. 27). Competence can also be treated as a characteristic feature of an individual that marks membership in a group; alternatively, competence can be treated as a feature that reveals the individual's position on a scale, as it is not the case that one either possesses competence or not – one can be competent to a lesser or greater extent.

Competence can be analysed in static or dynamic terms, which poses a number of problems. In the static approach, it is defined "as the subject's adaptive potential which allows him to adjust his actions to the conditions of the environment" (Zych, 2003, pp. 693–694); in the dynamic approach, it is defined as "the subject's transgressive potential, which allows him to creatively modify the types of actions he generates"

(Zych, 2003, pp. 693–694). It is worth noting that the process of generation itself is not free of competence, thus creative aspects are present in each phase of the process, not merely in the final results. The externalisation of competence means the potentiality of transferring a variety of skills, ranging from acquired experience to knowledge (Borkowski, 2003, p. 107). Among the essential characteristics of competence is their relationship with tasks. Undoubtedly, there are activities that require the involvement of more than one competence. Krzysztof Wielecki emphasises that competence is sometimes defined in the literature as consisting of two types of orientation: psychological, which focuses on individuals, and social, which focuses on social groups.

The fact that the term ‘competence’ is useful in various ways justifies the conclusion that it is one of those categories that are essential in analysing the modern world. This conclusion stems from the premise that various theories of competence can be found in the literature, including Noam Chomsky’s *linguistic competence*, which is not having fully conscious knowledge concerning the use of linguistic rules. The concept of *communicative competence* was proposed by Dell Hymes, who defined it as more than a set of linguistic skills: it is the ability to apply in practice all the rules that are important in symbolic interactions using different communication channels, e.g., space, colours, or sounds, and taking into account their context. Em Griffin quoted William Howell’s position, in which four levels of communicative competence are identified:

1. *Unconscious incompetence*. We misinterpret others’ behaviour and aren’t even aware we’re doing so. Ignorance is bliss.
2. *Conscious incompetence*. We know that we’re misinterpreting others’ behaviour but don’t do anything about it.
3. *Conscious competence*. We think about our communication and continually work at changing what we do in order to become more effective.
4. *Unconscious competence*. We’ve developed our communication skills to the extent that we no longer need to think about how we speak or listen (Griffin, 1997, p. 431–432).

Historical analysis of the term

While analysing contemporary communication and intercultural competences, it is worth referring to earlier studies of sociolinguistic competence conducted by Basil Bernstein, in which he identified both static

(and even excluding) and developmental types of cultural codes. The developmental types point to the functions of transgressive activities which are useful in shaping intercultural communication. Sociolinguistic competence is defined as “the ability to socially influence others through language in order to achieve goals” (Winkler, 2013, p. 145). This competence is an element of cultural competence, understood as “capacities and potentials related to the individual’s presence in the axiological-normative sphere” (Banaszkiewicz, 2012, pp. 56–57). Well-developed and dynamic cultural competence can be regarded as

an attitude that presupposes, on the one hand, a certain relativisation towards our culture, discarding the unfounded certainty that only our patterns of behaviour are appropriate, and becoming aware of their relativity and the specificity of our upbringing; on the other hand – in the case of immigrants – cultural competence can be regarded as the desire to participate in the culture of the host country (Ząbek, 2007, p. 409).

In this sense, cultural competences have a similar function as intercultural competences. Intercultural competences are developed on the basis of the willingness to acquire them, which is shaped in the family home. Irena Parfieniuk defines cultural competence as “an acquired disposition and a component of a particular psychological orientation, i.e., subjective orientation, which fosters a negotiating attitude, strives to broaden the subjectivity of others, and looks for ways of satisfying one’s expectations in such a way that they do not contradict the good of others”. She also emphasises the two-directional holistic relationship between knowledge, communication, and social interaction (Parfieniuk, 1999, p. 101), which is in line with the aforementioned interactivity of communication and cannot be reduced to transmission, influence, or impact. It is worth referring to the position proposed by Leszek Korporowicz, who believes that cultural competence is “the totality of abilities that define the dynamics of the processes of learning, understanding, participating in, and transforming the contents of culture” (Korporowicz, 2011, p. 37).

Discussion of the term

From a developmental perspective, cultural and intercultural competences can be treated as a type of social competence that is understood as

a coherent and functional set (system) of knowledge, experience, personality traits, social abilities, and social skills which enables a person to initiate and develop creative relations and relationships with other people, actively participate in the life of various social groups, satisfactorily perform various social roles, and effectively overcome emerging problems together with others (Borkowski, 2003, p. 108).

Another research problem that affects the interpretation of the analysed types of competences is the existence of a number of other types of competences, e.g., artistic, emotional, organisational, civic, professional, moral, informational, and communicative. Each of these consists of numerous components of intercultural competences.

Generally speaking, communication entails more than a sender merely encoding information and transmitting it verbally or non-verbally to a receiver who decodes it. When communication takes place between individuals from different cultures, information is filtered through culturally diverse systems of values, attitudes, perceptions, and assumptions (Wederspahn & Sheridan, 2009), so it is very easy to misinterpret the message received. In general, people who can communicate effectively across cultures are aware of differences between the individuals involved in intercultural communication and can overcome these differences (Arasaratnam & Doerfel, 2005). Attentive listening and eye contact seem to enhance intercultural communication (Arasaratnam and Doerfel, 2005). In communication accommodation theory, communication is related to an attempt to understand interpersonal interactions by analysing the language, non-verbal behaviour, and pre-language used by individuals in communication processes (Gallois, Giles, Jones, Cargile & Ota, 1995). Individuals employ various strategies to express their preferences, i.e., acceptance or a lack thereof. These strategies include convergence (moving closer to the interlocutor), divergence (moving away from the interlocutor), or keeping a distance (Gallois et al., 1995).

However, despite many developmental similarities, the two types of communication and competence (cultural and intercultural) differ considerably. According to Linda Beamer:

Shaping intercultural communication requires the capacity to appreciate unexpectedly emerging cultural differences and a willingness to accept certain stereotypical characteristics of a given culture. Learning to communicate interculturally therefore implies asking in-depth questions about a culture, the

answers to which will reveal the underlying values and meanings that motivate people to communicate in given situations. It is crucial to develop the ability to analyse communicative behaviour in the context of cultural values. Acquiring intercultural communication competences means being able to generate and respond to communicative information in the same way as in one's own culture, which seems reduced as the term 'inter' loses its meaning. The essence of 'inter-' communication requires skills other than those used within one's own culture (Beamer, 1992, p. 302).

Pawel Boski emphasises the special nature and requirements of a mature, conscious level of intercultural competences; this level is described as a type of creative super-competence expressed

in the capacity to consciously make original transformations that change existing scripts, to introduce new linguistic and behavioural elements, etc. (Boski, 2009, p. 583).

Unfortunately, the very definition of intercultural competences is highly ambiguous, which is particularly problematic when it comes to implementing practical programmes aimed at developing these competences. Generally speaking, contemporary definitions of intercultural competences consist in analysing its various components, i.e., motivation, knowledge, empathy, attitude, behaviour, skills, context, and outcomes (Martin & Nakayama, 2007, pp. 435–445). Simultaneously, attempts are made to identify personality types that enable or hinder the development of intercultural competences. Personality traits, knowledge, disposition, and skills are also analysed, but – as Allison Abbe, Lisa Gulick, and Jeffrey Herman's (2008) argue – it is impossible to compile a definitive list of the traits necessary to develop intercultural competences because researchers focus on different aspects of behaviour and the different outcomes they want to achieve.

There is no consensus on a universal model for the development of (inter)cultural competence, although various models proposed by researchers focus on the same elements: the individual's cognitive development, interpersonal development, and their development related to interactions with people from other cultures. This can be explained by the fact that these models differ at the level of the intention with which they were designed, e.g., whether they were conceptualised in purely academic work (Deardorff, 2006) or whether they were developed for

military purposes (Abbe, Gulick & Herman, 2008). There is a need for, among other things, longitudinal empirical studies into the axiological dimensions of competence, for embedding competence in an integrated vision of personal development, and for linking competence to relations between and the rights of supra-individual subjects, i.e., cultural groups and cultural communities. Although models that measure intercultural competences exist, the methodology of research in this area needs to be developed.

Mere contact with foreign cultures does not constitute a platform for the development of intercultural competences. What is necessary is effective intercultural communication in which participants not only develop a conscious perception of cultural differences but primarily have the intention to transcend them, to adhere to the reciprocity principle, to exchange, and to preserve their own subjectivity. Attentive listening, eye contact, an open attitude and willingness to understand the value system, attitudes, and the world of meanings endorsed by concrete individuals and communities seem to be key factors.

As mentioned above, intercultural competences seem to be a methodological problem that is difficult to define unambiguously. Unsurprisingly, there is no consensus among researchers as to the distinctive features or the possibility of operationalising them, especially given the variety of approaches and positions. Jerzy Nikitorowicz distinguishes between bicultural and multicultural competence, both of which include knowledge about one's group and about direct contact, a positive and active attitude to interaction, approval, a sense of recognition, a sense of security, the ability to communicate linguistically, and the conviction that one functions effectively without having to (as a compromise) give up one's sense of identity (Nikitorowicz, 2005, p. 230). Some researchers have argued that a clearer definition is needed (Kuada, 2004, p. 10); however, a decade later, despite numerous attempts to deconstruct the issue, the concept of intercultural competences is still ambiguous (Holmes & O'Neill, 2012), primarily because cultural competence is considered rather fluid (Abbe et al., 2008), which means that the dynamism of the entire process can change over time, making it even more difficult to analyse cultural competence accurately.

Brian H. Spitzberg and Gabrielle Changnon even argue that, despite the undoubted wealth of conceptualisations of intercultural competences,

many of its definitions focus on the same elements, which can be organised into five groups consisting of the following core components: motivation (affective, emotion), knowledge (cognitive), skills (behaviour, actional), context (situation, environment, culture, relationship, function) and outcomes (perceived appropriateness, perceived effectiveness, satisfaction, understanding, attraction, intimacy, assimilation, task completion) (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009, p. 7). In most cases, these conceptual models differ more in terminology than in substance, i.e., the proposed approaches may actually be identical at the level of semantics, but they appear unique due to the different form of expression used in them.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

Intercultural competences can also be presented as a body of knowledge and skills developed through experience, training, and education, with a focus on the capacity to quickly understand and act effectively in a culture different to one's own (Abbe et al., 2008). This approach to the problem has two important components: the outcome, i.e., effective functioning in a foreign culture, and the individuals' developmental change which allows them to achieve the desired outcome, i.e., developing intercultural competences. However, it should be remembered that this is not the same as learning about another culture as it entails gaining knowledge and developing skills in order to communicate effectively with people from different cultures. There are three elements to functioning effectively in a different culture: personal, professional, and social. The personal element includes psychological and physical adaptation to day-to-day functioning in a different culture; the professional element refers to professional performance and adaptation, and the social element covers effective communication and bonding with individuals from other cultures (Harrison, Chadwick & Scales, 1996). This model focuses on the goal of developing cultural competence, which is to function effectively in a different culture in terms of physical and mental health, professional development, and one's interactions with others. However, it should be noted that cultural adaptation is not intercultural competence; it is not the

capacity to function simultaneously in several cultures, which is a manifestation of multicultural competence. Cultural adaptation does not have to be transgressive; it does not have to negotiate anything; it only has to adapt to different cultures without making any changes in the way they function and in the individual's perception of them.

Intercultural competence consists of four main components: an open, flexible, and creative personality; a high motivation to learn and explore new cultures; region-specific knowledge; and communication skills. The degree to which these characteristics are developed is still a matter of debate. Nevertheless, most researchers agree that these factors form the basis of intercultural competences.

Cultural competence, provided it includes a developmental and transgressive component, is similar to intercultural communication skills. A complete diagnosis of cultural competence must take into account its decidedly anti-developmental types, which are shaped by the codes described in Basil Bernstein's terminology as 'restricted'. It is only by transcending certain barriers that it is possible to discover alternative worlds, to 'put oneself in the shoes' of people who differ from us culturally, and to take up the challenges of intercultural competences.

According to Darla Deardorff (2006, 2009), the acquisition of intercultural competences occurs at two levels: the individual level and the interactional level, each of which is divided into two stages. At the individual level, the first step requires the individual (who is acquiring intercultural competences) to show respect and appreciate other cultures, to be open and have the ability to refrain from judging others, and to have the curiosity to discover the new while tolerating ambiguity. The second step requires that the individual acquires specific knowledge (in a particular field) about and understanding of another culture, which includes cultural self-awareness, deep cultural knowledge, and socio-linguistic awareness. Therefore, in order to acquire these qualities, the individual must be able to listen, observe, evaluate, analyse, and interpret the information received. At the interactional level, the model proposed by Deardorff identifies two types of outcome: external and internal. Possessing the aforementioned characteristics develops adaptability, flexibility, an ethnorelative view, and empathy. Individuals who have reached this level can communicate effectively with people from different cultures and treat them as they themselves would like to be treated. The sum of

the aforementioned attitudes, knowledge, skills, and internal outcomes, which are demonstrated by appropriate communication behaviours and processes, constitute the 'tangible' intercultural competences that others can perceive. Therefore, in Deardorff's definition of intercultural competences based on this model, they are described as an effective and appropriate set of communicative behaviours and processes in intercultural situations (Deardorff, 2006, 2009). Undoubtedly, this model is normative and can indeed be regarded as a postulate and goal of intercultural education, which is often far removed from realities that require a more descriptive and diagnostic approach.

It appears, not without reason, that the strengthening of intercultural competences may be a counterpart to the development of particular components of cultural competence, although these two types of competence cannot be equated. The strengthening of intercultural competences consists in developing one's knowledge about other cultures, developing personality traits that facilitate exposure to other cultures, interacting with different cultures, and appropriately interpreting experiences from these interactions in order to develop one's imagination, readiness to take on challenges, resistance to cultural stress, and prospective motivation. All this leads to the development of communication and intercultural competences. Of course, as Holmes and O'Neill's (2012) findings demonstrate, this process can be associated with negative emotions, i.e., fear, apprehension, a clash with the hard barrier of stereotypes, etc. Nevertheless, the effort is worth making in order to gain entry into the richness and cultural heritage of the contemporary world and to find the developmental dynamics present in it, thus eliminating present and future threats.

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Acculturation

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: The contemporary dynamics of intercultural relations require a far-reaching focus on acculturation, i.e., the cultural and psychological changes that result from these relations. Acculturation is a bilateral (or multilateral) process of cultural exchange involving cultural groups and their individual members. This process can lead to the transformation of various components of culture (ideas, values, customs, etc.). At the socio-psychological level, acculturation primarily concerns identity processes.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: The phenomenon of acculturation gained prominence in colonial times, but it actually dates back to antiquity. Contemporary conceptualisations of acculturation emphasise that it is multifaceted and multilevel in nature as it encompasses intercultural processes, i.e., those happening when at least two cultures come into contact, and thus should be analysed at the level of individuals and ethnocultural collectivities.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: Literature provides a number of theoretical models of acculturation and its stages, with particular emphasis on the intrapsychic processes and contextual factors that affect acculturation and its consequences, including acculturative stress. However, the dominant concepts of acculturation seem limited, which hampers the development of further research.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Conclusions resulting from research findings and recommendations – both theoretical and practical – point to the need to

develop better conceptualisations of acculturation, to use mixed methods of data collection, and to study collectivities rarely researched to date.

Keywords: acculturation, culture, multiculturalism, psychology of acculturation, migration

Definition of the term

The term ‘acculturation’ refers to transformations that occur as a result of intercultural interactions. In some circumstances, acculturation may be associated with unidirectional changes, such as the gradual assimilation in the early 20th century of immigrants into the majority culture in the United States. In reality, these processes are multifaceted and multilateral. The acculturative changes can take place within values, languages, cognitive styles, personality, identity, and behaviour. An oft-quoted and capacious definition of acculturation defines it as “[a] process of cultural and psychological change resulting from contact between cultural groups and their individual members” (Berry, 2004, p. 27). This change can be described qualitatively, with the reference point being various aspects of an individual’s functioning prior to his change of cultural environment. Acculturation is a process often associated with a number of problems, including the physiological and psychological manifestations of stress. Over time, however, both psychological and sociocultural adaptation occurs (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013, p. 124). The former is expressed in terms of well-being, self-esteem, levels of alienation, and emotional states, whereas the latter is manifested in everyday behaviours which are indicative of various levels of effective functioning in a given cultural context.

Acculturation processes take place when one culture influences another, which in the past mostly used to be a one-sided influence, e.g., the influence of Western culture on other cultures that were often considered less developed. However, examples of acculturation date back to ancient times and today are most frequently linked to migration. Thus, acculturation processes are an integral part of multiculturalism and mass population movements (Kwiatkowska, 2019, pp. 89–132), which makes the question of how both newcomers and hosts cope with the resultant cultural changes perhaps the most pressing issue. As Kwiatkowska (2019, p. 90) writes: “[n]egotiating a way of living together in one home is precisely the process of acculturation”. Acculturation is a bilateral (or multilateral) process, as both parties are transformed in the process of intercultural interaction. Researchers are only secondarily interested in studying host societies: they are mostly interested in studying immigrants, primarily the acculturation transformations

of individuals or collectivities that change their place of residence for various reasons. However, it should not be forgotten that acculturation processes involve a variety of groups and include host societies, indigenous peoples, economic migrants, refugees, students who temporarily move to another country, etc. As a result of these processes, various cultural elements are assimilated, but some may also be rejected (Sam, 2006, p. 11). Moreover, it is not always the case that the lower-status or smaller group is the one that will be acculturated as higher-status and larger communities are also affected by such changes (Sam, 2006, p. 15).

Acculturation can also occur without leaving one's place of residence, so emigration is not a prerequisite for it (Boski, 2022, pp. 684–687). Attending an international school, taking a job in a branch of a multinational corporation, and colonial or wartime occupation are all examples of acculturation within one's country of residence. Boski (2022, p. 685) uses terms which can capture their essence, such as 'acculturation without crossing borders' and 'creeping acculturation'. Mere emigration to a culturally different country does not guarantee acculturation, as exemplified by closed communities that communicate inwards or the isolation of well-off expatriates who take up jobs abroad (Boski, 2022, pp. 685–686). Acculturation abroad, perhaps the most typical case, can also take place with different intensities – from minor to immersion, i.e., the intense experience of acquiring a second culture.

Acculturation is sometimes equated with assimilation, particularly in relation to identity processes. Due to some similarities, it is worth distinguishing acculturation from other similar constructs such as adaptation, enculturation, socialisation, and diffusion. In the article, acculturation is treated as different from these constructs.

Historical analysis of the term

The phenomenon of acculturation gained prominence in colonial times (Berry, 2004, p. 28), but its numerous examples date back to antiquity. All the processes associated with globalisation, including the intensification of international migration, seem to have reinforced interest in this phenomenon. From the perspective of the individual, acculturation is

a process linked to attempts to discover one's cultural identity. From the perspective of a group or of society, it concerns relations between various ethno-cultural collectivities, including those that co-create contemporary multicultural societies. Scientific reflection on acculturation should be primarily associated with anthropology (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, 1936), but also with psychology, sociology, and other related scientific disciplines (Kwiatkowska, 2019, pp. 89–132; Boski, 2022, pp. 682–737). The first use of the term 'acculturation' in English dates back to the 1880s and is attributed to James Powell (Sam, 2006, pp. 13, 14), who defined it as "psychological changes induced by cross-cultural imitation" (Sam, 2006, p. 13).

William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's work *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, published in 1918, is considered the first published work on the theory of acculturation and is also the first modern approach to ethnicity (Kwiatkowska, 2019, p. 91). An article written by Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville Herskovits (1936), entitled *Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation*, is the most representative of this early period of scholarly reflection on the issue; its authors recognised the need to define basic terms, to consolidate thinking on the subject, and to continue researching acculturation. This article, which is still a valid research memorandum today, defined acculturation in a way which drew attention to the significance of direct contact between people from different cultures and discussed the changes that take place in both individuals and groups within either one or both affected cultures. Thus, the bidirectional nature of the acculturation process was already being recognised at this early stage. It is worth summarising this memorandum by focusing on selected details and its formative character for further research. The authors distinguished acculturation from cultural changes, assimilation, and diffusion (Redfield et al., 1936, pp. 149, 150). They drew attention to various forms of contact, including those based on the diverse criteria for defining collectivities (e.g., missionaries, pioneers, or immigrants), the level of friendliness or hostility, the size of interacting groups and their cultural complexity, and the nature of cultural flows between groups (e.g., who becomes similar to whom). They also discussed the situation in which acculturation occurs (possible inequalities between interacting groups) and the characteristics of the acculturation process (selection, determinants, and the integration of

traits that are subject to this process) (Redfield et al., 1936, pp. 150, 151), paying particular attention to the psychological mechanisms involved in trait selection and integration (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 152) and the personality processes involved in the acquisition of specific traits. They identified in-group and inter-group processes, including such specific issues as conflict and forgiveness. From a holistic perspective, it can be claimed that the relevance of psychological processes in acculturation has been recognised in scholarly reflection on the issue since the very beginning of the discourse on the subject. This is in line with the contemporary relevance of psychology in the context of this research, which can be considered as interdisciplinary *par excellence*. As far as Redfield's reflections are concerned, it is worth mentioning that he paid a lot of attention to the outcomes of the acculturation process, including acceptance, adaptation, and reaction (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 152). In most cases acceptance leads to assimilation and adaptation to combining new and original cultural elements into a new cultural whole – a mosaic – which can consist of either harmoniously integrated cultural features and practices or of conflicting elements. Reaction, however, leads to either compensatory counter-cultural processes triggered by a sense of inferiority resulting from cultural oppression, or to a return to the pre-acculturation state, which is preferred because of its prestige.

Another important conception of acculturation is the approach represented by Milton Gordon (1964). Its distinguishing features include one-dimensionality, which reduces acculturation to assimilation, i.e., the acquisition of the culture of the country of settlement in place of the culture of the country of origin (however, it should be emphasised here that reducing acculturation to assimilation is today considered misjudged) (Sam, 2006, p. 11), and the fact that it takes place in stages, which assumes transformations from the outer, most superficial spheres (e.g., behavioural changes) to core ones (e.g., changes in values or identity) (Kwiatkowska, 2019, p. 92). More recent approaches to acculturation tend to emphasise its multidimensionality. They assume several layers or levels of variables relevant to the whole process, e.g., at the level of groups and individuals; they investigate processuality, which entails including the aspect of dynamic changes over time in analyses of acculturation (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001; Berry, 2003, 2004; Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010; Boski, 2022).

Contemporary reflection and research into acculturation seems to stem from the popularity of Berry's (2003, 2004) acculturation model and its widespread criticism (Boski, 2022, pp. 696–702; Ward and Geeraert, 2016, p. 98; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010, p. 239; Ward, 2008). In his theory, Berry (2004, p. 29) highlights two levels of acculturation processes: cultural/group and psychological/individual. On the first level, the initial (pre-contact) characteristics of cultures that come into contact should be considered (these characteristics are also the object of analyses). At this level, acculturative changes within cultures should be taken into account because cultures which come into contact with each other and changes occurring on the cultural/group level will affect acculturation changes on the second level, i.e., the psychological/individual level. At the second level, in which psychological acculturation and adaptation take place, researchers study behavioural changes, acculturative stress (psychological acculturation), and changes within psychological and sociocultural adaptation. The initial level of distance (i.e., the level of similarity) between the cultures under consideration are particularly important at the first stage, while, at the second stage, various changes in behaviour that can generate stress of varying intensity lead to changes in the psychological situation of the person. Berry's (2004) theory accounts for at least two more aspects of acculturation: context and strategies of acculturation processes.

Aspects relevant to the socio-political environment (the context of acculturation processes) (Berry, 2004, p. 29, 30) include social attitudes towards people who represent a culture different than the dominant, cultural pluralism, and the social and legal solutions adopted as a response to increasing diversity (e.g., attitudes towards multiculturalism policies). These policies can be ordered from those favouring acculturation to those minimising the chances of positive acculturation, which potentially lead to marginalisation and separation. The presence of various institutions and solutions that provide opportunities and services, e.g., in the labour market, education, health care or opportunities for the self-organisation of representatives of ethno-cultural minorities, seems particularly valid from the perspective of the quality of the acculturation context. Legal and institutional solutions are the domain of the state, although migrants themselves can participate in their establishment and functioning. In discussions on acculturation, it is worth mentioning

discrimination (Schwartz et al., 2010, pp. 241 ff.). The severity of discrimination can depend on the migrant's status (e.g., a high-status professional offering his professional services abroad versus a low-status uneducated war refugee) or origin. Discrimination is linked to problems with adaptation, e.g., chronic health problems, potentially both somatic and psychological, separation from the dominant culture, or reactive ethnicity, i.e., holding even more strongly onto one's cultural heritage and resisting adoption of the receiving culture (Rumbaut, as quoted in Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010, p. 241).

Acculturation strategies concern the actions of individuals, ethnocultural groups, and the host/dominant society (Berry, 2004, pp. 30, 31). These strategies manifest in everyday events related to intercultural relations. Their concrete form depends on the attitude towards the culture of origin and the dominant culture. Berry (2004) lists the strategies used by representatives of the non-dominant group (integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation) and by representatives of the dominant group (multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation, and exclusion). Those from the second group refer to the socio-political activities that result in the processes that take place within non-dominant ethnocultural groups. From the perspective of these collectivities and their individual members, Berry (2004, p. 30) identifies integration (as the search for interactions with the values, customs, and identities of one's original culture as well as with those of the dominant culture); assimilation (as the unwillingness to cultivate one's previous cultural identity and the willingness to interact with other cultures, including the dominant one); separation (as the cultivation of one's original cultural identity and the unwillingness to interact with other cultures); and marginalisation (as a state of potential cultural exclusion, within which one is uninterested or unable to benefit from both the original culture and the majority culture). As Berry (2004, pp. 30, 31) observes, in a situation of voluntary integration – given that it is a two-way process – mutual accommodation takes place. When all communities accept the multicultural composition of the society to which they belong, non-dominant groups adapt to the values of the host society and institutions are transformed to better meet the needs of minorities.

As mentioned above, the critique of Berry's model is multidimensional. For example, some authors argue that assimilation, i.e., acculturative change, which is represented by a shift away from the culture of origin

to the culture of current settlement, seems a gross oversimplification of these processes, and the model itself is not always supported by empirical data (Ward and Geeraert, 2016, p. 98). This is particularly evident from the perspective of the development of modern methods of statistical analysis and new methods of collecting data over time, which include diary studies and identity maps (Ward and Geeraert, 2016, pp. 98–99). In contemporary interpretations of the concept of acculturation, the focus should be placed on individual approaches which enable expression and qualitative research, as well as on acculturation, understood as a process of changes over time. Berry's model, however, does not answer the fundamental question of what the experience of acculturation really is (he does not discuss the acquisition of the other culture). This model only reflects acculturation attitudes, whereas acculturation should be understood primarily as competence in functioning within another culture (Boski, 2022, pp. 693, 696). In fact, the English-language literature is inconsistent here because it does not clarify what the four basic acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation, separation, marginalisation) are. It is also worth remembering that they are used interchangeably with such concepts as orientations, attitudes, strategies, preferences, or modes (Ward, 2008, p. 106). Boski (2022, pp. 696, 697) observes that the concepts used by Berry regarding the strategies and attitudes of ethnocultural groups and the host society are problematic as they do not really capture the core issues; for example, if strategy is a planned action, how can one plan for the assimilation of cultural factors into someone's identity? Other objections to Berry's theory include the ambiguity of particular strategies, the lack of psychological and cultural coherence (such as neglecting those cultural contents that are only potentially important in the groups undergoing acculturation), the low effectiveness in explaining differences between individuals and collectivities, the weakness of measurement tools (e.g., ambiguity or the poor precision of some questions, which makes it difficult or impossible to give a precise answer to them) used to measure acculturation according to the four-strategies model, and failure to take into account the complex nature of integration, which can simultaneously be both harmonious and conflicting.

Academic conceptions of acculturation also include considerations of the outcomes of this process. The solutions they propose seem particularly valuable in understanding the psychological situation of people

experiencing the process of adaptation to new cultural conditions. Among studies dedicated to reactions to acculturative stress, the psychopathology-based approach was once popular (Berry, 2004, pp. 32, 33), which emphasised the prevalence of destructive phenomena related to the failure to cope successfully with adaptation to a new cultural environment, as expressed by the frequently used term 'culture shock' (Ward, Bochner and Furnham, 2001). However, this perspective is inadequate in most situations of acculturative stress, apart from rare cases of strong reactions which result in negative consequences, mainly for tourists or refugees. Traditionally, the following have been associated with culture shock: experiencing strong emotions and accompanying psychosomatic states, e.g., sadness, loneliness, depression, disorientation, feelings of exhaustion, insomnia, and anxiety. Moreover, adaptation does not necessarily imply that the changes are always positive. They do not guarantee, for example, an increase in the degree to which a person has assimilated into his new environment (Berry, 2004, pp. 32, 33). Nevertheless, at least some research findings reveal that those who have integrated are the best adapted to their environment (Berry, 2004, p. 33; Ward, 2008, p. 106; Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013).

Discussion of the term

The cultural changes associated with acculturation, which occurs during circumstances specific to intercultural contact, can be delayed when acculturation takes place over an extended period of time, or they can be reactive when individuals return to their original traditions in opposition to change (Berry, 2004, p. 28). This section focuses on the psychological processes involved in acculturative change. Psychological acculturation can be defined as "a process of cultural and psychological change that results from the continuing contact between people of different cultural backgrounds" (Berry, 2004, p. 27). Thus, the dynamics of change vary and are not necessarily the same at the socio-cultural and individual levels. The same can also be said about the various processes that drive these changes, both at the socio-cultural level and the individual level. These are potentially the most important areas for further theoretical reflection and research into acculturation processes.

The circumstances of intercultural contact are a challenge for all parties involved due to stress, which is sometimes defined as culture shock and considered a burden from the perspective of a person's well-being (Ward & Geeraert, 2016; Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). These negative consequences can be counteracted by positive processes related to coping with a new and unfamiliar social and cultural environment. Coping with stress is the first element of the acculturation process (acculturative stress). The second element involves the acquisition, modification, and change of behaviours, values, and identities (acculturative change) (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). These two elements of the acculturation process unfold in an ecological context (including the family) at the institutional and organisational level (including school and workplace) and at the societal level (Ward & Geeraert, 2016, pp. 100–101). In understanding the acculturation process, it is important to take into consideration cultural distance, i.e., the distance between heritage/home culture and settlement/host culture, and the ecological context, i.e., the wide range of external influences that affect the acculturation process. Cultural distance is “[t]he degree of cultural dissimilarity between two groups, measured by ethnographic indicators, or by an individual's perception of such difference” (Berry, 2004, p. 27). Cultural distance itself can be conceptualised in different ways, including comparisons made by individuals, socially generated knowledge about cultural distance, and objectified knowledge on this phenomenon obtained from surveys, classifications, or the results of scientific studies (Ward & Geeraert, 2016, pp. 99, 100). In Ward and Geeraert's model, acculturation refers to “changes in the individual's ‘cultural patterns’ (i.e., practices, values, and identities)” (Ward & Geeraert, 2016, p. 98), but it does not mention the acculturative change at the group level. Interestingly, “[...]intercultural contact requires the management of acculturative stressors along with the acquisition, maintenance and/or change in heritage and settlement cultural behaviours, values and identities” (Ward & Geeraert, 2016, p. 100). This means that the process model of acculturation takes into account reinterpretations in terms of not only the new culture but also the culture that previously informed a person's behaviours, values, and identity. This set of characteristics definitely goes beyond Berry's model.

The phenomenon of stress requires separate analyses. Acculturative stress, also known as culture shock, is a condition associated

with physiological and psychological changes, usually reflected by a U-shaped curve (Lysgaard, 1955; Oberg, 1960). However, contemporary empirical research indicates that cultural adjustment proceeds differently over time (Demes & Geeraert, 2015). Moreover, although extreme stress is not common, it may result in the early return of sojourners if it does occur. The consequences of an early return will depend, among other things, on the nature of the trip (Demes & Geeraert, 2015, p. 319); for example, for employees of an organisation, returning will result in material loss and may be a burden on their future careers, while in the case of students the costs may be primarily personal or psychological. Various coping strategies are used to cope with acculturative stress, which is treated as a mobilising situation. Refocusing attention on the core problem – as in the case with many other life circumstances – can be more effective than avoidance or emotion-oriented coping (Demes & Geeraert, 2015, pp. 318–319), although other methods can also prove effective. The choice of a particular coping method can depend on, e.g., the time perspective taken (the effectiveness of a particular coping method in the short term versus the long term), membership of a group of people who undergo acculturation, and other individual factors related to personal experiences of acculturation.

A number of conditions that precede cultural adjustment can influence its course. In the case of personality, traits such as a low level of neuroticism or a high level of agreeableness, conscientiousness, openness, and extraversion can be helpful (Demes & Geeraert, 2015, pp. 317–318; Ward & Geeraert, 2016, p. 100). Empathy is also important, mainly because of its links with successful functioning at the interpersonal level; it provides a better understanding of other people's internal states, including the emotions experienced by them. Other factors, mainly intrapersonal, including cultural intelligence and taking the social initiative, contribute to a person's functioning more effectively in a new cultural environment.

A number of consequences of the acculturation process from the perspective of identity changes can be listed. Research so far has primarily focused on the integration processes of bicultural identity, which can take different forms (Boski, 2022, pp. 730–731): (1) a positive perception of biculturalism; (2) functional specialisation; (3) bilingual/bicultural competence and cultural code-switching; (4) the fusion of components; and (5)

the psychological autonomy of both original cultures. Other strategies and possible acculturation outcomes have not been extensively studied so far. The structure of bicultural identity can take on both an integrating (harmonious) and a disintegrating (conflicting) character. This means that the consequences for individuals undergoing identity acculturation are highly diverse. The way in which this diversity is interpreted depends on the social environment and the everyday circumstances in which the individual functions.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

Rapid changes linked with the international movement of people, technological revolutions, border shifts, the expansion of global media, the consumption of cultural products in isolation from their original context, and the marginalisation of many ethno-cultural and religious minorities make scientific reflection on acculturation particularly valuable today. Acculturation is a process of adaptation (adjustment) to a new culture. It has been emphasised more than once that it also a means of distancing oneself from or even abandoning one's previous culture. Today, the view of acculturation is much more nuanced and takes into account such issues as harmonious and conflicting integration within bicultural identity and the implications of acculturation processes in terms of values and language. Researchers take a broader view of the transformations taking place within the various facets of life within groups, e.g., in the context of work, compulsory education, leisure, and family life. Despite at least several decades of intensive research, many specific questions about acculturation have not been answered yet (Ward, 2008, p. 106). Some of them require further developments within the theory of acculturation, while others need improvements in the methods of data collection and analysis. It seems that an over-reliance on the theoretical framework proposed by Berry (2003, 2004) hampers the development of acculturation research and conceptualisation. Accordingly, Ward (2008) proposes paying attention to the following three areas of acculturation theory and research: (1) developing theory and research on ethno-cultural identity conflict; (2) developing a new construct related to the motivation for

ethno-cultural continuity; (3) extending the classification of acculturating groups, incorporating tourists and examining intercultural relations between tourists and hosts. Among these, the first two are particularly noteworthy. The significance of conflicting forms of integration of different cultural orientations within the identities of acculturating individuals introduces a perspective of complexity in the identity processes of immigrants and other non-majority groups (Ward, 2008, pp. 106–109). This is a move beyond the simple distinction reduced to integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation as strategies proposed in Berry's model. It is first and foremost a response to what immigrants themselves say – especially in the context of internal conflicts or peer pressure. The construct of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity can facilitate an understanding of the nature of relations between individuals and groups who undergo acculturation (Ward, 2008, pp. 109–110). It should take into account the time factor – a perspective not of months or years but of decades – of generational transitions, and the impact of the individual on the group, including the consequences of endogamy for maintaining group permanence. This is an approach known from other areas of acculturation research, such as sociology and anthropology. In psychology, which, after all, takes into account typical human psychological variables such as stress, values, and cultural scripts, acculturation theory is a research topic awaiting interest.

Given the number of problems with the conceptualisation and measurement of acculturation according to Berry's model (2003, 2004), empirical research should use other ideas to base its measurement methods on. Alternatively, mixed approaches based on questionnaires, observations, and interviews, including in-depth interviews, should be considered on a case-by-case basis. Although this entails conducting time-consuming analyses, it would potentially be more relevant to the complexity of the acculturation experience. Reflection on acculturative stress requires further empirical input in the form of quantitative studies, including broader consideration of the perspective of representatives of host societies (e.g., fear of strangers). New qualitative approaches which take into account the individual course of acculturation among people from non-dominant cultures might also prove beneficial. Measurement here may concern such aspects of functioning as preferences in language use, language proficiency, the cultivation of traditions,

cultural preferences, and the sense of being accepted by representatives of the majority. In many cases, only indirect measurements have been used so far, e.g., the place of birth of respondents and/or their parents, length of residence, or their place on the immigrant generation ladder. Measurement tools (in the form of survey questionnaires) for acculturation studies often refer to selected ethno-cultural groups. This has potentially higher validity but at the same time limits comparative analyses that could include multiple ethno-cultural groups. In addition, such tools primarily address behavioural aspects such as the effects of acculturation, leaving out many other areas of functioning.

It seems that attention has so far been mainly focused on the acculturation of immigrants. However, they constitute a very heterogeneous collectivity. Much less is known about other acculturating persons, yet the psychological situation of different communities can be very different (Schwartz et al., 2010, p. 238). This is primarily the case for representatives of host societies, but it is also true of other specific groups, e.g., war refugees, climate migrants, asylum seekers, repatriates, indigenous peoples, or migrant school children. Further research on acculturation processes must take into account the situation of groups marginalised due to their small numbers or other factors. In particular, there is a need to reflect on acculturation from the perspective of life-span, and even more so with regard to children, young people and the elderly. Unfortunately, little attention in acculturation research has so far been paid to the process of culture acquisition as such, e.g., socialisation (acquiring culture spontaneously) and intentional learning culture (acquiring culture intentionally by way of instruction) (Boski, 2022, pp. 687–690). Language, symbolic domain, cultural values, scripts, and practices should be mentioned. Alongside intergroup relations, these seem to be research areas with great potential for exploration. Applied research should be more widely used in the case of acculturation with the intention of improving the quality of life of migrants and representatives of majority cultures.

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Humanism as the foundation of the theory of *ius gentium* formulated in Krakow in the 15th century

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: The medieval doctrine of the law of nations (*ius gentium*) is a system of international law formulated in the first half of the 15th century by Polish medieval scholars in Krakow, one of whom was Paweł Włodkowic (Latin: Paulus Vladimiri). This doctrine was based on the humanist principle of respect for the dignity of the human being and the evangelical imperative to love one's neighbour, i.e., every human being.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: The theory of international law (*ius gentium*), which dates back to prehistoric times, has evolved over the centuries and has been subjected to intellectual investigation. It was creatively elaborated on and systematised by scholars from Krakow long before Francisco de Vittoria and Grotius developed their version of this theory, which makes these Poles its forerunners. Examples of its practical application include a dispute between Poles and the Teutonic Order; the meetings of the Council of Constance (1415–1418), and the defence of fundamental human rights and the rights of nations.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: The article presents the Polish socio-political and moral thought which was embedded in European doctrines and was inspired in particular by the ideas of Christian humanism, all of which form the ideological background that influenced the creators of the Polish medieval school of international law and constituted the foundation of their *ius gentium* doctrine.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The article presents the Polish school of international law from the perspective of its defence of fundamental human rights and the values on which Western civilisation is founded, namely freedom, equality and fraternity of all people, tolerance and the subjectivity of nations; this school also provided the foundations for building a collective identity and national community. The article also discusses contemporary ideological determinants and socio-cultural mechanisms related to these values.

Keywords: humanism, human dignity, law, freedom, tolerance

Definition of the term

The medieval doctrine of the law of nations (*ius gentium*) is a system of international law formulated in Krakow in the first half of the 15th century by Polish scholars, including Paweł Włodkowic. This doctrine was developed in the context of the dispute between Poland and the Teutonic Order; the main ideological basis of this doctrine was the humanist principle of respect for the dignity of the human being and the evangelical imperative to love one's neighbour, i.e., every human being.

Historical analysis of the term

In the sense of the practices and customs that regulate relations among peoples, *ius gentium* goes back to prehistoric times. With the development of civilisation and culture, this law was subject to codification and theoretical reworking. The Roman jurist Gaius (2nd century AD) distinguished between *ius civile*, i.e., the law specific to a given nation, and *ius gentium*, i.e., the law established by all people based on the natural reason with which man – free by nature – is endowed. The Greek Stoics distinguished between *ius gentium* and *ius naturale*, i.e., the law of nature understood as universal rules which are immanent in human reason. This understanding of the law of nature was taken up by Cicero and Marcus Aurelius and further developed by Christian thinkers (including Augustine of Hippo, Isidore of Seville, Gratian's Decretum, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas), for whom natural law was sanctioned by God – the creator of nature. Consequently, any human law, including the law of nations, had to conform to the law of nature. In the 14th and 15th centuries, these considerations were continued by Raymond of Penyafort, William of Rennes, Henry of Segusio (Hostiensis), Orlandus de Ponte, Johannes Valentinus Andreae, Joannes de Lignano, Bartolus de Saxoferrato, Baldus de Ubaldis, Giles of Rome, Augustine Triumphus of Ancona, Dante Alighieri, William of Ockham, Marsilius of Padua, John Quidort, Pierre Dubois, and Francesco Zabarella. The Krakow scholar, Paweł Włodkowic, who studied under Zabarella, firmly embedded his doctrine of *ius gentium* in the entire academic tradition,

which he approached approvingly but also critically. He accepted some of its ideas and questioned and then rejected others.

The Polish theory of *ius gentium* is associated with the Krakow school of law which included Stanisław of Skarbimierz (Latin: Stanislaus de Scarbimiria), Paweł Włodkowic (Latin: Paulus Vladimiri), Benedict Hesse, Andrzej Łaskarz (Latin: Andreas Lascarz), and Jakub of Szadek. The Krakow theory was formulated 200 years before Grotius (†1645) developed his thought and over 100 years before the works of thinkers widely regarded as the forerunners of this law were published. These include Niccolò Machiavelli, Francisco de Vitoria, Bartolomé de Las Casas, Pierino Belli, Balthazar Ayala, Jean Bodin, Francisco Suárez, and Alberico Gentili. When de Vitoria (†1546) wrote his lectures on the Spanish conquest of the American Indians (based on the same literature as the scholars from Krakow), he formulated strikingly similar principles. Grotius is considered the founder of the law of nations, even though he stands at the end rather than at the beginning of the first phase of the development of international law, and his thoughts related to international procedures are very immature. The original and innovative theory of *ius gentium* that was pioneered by Polish medieval scholars is still little known, despite the fact that, according to some researchers (e.g., S. Belch & S. Wielgus), it was better elaborated on and closer to perfection from a legal perspective. After the Polish-Teutonic dispute ended, this theory was forgotten and has not been applied in practice since then.

The Polish-Teutonic dispute took place on two fronts: military and ideological. In the latter, the Poles had to face the following problems: to expose the slanders hurled by Teutonic propagandists against King Władysław Jagiełło and the Lithuanians; to prove that the war waged by Poland against the Teutonic Order was a just war; to prove that Teutonic aggression was unlawful and criminal; to prove that it was permissible to enter into military alliances with infidels in defence against this aggression; to prove that pagans are entitled to an independent state and have the right to own property; to prove that peaceful pagans must not be attacked; and to prove that everyone, including infidels, have the right to self-defence when unjustly attacked (Wielgus, 1998, p. 59). This was an ambitious intellectual endeavour that required addressing a wide range of issues, such as the state and authority, law (its origin and types),

man as the subject of rights and duties, and war and peace (militarism, genocide, the 'Prussian heresy', the concept of *civitas maximae*, and the international tribunal). The focus point of the controversy expanded from an international territorial dispute to international case law, then to universal ethical and political principles, until it reached the philosophical and theological area of the concept of God, divine authority over the world and humanity, missionary law, the workings of the human mind in arriving at the objective truth, and the search for objective rules used for judging human behaviours in complex international situations. Thanks to their high scholarly competences, courage, and determination, the Poles fully accomplished their task: they not only defended the Polish *raison d'état* but also fundamental human rights.

The Polish creators of the law of nations based their theory on the concept of natural law and Divine law. Paweł Włodkowic assumed that nature is the source of law as it determines its norms and constitutes its measure. For him this nature was man's nature, his *recta ratio*, understood as principles and norms of behaviour innate to man. He used the concept of permissive law linked with entitlements, i.e., *ius* as opposed to *lex*. Both these types of law come from nature and their purpose is to realise this nature. They are correlated: in order to fulfil a duty (*lex*), I must have the power to perform such actions (*ius* as the capacity to act). *Ius* was understood as subjective law, i.e., it assumed that every human being, whether Christian or not, is a subject of rights and is therefore entitled to 'rights' simply by virtue of being a human being. Thus, law is a means of man's power – *facultas*; this power equips him with other dispositions, e.g., an owner has a right to the thing he owns, which allows him to continue to act and to dispose of these things as he wishes. Włodkowic also used this reasoning when he argued that Lithuanians and Samogitians had a right to their lands, which in turn entitled them to take action to defend them, in this case to resist the armed invasion of their lands by the Teutonic Order (Jasudowicz, 1994–1995, pp. 61–62).

The Polish doctrine of *ius gentium* derives from the concept of a just war (*bellum iustum*) and aims to defend human rights and any civilisation built on the values listed above. The very first considerations in European literature dedicated to the laws of armed conflict were voiced by Stanisław of Skarbimierz in the form of a sermon entitled *De bellis iustis* in around

1410. This author, drawing on earlier sources from theology, philosophy, and law, brought together their reflections on war in a coherent form. Significantly, he emphasised the equality – stemming from the law of nature – of Christians and pagans in matters of peace and war, which was a novelty. He argued that a just war is permissible not only against pagans but also against Christians; that, in a just war, a Catholic ruler is allowed to ally himself with infidels; and that non-Christians also have the right to defend themselves against aggression in order to defend their property, especially their state, which they are entitled to possess.

Referring to, among others, St. Augustine, St. Isidore of Seville, St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Raymond of Penyafort, the scholars from Krakow agreed on five conditions for a just war: 1. Only lay people can engage in military action; 2. It can be waged only to recover illegally seized property or in defence of the homeland; 3. It is a necessary means of restoring peace; 4. Its motive must not be hatred, revenge, or greed, but zeal for God's law, love, and a sense of justice; 5. It should be supported by the authority of the Church, especially when waged in the interests of the faith. To these conditions, they also added their own modifications. Włodkowic supplemented these conditions with his own conditions: a just war requires due recognition and legitimate declaration of its causes. Proof from law or proof from facts must be provided. The mere presumption that a war is just is not enough. This applies to anyone who intends to initiate war, including popes and emperors. The scholars from Krakow consistently emphasised that good faith, honesty, good will, and the pure intentions of the parties involved are necessary in international relations regulated by *ius gentium*. They forbade warfare conducted in an undignified and brutal manner, and thus ruled out wars for loot, power, and other similar benefits (Wielgus, 1998, pp. 89–92).

Viewing the Polish-Teutonic dispute in terms of the clash of two concepts – a just war and a holy war – two fundamental normative orders are pointed out. The first order regulated relations between states within *christianitas*. In this case, two Christian bodies clashed: the Teutonic Order with its 'legal' mission of conversion by the sword in order to gain more lands and power, and the Poles with their legal claims to regain their lands seized by the Teutonic Knights; Christian values were the common ground for both. The second order regulated relations between the Christian world and the world outside it (i.e., the

pagan world), which – as it lacked subjectivity – was merely the object of Christian actions (such as conversion by the sword and the deprivation of lands). The Teutonic Order, wishing to redirect the dispute with Poland towards the relationship between Christians versus pagans, questioned the authenticity of the baptism of the Polish king Władysław Jagiełło and Lithuania. A delegation of Polish jurists skilfully managed to keep the dispute within *christianitas* and fought the Teutonic Knights as equals. The Polish lawyers were at a higher intellectual level than their opponents, easily discrediting their arguments and even managing to portray them as unenlightened ‘barbarians’. The Poles challenged both the above-mentioned normative orders, arguing that treating Christians as the subject of rights and duties and pagans solely as the object of their activities was incompatible with the essence of Christianity. Consequently, in their defence of international justice, their argumentation led to an extremely bold and radical rejection of the previous normative order which was represented by the social strata of the time – the clergy and knights (Rau & Tulejski, 2014, pp. 16–22).

Discussion of the term

Humanistic inspirations. The Polish doctrine of the law of nations, which was systematised by Paweł Włodkowic, reflects the views and atmosphere of the entire scholarly milieu of Krakow in the 15th century. It is characterised by a unique sensitivity to the practical needs of the individual and the community, developed on the basis of ideas and values appreciated in humanism, which primarily addressed the issue of human dignity. The concept of ‘humanism’ has various understandings: for J. Domański (2009, p. 47),

“humanism” is a term and concept with at least two meanings [...]. One has a philosophical grounding and assigns a higher value to the human being than to what is human or is characteristic of man. The other meaning emphasises man’s creativity and products rather than human nature.

The intellectual culture of the Middle Ages, sometimes called ‘medieval humanism’, was a movement grounded in social, educational, and political structures; the institutional elements allowed its ideas to spread

and ensured their cohesion. These elements included: 1) a liberal arts programme (*artes liberales*) in cathedral schools based largely on the classical model; 2) linking intellectual education with an ethical formation, according to the 'literature and morals' principle; and 3) links between a cathedral school education and a career in ecclesiastical or state administration (Jaeger, 2017, p. 83). An example of humanism conceived in this way was the scholarly and formative activity at the 12th-century Parisian School of Saint-Victor, which continued education based on the 'literature and morals' principle and referred to the ancient model of *studia humanitatis*. This practical and pastoral orientation of the writings of the main founders of the school (Hugh and Richard of Saint-Victor) loudly resonated in the works of the 15th-century scholars from Krakow, as their thought was also characterised by an orientation towards practical social and political needs (Bajor & Janecki, 2022, pp. 454–458). Hence, the aforementioned elements of medieval humanism, also categorised as belonging to pre-Renaissance and pre-humanism, such as various phenomena of social and religious life, political and ecclesiastical institutions, laws, and customs, can, by analogy, be found in the activities of the Polish intellectual elites of the Jagiellonian era (Domański, 2011, p. 67).

The strong belief of the Krakow scholars that the university's role was to serve the state is evidenced by, e.g., university speeches, in which universities were presented as the model for an ideal community because they teach good manners, communal life, respect for the common good, and they are a school of civic life. Wisdom, good manners, and virtues, rather than birth, were regarded to be the true expression of nobility. The boundary between the high-born and the low-born was thus blurred, which made everyone equal, as instructed by the rector of the Krakow University, Stanisław of Skarbimierz. In his speech delivered on the occasion of the doctoral promotion of Paweł Włodkowic, he referred to Hugh of Saint-Victor's concept of wisdom with the following words: "A man is not made perfect by knowledge of the truth if this is not followed by moral perfection. He who has best grasped the truth has learned it not only by listening but by his own trials and actions" (Stanisław of Skarbimierz, 1997, p. 183).

The elements of medieval humanism can be found in the philosophical culture of the Jagiellonian era, which is termed Krakow's practicalism

and utilitarianism. This culture was based on a system of values which were, to some extent, convergent with Italian humanism (Domański, 2011, pp. 82–83). The views of scholars from Krakow reveal that they were inspired by the works of European masters of the 12th century Renaissance, who extensively analysed human dignity (Czerkowski, 1991, p. 35). As was typical in humanism, the intellectuals from Krakow did not restrict their activity to the academic milieu but cooperated with monarchs in the process of building the state, especially through the intellectual and moral formation of future state officials and elites; this was also fulfilled through their involvement in the pastoral care of students at Krakow University and the pursuit of the missionary goals set out by the Polish king for Lithuania, which had been baptised and united with Poland. This attitude corresponds to the ideal of a 'Christian politician and statesman' (Jaeger 2017, pp. 100–101), while the combination of politics and teaching aimed at service to society is called 'civic humanism' (Domański, 2011, pp. 37, 73). Civic humanism is an attitude close to the humanist idea of the comprehensive development of man in the perspective of his double activity – interioristic and exterioristic – expressed in the paradigm of *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa*. This attitude is also reflected in a literary testimony associated with Krakow: the treatise *De vita contemplativa et activa*, written by Henricus Bitterfeld de Brega and dedicated to Jadwiga, who was the King of Poland. The title of this work is a reference to the motto of this Polish monarch, which is symbolised by two intertwined M letters (which stand for Mary and Martha).

Scholars from Krakow took a special interest in Aristotle's practical philosophy, which they applied in their work for the state. In their commentaries on Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Economics*, and *Politics*, the scholars emphasised exceptionally high moral standards, which at times differed from their Western counterparts. The basis of the political and social thought of these Christian Polish scholars was the wellbeing of man as a person (in the first place in the hierarchy of values) and the common good, i.e., Poland, for which, if necessary, one must even give one's life (in the second place in the hierarchy). They also stressed the principles of freedom and equality within political authority. Wawrzyniec of Racibórz said: "not only freedom but also equality, which both stem from nature, are the basis of political power and establish the relations

between those who are equal with others who are also equal" (Manuscript BJ 675, p. 119). Stanisław of Skarbimierz argued that "if someone lives only for himself, he practically does not live, and whoever does not live for someone, does not live for himself either" (Stanisław of Skarbimierz, 1997, pp. 161, 171). The exceptional moral sensitivity of the Polish authors is evident in their commentaries on slavery, as they were the only ones to attempt to explain this phenomenon. They were also interested in marriage in this context, and they acknowledged the natural equality between men and women, which was not mentioned elsewhere. Paweł of Worczyn, a lecturer on Aristotelian economics, addressed the issue of marital love; he gave it a profoundly evangelical meaning in his pronouncement that the highest expression of a husband's love for his wife is to give his life in her defence (Czartoryski, 1963, pp. 91, 96).

The creators of the Polish school of the law of nations based their considerations on Christian anthropology, which strongly emphasises the dignity of the person and his freedom. They derived these values from the fact that God created man in His image and likeness. Reason, freedom, and the purposefulness of his action allow man to attain his full perfection, which is left to his free will. Based on the Augustinian vision of man, Paweł Włodkowic strongly emphasised that man's freedom of choice is both a great gift and a difficult task, connected with responsibility for himself and for the entire world entrusted to his care. Man's reason cooperates with his will and conscience, therefore man is able to comprehend the metaphysical order, his place in it, his nature, and the moral norms derived from it. According to Włodkowic, the norms given to man by God are simple and easy to recognise, hence not knowing them is not an excuse but an accusation (Wielgus, 1998, pp. 87–88).

Contemporary researchers argue that the exterioristic practicism of the Polish authors of *ius gentium* differs from the European political practicism of the Machiavellian type. The practicism of the Krakow scholars was unique because – unlike its European counterpart – it preserved the unity of ethics and *praxis*. Practical wisdom, rather than public interest, was the ultimate point of reference in the implementation of politics in the legal-philosophical argumentations of the Krakow scholars. This is evident in the writings of Stanisław of Skarbimierz, who placed wisdom above the power of arms and advocated that the imperative to love one's neighbour should guide the law. He treated man as

“the worthiest of all creatures in the world” (Stanisław of Skarbimierz, 1997, pp. 1251–27).

The main pillars of Włodkowic’s doctrine of the law of nations were human dignity and the evangelical imperative to love one’s neighbour. Thus, it is legitimate to speak here of Christian humanism. Its uniqueness stems from the Christian teaching that others should not only not be harmed (Hindu beliefs), but more than that, they should be helped. A civilisation based on Christianity is unique in the fundamental humanist principles it upholds; no other civilisation is guided by ethics of this kind. In his legal reflections, Włodkowic posed a fundamental question: who is my neighbour? He answered that it is every man, not only Christians. The politics of the Teutonic Order clearly contradicted the Christian imperative to love one’s neighbour. In the opinion of the Krakow scholars, love understood in this way was also a political virtue as it is reflected in the relations between an individual and a community. A high level of social culture characterised the educational programme of the School of Saint-Victor, with which the Krakow scholars were familiar. This programme was based on the rule of St. Augustine, who valued harmony and the brotherly love of kindness, benevolence, and humanity above all. The humanists from the 12th century considered the Christian sense of love to be the most ecstatic and understood it in terms of the gift of oneself. For them, love was realised in a person’s vocation and in his relations with others. Hence, such humanism is sometimes called ‘political’ humanism, which was reflected in the document of the Pact of Horodło:

It is known to all that he will not attain to salvation who is not sustained by the mystery of love (*mysterium caritatis*), which does nothing wrong, radiates goodness, reconciles those in discord, unites those who quarrel, dissipates hatred, puts an end to anger, furnishes to all the food of peace, [...] injures no one, delights in all things; he who takes refuge in its arms will find safety, and thenceforth, even though insulted, will have no need to fear. Through love laws are established, kingdoms are ruled, cities are set in order [...]; among all the virtues it is the most to be commended, and if anyone shall hold it in contempt he will deprive himself of everything good (as quoted in Nowak, 2017, p. 284 [trans. Paul Super]).

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

Human rights. The system of international law created by Paweł Włodkowic and other Polish medieval scholars defends those eternal human rights that are fundamental and form the foundations of this system: the right of nations and individuals to life and its protection, to freedom, property, and to a fair trial (Ehrlich, 1968, pp. LVI–LVII). Włodkowic observed that rights were not ends in themselves but only a means to the end of man's self-realisation, in both personal and communal dimensions. Self-realisation consists in the pursuit of goodness and moral perfection. Hence, man not only has rights but also duties: towards himself and towards his neighbours. The former consist in the comprehensive development of his personality, which should lead to correcting his mistakes and weaknesses, while the latter are primarily based on the imperative to love one's neighbour, which refers to all humans as we all share one common nature. Thus, one's duty towards one's national community as well as towards the human community as a whole were considered very important (Wielgus, 1998, p. 89).

The right to life and self-defence. Referring to natural law and to the Decalogue, Paweł Włodkowic stated that recognition of life as a fundamental value that requires respect and protection must be the foundation of all law. He also considered invalid and non-binding any laws that lead to the killing of innocent people. In addition to the prohibition of killing, the right to life also entails the prohibition of violence, rape, pillage, cruelty, and, further, the right to have basic needs satisfied and the right to security. It follows that Christians may ask infidels for their armed assistance, as guaranteed by the permissive right to self-defence and to act within their entitlements.

The Poles who were present at the Council of Constance were the first in Europe to condemn the genocide that they and other neighbouring nations experienced from the Teutonic Order. They opposed John of Falkenberg's extreme calls for the extermination of the Polish population. Włodkowic, who opposed the papal and imperial bulls that authorised the policy of exterminating infidels, distinguished two different matters in these documents: the matter of faith as an end and the matter of

war and the occupation of territories, invasion, and the subjugation of infidels as means to an end. Włodkowic argued that these matters must be considered separately. The first matter concerns faith; it belongs to theology and can be summarised as the role played by love. The second matter concerns the means; it belongs to moral and legal spheres and can be summarised as justice. In the eyes of the law, these means are unjust because the Christian religion cannot be propagated by means of an unjust war and the occupation of lands.

The Krakow creators of the Polish doctrine of *ius gentium* deserve praise for disseminating and defending the thesis that the tenets of the Christian faith do not permit war in any circumstances and cannot be used to promote it, and that those who despise other nations and seek to subjugate them must be opposed (Wielgus, 1998, p. 89). Włodkowic rejected Henry of Segusio's calls for a war against infidels when he quoted Augustine's sanctioning the use of force to attain salvation based on the words of the Gospel "compel them to come in" (Rau and Tulejski, 2014, p. 33). He vehemently condemned the crimes of the Teutonic Order and their meanness and hypocrisy when they called upon the entire Christian world to assist them. He thus disagreed with the Pope's right to sanction unjust aggression against pagans and rejected the Emperor's quest to rule over the Christian world. The Polish scholar formulated these revolutionary conclusions by himself and did not refer to any authority, for there was no support (Bełch, 1965, p. 235). Defending the right to the sovereignty of nations, he called for the prosecution and punishment of the crime of genocide at the international legal level, which made him the forerunner of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted on the eve of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The right to freedom and tolerance. Włodkowic regarded freedom as a primary category that is vested in man by nature, hence serfdom and slavery, introduced by people, are unnatural. In order to demonstrate the illegality of the armed Teutonic mission against Poland and Lithuania, he referred to the teachings of the Church, which proclaimed the principle of the freedom of religion and thus prohibited the enforced imposition of faith by means of war. An obvious consequence of this theological principle that is based on the act of free will is the idea

of religious tolerance (Bełch, 1965, pp. 428–429), which undermined the early-Renaissance principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*.

By referring to the commandment: 'You shall not bear false witness against your neighbour', Włodkowic also saw man's freedom in the freedom of thought and speech. He himself exercised this right when he boldly proclaimed, in front of the broad forum of the Council, truths that were unpopular and painful for many of the world's most powerful men, for which he was severely attacked and accused of speaking against the faith and against the authority of the Pope and the King of Rome. While defying the highest political and academic authorities, he courageously defended the weak and excluded minorities. He pointed to the abuse of the freedom of speech by the Teutonic Order, who slandered the Polish king and the Poles.

Włodkowic strongly emphasised and defended the ideal of religious tolerance. As a Christian, he divined the principle of the dignity of every human being and, consequently, the duty to love one's neighbour in the Christian religion (Ehrlich, 1968, p. XLII). This formed the basis for his strong opposition to the use of violence in converting pagans to Catholicism and thus he advocated religious freedom. In his opinion, this freedom is based not only on the theological notion of religious tolerance but is also guaranteed by the legal order (which is also binding to the pope), built on divine rights and 'the rights of human community'. Hence, the state should ensure tolerance for its citizens, which entails protecting infidels, especially Jews and Saracens, who live in a given state, provided they are good and peaceful citizens. Conversion should be done by word, example, and prayer, but primarily by love (Jasudowicz, 1994–1995, pp. 53–54). For Włodkowic, the right to freedom also meant the freedom to choose one's place of residence irrespective of one's religion or nationality, and, consequently, banned expelling foreigners and confiscating their property for ideological or religious reasons. He also advocated the right of every person to associate in both natural communities (nations, cities, villages) and artificial ones (orders, brotherhoods, etc.).

Freedom of nations. According to Włodkowic, the law of nations based on the idea of freedom does not legitimise the existence of a single empire which would encompass all of mankind. Such an empire

would deny man's freedom of choice, his self-determination in relation to himself, and his membership in a state created by the consent of its inhabitants. Divine law belongs to a different order and does not invalidate natural law. Nor is there any justification for an enforced imposition of the beliefs of one state onto other states, regardless of the values that would be transmitted by this means – even eternal salvation. No community has the right to impose values on those who are not prepared to accept them voluntarily. In the city of Constance, Germany, Paweł Włodkowic expressed the bold thesis that pagans had the right to have their own states with independent rulers as well as the right to defend their state on an equal footing with Christians. The earliest division of property was made under the law of nations, which could not be broken, even by popes and emperors, contrary to the false theory that the coming of Christ changed this and invalidated pagans' proprietary rights. Włodkowic argued that unjustly seized property is subject to restitution; this obligation is not subject to the statute of limitations and cannot be excused by claiming ignorance. The originality of the Polish scholars' position lay in the postulate to limit the pope's and emperor's power and authority over pagans as their relations with pagans are subject to the norms of natural law, which does not distinguish between believers and non-believers. His proposals of new principles that should guide international relations also included the creation of an international tribunal whose members, i.e., sovereigns (including non-Christian sovereigns), would oversee security and justice between nations (Wielgus, 1998, pp. 98–99). Analogies with the current international situation immediately spring to mind.

The words of John Paul II "from the Union of Lublin to the European Union" prove Poland to be the forerunner of the democratic coexistence of nations. The system of international law developed by the Krakow scholars was the foundation for establishing and defending the union of the Polish Kingdom with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which was a multinational community of principalities and regions; it guaranteed autonomy to peoples regardless of language, religion, and culture. The history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth demonstrates the significance of higher values that can serve as foundations for building long-lasting structures and alliances. For centuries, Poland was a tolerant, democratic country that respected freedom of religion and the

freedom of national minorities. Both political practice and the unique community of Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Germans, Armenians, and Jews who, fleeing persecution in the West, arrived in Poland in great number, as well as the doctrine of the law of nations based on Christian values, were an outright rejection of all despotism and set the path towards modern democracy (Bełch, 1965, p. 99).

The modern world, which is marked by bloody ethnic conflicts, mass migration, globalism (which violates the rights of individuals and nations), totalitarianism and weapons of mass destruction, the devastation of the natural environment, etc. needs adequate tools to solve its enormous problems. Following Aristotle's statement that there is nothing more practical than a good theory, it can be claimed that the doctrine of the law of nations formulated in Krakow in the 15th century, which implicitly contains a whole range of effective ideas, is exactly this. The city of Constance could and should become the symbol of the redoubt from which the Poles fought a victorious battle for the most fundamental values cherished in today's world: freedom, equality, dignity, and the subjectivity of the individual person and of entire nations. These values, as John Paul II teaches, are not given once and for all but are given to man as his task and require being defended at all times. All participants of the present social and media discourse refer to 'European values' but they rarely define them, hence the fundamental questions: What are these values? Who is to define or discover them? Who should sanction them?

The Polish theory of *ius gentium*, based on philosophical principles, valid in the here and now, is worth reviving – not in order to recreate the socio-political structures of the past, but to draw on the original sources of righteous thinking. At the core of medieval philosophy is a peculiar dialectic of natural human reason enlightened by divine revelation, which meant that faith was an extension of the previous cognitive spectrum that strengthened and enlightened the natural powers of human reason. Jean Buridan, from the *atrium* faculty of the University in Paris, treated theological theses as new hypotheses which allowed human reason to transcend the theses of natural philosophy and to liberate speculation, i.e., to open it up to the discovery of new areas of possibility. In this perspective, faith becomes a tool for transcending the limits of human reason. This perspective introduces a new anthropology – a personal

ontology – with the concept of the individual person, his freedom, and the resulting dignity of the human person. This is the foundation of the unique nature of the medieval doctrine of the law of nations, which is firmly based on both the law of nature and divine law. Today, both these laws have been undermined and relativized, rejected, or even fought against. How, then, is it possible, in the context of a civilisation that rejects the Transcendent, to defend human dignity and rights without the support that Christian thinkers found in the natural law sanctioned by the supreme authority, i.e., God? Is the modern theory of unlimited freedom – separated from the sacrum and the truth about man – not a threat to the Euro-Atlantic civilisation created out of Christian values and based on Greek, Roman, Arab, and Jewish culture?

In the historiosophical explanation of these mechanisms, it is worth asking which ideas allowed the medieval elites of the Christian world (including the pope and the emperor) to deprive all those who were outside its borders of their rights and to justify the conversion of pagans by force? What led to the Polish scholars transcending the mental horizons of these authorities and opposing them, despite the fact that both belonged to one civilizational and cultural *universum* called *christianitas*? Today we face a similar phenomenon. In the current debate taking place in the European forum, attempts are made to define who deserves to be called a 'democrat' and a 'true European' and who, like the former 'infidel', is to be placed outside the 'democratic' world. What is it nowadays that decides that some people belong to this elite and, from their privileged position, are able to deny others this membership?

Without a system of objective values, it is difficult to provide an answer to the above questions, as there is no criterion for distinguishing truth from falsehood, good from evil. In today's postmodern reality of deconstruction and relativism, man rejects acknowledged truths, unreflectively succumbs to falsely conceived freedom, detaches himself from his cultural roots, loses the foundations of his development, and strays in spiritual emptiness. Without spiritual roots, without being anchored in a hierarchy of values, without a cultural identity, man succumbs to manipulation and becomes a mere puppet tossed about by various winds of propaganda and ideology. The French philosopher Gabriel Marcel sees the way out of this crisis in man's waking up from his spiritual slumber and in the rationalisation of human existence. No one

invokes and defends human reason as consistently and systemically as Christianity. Because reason and the freedom associated with it are the *sine qua non* of stable morality, there can be no justice or accountability for actions without them. Confirmation of these truths can be found in the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, who argues that human life loses its meaning without these ideas, which is why he based his morality on the postulates of practical reason: man's freedom, the immortality of the human soul, and the existence of a God who, as the guarantor of justice, will hold everyone accountable in the final judgment.

Can the modern age be reborn based on the spiritual treasures of past ages? Taking the medieval theory of the law of nations as an example, one might have doubts: these treasures were created centuries ago, and the myth of the 'dark' Middle Ages perpetuated in popular discourse contradicts this. Today's opinion-forming elites (teachers, journalists, and politicians), irrespective of their political or philosophical opinions, unreflectively attach the label of the '*dark*' Middle Ages to any negative assessment of a given phenomenon. John Paul II (2005, pp. 101–102) pointed to this 'cultural drama', i.e., the Enlightenment claim that liberty, equality, fraternity – which do stem from the Gospel and belong to its essence – have nothing to do with Christianity. The hostility and opposition towards everything represented by Christian culture – that is, discipline, order, and hierarchy – continues today in the form of the cultural revolution which broke out in 1968, the aim of which is the 'liberation' of man from 'oppressive' traditional structures and values. The analogies that come to mind today are between the disintegration of the Roman empire and the contemporary postmodern era, described as the era of the exhaustion of the creative possibilities of European culture. This poses the following question: Will a force capable of creating a new cultural quality conducive to the holistic development of man emerge from the crucible of contemporary civilisational chaos and cultural disorder, as happened in the past after centuries of decline, after wars and the migrations of peoples?

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Culture wars

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: The term ‘culture wars’ refers to the peaceful clash between polarised groups within a national culture. Competing groups invoke different sets of values which underlie particular solutions in social policy.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: The term ‘culture wars’ was introduced into the public debate in 1991 by James Davison Hunter and popularised a year later by the politician Patrick Buchanan, who, at the Republican National Convention, made the claim that culture wars were “a war for the soul of America”.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: The essence of culture wars can be understood only by applying an interdisciplinary approach to the issue. As they entail conflict between two fundamental visions of the world order – conservative and liberal-left – the clash between these worldviews is a struggle not only for political and social order but also for a system of fundamental values. It is thus essentially a civilizational dispute.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Despite the inconclusive nature of moral disputes, this conflict can be mitigated. It is important to make an effort to understand the position of one’s adversaries, to notice the weakness of one’s own position, to reduce the radicalisation of the language used in the dispute, and to continuously negotiate shared meanings.

Keywords: value conflict, ethics, morality, family, nation

Definition of the term

The phenomena collectively termed 'culture wars' refer to conflicts between polarised social groups that occur within a national culture. The aim of these non-military battles is to gain domination in the realm of values, social beliefs, and the cultural practices linked to them. A value is a quality that makes us treat something as an important part of our reality. It is a local directive for action (Markowski, 2019, 362). Social beliefs derive from the acceptance of a particular set of axiological beliefs which are affirmed in a given community.

The dispute between conservatives and liberals represents two conflicting dominant worldviews and is the axis of modern culture wars. This conflict is primarily about a value system, i.e., whether this system will refer to God, the family, the nation, or whether it will treat man as sovereign and grant him absolute freedom, through which a new 'secular religion' will be created. It is a clash between two visions of the world: the traditional and the liberal. The first vision is based on the model of nation-states and a system of values rooted in Christian ethics. The second vision is a model based on an atomised society, in which individualism and the absolute freedom of man are the basic values. In these visions, different definitions and models clash: patriotism, nation, homeland, society, family, freedom, truth, Church, and religion. Liberal secular reason and the conservative religious tradition are values that come from two distinct ways of thinking that are 'sustained by incommensurable first principles' (Bloom, 2012; Fish, 1994; Lakoff, 2017). The culture dispute is thus about the clash between two ways of thinking about values: the universalist approach and the relativising approach.

The term 'culture wars' usually refers to issues about which there is general social disagreement and a polarisation of societal values. These include such contentious points as, e.g., the legality of abortion, euthanasia, homosexual relationships, the rights of transgender people, pornography, gun ownership, the tightening of laws protecting the environment, and other cultural conflicts based on values, morals, and lifestyles which are the sources of political divisions. Every culture war is fought on a clash of incommensurable values based on the assumption that truth must always be on someone's side (Markowski, 2019, p. 80).

The normative-axiological conflict that is present in post-traditional societies permeates all spheres of private and public life. The struggle concerns human life in general, family values, feminism, minority rights, attitudes to emigration, racism, xenophobia, personal security, the limits of state interference into privacy, the war on terror, the separation of church and state, religious freedom, the limits of secularisation, sex education, attitudes to the heritage of counterculture, the role of the media, and transhumanism (Burszta, 2008). Such a broadly defined scope of conflict reveals that virtually anything can trigger conflict, as long as a particular issue can be linked to the system of 'moral reasoning' (Hunter, 1991), which is always about cultural ideology and values, i.e., those issues that are defined as 'moral'. Therefore, a middle ground cannot be adopted in culture wars.

Culture wars occur in many national cultures. Leaving aside a broad historical outline, the following examples of this phenomenon from the 20th century can be listed: the westernization and secularisation of Iran during the reign of the Pahlavi dynasty and the subsequent revolution in 1978, which ended with Ayatollah Khomeini taking power; the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China initiated in 1966, and the attempts at occidentalisation in some Arab countries. Thus, from this broader perspective, the term 'culture wars' should be considered in a global context. From a narrower perspective, it refers to socio-cultural transformations in the USA which entail polarisation, i.e., a situation in which supporters of differing political views contradict each other in interpreting the available data because of their own beliefs and party affiliations (Sunstein, 2009).

Historical analysis of the term

From an etymological perspective, the term 'culture war' is a calque translation of the German word *Kulturkampf* (*culture struggle*), which denoted the policy and ideological struggle waged between 1871 and 1878 in the German Empire on the initiative of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck and the liberals who supported his rule against the Catholic opposition. Because Protestantism was the (informal) state religion, Bismarck saw the incorporation of the southern German Catholic states

into the Empire as a source of potential destabilisation. The Catholics, who were subject to a foreign authority (the papacy), were accused of lacking German patriotism. The term *Kulturkampf* is considered to have been coined by a German scientist and liberal politician, Rudolf Virchow, who used it during a speech to the Prussian parliament in 1873. The *Kulturkampf* consisted of laws aimed at limiting the Vatican's influence (especially in the field of education), subordinating the Roman Catholic Church to the state, and preserving the 'purity' of German culture. After the suppression of the Jesuits, the Pope broke off diplomatic relations with Germany (Krasuski, 2009, p. 107).



Fig. 1. The *Kulturkampf* caricature entitled *Between Berlin and Rome* from "Kladderadatsch", 16 May 1875. The pope says: "The last move was certainly very unpleasant for me; but that doesn't yet mean the game is lost. I have one more very fine move up my sleeve!" Otto von Bismarck responds: "It will also be the last, and then you are mated in a few moves – at least for Germany". Public domain.

Should the beginning of culture wars in our civilisation be attributed to Bismarck's time? Not necessarily, as similar processes had been taking place earlier. Indicating their origins depends on which chronological perspective is adopted; if we assume the broadest possible perspective, the first signs of culture wars can be traced back to the Renaissance and

the departure from a theocentric worldview, which triggered changes leading to the spread of anthropocentrism. If we focus on recent history, these culture wars in their modern sense began with the moral and cultural revolutions in Western Europe and North America in the late 1960s (Halkiewicz-Sojak, 2021).

Culture wars are a product of modernity. In the Renaissance, a clear symptom of the emerging conflict was the liberation of politics from the moral criterion expressed by Niccolò Machiavelli's maxim: "the end justifies the means". The anthropocentric perspective was linked to the idea of progress and the belief in the unlimited possibilities of reason, thanks to which the scope of man's liberty would expand. The realisation of these expectations was later heralded by the works of Voltaire, Denis Diderot, and the French 'encyclopaedists'. The final period of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution of 1789 were followed by terror and chaos, brought under control by the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte. All this changed the political and cultural situation: God was dethroned, man was recognised as the creator of laws and moral rules, and social contracts were heralded as providing a better world order than the *christianitas* model.

The 20th century inherited this axiological crisis together with a range of conceptions of man that increasingly questioned the objective status of values that transcend human will. Historiosophical catastrophism appeared after the First World War and is best exemplified by Oswald Spengler's book *The Decline of the West* (published in the period 1918–1922) and the heated discussion that followed its publication.

In 1927, Julien Benda's work *The Treason of the Intellectuals* [*La Trahison des clercs*; literally 'treason or betrayal of the clerks'] was the first to argue that "the notion that political warfare involves a war of cultures is entirely an invention of modern times". By clerks, Benda meant enlightened intellectuals and artists who were interested only in searching for the truth rather than in changing the world. The 20th century saw the treason of the clerics, who chose to become politically involved in the name of national interests (Benda, 2017). Benda observed that "the will to group is one of the most profound characteristics of the modern world", and that condensed "political passions", mainly nationalism, are the glue of these groups. As a result, the 20th century became the

century of “the intellectual organisation of political hatreds” (Markowski, 2019, pp. 89–90).

In summary, for millennia, people lived mostly in communities which were characterised by a high level of cognitive and normative consensus. This meant almost universal agreement on worldviews and behaviours governed by generally accepted norms. Behaviours that challenged collectively shared opinions about reality were rare, and the need to conform outweighed the freedom of having a choice. The situation began to change dramatically in the advanced stages of modernity. Modernisation greatly increased man’s freedom of choice, especially with regard to gender roles. A modern person is usually able to choose a marriage system, and they can decide how many children they have and how they are brought up (Berger, 2010, p. 11).

In 1940, the German philosopher and anthropologist Arnold Gehlen wrote that identity is planned in much of the developed world. He observed that every society allows its members to make certain choices, while it is taken for granted that other activities are treated as obligatory. Gehlen called these permitted choices ‘the foreground’ and the sphere of life in which free choice is not allowed is ‘the background’ (Gehlen, 2017). From an anthropological point of view, both are necessary. If only the first existed, society would become a group of chaotically behaving individuals who could not establish common norms of thinking and behaving. If only the second existed, society would resemble an automated computer program. The permanence of cultural patterns of behaviour is guarded by institutions (Gehlen, 2001, pp. 113–114). However, the more choices there are, the weaker the regulatory power of institutions over potential subjective decisions.

Consequently, we can speak today of permanent reflexivity. Various think-tanks in the education system and the media ask the same questions regarding the individual and society as a whole: *who are we?* and *how should we live our lives?* (Berger and Zijderveld, 2009). On the one hand, we are living in an age devoid of unquestionable authorities and, on the other, the number of sources that pretend to be authorities is increasing (Burszta, 2013). According to Gehlen, we mostly live in the foreground of culture.

The contemporary culture wars largely reflect the above problem. Fundamentalist attitudes are born when the obviousness of tradition – and,

at the same time, the background of culture – is questioned (Burszta, 2013). A traditionalist can afford to be tolerant of those who are different, whereas a fundamentalist feels cornered by subversive lifestyles and believes that relativists should be converted in the name of the protection of tradition (Berger and Zijderveld, 2009). As a result, the most tragic outcome of contemporary culture wars is terrorism. The European Commission defines terrorism as

intentional acts [...] when and insofar as committed with a specific terrorist aim, namely to seriously intimidate a population, to unduly compel a government or an international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act, or to seriously destabilise or destroy the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation (Pawłowski, 2001, p. 12).

According to Jean Baudrillard, the attack on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001 was the first symbolic event on a global scale in a very long time, not only in the sense of repercussions on that scale but also in the sense of the challenge posed to globalisation (Baudrillard, 2005, p. 9). The terrorists took advantage of the benefits of globalisation by adopting the technology of hegemony (such as media networks and aeronautical inventions), but at the same time they manifested the difference of their hierarchy of values. While the culture of the West is organised according to the principle of zero deaths, terrorists ‘want to die as much as we want to live’ (Baudrillard, 2005, p. 28) and manifest that freedom by abusing it (e.g., by their death or that of others). This demonstrates that globalisation (which includes the economic sphere) is not the same as universalisation, which concerns the sphere of values. In Baudrillard’s opinion, terrorism stems from the impossibility of exchange. It is a response to the gift that ‘enlightened Western culture’ has given to the rest of the world and for which those marginalised in the world of success have no way of repaying. This is because the West believes that its values are the right ones and intends to generously bestow them on others whether they wish it or not. Baudrillard writes:

When nations ban democratic liberties, music, television, or force women to cover their faces, the “free” world sees these events as uncivilized – whatever principles may be at stake (Baudrillard, 2005, p. 34).

The culture war triggered by this assumption stems from the hatred of people who are humiliated by being forced to embrace progress and globalised (a)culture and placed in a situation of impossible exchange. In the face of this, we receive the unwanted 'gift' of death. This war is thus "the clash of triumphant globalization at war with itself" (Baudrillard, 2005, p. 7).

A good example of the links between culture wars and terrorism are the consequences of al-Qaeda's attack at train stations in Madrid on 11 March 2004. Several days later, the Spanish government of José Maria Aznar, an ally of the United States in Iraq, lost in the elections to the socialist opposition, which soon withdrew Spanish troops from Iraq, as had been promised by the new Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. In the same year, Zapatero's government legalised same-sex marriage and the adoption of children by homosexuals, took steps to restrict religious teaching in schools, and declared that the words 'father' and 'mother' would no longer appear on birth certificates, as they would be replaced by the terms 'Progenitor A' and 'Progenitor B'.

On the surface, it may seem that the bombings in Madrid and administrative newspeak are connected only by the meanderings of democratic politics: these terrorist acts, which distanced public opinion from the conservative government, elevated to the office of prime minister a left-wing politician who implemented many elements of his programme. George Weigel, the American Catholic writer, theologian, and commentator of socio-political life, argues that the connections between the bombings in Madrid and administrative newspeak are much more complex. He points to two overlapping planes of cultural conflict that are exemplified by the political events in Spain: the first, which he calls 'Culture War A', concerns relativism and moral values; the second, 'Culture War B', is about the meaning we assign to such concepts as tolerance or civil society. Culture War A refers to the war between the postmodern forces of moral relativism and the defenders of traditional moral values. Culture War B concerns the definition of civil society, the meaning of tolerance and pluralism, and the limits of multiculturalism in an ageing Europe, where falling birth rates have opened the door to a growing Muslim population. For Weigel, the aggressors in Culture War A are 'radical secularists' who "aim to eliminate the vestiges of Europe's Judeo-Christian culture from a post-Christian European Union"; the aggressors in Culture War B are

“radical and jihadist Muslims who detest the West” and seek to Islamise Europe by resorting to terrorism. The underlying cause of both wars is Western individualism: it undermines all traditional values while making it impossible to face the Islamic threat. As a consequence, the forces of true tolerance will find it exceptionally difficult to prevail in Culture War B (Weigel, 2006).

Development of the term ‘culture wars’ in the USA

The beginnings: 1920–1980. In the American context, the term ‘culture war’ first appeared in the 1920s, when conservative and liberal values from urban and rural areas conflicted on a greater scale than before. One manifestation of the growing tensions in this period was the rebirth and significant rise in the popularity of the Ku Klux Klan which, by the second decade of the 20th century, had 4–5 million members. The slogan of this racist organisation, whose manifesto was to maintain white Protestant supremacy, was ‘pure Americanism’, and its main motivation was the rising tide of immigration (Michalek, 1991, p. 70). On the other hand, in 1924 American citizenship was granted to all Native Americans living within the borders of the USA.

The conflict of values which intensified at that time was also caused by cultural changes and modernising trends in the ‘Roaring Twenties’. These trends were characterised by accelerating consumer demand and the appearance of new civilizational commodities, such as the telephone, films, and radio. The transformation culminated in Al Smith losing the presidential campaign in 1928 (Dionne, 2008). He was the first Catholic to be nominated as a candidate for the US presidency, and he advocated the abolition of Prohibition. His Protestant opponents threatened that if Smith became president, the *de facto* ruler of the United States would be the Pope (Okrent, 2010), which then became the subject of political satire.

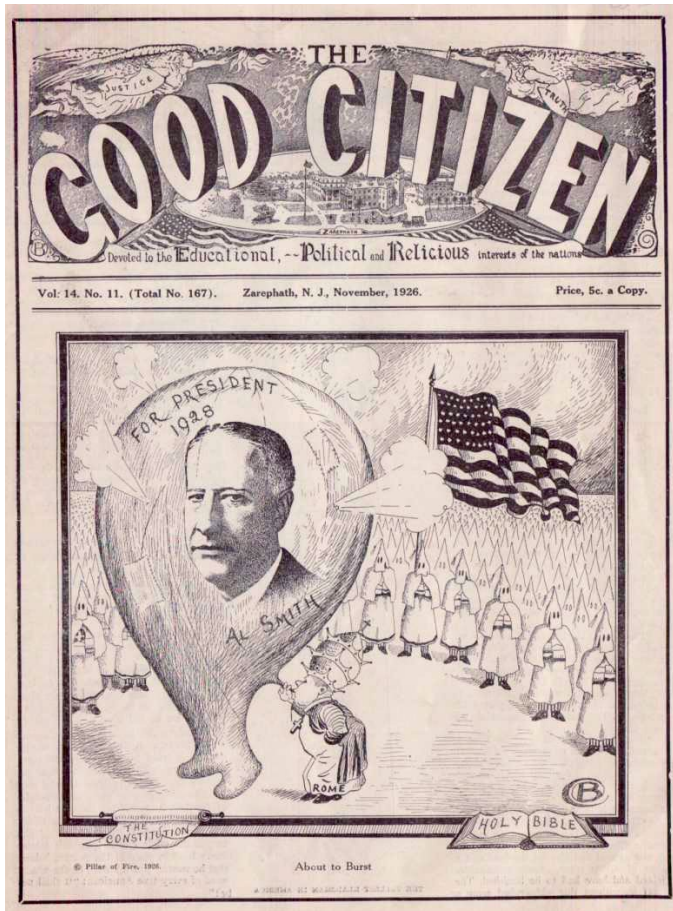


Fig. 2. A caricature of Al Smith, 'The Good Citizen', November 1926. In the following decades, the term 'culture war' began to appear occasionally in the American press. Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Goodcitizennovember1926.jpg> (accessed on 25.11.2022).



Fig. 3. A press clipping from 1942. Source: <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/clip/29456609/culture-war-to-be-theme-of-talk-1942/> (accessed on 20.10.2022).

The sources of the left-liberal revolution in the moral sphere and the political self-awareness which are behind the critical vivisection of Western culture can be traced to the 1960s – the decade of the real beginning of the ‘culture of resistance’. The counterculture embraced a youth that rejected the values of their parents’ generation. Their peaceful anti-state protests were directed against, e.g., racial segregation, the Vietnam War, environmental pollution, discrimination against minority groups, and the lack of freedom of speech and assembly (Walsch, 2009, p. 78).

Another turning point in the intensification of the culture war in the US came in 1988, when Rush Limbaugh – a conservative political commentator – attracted widespread attention with his popular radio programme *The Rush Limbaugh Show* (broadcast for 32 years). In this programme, as a supporter of the Republican Party, he attacked the mythology of the radical social movements of the 1960s and 1970s and blamed them for the destruction of traditional American values. By satirically portraying ‘feminazis’, gays, and environmental activists (Brock, 2003, pp. 56–58), he provoked a national discussion that resulted in a clear division into

supporters and opponents of the consequences of the Cultural Revolution in the US. In a similar vein, the conservative republican Patrick Buchanan commented that while the right in America was busy fighting communism, the left were still winning hearts and minds and setting the moral pulse of the nation in the sphere of arts and culture. In his 1989 article, he appealed to the political right to start a new cultural revolution.

The intensification of cultural dispute: 1991. The term 'culture war' was introduced into public debate by the American sociologist James Davison Hunter in his book *Culture Wars. The Struggle to Define America* (1991). He argued that seemingly unconnected disputes over hot button issues, such as the separation of church and state, gun ownership policies, attitudes to abortion and homosexuality, censorship in the arts, and national iconography, are in fact deeply interconnected. Hunter identified five main areas of culture war: fighting for changes in the family model, for education, for hegemony in the media and the arts, and for primacy in making law, including election law. Acknowledging the importance of each of these hot button issues, he claimed that the way in which they divided people was based on a much deeper division, the existence of which proved that there was not one 'American culture' but two distinct cultures based on widely divergent value systems. He compared this situation to religious and cultural conflicts in other countries, such as between Kurds and Arabs in Iraq and between Sikhs and Hindus in India; he argued that these two conflicts could be used as metaphors to describe the conflict in the USA even though they took place in different places and represented different cultures (Hunter, 1991, pp. 34–35).

For Hunter, the German origin of the term 'culture war' had not only etymological significance but also historical: he treated the *Kulturkampf* project under Bismarck's auspices as the first historical model for such a 'war'. Although Bismarck's project first focused on education, the battlefield soon covered a broader antagonism between Protestants and Catholics over moral principles. By referring to Europe's history, Hunter wanted to use this example of a modern culture as the background for his analysis of the contemporary conflict in the United States (Halkiewicz-Sojak, 2021). He was aware that in English the term 'culture war' had a much broader meaning than the German *Kulturkampf*. In the

USA, where a modern form of culture war was born, the term covers almost all political, cultural, and social institutions, the education system, immigration policy, and the concept of a nation. Moreover, the conflict unfolds along other dividing lines. On one side are those who firmly stand for the values of the Founding Fathers and the 'West', while on the other side are those who advocate an America that is multicultural and maximally tolerant of new ways of life.

What distinguishes the modern culture war from earlier culture conflicts? First, in the past, in the background of the disputes lay a fundamental agreement among their participants regarding the basic principles that ordered the life of communities and which were based on biblical symbols as their pre-sources. Today's culture war goes much deeper as it challenges truths on which there has been centuries of social consensus, such as marriage (as the union of man and woman) and the morality of euthanasia (Hunter, 1991, pp. 107–132). These disputes are inconclusive because they appeal to different moral norms and to differing systems of ethical justification, which are based on different underlying concepts (Kupczak, 2011). A good example here is the dispute over abortion (Hunter, 1994, pp. 3–42). Kupczak observes:

Abortion advocates usually use a very different language, which is associated with a different ethics and anthropology. This language often refers to the Kantian understanding of the autonomy of the individual – the woman – which cannot be restricted from the outside. [...] each side refers to arguments considered to be definitive (sanctity of life – autonomy and individual rights) and therefore sees a potential compromise as a betrayal of its most important ideals (Kupczak, 2011).

The dividing lines in today's cultural disputes run differently than in the past. They are no longer clearly delineated into non-believers and believers, or Catholics and Protestants, etc. Today's disputes run across old dividing lines. For example, there are people who claim to be Catholics on both sides of disputes over the legalisation of homosexual unions or the legality of euthanasia. It is not uncommon for orthodox Catholics in today's disputes over abortion or euthanasia to voice opinions which are closer to orthodox Jews or Protestant communities than to liberal members of their own Church (Hunter, 1991, pp. 67–106). This was pointed out by Cardinal Ratzinger when he spoke of 'ethical ecumenism' (Przesmycki, 2012).

A characteristic feature of the contemporary culture war is that it concerns the public sphere. That is why much of this dispute takes place through the mass-media: in the pages of newspapers and magazines, on television and computer screens, through radio broadcasts and advertisements on billboards (Hunter, 1991, pp. 135–158). The price paid for this democratic universality of access to the cultural dispute is its trivialisation and radicalisation. Mass media loves politicians and columnists who can shock an audience (Kupczak, 2011).

In a culture war, everything becomes political. One has to take sides, and any attempt to understand the arguments of both sides is a sign of weakness. Today's oppressive politicisation of everyday reality involves a significant increase in the role of the state (Hunter, 2010, pp. 102–110). In traditional societies, shared beliefs, convictions, and rituals allowed people to live together. In modern societies, where symbolism, identity, and the interpretation of shared history – accepted by all – has shrunk dramatically, the state becomes the institution that allows different social groups to live side by side. It is the state that is supposed to find solutions to common problems. In a liberal democracy, the state is expected to be worldview neutral. In Hunter's opinion, this is impossible because law is always linked to moral judgement, and a particular social policy presupposes some valuation. The state always chooses a certain understanding of the common good, the hierarchy of values, etc. Therefore, every social group, especially in a highly polarised society, seeks the patronage of the state through its political activity; as a result, every social issue, e.g., family, education, or art, becomes the subject of ideological and political dispute.

The political history of the United States at the end of the 20th century followed the same path towards polarisation as Europe, albeit under different circumstances. The 'culture war' idea that is used in contemporary political discourse was popularised by the paleoconservative politician and columnist Patrick Buchanan. During his campaign as a Republican presidential candidate, he heavily criticised the presidency of George Bush senior (1989–1993), accusing him, among other things, of presiding over the National Endowment for the Arts, i.e., an independent government agency established in 1965 to support arts and culture. His accusation was that Bush, in funding this institution, had "invested our tax dollars in pornographic and blasphemous art too shocking to show"

(Mills, 1992). This was an allusion to the cancelled 1989 exhibition of photographs by Robert Mapplethorpe's, *The Perfect Moment*, which featured photographs of homoerotic masochistic sex. The Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., withdrew its organisation of the exhibition, fearing the reaction of Congress and the loss of future grants. These fears were justified: a month earlier, on the Senate floor, the Republican Senator Alphonse D'Amato had torn up Andres Serrano's photograph entitled *Piss Christ*, which depicted a crucifix immersed in a tank of urine, calling it 'a deplorable, despicable display of vulgarity'. He also revealed that the work was funded by the National Endowment for the Arts for a total of twenty thousand dollars. This sparked protests from right-wing politicians against the misuse of taxpayers' money and offence against morality.

At the Republican National Convention in 1992, after losing the election campaign, Buchanan declared a 'culture war'. In his speech, he made a series of accusations against his victorious counter-candidate Bill Clinton and attacked his support for gay rights and his stance against teaching religion in schools. He also mentioned Hillary Clinton's 'radical feminism' and Al Gore's exaggerated concern for environmentalism. Buchanan argued that all these hot button issues are elements of a single conflict and declared publicly that "there is a religious war going on in this country. It is a cultural war, as critical to the kind of nation we shall be as the Cold War itself. For this war is for the soul of America". This politician took the term 'cultural war' from Hunter's book, published a year earlier. He also warned Americans that the Clintons had an agenda they sought to impose on the United States, including abortion on demand and discrimination against religious schools (Buchanan, 1992). It is significant that only a few months later Irving Kristol proclaimed: "I regret to inform Pat Buchanan that these wars are over and that the Left has won". Since then, the war for the soul has been fought in countries where identity politics comes to the fore (Markowski, 2019, p. 362).

The 21st century – the end of wars between modern tribes or a new chapter? In 1997, "The New York Times" journalist Jenny Scott wrote that the 'culture war' notion had become as anachronistic as a 'leisure suit'. In 2001, in an essay entitled *Life After Wartime*,

Andrew Sullivan stated that the sounds of the culture war could now only be heard from a distance. In 2015, the historian of ideas Andrew Hartman announced that the logic of culture wars had run out and the metaphor had fallen out of circulation (Markowski, 2019, pp. 101–102). A victory for the left was triumphally proclaimed: more and more states recognised same-sex marriages and liberalised their abortion laws.

This situation was changed by Donald Trump's entry into politics. When he announced his candidacy for the US presidency in 2015, he promised to fight against illegal immigration. As his supporters began to 'deal the cards' in politics, worldview dualisms became widespread again, which initiated a new phase of the culture war. This time, however, it did not take the form of a conflict between two elite groups who advocated different values; instead, it introduced a new element into the game: a populist rebellion that complicated the dualistic structure of culture wars (Markowski, 2019, p. 103). The essence of the culture conflict shifted to another plane.

In the 21st century, the culture war has entered a new and much more intense phase. In his 2018 essay entitled *How Everything Became the Culture War*, Michael Grunwald argued that, under Trump, US society had reached the limits of its polarisation. Not only has the number of proliferating divisions increased but their structural intensity has also grown. According to Markowski, Trump was merely an effective catalyst for wider processes:

America is divided not only into Republicans and Democrats, but also into whites and people of colour, into the rich and the rest of the world, into gun lovers and their enemies, into FOX viewers and CNN viewers (Markowski, 2019, pp. 75–76).

Markowski sees Trump's presidency as lacking in any coherent political and social foundation, compensated for by attacks on political opponents on social media. In his opinion, this near total elimination of traditional forms of communication rules out the option of public discussion and bears all the hallmarks of authoritarianism. However, the success of Trump's strategy proves that politics produces the best results when it involves defining reality 'on our terms' and controlling the narrative one wants to impose on one's opponents (Markowski, 2019, p. 86). Trump ended the logic behind the culture wars (which had fed American

democracy) by destroying its foundations (which included terminating funding for the National Endowment for the Arts). As a result, the dispute between two incompatible sets of values – in short, conservative and liberal – became irrelevant in the face of the conflict between Trump and the rest of the world (Markowski, 2019, pp. 76–80).

Discussion of the term

The main areas of culture wars: a. Family. One of the most important battle fronts in culture wars is the concept of family. A traditional family supports the formation of a person's identity and builds his value system and attitudes (Himmelfarb, 2007). In the 'generation relay', the transfer of the civilizational normotype, i.e., the totality of values and moral norms inherent in a given civilisation, takes place. In the words of Bogusław Wolniewicz: 'In this way, generations pass and civilisation survives as a canvass for their lives' (Wolniewicz, 2001).

Catholic social teaching views the family as a vital social cell, which stems from its central position in the personal order, as emphasised in the Bible. From this perspective, the institution of marriage, which is the foundation of the family, is not the product of human legal regulations but owes its permanence to divine ordinance as the prototype of every social order (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1603). The characteristic features of marriage are totality (in the commitment of the spouses to each other), unity, indissolubility, fidelity, and fertility (John Paul II, 1982). This vision of human sexuality is linked to the rejection of contraception as a moral law (Paul VI, 1968). The family, which is based on the marriage covenant between a man and a woman (Second Vatican Council, 1966), is an institution of God and "the primary place of 'humanisation' for the person and society" (John Paul II, 1989). Therefore, relegating the family "to a subordinate or secondary role, excluding it from its rightful position in society, would be to inflict grave harm on the authentic growth of society as a whole" (John Paul II, 1994).

Today, various alternatives to the traditional family are increasingly emerging. These include cohabitation and same-sex unions, couples who choose not to have children, single-parent families, and patchwork families following divorce. From the point of view of Catholic social

teaching, cohabiting is based on an erroneous conception of freedom of choice (John Paul II, 1994) and on a private vision of marriage and family which negates its social dimension. The demand for legal recognition of same-sex unions is, in the light of Christian anthropology, unfounded in the absence of the possibility of biological fertility (John Paul II, 1999, p. 50). The respect due to a homosexual person does not imply approval for equating same-sex unions with the family on a legal level (Documents of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 1995, p. 405).

From the point of view of culture wars, the undoubted crisis of the normativity of the family was not caused by the mechanisms of neoliberal economics but by the liberal-minded global 'new elites' who approve of non-normative behaviour in new forms of cohabitation. Roberto de Mattei observed that the destruction of the traditional family model is written into the plans of all revolutionary utopias, starting with Marx (De Mattei, 2009). Today's 'fluid' family model resembles 'domestic partnerships' characterised by their short duration (Stanislawczyk, 2018, p. 11).

The main areas of culture wars: b. How to define human life? Another field of axiological warfare is the heated dispute over abortion and the in vitro method. Burszta noticed that this war is generally about oppositional interpretations of human life as a value. Both sides of the conflict agree that human life is the highest value. However, there is no consensus in answering the question of why human life is valuable and when human life begins (Burszta, 2008, p. 9). People are "divided on issues such as whether abortion involves two people – the foetus and the mother – or three, including the father, or only one person" (Appiah, 2008, p. 105).

In the light of Catholic social teaching, both sterilisation and abortion are morally unacceptable (Paul VI, 1968, 14). Both are non-negotiable. That is why, regardless of which country is debating the issue, consensus is impossible, which leads to intensification of the war (Burszta, 2008, p. 9). From the point of view of Christian ethics, abortion is not a 'routine' medical procedure but a decision related to the concept of sin (Pawlik, 2007). A similar lack of compromise applies to debates about in vitro fertilisation and euthanasia. In light of the teachings of the Catholic Church, all reproductive techniques that separate the sexual act from the procreative act are morally unacceptable (Lubowicki, 1999,

pp. 309–343) The culture war in the area of defining the boundaries of life knows no compromise and therefore cannot end in a truce.

The main areas of culture wars: c. The nation as a phenomenon of collective life. Using Alexis de Tocqueville's expression, it can be said that religion, patriotism, the family, and the nation are 'warmed by the same fire' and constitute an inseparable fabric of values (de Tocqueville, 2012). Numerous concepts and theories regarding the nation can be divided into several groups. One of these includes the nationalist approach, which regards the nation as the most perfect form of social entity. The second group consists of national theories which emphasise the subjectivity of the nation, mainly in terms of the right to self-determination. The third group includes Polish messianism, which ascribes a moral-religious mission to the nation, while the fourth covers Marxist theories of the nation based on a "class interpretation of a nation within the framework of a general dialectical theory of social development and proletarian revolution" (Ślipko, 1982, p. 234). Proponents of the liberal-left argue that the nation constitutes a social and often also a political project. From their point of view, patriotism has always been directed towards the homeland, not the nation. However, the homeland is a matter for the individual's private choice and does not necessarily mean an entire heritage as it can be limited to, e.g., the landscape. According to this concept, a person can have many homelands (Król, 2004). The Catholic Church takes a different view and states that a nation is a natural creation, which "pre-exists society and state, [...] and designates a community based in a given territory and distinguished from other nations by its culture" (John Paul II, 2005).

Antonina Kłoskowska observed that symbolic culture differentiates national cultures to the greatest extent. Elements of this culture come from various systems, including art, customs, religion, and literature. Consequently, national identity can be defined as "the totality of the texts of national culture, its symbols, and values which constitute the universe of this culture and form its syntagma and canonical core" (Kłoskowska, 1996, p. 100). In culture wars, however, attempts are made to invalidate the need for national subjectivity with accusations of xenophobia. Nationalism is identified with chauvinism and patriotism with fascism and even Nazism (Stanisławczyk, 2018, p. 9). On behalf of the liberal left,

Zygmunt Bauman announced that the strategy of building a state and a nation together became unrealistic as the increasing pace of globalisation has separated 'power and politics' by assigning the governments of individual states the role of a mere administrator. As a result, 'power embodied in the global circulation of capital and information becomes extraterritorial' (Bauman, 2008). This argument is accompanied by an attempt to invalidate collective memory and national identity and replace them with a 'civil society'. Indeed, the condition of a nations' existence matters from the point of view of organisations and movements for which the subjectivity of nations is an impediment to their transnational activities (Korporowicz, 2018). They focus on attempts to disperse nations and immerse them into the international consumer community. On the other hand, national communities aware of their identity can prove to be a real asset in defending not only the dignity of nations but also their right to sovereignty (Korporowicz, 2021, p. 169).

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

The perspective of interdisciplinary research. The complexity of the 'culture war' phenomenon gives rise to the need for an interdisciplinary approach to the issue. Wojciech J. Burszta sees culture wars as an anthropological phenomenon and the consequence of a widespread acceptance of the thesis that 'everything is culture' (Burszta, 2013). Culture wars are fought in the name of affirming traditional conceptions of life that clash with what the theorist of conservatism Roger Scruton terms 'the culture of repudiation'. He observed that slogans put forward by proponents of liberal thought that call on members of society not to discriminate in thought, speech, or deed against ethnic, sexual, or moral minorities are consequently an encouragement to belittle what is felt to be particularly ours (Scruton, 2003, p. 73). For Terry Eagleton "the phrase 'culture wars' suggests pitched battles between populists and elitists, custodians of the canon and devotees of difference". However, it is not simply a battle of definitions but "a global conflict [which] is a matter of actual politics, not just academic ones" (Eagleton, 2000, p. 51).

The new order of civilisation proposed by the broadly understood left also involves a redefinition and re-evaluation of basic concepts. In the culture wars on both sides of the barricade, language is used to, e.g., deliberately radicalise the views of the opponent. A religious person becomes a 'fundamentalist', while a person who advocates the French model of separation of church and state is accused of fighting against the church (Kupczak, 2011). This strategy serves to portray the other side as intolerant, i.e., one that wants to impose its particularist values (ethical absolutism or political correctness) on the majority of citizens.

The progressive intensification of culture wars demonstrates the paradox of late modernity. Although it has been dominated by neo-liberalism, which has marketised all aspects of our lives, individually realised diverse lifestyles are what escapes its global domination.

Is a truce possible? The origins of the clash of 'modern tribes' is based on a conflict between two opposing value systems, which generates an endless stream of differences. Moral disputes in the culture wars are inconclusive in nature as they refer to fundamental values. This war is exacerbated by differences in the language used, the way in which claims are justified, and the very concept of morality and law. Therefore, the role of positive persuasion through informed debate is limited in the culture war. The current conflict is not about who is right and who is wrong but about symbolism, language, and the ability to attach disparaging labels to one's adversaries (Hunter, 1991, p. 158). In Polish journalism, this is evidenced by terms such as 'ciemnogród' [a dark gord] and 'moherowe berety' [mohair berets].

Hunter does not offer simple solutions for ending the culture war but provides advice that may contribute to a smoother course for the conflict. First, each side in the cultural dispute should be aware of the weaknesses in its own position (Hunter, 1991, pp. 318–325). In the case of the left, this weakness is often a lack of respect for religiously motivated attitudes in social life. The weakness of the right is a failure to recognise that a stable legal order cannot be created without social consent, which presupposes the ability to compromise and thorough cultural education. Other solutions include the compulsory search for the truth by all participants of the public debate and the adoption of an attitude of 'differing beautifully', which begins with a desire to understand the other side's

reasoning (which does not necessarily mean accepting it). This attitude should lead to a toning-down of the radicalised language used in cultural disputes (Kupczak, 2011).

In culture wars, the key distinction runs along the value-sense line. A way out of this conflict is only possible through the art of interpretation, understood as a social working of the meaning of shared reality, which is based on the unceasing negotiation of common meanings.

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Cultural memory

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: Cultural memory is a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behaviours and experience in the interactive framework of society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation. It combines three key elements: memory, culture, and groups.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: The term 'collective memory' was defined for the first time in 1925 by Maurice Halbwachs. Jan Assmann began working on this concept at the end of the 1970s in order to complement Halbwachs' considerations regarding cultural memory, while in his own reflections on the subject he focused on the traditions, transmissions, and transferences of memory.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: Contemporary studies on cultural memory emphasise the multidimensional aspect of this phenomenon. One of these aspects is the relationship between memory and politics. The discourse on historical events is sometimes manipulated to achieve particular political ends. It is worth remembering that instead of a single, coherent cultural memory on which national identity is built, we can also speak of other memories, which are the memories of relatively narrow groups who contest the main narrative of the past.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: As there are many collective and cultural memories, the term 'cultural memory' becomes blurred, and the relative universality of research on these issues reveals their methodological shortcomings. The focus on the social and political dimensions of memory

has led most researchers to abandon the cultural dimension of this issue.

Keywords: collective memory, collective identity, culture, politics of memory, cultural studies

Definition of the term

The term 'cultural memory' was first used in the 1980s as a result of developments in earlier studies on collective memory. Jan Assmann, an Egyptologist whose reflections proved crucial in popularising this term, defined it as a phenomenon whose purpose is to preserve and then transmit certain cultural and social types. Assmann describes cultural memory as "a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behaviours and experience in the interactive framework of society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation" (Assmann, 1995, p. 126). It is in fact a rather abstract phenomenon that is far removed from our everyday experiences. It is based on fixed points, understood as selected events from the past, transmitted to the next generation by means of cultural artefacts such as texts, rituals, and monuments. Assmann calls these artefacts 'figures of memory' and treats them as centres for narratives of the past.

In his theory of cultural memory, Assmann links together three elements: memory, culture, and groups. He does this by distinguishing six key features of this memory. The first is 'the concretion of identity'. Cultural memory is like a storehouse with elements from which different groups draw their sense of unity and uniqueness, leading to the positive self-identification of group members. Here, the emphasis is on what a group is not – on what makes it different from other groups. Moreover, the particular knowledge of the past evoked within this cultural memory depends on its capacity to contribute to clarifying and strengthening the collective identity. This can be done by highlighting either shared unique experiences or the differences between a given group and other groups (Assmann, 2011).

Other features mentioned by Assmann are the capacity of cultural memory to reconstruct the past and to form clear messages. The capacity to reconstruct means that memory is not stored in the past – memory can only reconstruct the past within contemporary reference points. Indeed, despite the fact that cultural memory is always based on these reference points, it is always reconstructed on the basis of current knowledge and circumstances. Changing socio-historical and political contexts also inevitably changes cultural memory to a form that corresponds with current needs. The capacity to form clear messages is

related to the fact that memory must be clearly and consistently transmitted in society, which requires the formation of clear messages, preferably in a form that minimises potential errors and ambiguities during transmission. Cultural memory is therefore most effectively transmitted through broadly understood cultural texts.

Another feature of cultural memory is its organisation, which covers both the organisation of the communication process during various ceremonies that commemorate significant past events and the ability to structure the way in which cultural memory will be transmitted. Assmann mentions two more features. The first is obligation and the other is reflexivity. Obligation covers the relationship between a group's normative idea of itself (i.e., its self-image) and the value system built on this idea, including differences in the perception of the role of symbols. Not all symbols associated with the past have the same significance for groups, as it depends on their links with a particular group's self-image. Cultural memory has a double function in the process of constructing this image: formative and normative. The former relates to the educational functions of memory, while the latter relates to rules of conduct.

Reflexivity means that memory is capable of interpreting everyday events in the form of proverbs, maxims, and rituals. It is also reflexive in the sense that it draws on its heritage to explain, reinterpret, differentiate, and control the course of events. Cultural memory can also be called reflexive because it is able to reflect the self-image of a group through the involvement of its members in its social system.

It is worth mentioning that Assmann conducted his research together with another cultural scientist and cultural anthropologist (who is also his wife), Aleida Assmann. Aleida focused on the social dimension of cultural memory. She observed that collectivities, both small and large (e.g., nations) somehow 'produce' memory. This collective nature of memory is manifested in the fact that it is common, shared, and cultivated by a given group. This shared understanding of the past affects the construction of collective identities. Additionally, according to Aleida Assmann, memory does not mean focusing on the past. Indeed, the cultivation of a collective memory of traumatic or terrible events potentially influences the present and the future, if only in making political decisions that might prevent any recurrence. In her reflections on the past, she also drew attention to the issue of memory in the cultural environment and the importance

of collective memory for international relations. She emphasised that a group's sole focus on the heroism or suffering of its forefathers can lead to tensions with other groups who also want their experience of the past to be included in the dominant collective memory (Assmann, 2014).

Cultural memory combines texts and rituals that are characteristic of a community at a given time, the practice of which helps to both stabilise and convey its self-image. Shared knowledge of the past helps to strengthen a sense of shared identity among the members of a given group. The content and characteristics of this cultural memory vary among cultures and can change over time. One group remembers its past so that it continues to harness the cultural elements that allowed its past triumphs, while another can cultivate the memory of historical events in order to never allow them to be repeated. Regardless of the motivation, only those elements from the past that are relevant to a group's contemporary identity are included in cultural memory.

Historical analysis of the term

Studies dedicated to the various forms of collective memory have flourished since the 1980s, although the term itself existed much earlier. Moreover, the term is ambiguous, and such terms as social memory, national memory, and public memory are sometimes considered synonymous and used interchangeably. This wave of fascination with the collective construction of memory coincided with a period of increased interest in research on the Holocaust, the history of the Third Reich, Stalinism, and the crimes committed by the Japanese army in Asia. Researchers analysed how certain events become part of collective identity and which mechanisms are responsible for transmitting a particular vision and interpretation of the past to the next generation. This was accompanied by fascination with places of commemoration, including museums and monuments, which in turn led to research into what events of the past are commemorated in public spaces and what motivates us to try to somehow 'embody' and preserve the past for future generations (Connerton, 2006).

This was the intellectual context in which Jan Assmann introduced the notion of cultural memory. However, it should be remembered that

his main motivation was the desire to distinguish collective memory, as defined by Maurice Halbwachs, from communicative memory. Halbwachs first defined collective memory in 1925, but this does not mean that this researcher had not previously been interested in memory at the supra-individual level. In 1807, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel wrote that memory is of key importance to collective identity. In fact, Hegel was not the only intellectual of the 19th century to treat memory as the source of what makes a given collectivity unique and ensures its historical continuity. This issue was also analysed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by, among others, Ernst Renan and Benedetto Croce, whose reflections led to studies on 'organic memory' before the First World War. Their concept tried to link memory on a psychological level, where it is transmitted subconsciously, to the continuity of collective consciousness across generations (Barash, 2017).

Although Halbwachs had predecessors, it was his work that proved crucial in setting the direction of research on collective memory. In his conception, he referred to the thought of Émil Durkheim, particularly to his understanding of collective consciousness. For Halbwachs, the process of remembering is closely linked to the social framework in which the individual exists. Memory is activated as a result of an individual's social activity, which also implies that the disappearance or emergence of this social framework can lead to either the disappearance or activation of his memory of certain events. Halbwachs noted that adults usually ignore childhood memories that are not related to their current life situation. Moreover, even if they recall some childhood memories, these are distorted in order to fit the present (Halbwachs, 1992). He treated memory as a phenomenon that is, on the one hand, individual and unique to each individual and, on the other hand, is activated only as a result of the impact of society. This impact can be understood either as direct contact with other individuals which triggers the recollection of particular memories, or as a change in the conditions of the social functioning of the individual which results in the recollection and simultaneous formatting of memories so that they correspond to concrete present circumstances.

Halbwachs also suggested another approach to collective memory which resulted from his observation that the memory of specific events can be shared by members of a particular group and be passed on to

the next generation. Memory is, on the one hand, stored in individuals, since they activate it and, through mutual interactions, influence its content by relegating certain elements to oblivion while activating others; on the other hand, memory assumes the characteristics of collective consciousness in the sense that it is a supra-individual phenomenon which retains its character despite generational change. Halbwachs extensively reflected on the continuity and transformations that take place in the religious dimension of societies. He observed that sometimes old beliefs and rituals, apparently long forgotten, enjoy unexpected revival and concluded that this is possible because minority groups often hold on to the memory of past rituals that they recognise as part of their identity (Halbwachs, 1992). In addition, religious groups often try to construct the memory of their collectivity in such a way that it suggests not only continuity with the past but also a certain immutability and permanence of their religious doctrine. Naturally, this memory, which is handed down from generation to generation, is usually subject to some degree to external influences, and it absorbs new elements while eliminating old ones. What is important, however, is that it is presented as unchanging and permanent.

Halbwachs' work was ground-breaking, but his findings were not appreciated until after the end of the Second World War. At this point, researchers became interested in how certain events are remembered, how they are passed on to the next generation, and how they can influence the construction of a group's collective identity. Marianne Hirsch, who introduced the term 'post-memory', focused, along with her colleagues, on the impact of trauma on identity and on how trauma can be passed on to the next generation through oral memories or cultural artefacts.

The French *Annales* School and its new approach to researching history, of which Jacques Le Goff was a key representative, should also be mentioned here. He started researching the relationship between the past, present, and future in the 1970s and emphasised the need to distinguish where the past ends and the present begins. The present is always in relation to the past. It is either lower or higher in hierarchy than the past. Moreover, according to Le Goff, the past is always seen through the prism of the present as it never exists independently. He also observed that memory has played a significant role in shaping individual

and collective identity since the 19th century and that the importance attributed to collective memory in the construction of national identities can be used to manipulate this memory for ideological reasons. Hence, Le Goff postulated distinguishing between memory and history. Since memory can be subject to manipulation, history must be guided solely by truth (Le Goff, 1992).

Assmann, who started working on his concept in the late 1970s, represented a different school to Le Goff. Primarily, Assmann tried to supplement Halbwachs' considerations regarding collective memory, although he noticed that Halbwachs had not addressed issues related to the traditions, transmissions, and transferences of memory. He included these elements, directly related to the transmission of memory to the next generation, in his conception of cultural memory, which emphasised culture conceived as a vehicle for memory. Assmann called other elements of Halbwachs' concept, mainly those related to the oral and everyday transmission of memory, communicative memory (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995). In the debate on the transmission of the past, the term 'cultural memory' has proven to be extremely capacious as it covers a wide range of the elements of material culture, ranging from literature to cinema.

Discussion of the term

Contemporary studies on cultural memory emphasise the multidimensionality of this phenomenon. One of its dimensions is the relationship between memory and politics. The discourse on historical events is sometimes manipulated in order to achieve particular political aims. According to Jeffrey Olick, since at least the 19th century, i.e., the emergence of modern nation-states, memory has become a tool for constructing and maintaining collective identities. He argued that politicians create and propagate particular traditions, while historians present national history as a unified and linear story (Olick, 1998). From this perspective, memory can play a similar role as invented tradition because it presents an interpretation of the past that aims to legitimise the current division of power.

Collective memory, understood as a past-rooted but nevertheless largely artificial creation, exerts a significant impact on a group's

self-image and on how it constructs its collective identity. Collective memory highlights those events from the past that constitute the unique character of a particular group. Stories associated with its origins are crucial as these unique origins form the basis for its claim of being special in comparison to other groups. All commemorative activities – whether undertaken by institutions or individuals – result in *de facto* reproductions of a particular narrative about the past.

The relationship between collective memory and collective identity is one of the key issues addressed by researchers. Regardless of the cultural context, the narrative of the past as an element of the cultural syntagma plays a key role in strengthening the sense of belonging to a group. Collective memory is an important vehicle for unifying the members of a community, and thus can also be a key tool for creating a national identity. A key element in the crystallisation of this identity is the emergence of the belief in a common unique origin. References to historical events and their dissemination through state-sanctioned celebrations can lead to the crystallisation of a sense of historical community.

While a broad understanding of collective memory often presupposes its links with national identity and politics of memory, the role played by cultural memory in the process of building and strengthening this identity is far more important. By its very definition, cultural memory is rooted in the past in the form of particular historical events. However, the memory of these events is always mediated, whether through cultural texts, customs, rituals, monuments, or museums. These cultural aspects are reference points and contact with them allows the individual to 'touch', i.e., to experience the past personally. Given their public character, they are important for a collectivity because they influence how an entire group, not just individuals, remembers the past (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995). The relevance of individual memory to the building of collective identity at the group level is relatively limited, although later researchers, including Asrtid Erll, observed that family memory, which is essentially an example of communicative memory, draws not only from orally transmitted memories but also from cultural artefacts. These artefacts, especially when they have symbolic meaning, can influence how the past, including a family's past, is interpreted and communicated to future generations. Additionally, although it is not a common

phenomenon, family memory can take on the characteristics of cultural memory. The best example here is the impact of aristocratic families on shaping a collective understanding of the past (Erl, 2016).

Cultural memory brings together three elements: memory, culture, and group. Culture is understood here as the material product of human activity, and also as rituals and traditions. For this reason, culture takes into account an extremely wide range of artefacts that can be vehicles for memory, including both objects from a past era and those that only somehow relate to this era. Interestingly, objects themselves do not 'contain' memory but can become vehicles of narratives about the past through a symbolic dimension. Assmann uses the term 'sites of memory' (*lieux de mémoire*), which was introduced by Pierre Nora. This term refers to symbolic forms of commemoration that influence collective identity rather than to historical sites (Nora, 1989). In fact, the term can refer to both material culture and to sites, as long as they have symbolic meaning. The key point is that these sites of memory focus the narrative of the past at the group level. However, cultural memory refers only to the past that a given collectivity can claim as 'its own', i.e., as relevant to its identity. Those elements of a group's history that do not fit the narrative are discarded by being forgotten.

From this perspective, a broad understanding of culture also legitimises including in it examples of human activity such as cinematography or even music, which is worth commenting on here as, in the concept of cultural memory, references to the past in films can be sufficient to build a specific vision of this past. Collectivity, understood as a group, constitutes the third – and perhaps crucial – element in understanding cultural memory. Culture, whatever form it takes, is always a phenomenon perceived by a wider collectivity. As a vehicle of memory, it affects not only individuals but entire collectives. We can speak of the influence of culture at both the local level and in the construction of the identity of an entire nation. Contact with the same cultural vehicles of the past builds a common vision of history, which can consequently affect the process of building a national identity. This process, however, requires the exclusion of certain elements of the past that may not fit with the identity we want to create and strengthen. Then cultural memory becomes not so much a vehicle of history, understood as an objective description of the past, but a tool for constructing a vision of the past that will influence

a group and will survive generational changes without losing its symbolic meaning.

From a historical perspective, literature, which was initially transmitted only orally, is one of the key vehicles for cultural memory. However, unlike communicative memory, oral literature has a clearly defined structure and is communicated within a group. The oral form of communication should not mislead us into thinking that it is actually about individual memory. In many societies, poets and writers still act as guardians of the past. Cultural memory, in fact, always has its specialists – people who, by virtue of their function in society, are concerned with transmitting the memory of events that they consider important. These can be artists, teachers, museum curators, or clergy. The transmission of cultural memory is carried out by a narrow group of members of a given society, primarily because it requires access to certain knowledge that traditionally was not available to all members of the group. Whether it was access to documents, stories, or source materials, the very fact that this knowledge was not universal made those who were able to access it a narrow elite. In the case of cultural memory, in practice it is always linked with the narrow and hierarchical structure of those who are influential in shaping our perceptions of the past (Assmann, 2011). This feature of cultural memory is also evident today. The shaping of this memory, whether understood as creating culture or as educating or managing public memory sites, is in fact limited to a narrow group of individuals who, by virtue of their talent or function, have the capacity to influence how a collectivity will understand the past.

Historical considerations devoted to cultural memory in ancient times, such as those presented by Jan Assmann in his studies on Egypt, primarily focus on the stories and myths that were intended to reinforce a group's cohesion by highlighting its shared history. However, studies on the relationship between cultural memory and trauma conducted by, among others, Aleida Assmann reveal that groups today perceive many historical events differently, often contradictorily. Hence, the introduction of the term 'frames of transmission' is crucial. These frames determine the nature of the links between groups and the past and influence how groups interpret the events captured in cultural artefacts. In the case of traumatic events such as the Holocaust, victims and perpetrators, through different frames of transmission, actually create different cultural

memories. It follows that the past affects their collective identity in a different way (Assmann, 2021).

Cultural memory is a complex phenomenon that affects both individual and collective understandings of the past. It acquires new meaning through the process of recollection, understood as the reconstruction of narratives about historical events. Cinematography is one of the most powerful contemporary tools for constructing a widely shared vision of the past. Film combines fiction and history; however – by its ubiquitous presence – its effect on how we perceive past events is sometimes stronger than memory constructed using the apparatus of the state. Indeed, film is an example of how cultural memory relates to the past and can influence how a group interprets historical events and their meanings for its own identity. It is also an artefact that is potentially discoverable by subsequent generations, who, through their own ‘frames of transmission’, will give it new meanings.

The fact that cultural memory is largely based on broadly understood material cultural artefacts can be dangerous as these artefacts can be destroyed over time. Sometimes this happens as a result of neglect, sometimes as a result of natural forces. Sometimes, however, these artefacts are destroyed deliberately as a result of armed conflict, both internal and external. The destruction of culture results in potentially far-reaching changes in collective memory. Without the ability to refer to shared elements of the past, group identity, which is largely formed by memory, can be destroyed. Societies can attempt to reconstruct these artefacts, but they will not be able to fully recreate them, even with their best efforts. In the case of architecture, for example, a building that has been reconstructed no longer provides tangible evidence of its continuity with the past, which means that its symbolic significance is diminished (Humphreys, 2002). History is replete with examples of warfare that deliberately destroyed the cultural heritage of a conquered nation precisely in order to detach it from its symbolic past and then impose a new collective identity based on cultural memory transplanted by the aggressor nation. What constitutes the strength of cultural memory, i.e., its material dimension, can also turn out to be its weakness, such as when this dimension is missing for various reasons.

It is also worth mentioning here an extremely important phenomenon, namely counter-memory, which contests the dominant narrative

about the past. Sometimes, in place of one coherent cultural memory that builds national identity, numerous often contradictory memories can emerge, which centre around the shared experiences of a relatively narrow group and do not claim to build a universal narrative of the nation (Fortunati & Lamberti, 2008). They contest the dominant narrative, with the result that national identity can be transformed or weakened. The multiplicity of cultural memories demonstrates how valuable and broad a research area it is for researchers who study issues such as race relations, gender relations, feminist movements, and ethnic minorities. Events of the past which are included in the process of constructing a collective identity reveal power relations in a given society. The emergence of counter-memories is an attempt to undermine these relations. For groups that are discriminated against, the struggle for memory is in fact a struggle for recognising their experiences as valid, not only for their relatively narrow group identity but also for the national identity (Hirsch & Smith, 2002).

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

Cultural memory influences both individual and collective perceptions of the past. The past acquires new meaning through the process of remembering, understood as the reconstruction of narratives about historical events. However, there is no such thing as one cultural memory as it is most often a multiplicity of different memories. No matter how intense the attempts to create a unified narrative about the past – sometimes called the dominant memory – are, it is impossible to totally eradicate alternative memories. Moreover, cultural memory is not an immutable and fixed phenomenon because it undergoes continuous transformations. All these features lead to the interdisciplinary nature of cultural memory research. The relationship between memory and history seems crucial. The move towards researching collective memory led to a rejection of the concept of objective history. The past began to be viewed as a construct, and documents previously regarded as sources of the truth about past times began to be contested. Memory began to be perceived as something ‘living’, which affects the present and the future of a given

group, while history was considered 'dead', devoid of relevance in the present. Despite all these caveats, historians can potentially continue to play an important role from the perspective of cultural memory. They can reinforce this memory by pointing to evidence of its validity, although they can also contest it by drawing attention to its weaknesses and misrepresentations.

As a result of the multiplicity of collective and cultural memories, these terms become blurred, and the relative ubiquity of research on these issues reveals their serious methodological shortcomings. The multiplicity of research perspectives makes almost all aspects of life interesting for memory researchers. At the same time, the focus on the social and political dimensions of cultural memory, i.e., the extent to which it is sometimes used to form collective identity, has led many researchers to abandon its cultural dimension. Research on material culture and its importance for the construction of group identities downplays the significance of culture itself as it is treated instrumentally as a tool used by broadly understood political actors. This approach downplays the issue of cultural memory and leads to a situation in which we miss key elements.

Listing certain shortcomings of cultural memory should not obscure the fact that it is a concept that allows us to understand the relationships between the past, culture, and collective identity. The emphasis on culture, understood as a vehicle for transmitting narratives about the past, allows us to analyse memory as a group phenomenon. Through exposure to publicly accessible material culture, broad collectivities experience the past in such a similar way that it begins to influence how they think about their collective identity. Contemporary research on cultural memory proves that it is a capacious term that can also be used to explore a multiplicity of memories, including those of historically marginalised groups. New media, understood as tools for the transmission of memory, are also a valuable object of analysis, and the possibilities they offer mean that culture can exert its impact on transnational memory. It is worth remembering, however, that cultural memory does not forget the individual, who in many ways is still the key recipient of narratives about the past.

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Writing and book culture

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: Book culture is the totality of social phenomena and processes associated with books, in which the spiritual (text) and material (book) aspects are closely interrelated. These aspects are autonomous although never fully independent. Book culture can be shaped at different levels: civilisational, national, regional, environmental and even institutional (monasteries).

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: Book culture as a concept and research area appeared in the second half of the 20th century with the emergence of bibliography and library science – which are interrelated with the humanities and the social sciences – although its origins can be traced back to much earlier.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: The fundamental axis of book culture consists in the processes, institutions, and phenomena involved in the production and dissemination of books, which are interrelated and enter into various relations with the social environment.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Book culture is a coherent, effective, and useful concept that enables the comprehensive and in-depth presentation of a range of issues linked with writing and books in their traditional form, but also in the context of and in connection with the broadly understood media culture, including new media. Its effectiveness lies in the fact that it recognises the achievements of many disciplines, uses existing methods and conceptual apparatus, and also develops new ones.

Keywords: culture, writing, book, media, education, art

Definition of the term

Book culture is the totality of social phenomena and processes associated with books, in which the spiritual (text) and material (book) aspects are closely interrelated. These aspects are autonomous although never fully independent. A specific book culture can be shaped at different levels: civilisational, national, regional, environmental and even institutional (monasteries).

Historical analysis of the term

The word 'culture' and other words derived from it, including 'cult', are frequently overused in both colloquial and scientific language. Thus, their meaning is diluted and imprecise. The word 'culture' is literally everywhere, even in etymologically meaningless phrases like 'bacterial cultures', and the adjective 'cult' can be used to describe literally anything, especially in the contexts of marketing and sales. No one is particularly bothered by the protests of linguists, as 'paper endures all'.

The Latin word *colere* translates as 'to cultivate', 'to care for', 'to nurture', or 'to educate'. It has found its way into the linguistic and terminological practice of many disciplines, where it refers to the totality of the spiritual and material achievements of mankind (or some of them) as well as to certain areas of precisely defined phenomena and processes, such as book culture, writing culture, information culture, and reading culture. One can, of course, protest here and claim that these media are simply an element of culture, conceived as a larger whole. However, research practice has proven that this way of approaching the media, among which books still hold a special place, is both effective and impressive, as evidenced by numerous and successful syntheses of particular 'book cultures'. Undoubtedly, the validity of this approach to the media world is confirmed by the idea of the information society, for which information – transmitted, processed, and collected – is a special immaterial good. Adopting this concept means that information and knowledge, and consequently everything related to them, are acknowledged as the main value and sense of civilisation.

However, while linking information to broadly understood modernity and to the new media, we must not forget that it has been of fundamental importance since the dawn of mankind, and the development of media – first oral, then in handwritten form and, later, as printed texts – was the driving force behind many social processes.

‘Book culture’ and ‘writing culture’ have been with us for a long time and have always had zealous advocates.. Although numerous definitions and applications of these terms can be found in the research, it is impossible to pinpoint their very first use; however, they exist and they are useful. Undoubtedly, this has to do with the development of book studies, with the emergence of research concerning books and libraries, and finally with the crystallisation of the disciplines of librarianship and information literacy, book studies, library and information science, bibliology, and informatology. Significantly, these disciplines interrelate with the humanities and the social sciences; recently, however, as part of the ‘reform of science’ in Poland, they have been assigned to the social sciences and merged with media studies into ‘communication and media studies’. Certain research areas make use of the methods and findings from book studies, although they do not necessarily use the terms used in this discipline. This is the case with, e.g., historians associated with the ‘Annales’ school (Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin), for whom books are a key factor in cultural and social processes and are closely linked to social and economic history. The fundamental importance of writing and books stems from their role in the dissemination of ideas, through which they shape social consciousness.

The discipline which defined, established, and on a large scale applied the concept of ‘book culture’ originated from library practice, i.e., bibliography, which is connected with the development of the historical and philological sciences; this practice later directed book culture towards the social sciences, particularly sociology. This was a period (the end of the 19th century) of growing interest in the reader, his behaviour, preferences, and reading choices. Significantly, the title of the first edition of Krzysztof Migoń’s fundamental (not only in Poland) work was *Nauka o książce wśród innych nauk społecznych* (*Book Studies Among Other Social Sciences*) (1971), although structurally it was firmly rooted in the humanities. The revised and expanded second edition was entitled *Nauka o książce* (*Book Studies*) (1981), which was translated into German and Russian

and, most importantly, still belongs to the canon of literature on the subject. It seems that there are not many examples of research areas in which the interpenetration of the humanities and social sciences is so clearly visible as here. In his book, Migoń outlined and defined the research areas of this discipline (and research specialisation) and presented the latest developments in each of them. He described “the totality of phenomena, processes, and material and spiritual resources related to books. Books in motion, in action, written and read, sold and bought, collected and destroyed, loved and persecuted, as well as their creators, owners, and readers” (Migoń, 2011). He also claimed that “writers, owners, and readers of books create a specific book culture” (Migoń, 2011). The impact of books as objects and the activities they are subjected to shape their environment, which further shapes the culture of writing and books. It can be said that, on the one hand, this culture stimulates all these processes, but it can also hinder them. A lot depends on the size of the population, its intellectual and material potential, and political and legal factors, e.g., restrictions on freedom of speech and economic activity. The linguistic situation in a given area also matters: the number of speakers of a given language, the structure of the community which uses this language, and, most importantly, its legal status. These issues are very much interlinked, and the vectors of the processes involved intersect. A large and affluent reading population constitutes the audience, which consists of readers and buyers of books and newspapers. An official national language translates into possibilities for, among other things, placing government orders or obtaining support for various publishing initiatives. The policy of empires and the recent creation of numerous nation-states provide ample examples of the significance of an official language. Simultaneously, sometimes a small and oppressed community is able – on its own, with the help of grassroots initiatives – to preserve or even recreate its national identity and thus its own writing and book culture. This was the case with Poles during the partitions of Poland, and with the Czechs, who achieved a national revival that was unprecedented in its size and dynamism, essential elements of which were language, books, and the press. They fought a victorious ‘battle for the reader’ with the Germans. Other examples include the Israelis, who have resuscitated Hebrew to its fullest extent, and the Irish, who have a steadily expanding group of those who speak the national language (Cisło, 2018).

Discussion of the term

The author, his work, and the reader are the foundation and centre of the structure of book culture. They are indispensable and unchangeable elements on which the whole structure is based and for which it exists. Other elements change, appear, and disappear in time and space, and although they are important for the coherent functioning of book culture, they are not the *sine qua non* condition for its existence. The author and the reader develop their competences within a particular literary culture, which belongs to a given community, place, and time. Janusz Sławiński calls this context a specific 'system of orientation'. This system allows readers "to effectively communicate through literary works, thus ensuring that the sending and receiving of codes is matched to and guarantees the comparability of different individual receptions of the same messages" (Sławiński, 1998). In short, efficient functioning within a given literary culture depends on knowledge and competences, including knowledge of the canon of literary works and literary traditions, the ability to understand and evaluate old and contemporary literature, and also individual literary tastes. It should be remembered that a stratified social structure directly translates into similar stratification within culture. This means that knowledge, competences, and tastes vary greatly. Literary culture covers authors, texts, and their reception, i.e., production and consumption. The institutions and processes involved in the production and (partly only) dissemination of books constitute the book market. It all starts with the author and the text, which is next offered to or bought or commissioned by a publisher. The moment a text reaches a publisher, he initiates the production process, and the next stage is distribution, which can take place in various ways, directly or indirectly. In the case of the former, a book 'passes through' distributors, wholesalers, and, finally, booksellers. This is, of course, a theoretical rudimentary model which can be modified by a range of factors, including the structural and technological changes that have taken place over the last few decades.

The institution of the publisher, understood as the main organiser of the production of books, was established in antiquity, but the scope and quality of his activities varies greatly and depends on many factors. Enterprises engaged in book production existed before the invention of printing: some scriptoria worked on a large scale and, it

is worth emphasising, did not cease their activities until long after the 'Gutenberg revolution', so it is legitimate to talk of the century-long 'parallel existence' of handwritten and printed forms. Manuscript copies of printed texts are an interesting testament to this period (Pirożynski, 2002). What is also worth mentioning here is the return to manuscripts on a considerable scale in Poland in the second half of the 17th century, as evidenced by the Old Polish manuscript culture and the famous *silva rerum* of the nobility (Partyka, 1995). Similar trends were observed in Czech lands, where religious manuscripts flourished in the 18th and early 19th centuries (Šimková 2009). The reasons for the longevity of manuscript production ranged from financial (printed books were not cheap, especially in the early days) to technological, aesthetic (when it was a matter of quality and colourful ornaments and illustrations), and those linked with reader's habits, including special individual orders. Not all scribes immediately found their way into the new technological reality. The transitional period also concerned matters of form: the first prints (incunabula published before 1500) were very similar to manuscripts in structure and appearance, and it took a long time before a title page appeared and developed – with the name of the author, the title, the place, and the year of publication. It took even longer for various specialisations involved in the production and distribution of books to emerge. Previously, a printer was at the same time a publisher and a bookseller, which necessarily affected many factors as it depended on the particular person, the potential of the printing house, co-workers, customers, and the offering. The upkeep of a printing house and the production itself required substantial work and resources. Printers were often, as the surviving documents demonstrate, also engaged in other activities, mainly commercial, and were active in society, e.g., they sat on city councils and sometimes held high municipal posts.

With time, specialisation was enforced by a systematic increase in both the number of publications that entered the printing process and how long they remained in it. It is worth pointing out here that the rapid turnover of the range of products offered by a publishing house is a relatively recent trend: even in the first half of the 20th century, items published several decades earlier were still on offer in bookshops. Not all publishing initiatives were successful, and many books were sold over a very long period of time. The printers' heirs inherited not only printing

houses, but also many copies of already printed books, as is evidenced in documents. At first, printers extended their range of offerings with books printed by other printing houses, and over time merchants who specialised in books, i.e., booksellers, appeared. Professional paths increasingly diversified, which is why printers stopped selling books and focused exclusively on book printing.

A specialisation that grew relatively fast was bookbinding, which featured strongly in book culture. Bookbinding craftsmen formed a separate community and had a separate guild. Books came out of a printing house unbound and in sheets. A wide range of bindings was available, depending on the needs, tastes, and wealth of the commissioner. A high-value book which would be intensively used, especially a religious text, required a binding that would protect it against damage and theft, hence typical medieval bindings had a special protective function: a book was bound and had additional material for wrapping; a cloth cover provided additional protection for a valuable book, while a secondary cover allowed a book to be attached to a girdle. This type of binding was used primarily for books that were extensively and frequently used, such as prayer books, breviaries, and hymnals. Remarkably, these additional binding parts were later removed or cut off when books were placed on library shelves. Still later, increasing attention was paid to aesthetics, decorations, and ownership marks, which were embossed on leather bindings. At the same time – and this is linked to the development of libraries, including private ones – collections were given an individual touch which was not limited to their markings but also included standardised colour schemes, the design of the bindings, and the way in which volumes were described. The quantitative increase in production also affected the quality of binding; publishers' bindings appeared, which protected the book block from damage and, importantly, facilitated sales and advertising. They also played the function of temporary covers. In time, hardcover versions of publishers' bindings also appeared. At first, it was booksellers who ordered bindings from bookbinders for the specific number of copies they intended to distribute. In the middle of the 20th century, publishers' bindings in the form of hard and soft covers became standard.

Bookshops, which eventually became an autonomous element of book culture, have played a unique role since the beginning. They have

always been (although now no longer to the same extent as in the past) specific retail outlets and cultural institutions. This was due, of course, to books and book lovers. When, for many years, they were the main institutions for the distributions of publishing houses, they were visited by representatives of the intellectual elite, teachers, students, and pupils, and sometimes they became places for meetings and discussions. Much depended on the owner, who could be either a passive participant or an initiator of such meetings. However, it should be remembered that bookshops were not located everywhere. In the past, when books were considered essential products, bookshop networks reached deep into the countryside; however, the further away from the centres of activity, the fewer bookshops there were. Moreover, the offerings of provincial bookshops were usually less highbrow as shops of this type catered to the needs of local customers. In places with no bookshops, there were various types of distributors, including wandering traders and pedlars, for whom books were only a part of their diverse offerings. On the other end of the spectrum were specialised distributors who fulfilled big orders for aristocratic and noble customers. Books – mostly religious books and pop literature – were also sold at fairs and markets. Contract fairs were special types of fairs where the local nobility came together to settle obligations and sign contracts. Traders and distributors also attended these fairs. At the same time, distance selling was practiced: publishing houses and bookshops printed their catalogues, sent them out to potential and regular customers, and then fulfilled their orders. It was a costly and complicated procedure but one that allowed books to reach far more places than would otherwise have been the case.

The last few years have seen a major transformation in the distribution of publications, prompted by a new communication and distribution channel: the internet. Traditional brick-and-mortar bookshops have lost their importance, and online sales dominate. Distance sales, previously marginal, are now widespread. Both traditional bookshops, for which it is an additional form of sales, and companies that operate exclusively on the internet participate in this practice. This has given rise to hybrid retailers which combine traditional and distance sales, and to those that sell only online, which are often directly or indirectly linked to advertising and the promotion of publishing houses. Today, online shops, especially in the book sector, are an ordinary – even unsophisticated compared

to sales platforms and services – form of sales. Sales platforms bring together the offerings of various companies, thus helping producers to reach potential customers, while sales services are huge marketplaces that are open around the clock and can be accessed by literally anyone connected to the internet. Crucially, sales services are a mix of professional and individual or occasional sellers, and they offer a mix of new and used books.

Thanks to the internet, the author and the publisher have a far easier path to their audience. An author – who previously could only handwrite something and give it to someone, could talk to people, could read his text out loud to them – can today publish it online without anyone's help. A publisher can also directly reach the public and distribute his publications. The web is both a huge marketplace and a limitless repository of texts.

The book market, which covers book production and distribution, finishes its task when the printed copies hit bookstores. At this point a book leaves the distribution system and cannot return to it. Different rules govern the secondary market, the essence of which is the ongoing circulation of products that can be sold and bought an infinite number of times, even once they have become part of a library collection. Obviously, the secondary market is much smaller than the primary market, although it is much more diversified and stratified. In terms of the number of titles available, it is incomparably larger as it covers (at least in theory) the totality of all previous productions and editions, both professional and non-professional. Participants in this market include non-professional individual buyers and sellers, professionals, and intermediaries who offer their services for valuing, purchasing, and selling. This market comprises four specialisations: the antique segment, which comprises valuable and rare objects; out-of-print books still in circulation; cut- or low-priced books as an alternative to often expensive new books; and banned or illegal publications. Under conditions of freedom and democracy, the last category is extremely marginal and limited to publications that are banned by court judgments. However, sometimes the role of banned publications increases, especially when they are of strategic importance.

From the point of view of book culture, the secondary market plays a very important role because of its specialisation, which includes historical publications of exceptional value as well as cheap and pop-fiction books, with which it increases the number of customers. Avant-garde

customers consist of bibliophiles and collectors as well as professionals, i.e., people who directly shape book culture (Nieć, 2016)

An absolutely unique element of book culture is bibliophilism. This term appeared relatively early (Bishop Richard de Bury and his *Philobiblon*, 14th century) and can be defined in a narrow or broad perspective. From a purely etymological point of view, bibliophilism means a love of books. However, affection alone is not enough to justify the term, especially in the context of book culture. After all, a book is a materialised product of culture, so bibliophilism is the love of books in their material form, manifested in obsessive collecting of them which goes beyond 'normal' standards (which change in time and space). From today's perspective, a book collection of several dozen or over a hundred volumes is not big, but this was a great deal of books in the 15th and 16th centuries. Another matter is the composition of a collection in terms of its quality and completeness. The emotional element is extremely important here, which is well reflected by the term 'a gentle madness', which was coined in Anglo-Saxon literature and can be paraphrased as meaning a noble or subtle madness. It is significant that the terms 'bibliophilia' and 'bibliomania' are used interchangeably, although the difference between '-fil' (love) and '-mania' (madness) is, after all, significant. In history, tradition, and literature, we can find numerous examples of crazed bibliophiles who were excessive in their passion for collecting books and ready to go to great lengths to acquire a coveted volume (Charles Nodier's *Le bibliomane*; Gustave Flaubert's *Bibliomanie*; Konstanty Górski's *Biblioman*).

In a narrow perspective, bibliophiles are those who belong to an elite group of sophisticated collectors, experts, and owners of valuable objects; in a broader perspective, bibliophiles are people who collect books and who like acquiring and possessing them. It should be noted that this is primarily about the material form of a book, not its content, and that this passion need not necessarily go hand in hand with intensive reading, which can be realised by borrowing from public collections (e.g., libraries). Book collections vary in terms of the types of publications and their chronology, provenance, language, aesthetics (bindings, graphic design, etc.) and subject matter. There are well-known collections of beautiful bindings, artists' books, old prints, books for children and young people, hunting books, books dedicated to the Polish Legions, Judaica, borderlands, Warsaw, Krakow, other cities and

regions, mountains, the sea, military matters, etc. In Poland, collections of patriotic publications are particularly popular, especially those dating from the period of the partitions. Particularly interesting are collections concerning a particular writer or even a specific popular book, e.g., *Pan Tadeusz* by Adam Mickiewicz. Bibliophilism on a lower scale, which is sometimes called (probably not very fortunately) 'mass bibliophilism' or 'popular bibliophilism', essentially consists in the intensive collecting of books of a more or less specific genre, although most frequently it is *belles lettres* and popular science literature within the humanities. This kind of bibliophilism is stimulated by publishers through publishing series, subscriptions (including publications of a high aesthetic standard), and luxury publications, among which reprints of rare editions of literary classics and historiography occupy an important place.

In the broad understanding of book culture, bibliophilism plays several roles: it stimulates demand within both the primary and secondary markets; it popularises books and thus reading; and it protects heritage assets. This last point is particularly important, especially when national culture is not supported by the state and is based mainly on social initiatives, as was the case, for example, in Poland during the partitions. Poland's largest libraries are foundation libraries, i.e., libraries founded by private collectors. Unique collections, even though sometimes small and seemingly trivial, are of particular significance. Research into popular, applied, children's and young people's literature would be extremely difficult and sometimes even impossible without private collections, as these types of publications were not collected by libraries until a few decades ago. An excellent example is the collection of comics, pop literature, and publications for children and young people that used to belong to Janusz Dunin (1931–2007), one of the most eminent Polish bibliologists and collectors.

Another vital area of book culture is the organisational activity of bibliophiles, who create associations through which they organise meetings, presentations, exhibitions, publishing houses, and – often on a grand scale – conventions and congresses. Bibliophiles include owners of considerable collections and experts (however, it should be noted that not all bibliophiles belong to an association), and their activities are as diverse as bibliophilism. In the past (until the mid-20th century) the bibliophilia movement brought together outstanding and well-known collectors

and representatives of culture and science, but this is no longer the case today. The pre-war milieu (formed back in the times of the partitions of Poland) included many representatives of book studies, theoreticians, and practitioners of librarianship, but their number dropped substantially after the war and they have virtually disappeared today. The reasons for this state of affairs include the war, the occupation, and its aftermath: personal and territorial losses, the destruction and dispersal of many collections, and then communism. The new political system had no place for bibliophilism, which was seen as a manifestation of the bourgeois lifestyle. Soon after the war, associations were banned, private publishing and bookselling was forbidden, and the operation of private antiquarian bookshops was severely restricted. After 1956, the Polish authorities withdrew the ban, albeit only for a short period. It was not until the middle of the 20th century that the number of publications increased considerably, which led to lower prices, thus more people could afford to buy books than ever before. One way of stimulating consumption in this area was through activities that in some way appealed to bibliophilism and inspired people to collect books, for example book clubs and publishing series. In communist countries, this was sometimes presented from an ideological angle and 'committed' literature was promoted in this process. In numerous associations there were people who had little to do with books; sometimes they represented the communist authorities and were not involved significantly in the book world, which undoubtedly had a significant impact on the holistic vision of bibliophilism in communist Poland. Organisational life and its rituals (sometimes very elaborate) began to overshadow the essence of bibliophilism, which lies in collecting books. Bibliophilic publications, which once enriched the literature on this subject, became 'art for art's sake', while exhibitions became increasingly self-referential, devoted more to manifestations of organisational life than to books (Duninowie, 1983).

Book culture also contains elements of art which sometimes evolve into separate and distinct practices. In a natural and direct way, art enters book culture through typography (lettering, layout, and design), iconography, binding, and ownership marks. The art of the book reflects current styles and trends and is a space where the purely utilitarian aspect clashes with the aesthetic (artists' book), experimental, and even provocative aspects of art. An 'artists' book' is a work of art either

inspired by a book or a variation on it. Experiments and provocation are associated with long-standing attempts in literature to break the linearity of the text (Laurence Sterne's novel *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*) or to combine content with image (visual poetry, liberature). All of these, even the most extreme manifestations of the 'art of the book', can affect a book to a great extent, as exemplified by the avant-garde art of the early 20th century, e.g., Futurism, in which the aesthetics of the book were literally transformed and its development was directed into completely new ways.

A book, without denying its spiritual dimension, is a thing of a certain value, a property, and, sometimes, even an object of desire. The ownership mark occupies a unique place in book culture. On the one hand, it has a purely practical function and a simple form (signature, seal, sticker); on the other hand, it can take on sophisticated and fully autonomous artistic forms (e.g., a bookplate) or become an integral element of the binding (supralibros). Significantly, the bookplate has functioned as a distinct form of art (printmaking) and a way of collecting – far removed from bibliophilia and books – for a long time.

The dissemination of a book within the book market ends when a customer buys it. Its life as private property is lively, but its impact is limited to a narrow circle of owners. Institutions, which today also include electronic collections, play an essential role in the mass dissemination of books. In the historical context, the boundary between private and institutional or public collections is unclear and ambiguous. Modern public libraries are a relatively young idea that is linked to the development of education and mass participation in culture, although the idea and the practice of making collections accessible to the public appeared relatively early. Until the beginning of the 19th century, access to writing and book culture was still very limited and available only to the upper classes, hence much smaller library collections than today were sufficient for scientific and educational activities. These were mainly church and university libraries, but also the owners of large book collections often served as patrons and supported people of science and culture by making their private collections available. Educational establishments and schools at all levels gradually built up their book collections, which are still a part of the education system today. However, it should be remembered that in the past the book in its traditional form was the primary medium for

information and as a teaching aid, so owning a specialist book collection was a must; today, this is no longer the case. The path to the modern library system, which allows wide access to books, was gained through the church and through municipal and community initiatives of reading rooms and local libraries. Nowadays, the structure of libraries covers all of Poland, following its administrative divisions, and each element of this structure has specific tasks to fulfil. These tasks entail not only collecting and granting access to books but also a range of information services, bibliography, education, and the promotion of reading. The development of libraries has led to the profession of the librarian, who is now professionally qualified and trained. It should be emphasised that many public libraries in Poland were established thanks to private and church collections. Sometimes these were the conscious and voluntary actions of their owners, who collected and gifted their collections to the nation (e.g., the libraries of the Ossoliński family, the Raczyński family, and the Działyński family), while sometimes they were enforced by the state as a result of the suppression of religious orders, confiscations, and nationalisation.

A specific book culture was developed by monasteries (Gwioździk, 2015; Pietrzkiewicz, 2019), the centre of which were libraries and scriptoria. Within Christianity, it was the Church which prompted and supported the development of writing and book culture; in certain periods, its people and institutions acted alongside the elites and institutions of the state. The size of a monastic library depended on many internal and external factors as monasteries, after all, did not operate in a vacuum. The nature of the order and its mission, which translated into its scope, were crucial. Books were needed for worship (liturgical books, hymnals) and formation (religious literature), but if an order also had missionary and educational tasks, these would have influenced the composition of its book collection. Organising a theological and philosophical education, let alone a general one, required a well-equipped library, and external educational activities – ranging from parish schools to grammar schools, colleges, and universities – were quite another matter. Monks, who in the past were the intellectual elite, also possessed their own books for private use, which constituted an additional collection for their monasteries upon the book owner's death. The situation varied, however, and much depended on the rule of a given order. Sometimes monks were warned against the temptation of bibliophilism or even forbidden to keep their own books.

Library regulations were drawn up for entire provinces or for individual monasteries which strictly regulated how a library was to be organised and how collections were to be used by members of the community and outsiders. The position of the monastic librarian developed very quickly and they often had great knowledge and competences. Simultaneously, ways of arranging and compiling collections and catalogues were perfected. A lot of attention was given to the furnishings of library rooms – furniture, desks, etc. – and to their aesthetics. Monastic libraries of the 17th and 18th centuries in particular were richly decorated and furnished with ornamentation, stuccos, sculptures and, above all, mural paintings that depicted images closely related to religion, books, science, and literature. How important this was can be seen from the fact that these issues were frequently described in various texts, as is best exemplified by a work of the Spanish Jesuit Claude Clément (1596–1642/43), entitled *Musei, sive bibliothecae tam privatae quam publicae extractio, instructio, cura, vsus...* (1635), which lists 180 profiles of authors who correspond to 24 thematic sections. He recommended that the subject matter of the paintings and sculptures should not only inspire readers morally and intellectually but also facilitate their use of the collections. Even after the invention of the printing press, manuscripts continued to be produced by religious orders in monasteries, especially liturgical books and documents intended for monasterial use (Masson, 1981). In addition, specific ways of reading were developed. In some orders, libraries occupied a special place in which specialisation was an element of their mission, e.g., the Benedictines, and later the Jesuits and the Piarists. In monasteries, specific forms of literary life and writing flourished; these forms were primarily connected with the internal life and the religious and private celebrations of the members of the monastic community and included creating occasional works in the form of manuscripts and prints.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

Writing and book culture both intersect with and constitute an element of media culture. The press and the internet are also channels for the

transmission of texts, including traditional books (e.g., distribution or repositories of digitised titles). The press, at first spoken, then written (the Roman *Acta Diurna Populi Romani*, manuscript news), and finally printed and electronic, has always been closely linked to its textual foundations. These links cover both the participants of the communication process and the new forms of message transmission. The first initiatives within the printed press were undertaken by printers. Journalists were largely recruited from among the literati, and literary works were published in the press and were discussed (literary criticism) and advertised there. Regarding book distribution and promotion, a special type of text was developed, called paratext, in order to reach as many potential readers as possible and encourage them to buy books and read them.

Theatre, cinema, radio, and television grew out of writing and book culture and are still strongly connected to it. Their connection to literature and the written word is obvious: before the genres characteristic of these media (e.g., radio dramas) were created, they relied on forms developed within literature. Books and literature remain an extremely important material and inspiration, not just for the film industry (which creates all sorts of adaptations of literary works). Serialisation, which is an everyday feature of the electronic media, was born in the book and press market (the notebook novel, and the novel in instalments). The press and books also draw inspiration from the world of film, etc. At the intersection of these media, the 'augmented product' (also called a total product) has emerged, which is a term used to describe the set of media products that are created around a single work: book–film, adaptation–film, music–gadgets, etc.

Book culture is, on the one hand, a social phenomenon which is an integral part of a larger whole, i.e., culture as such; on the other hand, it is only a system of institutions and processes. Its most peripheral and seemingly insignificant manifestations turn out to be firmly rooted in tradition and play an important role. The very concept of book culture as a research category which defines the elements of the research area and their interrelationships is useful and inspiring and, above all, allows its broad and cognitively attractive realisations to be implemented.

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Art in culture

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: “Art is the reproduction of things, the construction of forms, or the expression of aesthetic experiences – if the product of this reproduction, construction, or expression is capable of delighting, moving, or shocking” (W. Tatarkiewicz).

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: This section presents classifications of art, outlines the history of the term ‘art’, and describes selected motifs in the history of art.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: Art has accompanied mankind since the dawn of humanity and has been analysed within many academic disciplines, including theory of art and art history (which study the fundamental nature and history of art) and sociology, within which the social functioning of art (i.e., artists, audiences, museums and other mediating institutions, canonical art, avant-garde art, national art, and religious art) is studied.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: This section discusses research into the fine arts, which covers the functions of art and the totality of all subjects and objects belonging to the art world in both its diachronic and synchronic perspectives.

Keywords: art, culture, arts studies, artists, audiences

Definition of the term

The conviction that art is part of culture has always been widespread in both colloquial and academic thinking. The selective and value-laden view of culture which functioned in science (philosophy, history, and law) until the Enlightenment and which still persists in society today distinguishes three spheres within culture: aesthetic (art), intellectual (knowledge), and moral (good manners and customs). In the 19th century, this understanding of culture proved inadequate, mainly due to the great social and political transformations taking place in Europe, such as the transition from feudalism to capitalism and colonial expansion. Two new academic disciplines emerged – sociology and social or cultural anthropology – within which attempts were made to describe and interpret the changes taking place. These new academic disciplines also brought broad anthropological definitions of culture. Antonina Kłoskowska, while analysing various concepts of culture (e.g., enumerative, historical, psychological, normative, structural, and genetic) and referring to many authors (e.g., Stefan Czarnecki, Stanisław Ossowski, Bronisław Malinowski, Sigmund Freud, and Ruth Benedict), formulated the following definition: “Culture is a relatively integrated entirety encompassing human behaviours that follow patterns shared by social collectivities which have been developed and acquired while interacting with others; this entirety also encompasses the products of these behaviours” (Kłoskowska, 1964, p. 66). To this definition she later added the sphere of consciousness, which is inaccessible to direct observation and is thus not included in her first operational definition: “Culture is a multifaceted entirety in which, by means of analysis, one can distinguish a layer of norms, patterns, and values embedded in the consciousness of people; a layer of activities which are an objectified expression of the previous layer; and a layer of products of these activities or other objects which become the focus of cultural activities” (in this last layer she refers to the correlates of culture from Ossowski’s conception) (Kłoskowska, 1991, pp. 23–24). In these two definitions of culture, the term ‘art’ does not appear explicitly; however, this does not mean that art has been omitted or eliminated from culture. Both culture and art are complex spheres that are difficult to define adequately in analytical definitions that are not too narrow and not too broad. Taking into account two criteria – the semiotic character (i.e., the use of signs) and the axiological aspect which refers to

autotelic and instrumental values – Kłoskowska distinguished three areas in the broad sphere of culture: the culture of being (also called civilizational culture or material culture which operates on objects), societal culture (the state, law, and institutions that regulate relations between people), and symbolic culture (culture in the narrower sense that is commonly termed spiritual culture). Symbolic culture comprises several categories, including religion, knowledge, science, play, language, and art, all of which are semiotic in nature and often pursue autotelic values that constitute an end in themselves by giving pleasure (Kłoskowska, 1983).

From an ontological perspective, art encompasses three spheres: the first includes the object, product, creation, or work of man (this includes 'artistic situations'); second is the ability to produce, act, or create; and third is the sphere of behaviours and products that belong to culture in the narrower sense. Tatarkiewicz's conception is also present in Kłoskowska's aforementioned definitions of culture. The complexity linked to the diversity of art, which is not a homogeneous and closed set of elements, as well as the vast wealth of reflections on art are captured in an alternative definition of art proposed by Tatarkiewicz: "Art is the reproduction of things, or the construction of forms, or the expression of aesthetic experiences – if the product of this reproduction, construction, or expression is capable of delighting, or moving, or shocking" (Tatarkiewicz, 1976, p. 52).

Art is studied in many academic disciplines, primarily those called 'internal' disciplines, such as art history, aesthetics, or theory of art, for which it constitutes a specific object of study. 'External' disciplines that analyse art from particular perspectives include religious studies, psychology, education, political science, culture studies, and sociology. It is worth mentioning that the sociology of the arts 'links perspectives' and 'builds bridges' between the various art sciences better than other disciplines (Zolberg, 1990).

Historical analysis of the term

The history of the concept of art and the dilemmas of aesthetics. It is worth beginning with a presentation of the 'internal' disciplines of art, with a focus on the development of art (which is the subject of art history) and the history of the concept of art

(the subject of aesthetics). Władysław Tatarkiewicz was interested in the history of aesthetics, which includes the concepts of art, beauty, form, creativity, recreativity, and the aesthetic experience. His argumentation begins with objectivist aesthetics, which is focused on the work of art and ends with subjectivist aesthetics, which deals with, among other things, the reaction of the audience. An erudite analysis of the history of philosophy led Tatarkiewicz to conclude that “twenty-five centuries of Western history have managed to make the concept of art very complicated” (Tatarkiewicz, 2004, p. 74). In antiquity, Greek *techne* and Latin *ars* meant the ability to make an object (a statue, a pot, or a ship) as well as the ability (which stemmed from knowing the rules) to command an army or persuade an audience. Thus, all these skills were based on expertise. The scope of the term ‘art’ was broader than today as it referred to arts, crafts, and some areas of science. Arts encompassed *artes liberales*, i.e., liberal arts based on mental effort, and crafts – *artes vulgares*, i.e., ordinary arts that required physical effort (such as sculpture and painting). In the Middle Ages, the term ‘art’ referred to the seven liberal arts, which in our modern understanding are closer to ‘sciences’. They were divided into the *quadrivium* (grammar, rhetoric, logic, and arithmetic) and the *trivium* (geometry, astronomy, and music, i.e., the theory of composition). In the Renaissance, poetry joined the arts as it was recognised that rules applied to the art of words as well. It is worth mentioning that, in antiquity, poetry was considered a form of philosophy or even an activity with magical characteristics, i.e., foretelling.

At some point, art diverged into two separate strands: the art produced by craftsmen and the art created by artists. Using contemporary terminology, we can say that visual artists sought to elevate their social position, and so the craftsman, who executed commissions for the mighty, was replaced by the artist, who was a creator of beauty. In the Renaissance, artists were actually treated like scholars, which was in line with the belief in the unity of art and knowledge which was widespread at the time. Leonardo da Vinci is an outstanding example of such a learned artist. In the 16th century, the category of ‘drawing arts’ emerged; it included painting, sculpture, and architecture. The term ‘fine arts’ (*beaux arts* in French) did not appear until the 18th century and covered painting, sculpture, architecture, music, dance, poetry, and rhetoric/art of communication (this is an example of an enumerative definition).

Given the development of the arts and their social applications, new disputes have arisen over the scope of the concept of art and its definition. Photography, posters, mass media, industrial architecture, horticulture, and design have successfully lobbied to be granted the status of art. The solution to the problem of defining art generally consists in incorporating only certain works from these fields into the sphere of art. Photography is a good example here: fine-art photography appeared in the middle of the 20th century, i.e., a century after the inventions of Niepce, Daguerre, and Talbot, and is the only genre of photography that is considered art. The recognition and autonomisation of this discipline is testified to by the establishment of academic centres (institutes or departments of photography or new media art colleges), dedicated magazines, and exhibitions in art galleries. In tandem, although separate, was the development of family, documentary, reporter, press, advertising, industrial, and medical photography – all excellent in form and socially useful but not considered art.

It is worth observing that no one questions the artistic status of literature (the term 'belles lettres' is telling) nor music, both of which function as autonomous spheres, while the term 'art' is generally reserved for the visual arts. Both colloquial and scientific approaches use a system of arts classification, or in other words a division into artistic genres. At an elementary level, this division is based on a distinction between spatial arts (still, using images), temporal arts (using movement and sound), reproductive arts (figurative, with concrete associations), and productive arts (abstract, without concrete associations). The four-field table constructed based on these criteria includes painting and sculpture (spatial/figurative arts), poetry and dance (temporal/figurative arts), architecture (spatial/productive arts), and music (temporal/productive arts). Obviously, this classification is simplistic, but it allows more elaborate classifications to be developed by applying additional criteria, such as a work of art's structure and the material from which it is made (Gołaszewska, 1984, pp. 239, 244). The 20th-century avant-garde – the happening and the environment – argued for the abolition of the temporal and spatial boundaries of art rather than simply changing the material, form, content, and function, thus wishing to blur the boundaries between artist and audience and between art and life (Pawłowski, 1987, p. 227).

Numerous typologies show the richness of art itself and of its diversity; however, they also manifest a tendency towards a holistic, unified approach to art because they use classificatory definitions (separating art from non-art, just as being and non-being are separated in philosophy). Art history and the sociology of art, which have a more empirical orientation, both refer to aesthetics that define the essence of art through values (including beauty) and use ordering definitions; such definitions reflect the gradable qualities of the elements of a set and allow works of art, artists, styles, as well as genres of art to be evaluated. Some are considered great (painting, sculpture), while others are described as average (in French *art moyen* – like photography in Bourdieu's approach). Taking into account the chronology and value of art makes it possible to distinguish between new, i.e., modern art (avant-garde and 'avant-garde on the way to recognition', situated in the 'field of limited production'), legitimate art (classical, canonical, recognised), and mass/popular art/culture, which is situated in the 'field of great cultural production' (Matuchniak-Krasuska, 2010). The avant-garde questioned all formal and content-related features of a work of art (selection and the arrangement of elements, semantic functions), introduced new materials, e.g., taken from the trash heap of contemporary civilisation, and created poor art (*arte povera*), land art, and body art, not only in the form of artefacts but also in the form of artistic activities (e.g., actions, interventions, fluxus performance, performance, and happenings). Innovative creations are only of interest to a narrow elite audience. Ordinary audiences value contemporary popular artists and generally reject innovative artists who are ahead of their time. Hence, original artists have no understanding contemporary audience (Eco's term); they are only appreciated by later generations. With great sociological insight, Cyprian Kamil Norwid once wrote: "the son will pass the writing, but you will remember, grandson" (Norwid, 2021, p. 24 [trans. R. Bodgrog]). Vincent van Gogh lived in poverty, and a century after his death he is an object of admiration (Heinich, 1991). Everyone knows the works of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, while the name of his contemporary and better-off Antonio Salieri is known to only a few – and in the role of the adversary of a genius rather than as a talented musician in his own right (Elias, 1994). Classical art is a value that is appreciated – and also, though to a lesser extent, felt and realised – by both connoisseurs

and ordinary audiences (Ossowski, 1967). The principles used to assign a work to the category of art are neither questioned nor argued about, as Gombrowicz mockingly put it with a phrase from his novel *Ferdydurke*, published in 1937: "Słowacki was a great poet!"; this is also reflected in Bourdieu's phrase *doxa*, i.e., the rules of the field imposed by the dominant class (Gombrowicz, 2009, p. 42; Bourdieu, 1984). In contrast, popular art, also called 'light, easy, pleasurable' art, which is characterised by being reproductive, imitative, and stereotypical, enjoys the popularity of the wider masses, with rather little chances for ennoblement, although kitsch has created a distinct aesthetic category in culture (Pawłowski, 1987, ch. 7; Eco, 2007, ch. XIV).

The essence of a work of art is the value resulting from the harmonious interplay of form, content, and emotions, but there are many phenomena and related concepts entangled in the understanding of art that must be taken into account in analyses. Władysław Tatarkiewicz writes about creativity and re-creativity, about the form of a work of art (objectivist aesthetics), and about aesthetic experience (subjectivist aesthetics). Stanisław Ossowski also takes up this issue. He begins with objectivist aesthetics, dealing with the form and content of cultural artefacts: sound, colour, shape, dimensionality, the appearance of real objects, and the recreation of reality in art. He provides excellent reflections on the realism of form, such as illusionism, subjective realism, psychological realism, and social realism; he also writes about the realism of content, such as individual and generic realism. He then moves on to subjectivist aesthetics and examines artistic expression and the ways of conveying inner states in art, repeating the order of 'from an object to a subject' and arguing that the only shared characteristic of objects which have value is their capacity to arouse aesthetic experiences. However, all diverse aesthetic experiences (simple sensory pleasures concerning colour or sound, compositions of elements, concrete objects) are captured by the broader category of 'living in the moment', which also includes other autotelic exultations and contemplative states. Autotelic here means the same as disinterest for Kant.

Many aesthetic theories take into account the emotional and contemplative aspects of an aesthetic experience. Roman Ingarden, the creator of the phenomenological theory of the work of art, argued that aesthetic experience *per se* cannot be studied; what can be studied is

this experience's objective conditions, which are related to an aesthetic stimulus, and its subjective conditions, which are related to the audience and the situation. He identified three stages of this experience: the initial emotion expressed by being moved, then the concentrated analysis of aesthetic qualities which form the object of contemplation, and finally the receptive admiration of this object (Ingarden, 1970). Tatarkiewicz (1976) emphasised that an aesthetic experience consists in successively dreaming and concentrating.

Maria Gołaszewska devotes her extensive study to the subjects of the world of art – its creators and receivers – and to the object of this *universum*, such as the work of art, beauty, and value. She also explains the scientific values of aesthetics (Gołaszewska, 1984). It is symptomatic that she begins her considerations with the theory and methodology of aesthetics and concludes with remarks on the problems linked to studying contemporary art. She suggests that changes in art necessitate changes in studying art, which she explains in her books with the telling titles: *Estetyka i antyestetyka* [*Aesthetics and Anti-Aesthetics*] (1983), *Estetyka pięciu zmysłów* [*Aesthetics of the Five Senses*] (1997), and *Estetyka współczesności* [*Aesthetics of the Contemporary Era*] (2001). This problem is also addressed by Grzegorz Sztabiński, who considers various manifestations of contemporary art and analyses 'other concepts within aesthetics', e.g., freedom and the ethos of art, historicity, identity, and autonomy, although he does not abandon using such classical terms as art, beauty, artist, and avant-garde (Sztabiński, 2020).

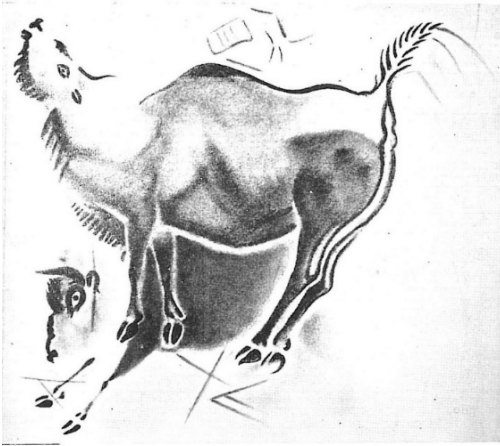
Each of the terms associated with art has a history, especially 'beauty' and 'value'. When discussing different canons of beauty and other aesthetic values, it is worth using the examples given by Umberto Eco in his erudite books *On Beauty* and *On Ugliness*, both of which can serve as ostensive definitions that link theory and art history (Eco, 2005; Eco, 2007). However, we should also appreciate Mieczysław Wallis's excellent conception of distinguishing between two categories of values – soft (beauty and prettiness) and sharp (sublimity, tragedy, comedy, grotesques, and ugliness) – especially because he put it forward much earlier than Umberto Eco developed his ideas (Wallis, 1983).

In conclusion, it seems that the development of art and the development of thought about art justifies contemporary interest in both 'old art'

and 'new art', as both are studied within the theory of art and the history of art.

The history of art. The history of art deals with the origins of art, which are related to the beginnings of human society, and then chronologically describes its development from prehistory to the present day. In this perspective, art appears as a measure of humanity as it is an essentially human activity which influences social bonds. It also has strong links with customs, e.g., religious ones, and often serves as a means to 'appeal' to higher forces. It is not without reason that artist and priest were the first formal 'professions'. The great scale of achievements with aesthetic value and magical-religious function testify to the specialised professional role played by 'creators' and the support they received from other members of primitive communities, whose main activities were hunting and gathering (Hauser, 1999). It is also worth noting that the word 'creator' is also used in reference to God. In fact, the word 'creativity' has the same root.

Ossowski's book *The Foundations of Aesthetics* (1933) ends with an essay devoted to Palaeolithic art entitled *Altamira. Masterpieces of cave painting*. This is an excellent example of a synthesis of art history, aesthetics, art criticism, literature, and sociology. With the competence of a connoisseur, the author describes the site of the exhibition, calling it the 'Sistine Chapel of pre-historic man', admiring the layout of the images of animals, the composition, the stylistics, the colours, the naturalism, and the expressivity of the painted bison – the artistry. Analysis of works of art is combined with reflection on their creators, which is a sociogenetic approach, and with accounts dedicated to the authors' own aesthetic experiences. Sociological aesthetics thus moves seamlessly into the sociology of social relations related to the existence of the work of art and the sociology of emotions (Ossowski, 1966).



II. 1. Young Bizon. Palaeolithic painting from Altamira

The history of art takes into account not only the period in which works of art were created but also the place – the temporal aspect is combined with the spatial. The social history of art also deals with the situation of artists as a professional group, which has varied greatly throughout history. Presentation of the vast wealth of art and the multiplicity of works of art requires certain criteria, hence the division into 'old' art and 'new' art, as well as into European art (including Polish art) and exotic art from other cultures. These criteria are applied in many studies, including Ossowski's, who uses a set of 108 photographs of works of art in his book to illustrate the areas studied within the history of art and the theory of art. Ossowski's attempt to 'order' this set of illustrations is based on commonly used divisions into genres of art (architecture, sculpture, painting) and the time of their creation: 'old' art is that which is prehistoric, ancient, medieval, Renaissance, and classical; in contrast, 'new' art encompasses various styles from the 19th and the 20th centuries, e.g., impressionism, cubism, dadaism, surrealism, and abstract art. In terms of numbers, Ossowski's book gives 19 examples of architecture (including one of nature), 35 examples of sculptures, 54 examples of paintings, with 'old' art (68 examples) outnumbering 'new' art (40). The examples are, in fact, outstanding (the *Nike of Samothrace*, Michelangelo's *Dying Slave*, Bernini's *Apollo*, Rodin's *Monument to Balzac*, Leonardo da Vinci's *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*, Manet's *Breakfast on the Grass*, Van Gogh's *Olive Trees*, and

Picasso's *Guernica*) and clearly represent the canon of the universalisation of culture which covers ancient Greek sculptures and medieval, Renaissance, Impressionist, and Cubist paintings. Most examples are of works and artists from France, Italy, and Greece, with very few exotic or 'foreign' works from Africa, Asia, or America. Polish art is represented by 17 works (four churches, two sculptures by Xawery Dunikowski, and paintings by Jacek Malczewski, Tadeusz Makowski, Wojciech Wojtkiewicz, and Hanna Gordziałkowska) (Matuchniak-Krasuska, 2014).

The most common approaches are multi-volume studies that present the history of art, comparative approaches on one theme or motif (e.g., the Madonna in European painting, children in Polish painting, Polish self-portraits), and monographic presentations of one particular style or artist. Many albums and catalogues are devoted to a specific collection, exhibition, or museum, i.e., to an institution that makes art accessible to the public. Comparative approaches, whether in the form of books or exhibitions, are more interesting for an audience than 'pure' chronology, which is sometimes seen as boring and makes museums 'cemeteries of art'. It is worth noting that museum exhibitions allow visitors to see original works of art, to appreciate both the form (colour, composition, technique, aesthetic qualities, format, texture) and the content, including realism in its many varieties. The magic of an original work of art and the magic of the place – sometimes referred to as the 'temple of art' – arouse emotions. 'I am in the Louvre looking at Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*' is an example of a situation which arouses the viewer's awe. Most often, however, we learn about art from reproductions in albums and books, which provide us with knowledge about art rather than an aesthetic experience.

The History of Beauty, edited by Umberto Eco, is an excellent example of a comparative approach that embraces various works of art arranged thematically and chronologically; it combines the history of art and aesthetics at the same time (Eco, 2005). The Italian scholar considered the following 11 themes or motifs to be the most significant: 'Venus Nude', 'Adonis Nude', 'Venus Clothed', 'Adonis Clothed', 'Portraits of Venus', 'Portraits of Adonis', 'Madonna', 'Jesus', 'Kings', 'Queens', and 'Proportions'. Each is illustrated by about thirty works of ancient and new art (paintings, sculptures, and photographs). Paying attention to the autotelic and instrumental functions of art, it is worth focusing

on legitimate art and religious art to analyse examples from the 'Venus Clothed', 'Venus Nude', and 'Madonna' chapters, which are ostensive definitions that enumerate specific themes.

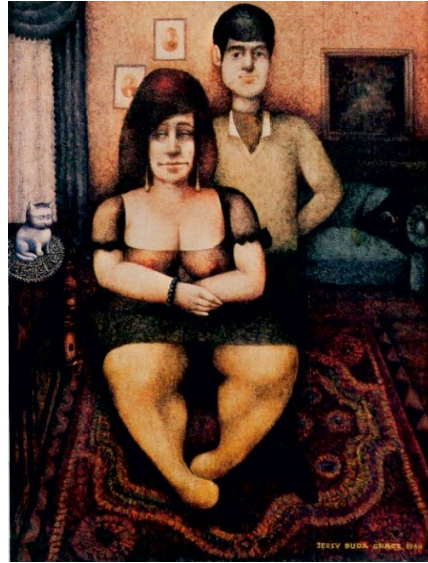
The chapter entitled 'Venus Clothed' includes examples of sculptures, frescoes, paintings on ceramics, embroidered paintings, oil paintings, photographs, and drawings, Cretan sculpture, red-figure painting, portraits by Raphael, Parmigianino, Titian, Rubens, Boucher, Gainsborough, David, Gauguin, and the world's most famous painting, Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*. Twentieth-century art is represented by a Klimt painting, a magazine drawing of Coco Chanel, photographs of the writer Colette and two beautiful actresses, Anita Ekberg and Rita Hayworth. The 'Venus Nude' collection includes sculptures (*Venus of Willendorf* and *Venus de Milo*), easel paintings (Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus*, Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, Goya's *Nude Maya*, Ingres' *Odalisque*, Manet's *Olympia*), and photographs of female nudes (Josephine Baker, Marilyn Monroe, Brigitte Bardot, and Monica Bellucci). It seems that the works and figures of nude Venus are better known than those of clothed Venus.

The influence of great classical art on subsequent avant-garde and popular realisations can be most clearly illustrated using the example of Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa* and the wealth of paintings that refer to this original. The collection of pastiches and alterations analysed by Krzemień-Ojak and Matuchniak-Krasuska numbers over a thousand images gathered from albums and internet portals and is still not complete. The common denominator of all the elements in this collection is their composition and title, to which their authors have often added comments. It should be emphasised that Leonardo da Vinci's painting has always been considered legitimate culture, and the works based on his *Mona Lisa* include such avant-garde works as Marcel Duchamp's painting with the intriguing title L.H.O.O.Q., Salvador Dali's *Self-Portrait* (Mona Lisa with a distinctive moustache), contemporary versions of the rotund beauty typical of Botero, Christo's grinning beauty, as well as Jerzy Duda-Gracz's attractive Silesian woman (*Kochankowie* [*The Lovers*]). Popular culture products make us laugh, e.g., the Mona Lisa bodybuilder, the rugby player, bald Mona Lisa, after beautifying plastic surgery, as a monkey, a skeleton, even depicted as George Washington or Barack Obama, or inscribed in the composition of Hieronymus Bosch's *Hay*

Cart, which symbolises human pride and stupidity, or in graffiti. According to Sław Krzemień-Ojak, these are examples of “artists’ playing with the canon” (Krzemień-Ojak, 2009; Matuchniak-Krasuska, 2013).



II. 2. Leonardo da Vinci *Mona Lisa*



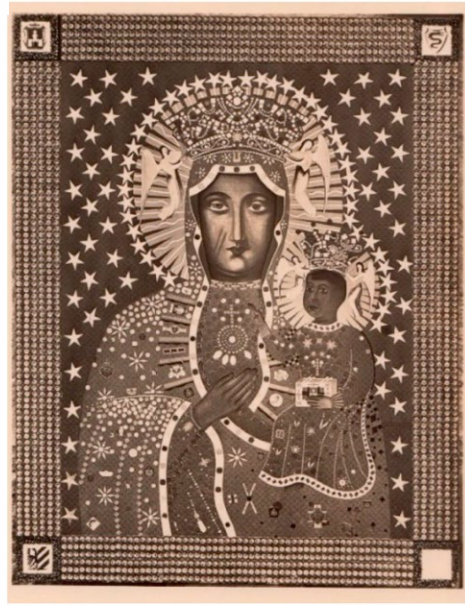
II. 3. Jerzy Duda-Gracz *Kochankowie* [*Lovers*]

Religious art is based on the combination of two symbolic systems – religion and art – as described by well-known philosophers (Hani, 2007) and cultural studies scholars, such as Teresa Kostyrko, Stefan Morawski, and Anna Zeidler-Janiszewska (Leszczyński, 1991). The way in which saints were depicted on altars, stained glass windows, paintings, and church sculptures was intended to reveal truth, beauty, and goodness. Moreover, in the Middle Ages, paintings and sculptures of saints taught the truths of faith to illiterate Christians and were therefore sometimes called *Biblia pauperum*.

Eco's selection of 'Madonnas' comprises medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque frescoes, sculptures, and paintings which, in several classical iconographic settings, depict the Madonna and Child, the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Coronation, as well as Madonna praying, Madonna with a goldfinch (Raphael), or a pomegranate (Botticelli), a pear (Dürer), a rosary, with angels, Saint Anne, or pilgrims. Shocking,

though legitimate, are three exemplifications of this theme: *Virgin and Child Surrounded by Angels* by Jean Fouquet (with the most beautiful female breast in painting, popularised more by the series 'Allo 'Allo! than by the story of King Charles VII, his beautiful mistress, and the heroic Joan of Arc), Edward Munch's female nude, and a photograph of the female singer Madonna. These are also examples of the controversy between aesthetic and ethical values or even iconoclasm.

Poles are familiar with examples of great and popular art because the sphere of universalisation of culture is very wide in the Polish educational and cultural systems. The section devoted to 'Madonnas' is dominated by works that can be categorised as belonging to the sphere of the *sacrum* and placed in the church; nevertheless, elements of *profanum* also appear in it. Moreover, there is no example of Polish art in it. A completely different collection entitled 'Madonna' would have been created if the thematic criterion were based not on the history of art but on religion and geographical location. The album *Sanktury polskie* [*Polish Sanctuaries*] presents Polish sacred art, images of Our Lady of Częstochowa, Our Lady of Kalwaria, Our Lady of Licheń, Our Lady of Świąta Lipka, Our Lady of Piekary, Our Lady of Gietrzwałd, and Our Lady of Tuchów. This collection focuses on religious symbolism rather than the formal and aesthetic aspects of the works of art themselves (Jankowski, 2005). By combining reflections from the theory, history, and sociology of art, it is possible to illustrate certain themes with images situated in different social and historical contexts. We know the icon of Our Lady of Częstochowa from countless albums and decorative reproductions, which have changed its format, material, or frames. One version, Oflag VII-A Murnau, was made during the Second World War in a German prisoner-of-war camp for Polish Army officers. This is an example of classical religious art and at the same time an avant-garde type of *arte povera* (poor art) because the holy figure and the background are made from cigarette packs – not for extravagance or iconoclasm but out of poverty.



II. 4-5. *Our Lady of Częstochowa* – the painting from Jasna Góra and its copy from Oflag VII-A Murnau

Like religious art, national art also has a prominent place in the history of art. In both genres, what particularly matters is its author, theme, and the time and place of the creation of a work of art. National art frequently combines beauty, goodness, and truth, following the ancient ideal of *kalokagathos*, and has great social significance.

The most famous Polish painter is Jan Matejko. His best-known painting is the battle scene *Battle of Grunwald*, exhibited today in the National Museum in Warsaw. This painting is gigantic (426×987 cm) and reproductions of this work in books will never do justice to the original.



II. 6. Jan Matejko, *Bitwa pod Grunwaldem* [*Battle of Grunwald*]

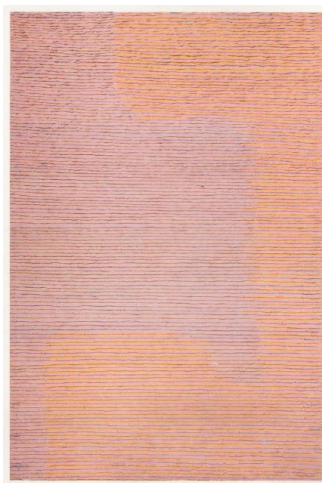
This monumental work can be described following the schematic template of content analysis proposed by Erwin Panofsky, which links the subject matter, type of interpretation, and the viewer's competences (the interpreter's toolkit and the extent of knowledge which guarantee the correctness of the interpretation). The first level is made up of primary subject matter: the viewer's practical experience and an elementary knowledge of artistic conventions are sufficient for a pre-iconographic description at this level. The viewer sees a battle scene that depicts a crowd of knights and will perhaps spot characteristic figures in red and white clothing. The second level is made up of secondary subject matter, which is related to history, literature, and art, and constitutes the basis for iconographic analysis. This level allows the viewer to identify specific figures in the painting, such as the Grand Duke Vytautas and Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, Ulrich von Jungingen. The viewer may notice Zawisza Czarny in black knightly armour and King Władysław Jagiełło commanding the Polish and Lithuanian troops from the hill, and then recognise this as the Battle of Grunwald of 15 July 1410. The third level is made up of tertiary meaning or content, which allows iconological interpretation to be made; this covers internal meanings, symbolism and sense. This interpretation depends on the viewer's knowledge, intuition, and worldview. For a Pole, *The Battle of Grunwald* and other paintings by Matejko (e.g., *Hołd pruski* [*The Prussian Homage*], *Stefan Batory pod Pskowem* [*Stefan Batory at Pskov*], *Kazanie Skargi* [*Skarga's Sermon*],

Jan III Sobieski pod Wiedniem [*Jan III Sobieski at Vienna*], *Bitwa pod Racławicami* [*Battle of Racławice*]) which depict the triumphs of Polish armies are understandable and close to Polish hearts because they were painted to comfort Poles. They were intended to provide psychological support to compatriots who lived under the partitions and were an expression of the greatest patriotism (Panofsky, 1971).

The complexity of the form and subject matter of paintings depicting various themes is also captured by Roman Ingarden's schematic structure of a painting. Ingarden distinguished five types of painting, depending on the richness of their subject matter: paintings with five layers are the richest, while those with one layer are the poorest. 'The richest' group comprises paintings with a historical theme that depict well-known historical events. Matejko's *Bitwa pod Grunwaldem* [*Battle of Grunwald*] falls into this category. Paintings with four layers present a literary theme, such as genre scenes (e.g., Aleksander Gieryski's *W altanie* [*In the arbour*]), while portraits consist of three layers (e.g., Jan Matejko's *Stańczyk*). Semi-abstract paintings, which show not only colour patches but also the 'appearance of the represented object' (e.g., the afterimages of Władysław Strzemiński), have two layers, while paintings that do not represent anything but are only colour patches have only one layer. These are exemplified by purely abstract paintings (e.g., unistic compositions) (Ingarden, 1966, 1970). The aforementioned concepts and analytical procedures can be applied to all other visual works of art and therefore have universal value.



II. 7. Aleksander Gierymski, *W altanie* [*In the arbour*]



II. 8-9. Władysław Strzemiński, *Kompozycja unistyczna* [*An unistic composition*] (1931) and *Powidok słońca* [*The sun's afterimages*] (1948)

Discussion of the term

This section is dedicated to the social functioning of art, which, in its most general sense, is studied within the sociology of art. It should be remembered that today it is impossible to present the history of art and the theory of art without becoming drawn into controversy.

The sociology of art is a sub-discipline of the sociology of culture and thus of sociology. Art is the research subject not only of the sociology of art but also of other academic disciplines, especially the history of art and the theory of art. The sociology of art studies art using a communicative research approach and methods and techniques typical of the social sciences. In the less than 100-year history of this discipline, three generations related to the dominant cognitive trend can be identified: sociological aesthetics, the social history of art, and empirical sociology which is interested in works of art, their creation, mediation, and reception (Heinich, 2010). The first two are strongly linked to the 'internal' disciplines of art studies: aesthetics and the history of art (Zolberg, 1990). Stanisław Ossowski and Pierre Francastel, who laid the foundations of this discipline, are the most prominent representatives of sociological aesthetics. In their studies, they focused on the characterisation of works of art as cultural artefacts, but they also emphasised the legitimacy of studying their social functioning (creators, audiences, institutional circuits), their links with other symbolic systems, and the interdependence of art and society.

Stanisław Ossowski, who was interested in the social existence of the work of art, included four areas in his sociological analysis: 1) the work of art as a certain product of social life; 2) the work of art as an object of emotional reactions shaped by the environment; 3) the work of art as a centre of new social relations; and 4) the work of art as a factor in social and cultural transformations (Ossowski, 1966).

Distinguishing between the heterotelic and autotelic functions of art connects artistic and aesthetic issues with practical ones, i.e., the impact of art on society and culture (which is the fourth area in Ossowski's sociology of art). Stanisław Ossowski wrote on this subject in the preface to the third edition of his book *U podstaw estetyki* [*Foundations of Aesthetics*]:

Art is a phenomenon with diverse and momentous social functions. It is among the oldest transmissions in the cultural heritage of mankind. It serves magical practices and religious cults. It can facilitate group work and coordinate activities.

It is a weapon. It is a mainstay of tradition, a tool for defending the existing political system and the existing power. It is a weapon of revolution and a propagator of new ideas. It performs various educational roles, is a significant factor in sexual life, and is sometimes a source of respite and inner regeneration. Artistic creation is found in all cultures known to us on the globe. But the concept of art as a distinct field of human culture with specific characteristics is a historical product of only certain cultures (Ossowski, 1966, p. 8).

Analyses of beautiful objects (those with aesthetic value) and aesthetic experiences lead to sociological problems formulated explicitly within the second and third areas of Ossowski's sociology of art: how the social environment influences the emotional reactions of the audience, and what new social relations result from the existence of a work of art. The first problem underpins the sociology of emotions and subsequent studies within social psychology which focus on values recognised, felt, and realised; these values create incommensurable further scales of values. The second problem builds the foundations of empirical sociology, which was developed in later years by sociologists who studied artists, audiences, mediating institutions, and art circuits, including the field of art, the art market, art systems, i.e., all elements of artistic life (A. Kłoskowska, B. Sułkowski, P. Bourdieu, R. Moulin, M. Golka, A. Matuchniak-Mystkowska, and others). In fact, there is no book on the sociology of art and culture which does not reference the ideas that Ossowski presented in *U podstaw estetyki* [*Foundations of Aesthetics*]. He analysed legitimate art with a capital A, prehistoric art, primitive art, folklore, exotic art, and their social functioning. He drew attention to the Eurocentric beliefs of civilised audiences and organisers of cultural life that are clearly manifested in art institutions:

The duality of the concept of art is reflected in the organisation of art collections. There are art galleries which exhibit works of European art, and next to them there are ethnographic museums where works of exotic art are crowded together (Ossowski, 1966, p. 354).

Another Polish researcher, Marcin Czerwiński, addressed the problem of the 'loneliness of art' which has been moved from a temple or palace to a museum and placed in unnatural 'physical surroundings' (M. Wallis' term), where it is thus deprived of its original entourage and understanding audience (Eco's term) (Czerwiński, 1978). When conducting empirical research, sociologists also refer to theoretical

reflections on art and artistic culture formulated by philosophers, literary scholars, and cultural scientists, which is beautifully captured in the title of Czerwiński's book: *Sztuka w pejzażu kultury* [*Art in the Landscape of Culture*]. The collaboration between scholars from different disciplines is best evidenced by their joint publications (Czerwinski, 1997; Kostyrko, 1985; Kostyrko & Szpociński, 1989; Żółkiewski, 1985).

Nathalie Heinich also suggested the possibility of the emergence of another paradigm in the sociology of art, although she did not elaborate on this further. Research practice has overtaken theoretical reflection in this area and identified a new trend in the sociology of art which analyses multiple issues within art and its social functioning simultaneously, explains broader social phenomena, and employs various theoretical approaches, including interdisciplinary ones – hence it is called ‘the cross-genre sociology of art’. Jerzy Duda-Gracz's work was studied from the perspective of the sociology of the painting, its themes, and politics; these studies took into account structural and sociogenetic aspects of his paintings and fitted into the prescribed way of thinking (Matuchniak-Krasuska, 1999). The analysis of art by prisoners of war is a good example of the cross-genre sociology of art, which is related to the sociology of literature, theatre, painting, photography, themes, circuits, sports, religion, and historical sociology (Matuchniak-Mystkowska, 2022). The cross-genre sociology of art combines the structural approach typical of sociological aesthetics (what a work of art is like), the sociogenetic approach typical of the social history of art (the circumstances of the time and place in which a work of art was created), and the functional approach employed by empirical sociology (concerning how the work of art was received); this suggests the necessity of integrating knowledge from aesthetics, the history of art, sociology, and history. The sociology of art turns out to be sociology *tout court*.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

Art – in all its richness, a wide range of theoretical paradigms and applications of empirical research – should be studied in various disciplines of science. The research areas worth studying can be listed in the form of keywords which represent subjects and objects from the world of art

which are extensively analysed in subject literature dedicated to art. Examples of such keywords include works of art, genres of art, values (truth, goodness, beauty, the sublime, tragedy, comedy, grotesque), avant-garde, classic, mass culture, artists, audiences, mediatising institutions (museums, theatres, festivals), cultural policy, censorship, freedom of art, the art world, the art market, and the art field, etc.

Everyone should be encouraged to actively participate in culture because art should represent a sphere of freedom for everyone. And while paying attention to our subjective values – i.e., what we like and what we dislike – we must not forget what values we recognise today and who or what should be respected. In order to better understand this problem, it is worth quoting a famous poem by Adam Asnyk entitled *Do młodych* [*To the Young*] (1956, p. 188):

To the Young

by Adam Asnyk (1838–1897)

The brightening flame of truth pursue,
Seek to discover ways no human knows.
With every secret now revealed to you,
The soul of man expands within the new.
And God still bigger grows! [...]

Each epoch has its special goals in store,
And soon forgets the dreams of older days.
So, bear the torch of learning in the fore,
And join the making of new eras' lore.
The House of the Future raise!

But trample not the altars of the past!
Although you shall much finer domes erect.
The holy flames upon the stones still last,
And human love lives there and guards them fast,
And them you owe respect! [...]

Translated from Polish by Jacek Zawadzki.

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The list and sources of illustrations included in the article under quotation right:

1. *Młody bizon* [Young Bizon]. Palaeolithic painting from Altamira [Ossowski, S. (1966). *U podstaw estetyki*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, p. 400].
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Cultural literary theory

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: Cultural literary theory can be defined as a panoramic synthesis (or a synthesising theory) and as a research trend. Both of these approaches reveal its theoretical (i.e., new research possibilities and methods) and interpretative potential, which allows a broader perspective of the research area.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: Cultural literary theory appeared in Poland in the first decade of the 21st century as a consequence of the cultural turn in the humanities. This turn was primarily driven by two paradigms: modernist (related to the anti-positivist movement and the linguistic turn) and postmodern (related to the anti-theoretical turn).

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: Culturally oriented literary theory shifts the emphasis from abstract theory to practice, reading, and interpretation. Its specificity lies in the cultural reading of literature, i.e., it draws on the achievements of cultural studies and uses interpretative practices to read literary texts and look for answers to questions about culture in literature

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Cultural literary theory does not claim to be a new universal theory. Its synthesising and explanatory power is weak because it focuses on pragmatic usefulness. The practice of interpretation (of literature and of cultural texts) reveals the existential condition of human beings and their participation in the diverse (cultural) practices of everyday life.

Keywords: cultural turn, literary theory, poetics, cultural research, cultural studies

Definition of the term

In contemporary literary discourse, there is considerable interest in looking at literary texts from a cultural perspective. This interest was particularly intense in the first decade of the 21st century, when the idea of cultural literary theory was formulated and understood as a theoretical synthesis (or a synthesising theory) and a project and trend in (not only) literary studies.

As Anna Burzyńska, a forerunner of cultural literary theory in Poland, points out, in the cultural turn in literary theory “it is not so much theorising that comes to the fore but the various practices of interpretation that activate diverse cultural contexts in which literary texts participate. Cultural literary theory creates an open set of different, historically and culturally changeable languages of interpretation through which recontextualisations of texts take place” (Burzyńska, 2006, p. 74). Cultural literary theory thus moves away from systemic aspirations towards different ways of reading and describing literary works. Thus, theory becomes, as Grzegorz Dziamski adds, “a background for interpretative practices and provides them with the tools, languages, and contexts needed to interpret literature in all its cultural entanglements” (Dziamski, 2007, p. 210).

The term ‘cultural literary theory’ was proposed by researchers from Krakow who worked in the Department of Anthropology of Literature and Cultural Studies at the Faculty of Polish Studies at Jagiellonian University, chaired by Ryszard Nycz¹. In this sense, cultural literary theory can be treated as a research project which culminated in a two-volume publication entitled *Kulturowa teoria literatury* [Cultural literary theory]. Part I: *Główne pojęcia i problemy* [Main Concepts and Problems] (2006) presents the theoretical assumptions of this concept and its research strategies and tools. Part II: *Poetyki, problematyki, interpretacje* [Poetics, Problems, Interpretations] (2012) confirms the validity and legitimacy of this theory, clarifies the concept, shows its practical application, and develops, supplements, and adds new ideas that demonstrate the

1 Ryszard Nycz’s text from 2001, entitled *Kulturowa natura. Kilka uwag o przedmiocie poznania literackiego* [Cultural nature. Several remarks on the subject of literary cognition] and which appeared in the “Teksty Drugie” journal, is considered an introduction to and manifesto of cultural literary theory.

inventiveness and expansiveness of cultural literary theory. The articles in which this theory is described outline “two basic strategies of critical reading: a panoramic perspective and local approximations” (Michalski, 2014, p. 193). In this sense, the volume *Kulturowa teoria literatury* [*Cultural literary theory*] offers a (long overdue) theoretical-literary synthesis, prompted primarily by a change in the status and ways of treating literature (which previously was the domain of literary studies) and by the situation on the ‘market’ of textbooks and publications devoted to theoretical-literary syntheses².

Ryszard Nycz explains the meaning of the three concepts juxtaposed in the term ‘cultural literary theory’:

it is *cultural* because its assumptions, tools, and subject matter are embedded in the historical field of culture and in the anthropological knowledge of it; it is a *theory* because it retains the ambition to formulate rules regarding the phenomena under study, their developmental tendencies, and the nature of inter- and especially trans-cultural (and trans-disciplinary) relations; [...] its central (or prototypical) research subject continues to be *literature* – both in the multiplicity of its previous meanings and in the forms and senses of its new meanings which are currently realised (2006, p. 36).

In the foreword to the second volume of *Kulturowa teoria literatury* [*Cultural literary theory*], Nycz specifies that (for him) cultural theory constitutes “a project for the restitution of theoretical-literary studies in the horizon of contemporary humanistic reflection and the current cultural and civilizational situation” (Nycz, 2012, p. 20). He identifies the object of literary cognition as

- 2 From the perspective of what is expected from the new synthesis, it is worth mentioning textbooks that can provide diverse (in terms of time and issues) points of reference. These include, e.g., *Teorie literatury XX wieku* [*Theories of 20th Century Literature*] by A. Burzyńska and M.P. Markowski (2006), *Literatura – teoria – metodologia* [*Literature – theory – methodology*] edited by D. Ulicka (2006), *Główne problemy wiedzy o literaturze* [*The main issues in literary studies*] by M. Głowiński, *Theory of Literature* by T. Wellek and R. Warren, and finally (more recent approaches) *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction* by J. Culler (Polish edition 1998) and *The Demon of Theory* by A. Compagnon (Polish edition 2009). An important context for cultural literary theory is also provided by studies related to the postmodern breakthrough which describe contemporary theories, such as P. de Man’s *The Resistance to Theory*, R. Young’s *Poststructuralism: The End of Theory*, and A. Burzyńska’s *Anty-teoria literatury* [*The Anti-Theory of Literature*].

the literary-cultural construct of an object which is a multi-layered concrete [...] inscribed in human history and culture, experienced and lived by man, thus permeated with meanings and values that constitute its cultural nature. [...] [T]he artistic form of linguistic articulation serves not only as a tool or medium for literary cognition, but also as an essential component of the objectivity of this object, which, after all, acquires its essential form, identity, and meaning through literary presentation (Nycz, 2006, p. 20).

In the approach proposed by Nycz, Burzyńska, Michał Paweł Markowski, Teresa Walas, and other scholars from Kraków, cultural literary theory appears as a peculiar mosaic of various theories, poetics, and ways of interpretation, which range from the (narrowly understood) poetics of culture initiated by Stephen Greenblatt (Greenblatt, 2006; Sendyka, 2012, pp. 229–269), through cultural studies, to “ethnic, racial, national, and postcolonial theories, as well as feminist, gender [...] and queer theories” (Płoszaj, 2021, p. 235). In its most general terms, the specificity of the cultural paradigm in literary theory lies in

the cultural reading of literature, in drawing on the achievements of cultural studies and using the interpretative practices they have developed to read literary texts, or more precisely, to ask literary questions about culture (Dziamski, 2007, p. 210).

Without denying the validity of cultural inclinations in literary studies, etc., cultural literary theory can also be described as the expression of a trend in research that is related – more generally – to the human tendency to perceive changes in culture not through evolution but through the prism of turns. While Nycz strongly emphasises the opposition between cultural orientation and structuralist-formalist orientation (Nycz, 2012, p. 20) and admits that, for him, cultural literary theory means the re-immersion of theory in culture³, for Bożena Tokarz this theory does not constitute a new paradigm; she proposes a slightly different distribution of focus. In earlier approaches, literary theory started from the

³ The adjective ‘culture’ in the name of the theory can be problematic as it may suggest that earlier orientations in literary studies were separated from culture, whereas it is obvious that culture has always been present in them, e.g., in the inclination of literary studies towards sociology, psychoanalysis, or history. Thus, it should be remembered that the name of any theory is an arbitrary category which emphasises the essence of a given paradigm.

inherent features of a text, whereas in cultural orientation the emphasis is on the cultural context. According to Tokarz,

the direction of interpretation has thus changed [...]. A researcher approaches linguistic literary expression from what is external to a text and in which literature participates in a given time and space. His aim is to show the distinctiveness of literature's voice, rather than – as before – [...] [moving] from poetics to contexts (Tokarz, 2014, p. 126).

In doing so, she quotes Greenblatt, according to whom cultural analysis combines the study of the poetics of a literary work with knowledge and methods developed in other fields (Tokarz, 2014, p. 126). The departure from the modern model (also emphasised by Nycz) does not therefore mean

a rejection of textual analysis, but the cultural turn in literary theory does not allow it to become self-sufficient [...] because the way in which thoughts are formulated in language provides information about the subject that expresses these thoughts, his attitude, and the particular space-time (Tokarz, 2014, p. 127)⁴.

Historical analysis of the term

In her main article in the first volume of *Kulturowa teoria literatury* [*Cultural literary theory*], Anna Burzyńska dates the birth of the cultural paradigm to the 1990s and observes that the cultural turn was preceded by two other paradigms: the modern paradigm, which dates back to the antipositivist movement and aimed to give literary studies a scientific status; and the postmodern paradigm, which immediately preceded the cultural paradigm. The postmodern paradigm began at the end of the 1960s, was metatheoretical in nature, and focused on the possibilities and limitations of theory (it was mostly influenced by poststructuralism and deconstructionism). Each of these paradigms was associated with an important turn in humanities research: the modern paradigm with the linguistic turn, the postmodern paradigm with the anti-theoretical turn, and the cultural paradigm with the cultural turn.

⁴ This idea has, of course, appeared before, e.g., in the works of Mikhail Bakhtin (an important figure in cultural theory) or a pioneer of this orientation, Jonathan Culler (1998, pp. 58–59).

The transition between these three phenomena is linked to the evolutionary development of literary theory, which emerged as a discipline in positivism and gained independence in the 20th century, when it became an integral part of the humanities. Its development is primarily associated with the anti-positivist breakthrough in opposition to the rigours of scientific cognition imposed by the natural sciences. The originality and specificity of literature – the research subject – required the construction of a different methodology (separate from the natural sciences). The birth of this new discipline should also be associated with (successive) attempts to define the essence of literature and literariness, both of which were of interest to literary scholars. Thus, referring to the aforementioned paradigms which precede the cultural turn in theory, it should be remembered that literary theory in the first half of the 20th century was strongly influenced by language theory (especially that of Ferdinand de Saussure). This meant that it was language itself and its system rather than extra-linguistic contexts that dominated thinking about literature and literary studies (Burzyńska, 2006, pp. 45–48; Tokarz, 2014, pp. 115–123).

This approach was reflected in the structuralist movement. Structuralism focused on developing a specific general language in literary theory, also called a 'grammar of literature'. Structuralists looked for rules which guide the creation of literary expression and that would be superordinate to the immediate object of study in literary theory. However, the peak of structuralism brought a certain 'fatigue' with the rigours of conceptualisation. The awareness of the limitations of the theoretical framework, which took into account the autonomy, objectivity, universality, supra-historicity, and systemicity of theoretical language, often overlooked the 'magic' and originality of literary worlds. This awareness revealed that what was supposed to be (in anti-positivist terms) a divergence from scientific method and theory in fact only legitimised it, which led to a departure from literature understood as a peculiar phenomenon. This crisis contributed to the emergence of the post-structuralist movement and a new type of reflection called 'postmodern theory'.

The post-structuralist movement, which primarily aimed to reduce scientism (which stemmed from general linguistics), marked a departure from epistemological fundamentalism and essentialism. An important role in this paradigm shift was played by deconstructionists

who questioned “the sense of rigourising literary interpretations which negated the criteria of their correctness” (Lewandowska-Tarasiuk, 2016, p. 16; Burzyńska, 2006, pp. 48–50; Burzyńska, 2006a, 13–19, 23–116). Post-structuralism, the essence of which was best captured by Robert Young’s claim about the ‘end of theory’ (1982), focused on the relationship between theory and interpretation. The participants of the famous discussion entitled *Against Theory*, particularly neo-pragmatists (whose main representatives were Richard Rorty and Stanley Fish), argued against theoretical restrictions imposed on interpretative practices but also observed that the humanities and literary studies cannot be devoid of knowledge and theoretical reflection (Burzyńska, 2006, p. 51).

Peter Barry’s book – with the telling title *Beginning Theory* – exerted a great impact on the search for new tasks of literary theory undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s. Barry encouraged audiences to look for new theoretical senses, arguing that the moment for ‘practising theory’ had arrived (Barry, 1995, p. 46). Joseph Hillis Miller argued that theory is nothing without practice; his book *Theory Now and Then* proved to be “symptomatic of the changes taking place in cultural and methodological reality” (Lewandowska-Tarasiuk, 2016, p. 16). This was the beginning of a new approach to literature: it employed the practical utility of theory and focused on interpretation, which became “an important aspect born from knowledge of literature as an effect of reading practice” (Lewandowska-Tarasiuk, 2016, p. 17).

This shift in emphasis from theory to practice, reading, and interpretation is linked to the demand for research within the humanities to be culturally oriented. This shift has been described by, among others, Vincent B. Leitch, Joseph H. Miller, and Stephen Greenblatt, and in journals such as “Cultural Critique” and “PMLA” (Burzyńska, 2006, pp. 57–83). The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS)⁵ in Birmingham, established in 1964 by Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall, also became important for the dissemination of interest in culture. These researchers from the CCCS approached culture as an arena for dispute and struggle at various levels (e.g., class or political), and their distinctive feature was a broader treatment of culture (not limited to ‘high culture’)

5 This Centre was closed in 2002 but echoes of its actions remain vivid to this day (Burzyńska & Markowski, 2007, p. 529).

which emphasised texts and practices of everyday life (Storey, 2003, p. 10). This approach lacked a precisely defined research area and, consequently, dedicated research tools, which was both an asset and a weakness (this is also an asset and a weakness of cultural literary theory). In this approach, all aesthetic objects, including literary works, lost their superior position and became merely examples of cultural texts or cultural practices.

It is worth mentioning that cultural studies found fertile ground in literary studies, popularising “a conviction of the need to change poetics: from aesthetic to political” (Burzyńska, 2002, p. 71). The fact that this conviction was popular does not mean it was the only or the dominant one as it was accompanied by research trends that emphasised the autonomous value of literature and the need to preserve the ‘traditional’ research problems and tools used in literary studies.

The basic assumptions that became the basis of cultural literary theory were proposed and realised by Stephen Greenblatt, the founder of New Historicism, who argued that literature exists together with its cultural and social contexts. Drawing on the anthropological findings of Clifford Geertz, who interpreted culture from within the category of text, Greenblatt initiated research conducted within the framework of cultural poetics, which focused on discourse and discursive practices and embedding cultural texts in historical and political contexts (Greenblatt, 2006). Although Greenblatt and his followers did not abandon formal analyses of the language and artistry of texts, they showed and developed new interpretative paths. New interpretations were possible thanks to, e.g., embedding a work in ideological and political contexts, which supposedly determined its content and reading practices and built knowledge about the described reality (Burzyńska & Markowski 2007, p. 511). The theoretical assumptions adopted in this approach led to questioning the specificity of literature against the background of broadly understood writing and rejecting the conviction of its unique position as a medium for the realisation of human creative potential⁶. Vincent B. Leight and

6 Hayden White recognised the similarity between artistic writing and historiography, which led to a greater self-awareness among historiographers but also to questioning the autonomy of this discipline, see H. White, (2000), *Poetyka pisarstwa historycznego* [*Poetics of historical writing*], ed. E. Domańska, M. Wilczyński, Krakow: Universitas. (2000).

Jonathan Culler noticed that cultural theory was inspired by cultural anthropology, the social sciences, hermeneutics, rhetoric, and semiotics. While Greenblatt talked about ideological, political, and historical issues, Culler emphasised the diversity of cultural issues and codes. They shared the conviction voiced by Greenblatt, according to which

a full cultural analysis needs to squeeze through beyond the boundaries of a text in order to establish links between a text and values, institutions, and practices omnipresent in culture (Burzyńska, 2006, p. 67).

Discussion of the term

The creators of cultural literary theory are aware that there is no return to one universal literary theory after all the aforementioned movements and turns⁷. However, pluralism, subjectivism, anti-essentialism, anti-syntheticism, and multiculturalism are considered among the most important systemic ideas of cultural theory (Burzyńska 2002, pp. 74, 79, 83). These keywords, to a varying extent, indicate that cultural theory has no ambition to become a great universal theory but is merely one possible path⁸. The aforementioned publications also testify to a longing for a certain synthesising approach. If we add to this the fact that the aim of the cultural turn is not to emphasise oppositions but to create new research proposals (Wysłouch, 2009–2010, p. 48), it becomes apparent that, by employing the existing achievements of the humanities, it is possible to develop a transdisciplinary cultural literary theory. This is also related to the observation that the progressive changes taking place in society and culture make it necessary to adapt the tools used in literary studies to match these changes and to talk about literature in new ways, which will provide a sense of coherence. At this point, it is important to draw attention to three concepts that take on particular significance in

⁷ More on this topic can be found in Kowalewski and Piasek (2010).

⁸ In a broader sense, cultural literary theory is part of the earlier trend of anthropologisation of literary studies. This topic was one of the subjects of the 6th issue of "Teksty Drugie" in 2007. It is also worth mentioning the terminological disputes that accompany the development of the cultural paradigm in literary studies: Is it cultural literary theory? Is it the anthropology of literature? Or is it the anthropology of poetics? See Nycz, 2007, pp. 34–49.

the context of cultural literary theory. These are: the concept of culture, cultural studies linked to the cultural turn, and literature itself.

Culture is such a complex issue that it is impossible to define or describe it precisely (and satisfactorily for everybody)⁹. In the various disciplines of the humanities, social, and other sciences, it is defined in different ways, depending on the context of use and the research requirements. The increased interest in culture observed over the past few decades is sometimes called 'the great return to culture' or 'the cultural turn'¹⁰. The latter term was popularised by the title of Frederic Jameson's well-known book *The Cultural Turn. Selected Writings on the Postmodern 1983–1989*, which is a collection of essays on postmodernism. This approach is considered to have contributed to giving culture a prominent role in all contemporary debates related to social issues¹¹ as well as in literary studies. As Andrzej Szahaj observes,

reflection on culture constitutes the most important fragment of humanistic considerations because cultural beliefs determine, on the one hand, the research subject of the humanities [...] and on the other hand, the methods they use and the borders of validity of their theoretical findings (Szahaj, 2004, p. 8).

He also claims that human perception is culturally determined and that "the compelling power of culture is the power of cultural beliefs", which (as Stanley Fish argues) condition

- 9 Johann Gottfried Herder, among others, wrote about this in the 18th century: "there is nothing more indefinite than the word culture, and nothing more deceptive than applying it to entire peoples and whole epochs" (Herder, 1962, p. 4). Ewa Nowicka also addressed this issue in the 21st century and claimed that "most of the terms used in the humanities are used in their most varied meanings, but perhaps none of them is characterised by such a large number of definitions that function in theory and practice as the concept of culture" (Nowicka, 2009, p. 49).
- 10 The term 'turn' appeared in literary studies, philosophy, history, and sociology in order to "emphasise the presence of new ideas in many areas of the humanities which have changed the previous way of studying them" (Schreiber and Michałowska, 2013, p. 7).
- 11 According to Schreiber and Michałowska, "today the social sciences have put culture on a pedestal. [...] culture is a matter of life and death (Mahmood Mamdani), culture is everywhere (Ulf Hannerz), culture makes almost all the difference (David Landes)" (Schreiber and Michałowska, 2013, p. 8). Cf. also Burszta and Januszkiewicz (2010, p. 7)

our thinking, our perceptions, our personal identity, our ability to participate in any community, and even our capacity for physical survival. They also place our differing cognitive interpretations in the common space of that which is culturally conceivable (Szahaj, 2004, p. 9).

This culturalist attitude gave rise to cultural literary theory, in which cultural research also plays an important role.

More generally, it can be said that cultural studies or theories

problematise the relationship between aesthetics and (social and/or political) reality. They interpret texts through cultural transformations, economic conditions, and worldview struggles. Necessary elements of analysis include situating the text in a broad cultural context and presenting the circumstances of its creation (Adamczewska, 2011, p. 64).

Cultural research is primarily interested in the sphere of everyday life, including lyrics, films, advertisements, media, but also tourism and shopping, among other things. Rather than one single method of analysis, cultural research employs a number of methods: from semiotics to deconstruction to psychoanalysis. Reality, which is also studied by researchers, is also sometimes expressed through literary texts. What place, then, does literature occupy in cultural research?

First, reading gives man the opportunity to make sense of the world and to acquire knowledge of it; second, literature is an indispensable element in the study of culture and thus is a political intervention which contributes to the creation of the community. Literary texts are part of a given culture rather than merely referring the person/researcher to it.

However, it should be remembered that even cultural literary theorists have been unable to agree on one definition of culture. For the purposes of this text, two definitions will be combined into one: the first has an anthropological dimension and indicates that

culture is a relatively integrated whole encompassing human behaviours that follow patterns shared by social collectivities; these patterns have been developed and assimilated in interactions between members of the collectivity, while this whole includes the products of such behaviours (Kłoskowska, 1983, p. 40).

The second definition refers directly to cultural research and states that "culture is a system of symbolic practices rooted in a concrete ideology and based on exchange" (Burzyńska and Markowski, 2007, p. 523).

People strive to identify themselves and to identify their own person through their relationships with others. To do this, they use various signs and symbols. Thus, there is no one single culture but there are many cultures which are based on different principles. Cultural identity is formed through actions – hence the importance of the activities through which people exchange views, texts, stories, gestures, and behaviours. Cultural research thus studies a particular lifestyle, which is associated with the adoption of certain values in every sphere of life. However, it is important to note that, in the context of cultural literary theory, adopting cultural research methods does not necessarily mean abandoning the more classical tools of literary studies because, according to Greenblatt,

the relationship between a text and its cultural context cannot replace careful reading, and cultural analysis has much to learn from meticulous formal analysis of literary texts (Burzyńska and Markowski, 2007, p. 522).

It is worth mentioning that the cultural theories that underlie cultural literary theory have evolved in different directions and have resulted in a mosaic of different research tools and topics which are united by their ‘cultural bias’. This term is not synonymous with ‘cultural orientation’, which can be understood very broadly, e.g., as the study of specific cultural practices consolidated in texts or the embedding of a text in a (given) cultural context. Cultural bias is linked to the (aforementioned and narrowly understood) cultural studies that focus on the impact of economics, politics, gender, or race on culture.

As regards the changes in the status of literature, it can be said that it has ceased to be treated as a specific form of artistic expression and an element of high (and therefore elitist) culture. Today, literature is analysed through the prism of a certain (written) experience¹², which makes it more of a

litmus test of cultural change – hence the need to develop new tools to analyse it and adopt other interpretative perspectives (Michalski, 2014, p. 194).

¹² An in-depth analysis of this change is described by Ryszard Nycz in his introduction to the second volume of *Kulturowa teoria literatury* [Cultural Literary Theory] (Nycz, 2012, pp. 20–21). Marta Zielińska also addresses this issue in “Teksty Drugie” (2007, no. 6), pointing out that “among the currently available multimedia ways of understanding reality, it [literature] does not occupy a prestigious position” (Zielińska, 2007, p. 6).

In the analysis of the correlations between culture, literature, literary theory, and cultural studies – and bearing in mind the benefits and doubts associated with cultural literary theory – it is necessary to briefly mention the impact of this theory on research, if only regarding selected literary concepts/categories such as the history of literature, literary genres, and poetics.

On the subject of the history of literature, it is worth giving voice to one of the creators of cultural literary theory, Teresa Walas. In her opinion, the cultural turn brings benefits but also causes some embarrassment because, on the one hand,

it has offered new perspectives for describing the past, triggered a re-evaluation of tradition, and provided a different language for categorising (gender, body, race, difference, power, exclusion, domination, discursive network, experience, etc.),

while on the other hand,

its bond with the dominant postmodern paradigm is so strong that it rejects intellectual constructs that would encompass the vast horizon of the history of literature and would reveal the principles of its changeability. [...] [T]his paradigm allows 'weak' totalizations [...], so, for example, a history of literature which depicts the ways of excluding women would be conceivable [...]. But these local, single-track histories, the multiplicity of which is easily assumed and even designed, do not weave together into [...] a whole. [...] The paradigm does not give moral permission to the construction of such a structure as it has an inscribed [...] prohibition of grand narratives as totalizing forms [...]. Thus, there is as yet no crystallised project for a new cultural history of literature, but the change in optics introduced by 'the cultural turn' has meant that we are no longer satisfied with the old history (Walas, 2006, pp. 134–135).

Cultural orientation in literary theory is also reflected in the study of literary genres. As Dorota Korwin-Piotrowska observes,

modern genealogical considerations should raise questions about our cultural background that determine which particular genres emerged or were popular in a given period (Korwin-Piotrowska, 2007, p. 86).

For example, she poses questions about the popularity of sonnets written over the centuries and about the links between the chivalric epic and the French rondo in medieval culture, pointing out that such explorations

may reveal changes in the relationship between man's development, his way of thinking about reality, and his capacity to understand it (Korwin-Piotrowska, 2007, p. 86). Roma Sendyka also emphasises the correlation between genealogical research and the cultural turn, pointing out that

a role genre plays in the civilisational perspective becomes the focus of reflection: its participation in the formation of social phenomena, the process of its conventionalisation, the role of institutions in the promotion, emergence, development, and definition of a given genre, [...] the dependence of genres on cultural phenomena, [...] the function of a genre in the socio-historical aspect (Sendyka, 2006, pp. 274–275).

Cultural bias encourages researchers to undertake reflection on popular genres¹³ or on genres of excluded groups¹⁴. Within cultural literary theory, a genre can thus be treated as one artefact that encodes cultural knowledge in the same way as other elements of cultural reality.

The considerable impact of cultural literary theory is also evident in poetics as the first decades of the 21st century witnessed a rapid proliferation of studies which indicated the vitality and potentiality of culturally oriented literary theory. Traditionally, poetics is defined as a branch of literary theory concerned with the structure of a literary work based on its linguistic forms. It is concerned with the general rules of organisation of literary expression, not with individual works, the analysis of which is a matter of interpretation (Prachnio, 2021). However, the cultural turn and the introduction of new types of texts, as well as new ways of interpreting and reading them, meant that poetics has 'entered' various disciplines of knowledge: anthropology, ethnology, cognitive science, geography, zoology, somatology, and ecology. This has resulted in the emergence of such terms as cultural poetics¹⁵, cognitive poetics, intertextual poetics,

13 See works on the 'marriage' of cultural studies with popular literature studies or, more broadly, pop culture studies, e.g., *Metodologia badań literatury i kultury popularnej. Propozycje. Retoryka i cultural criticism [Methodology for the Study of Literature and Popular Culture. Proposals. Rhetoric and cultural criticism]* (Lichanski & Mazurkiewicz, 2016).

14 See, e.g., gender studies, feminist studies, the queer trend, or, from a different perspective, postcolonial studies, discussions on the canon(s) of literature, etc.

15 It can be said that 'cultural poetics' testifies to the correlation between the study of literature studies and culture studies, in which culture studies are 'indebted' to literary studies. This term stemmed from the assumption that "culture can be discussed with the use of the poetological method by pointing to structural units and identifying

and fusions such as geopoetics, zoopoetics, ecopoetics, somatopoetics, ethnopoetics, and anthropopoetics. These are phenomena that are being (actively) created and are beginning to constitute a theoretical construct. Their authors, as Piotr Prachnio observes,

give rise to [...] a tendency to shift poetics into the area of culturally mediated entities, phenomena, and actions. The inclusion of ethical reflection on animals and the ecology is a characteristic feature of this tendency (Prachnio, 2021).

This preorientation also affects how the term is understood because, as Korwin-Piotrowska notes, nowadays many people associate poetics with 'style' and treat it as "the way in which something is organised", "a set of properties", and increasingly often also as "the way in which something manifests itself to us and makes itself present" (Korwin-Piotrowska, 2013, p. 21)¹⁶.

Leaving aside literary categories, we can focus on the iconic turn, which – like the cultural turn – implies a rejection of the primacy of linguistic research. This increases the importance of various artistic codes and heightens the synthesis of the arts, as pointed out by Seweryna Wysłouch, who starts with an assumption that in the process of developing cultural literary theory it is possible to reconcile the existing structural poetics with the (in this case) iconic turn. In her opinion, structural poetics plays an important role in any reflection on art. She gives two examples: of Ewa Szczęśna, who uses cognitive and theoretical-literary assumptions to analyse metaphorical processes and describes the various tropes present in the visual arts, advertising, and film, (Szczęśna, 2007); and of Rafał Solewski, who is interested in conceptual art and

tropes and methods of their combination and application" (Sendyka, 2012, p. 241). In addition to cultural studies and literary studies, geopoetics also draws inspiration from anthropology, urban studies, sociology, and even ecology. Its subject matter is the study of "the relationship between the living environment, geographical and geopolitical divisions, lifestyles, ways of perceiving the world, conceptions of man, spatial development, and ecological issues [...]. The main research subjects are descriptions of spaces, private and collective portraits of places, the superimposition of different timespaces onto one another, and the degree of interactions between place and man" (Korwin-Piotrowska, 2007, p. 68). Cf. also Rybicka (2014).

¹⁶ Anna Burzyńska is of a similar opinion and argues that we are currently unable to create a (single) normative poetics, and that "the term poetics should be treated rather as a synonym for a language of description or a method of analysis rather than a distinct discipline" (Burzyńska & Markowski, 2007, p. 19).

performance and in his analyses uses metaphors, symbols, and allegories (which are also characteristic of the literary approach) (Solewski, 2007, pp. 68–75)¹⁷. As Wysłouch observes, the above-mentioned tropes and categories testify to the structural unity of art and can serve as the basis for cultural literary theory because “literature does not exist in isolation, it enters [...] into numerous alliances with art, science, and journalism. It cannot be separated from the media and new technologies” (Wysłouch, 2009–2010, p. 49). In this way, she confirms the transdisciplinary nature of cultural literary theory, which – rather than describe borderline phenomena located ‘between’ disciplines (interdisciplinarity) – should aim to eliminate (although this may sound utopian) these borders, which Wysłouch herself does by comparatively analysing the category of space in poetry and animated films.

Finally, the interest in culture within theory (in how a text is both read and interpreted) offers the possibility of looking at literature as a vital source of anthropological and cultural knowledge whilst, more generally, bringing it closer to contemporary modes of participation in culture. This perspective allows the recipient (man) to design his identity at the intersection of individual reading and culture. This way of reading shatters the tradition of a reader being ‘outside/beyond a text’, which then becomes mindfulness and experience (as described in Michał Paweł Markowski’s approach) because reading

is an event that engages our individuality with the individuality of the work; it is not merely an act of consciousness nor a reconstruction of known conventions (Markowski, 2001, p. 243).

A culturally biased literary theory (of reading, perceiving, analysing, and interpreting) is thus reflected in new methods of reading; it extends the research area to include new/other cultural texts (e.g., computer games), goes beyond literature itself, and analyses reading practices, or more broadly, the sphere of cultural and literary life (e.g. reading lessons, literary festivals, etc.). It is reflected in discussions on (modern)

¹⁷ See Szczęsna’s book entitled *Poetyka mediów. Polisemiczność, digitalizacja, reklama* [*The Poetics of media. Polysemy, digitalization, advertising*] (2007) and R. Solewski’s book entitled *Synteza i wypowiedź. Poezja i filozofia w sztukach wizualnych na przełomie XX i XXI wieku* [*Synthesis and statement. Poetry and philosophy in the visual arts at the turn of the 21st century*] (2007).

Polish language education¹⁸, in contemporary comparative studies, and in culturally biased urban studies.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

Summarising the reflections on cultural theory in literary studies, it is worth enumerating the advantages and drawbacks of this proposal. The problem of the pressure exerted by cultural theory on literary studies was mentioned by, among others, Ryszard Nycz, one of the 'fathers' of cultural literary theory, who also listed its 'de-disciplination', i.e., the blurring of the boundaries of literary studies and cultural studies, which could lead to turning it into merely a sub-discipline of cultural studies. On the other hand, he also emphasised new possibilities and the potential for different ways of reading and studying literature which result from the opening up of literary studies to new research problems. The texts published in *Kulturowa teoria literatury* [Cultural literary theory] indicate that cultural literary theory is not meant to be a new or only version of contemporary literary studies. Instead it should be viewed as a possible path and a certain 'compromise' in theoretical-literary research, taking into account a culturalist (and anthropological) approach and preserving its specificity and research area. This approach keeps literature at the centre of interest, while at the same time being open to the themes and tools present in contemporary humanities. Thus, it can be added that literary studies, as a scientific discipline, expands its field by using its own instrumentarium and categories to study other discourses. According to Nycz, a distinguishing feature of cultural literary theory is the fact that it offers generalising reflection (theoretical synthesis) without focusing exclusively on interpretative practices (Nycz, 2002, pp. 31–36; Nycz 2012, pp. 13–20). Bożena Tokarz observes that most scholars "combine

¹⁸ More on the relationship between cultural poetics and school education can be found in, e.g., the work of B. Myrdzik *Zrozumieć siebie i świat. Szkice i studia z edukacji polonistycznej* [Understanding Yourself and the World. Sketches and studies in Polish language education] (2006) and the article by M. Pieniążek *Poetyka kulturowa dla szkoły. Dydaktyka polonistyczna wobec wyzwań antropologii literatury* [Cultural poetics for schools. Methods of teaching Polish language in the face of the challenges of literary anthropology] (2008).

cultural studies with various methods of analysis and interpretations of literary texts" (Tokarz, 2011, p. 126). This combination of perspectives can be described as bridging the gap between cultural studies and literary studies, in which literary studies usually serves as a useful tool.

The assumptions adopted in cultural literary theory regarding reading and interpreting literature include the conviction that this theory is grounded in contemporary cultural practices and the reality that surrounds man. In this paradigm, reading involves going beyond questions of literariness and becomes a cultural and existential situation. Scholars argue that literary theory to some extent transforms into cultural theory and thus creates (which is still an open process) a new kind of poetics that "proposes a variety of descriptive languages rather than general concepts or *frames* (Culler's term)" (Burzyńska, 2006a, pp. 481–482). Culturally biased theory is a meeting ground for many interpretative discourses (a space for 'negotiation and exchange'). At the same time, although its explanatory and generalising (synthesising) power wanes, its utilitarian and pragmatic role increases. Interpretations (of literature and cultural texts) which lean towards a 'meaningful use' and which reveal the existential condition of man and his participation in the diverse (cultural) practices of everyday life become practical exponents of this theory (Burzyńska, 2006a, p. 483).

According to Grzegorz Grochowski, a great advantage of this orientation, which has earned a central position among the numerous orientations of today's humanities, is its

ability to attract and integrate dispersed ideas, concepts, or notions found in contemporary research practice. [...] The circle of [...] influence includes feminism (or more broadly, gender studies) as well as ethical criticism, postcolonial studies, discourse analysis, and even semiotics and cognitivism. [...] All these areas [...] are of interest to cultural research to an extent, which can then become an area of confrontation and mediation, a meeting place where different points of view meet, a platform for exchanging views or ideas (Grochowski, 2005, p. 8).

Bożena Tokarz adds that the cultural turn has not negated the

linguistic roots of poetics, [which are important for theoretical studies of a text]. It is a fact and a proposal for opening up the cultural context, being a close union of studies on the linguistic structure of a text and its ethical, social, ideological, psychological, aesthetic, and other determinants (Tokarz, 2014, p. 127).

She reminds us that literary discourse can also be treated as an interpretation of other discourses on culture, which is why attention in literary studies is paid to the structural and linguistic layers. She argues that in cultural literary theory the linguistic background also remains an important issue, which serves

to reveal not only the way in which a text participates in culture, but also what purpose it serves, because, according to Grice's thesis, an utterance is always addressed to someone, about something, and for something (Tokarz, 2014, p. 128).

Finally, as Michalski concludes, unlike modern theory, which primarily focused on reading the linguistic and especially the literary, "today's literary discourse *reads* first and foremost the non-discursive, which [...] has been subjected to discoursivisations of body, space, and image" (Michalski, 2014, p. 198). Nycz, the author of cultural literary theory, emphasises that the turns in the humanities do not merely serve to change (successive) paradigms: they make it possible to notice overlooked and/or undervalued aspects of culture and literature. In this respect, cultural literary theory appears as "a profoundly hermeneutic project that aims to understand more and to embrace what has so far eluded understanding or has been stereotyped and labelled" (Michalski, 2014, p. 198). In its broadest sense, it thus constitutes a bridge between different areas of culture – in which its direct impact on human activity is also evident.

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E-literature. A new trend in culture studies

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: E-literature is a relatively new trend in the contemporary humanities that is represented by inter-medial works and intercultural structures that are created with the use of the properties of new media.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: E-literature has diverse sources and its definition is constantly evolving. The contexts from which e-literature has grown and on which it has drawn most frequently include technology (in Western Europe and the US) and ludology, art, and literature (in Poland). The earliest sources of new-medial structural experiments date back to antiquity and the Middle Ages, while more recent sources refer to literary and artistic avant-garde movements.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: E-literature is characterized by the presence of specific features that distinguish it from printed literature. These features include non-linearity, entanglements, the multilayeredness (modularity) of components, spatialization, immersiveness, flow, figurativity, architectural potential, and fissures (i.e., deliberately introduced imperfections) in which the author – to some extent – makes way for the receiver, so that the latter can actively participate in reading by personalizing his literary path.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: E-literature has entered the contemporary humanities and is developing dynamically. A growing number of universities offer courses related to this field of study, and a growing number of researchers undertake scientific analyses of e-literature. Sources collecting new-medial works (e.g., Electronic Literature Collections) are being established and developed. Admittedly, as a result of technological changes,

some works periodically move into digital hibernation, but successive waves of digital mergers and convergences slowly bring them back to life.

Keywords: e-literature, literature versus new media, transformation of literature triggered by new technologies, convergence of media

Definition of the term

E-literature is a relatively new form of literature embedded in a new-medial carrier, determined by that carrier, and enriched by its fundamental properties. Previously, these properties belonged just to the carrier, whereas now they are also the properties of a literary work. As a consequence of the fact that a literary work is interwoven with new media, an e-literary work is an inter-medial and intercultural structure which preserves the main properties of literariness and acquires new ones derived from the carrier. Taking over the properties of a medium is a peculiarly new e-literary value. An e-literary work often draws properties from other spheres of the humanities or even other spheres of reality (e.g., interactive artworks or architectural structures). An e-literary work is part of a network of relations and dependencies with an environment that was formerly perceived as distinct and non-literary but which now increasingly lends its intrinsic elements (features, tools) to literature, where they become components of the means of artistic expression. E-literature is processual literature due to the dynamics of its changeable, non-finite, modular, and hybrid structure; it is also programmatically unstable. It draws on the generativity of the cybernetic system (i.e., a computer program), the depth of which (i.e., its semantic and structural capacity) results not only from the capacity of a metaphor or a symbol but is realized through the literal depth of the structure, its three-dimensionality, and its immersiveness. An e-work offers the possibility (and sometimes even requires it) of receptive immersion and allows the reader to experience themselves from a bottom-up perspective.

Historical analysis of the term

Given its short existence in the humanistic arena, it is not surprising that the definition of e-literature is still evolving. The Electronic Literature Organization, established in 1999 with the aim of promoting e-literature, originally defined e-literature as “work with an important literary aspect that takes advantage of the capabilities and contexts provided by the

stand-alone or networked computer”¹. In 2016, the term ‘e-literature’ covered a much broader area; thus, in the third volume of *Electronic Literature Collection*, the term ‘literariness’ was replaced by ‘textuality’ (“electronic literature occurs at the intersection between technology and textuality”²), which binds together three aspects: technological, textual, and linguistic, the last of which covers “not only verbal artistic expression but also different varieties of computer languages that produce algorithmic, procedural, generative, or combinatorial operations” (Pawlicka, 2017, p. 96). The new definition emphasises the fact that literariness is no longer an exclusive criterion of literature, that the notion of writing in the context of e-literature also covers programming, and that in its semantic field the term ‘language’ embraces various forms of non-human, computer, and generative languages (Pawlicka, 2017, p. 96). Andrzej Hejmej calls new literature “literature beyond literature” or “medialitura” (Hejmej, 2017, pp. 427–428) and argues that the scope of this neologism covers literary works which break with classical texts and which exist in a variety of media environments, including situations in which a work begins to function in a space that is external to literature. This is about intermediality (i.e., the results of the “crossing” of different media) as well as about (inter)mediality (i.e., “displacements” and forms of presence of literature in the media landscape) (Hejmej, 2017, pp. 427–428). In an era in which interactive media proliferate and dominate, literature

has become ‘mobile’ but also extremely susceptible to a series of (inter)medial transformations through recycling, adaptations, remediations, transpositions, performative actions, hypertext translations, etc. Once protected by writing, literature has entered the space of medial cacophony and even in its traditional form demands [...] to be viewed in terms of [...] voice and scriptorality (Hejmej, 2017, p. 428)³.

Thus, literature’s stepping onto the path of converging media should be seen as a consciously undertaken act of re-entry (return) into the

1 <https://eliterature.org/pad/elp.html> (accessed on 20.04.2022).

2 <http://collection.eliterature.org/3/about.html> (accessed on 20.04.2022).

3 The neologism ‘scriptorality’ refers to the traces of voice and audiosphere left in the textual record and to the understanding of the act of writing as a process of transcribing voice and the world of sounds (Hejmej, 2015, p. 97).

primordial, natural sphere where its entire potential (removed by the old, limited, flat, and literally silent medium of print) can finally resound, including its appearance (image), voice (sound), and movement dynamics (animation, inter-activity, or intra-activity). Thanks to new media, literature can again be not only read but also simultaneously seen, heard, and shaped (personalized) in its appearance in different acts of receptive participation.

Researchers analysing the process of e-literature's nascency point to its various cultural contexts and most frequently mention those linked with (1) technology (in Western Europe and the US), (2) film studies (in Poland), (3) ludology (focused on computer games), and (4) art and literature. The American researcher Nancy Katherine Hayles divides electronic literature into two generations (with a caesura around 1995): early works (distinguished by their use of lexis) belong to the first generation, while later works (contemporary or postmodern, the characteristic feature being, among other things, the size of the works) belong to the second generation, which will last until its culmination and the beginning of the next period of change (Hayles, 2011). Piotr Marecki (Marecki, 2015, p. 468) focuses on the difference between the process of nascency of e-literature in Poland and in the West and observes that the rhythm of the development of Polish digital literature was different. In the case of the demoscene⁴ which influenced its transformations in the period before the development of the internet, larger forms were not an option (because the platforms used in Poland at the time – ZX Spectrum, Amiga, Atari – had limited memory). According to Marecki, critical texts dedicated to digital literature are dominated by a conviction of the legitimacy of the division of the existing e-literary output into two structurally different formations. The first include works associated with the Eastgate System publishing house and the Storyspace program⁵ (Storyspace School), which were adapted to digital conditions with the help of tools offered by the platform and realized for desktop computers not connected to the network. Their reception required concentration and

4 Demoscene is a subculture that unites computer users who create demos, which are audio-visual works, mainly computer programs, which demonstrate their skills and the hardware capabilities of computers.

5 This was developed in the 1980s by Jay David Bolter, Michael Joyce, and John B. Smith and was used to create and map hyperfiction.

dedication to many hours of reading, and usually took place at a desk with a computer on it⁶. The second formation of digital works includes smaller works, which are the result of the development of web browsers and the World Wide Web, often written by a team, with a greater role played by image, sound, video, editing, and movement (Marecki, 2015, pp. 461–463). Marecki writes that

Many works can be considered to be computational literature, the reception of which goes beyond familiarizing oneself with the output of the work and requires that the receiver know how to analyse the algorithm or the input. The attitude to authorship is [...] definitely different, as it accounts for teamwork and appreciates the role of the program and often the properties of the machine that has produced the work. Poetics that inspire [...] authors [...] of the second generation can be poles apart – they primarily include experimental literature associated with OuLiPo, conceptualism, and appropriation techniques. Unlike large-scale hypertext works, second-generation works are designed [...] with the use of receptive strategies that take into account new forms of reading (e.g., distracted reading) resulting from being in a hurry, distraction, or the use of mobile devices. The focus required when reading a traditional literary work or hypertext published using Storyspace tools is not inscribed in the philosophy of these works. Due to their format, second-generation works are well-suited to be read on public transport, e.g., on mobile devices, [...] such as tablets and smartphones. Second-generation digital literature, which is published by authors directly on websites, bypasses intermediaries in the form of booksellers or publishing houses (Marecki, 2015, pp. 463–464).

According to Marecki, the development of electronic literature in Poland is based on three phenomena. First, there is the artistic activity of the filmmaking community and members of the Warsztat Formy Filmowej [*Film Form Workshop*] group. This group brought together visual artists who, while studying at the Łódź Film School in the 1970s, tested the possibilities of media by experimenting with text; for example, text generators such as *Księga Słów Wszytskich* [*The Book of All Words*], created by Wojciech Bruszewski and Józef Żuk Piwkowski in 1975 (see Marecki, 2018, pp. 25–42, 43–69). While developing tools they could use to contest institutions (including literature), the members of Warsztat Formy Filmowej problematised the notion of the materiality of a literary

6 The canonical works of this formation include Michael Joyce's *afternoon. a story* (1990), Shelley Jackson's *Patchwork Girl* (1995), and Stuart Moulthrop's *Victory Garden* (1991) (Marecki, 2015, pp. 461–463).

work. They initiated the analysis of literary texts in connection with technology and placed mathematical media and platforms and combinatorial approaches to literature (mixing language structures with algorithms) at the centre of their interest (Marecki, 2015, p. 465). Second, there is the activity of the demoscene. This was a subculture that developed in the 1980s and 1990s and was co-created by the first generation of personal computer users, who created demos, i.e., demonstration programs used to demonstrate the capabilities of a computer, which often resembled video clips; thus, the demoscene was a phenomenon ascribed to the context of digital media and audiovisuality (there is also a subculture termed 'scene poetry' which focuses on demos based on texts and poems). Third, there are strictly literary activities (realized in web browsers). The most noteworthy of these are Robert Szczerbowski's first hypertext, "*Æ*" (1991, originally published as an unusual book, later as a hypertext on a floppy disk (1996), and finally as a network version) and the following hypertexts: Sławomir Shuta's *Blok* (2003), Radosław Nowakowski's *Koniec świata według Emeryka* (2005), Aneta Kaminska's *Czary i mary* (2007), Konrad Polak's *Schemat* (2010), and Marta Dzido's *Matrioszka* (2013); there are also adaptations of literary classics (e.g., Jan Potocki's *Rękopis znaleziony w Saragossie*, edited by Mariusz Pisarski (2011)) and translations (e.g., Michael Joyce's *afternoon, a story*, 2011). At the same time, numerous smaller textual forms were created, such as generators, applications, flash scenes, kinetic poetry, wiki writing, and other genres of digital literature, as well as numerous works which resembled traditional literature, including Zenon Fajfer's e-volume *Powieki* (2013) (Marecki, 2015, p. 467).

Leszek Onak, a producer of literary algorithms and one of the creators of generative literature, characterises the development of this literature in a similar way and divides it into three stages: experimental-combinatorial; linked with the demoscene; and online applications (see Marecki, 2018, pp. 135–137).

Urszula Pawlicka identifies the following borders between distinct periods in the development of e-literature: (1) 1995/1997 – transitioning into the second wave; (2) 2007/2009 – transitioning into the third stage. The breakthrough between the first and second stages was related to the spread of the World Wide Web after 1995, and the publication of Espen J. Aarseth's book *Cybertext: Perspectives on Ergodic Literature*

(1997), in which he defined the tools for researching electronic literature. The end of the second wave was marked by the publication of Katherine N. Hayles' *Electronic Literature: New Horizons for the Literary* (2008), in which she introduced such new terms as 'technotext' and 'intermediation' (Pawlicka, 2017, pp. 89–92). Researchers still study the process of formation of (3) the third stage of digital literature ('post-hypertext e-literature'), which began in 2010 (Pawlicka, 2017, pp. 90–92).

After around 2007, the development of new media – mobile, locative, kinetic, haptic, and social – began; as a result, the tools used by their creators multiplied and e-literature experienced rapid growth and entered the arena of art and programming, which generated a rapid increase in the number and variety of generative, locative, and immersive projects, eventually leading to the blurring of boundaries between literature and art (Pawlicka, 2017, pp. 93–110).

Within these stages, particular technologies followed and gradually displaced one another: first, artistic experiments of artists who continued the activities of the combinatorial group OuLiPo, which were focused on testing new technological possibilities (Storyspace and HyperCard programs dominated; programming languages included BASIC). Within the second stage, old tools and programs were displaced by new ones, such as DHTML, Flash, JavaScript, Java, QuickTime, and Shockwave. Within the third stage, artists moved away from Flash in favour of Javascript, Shockwave, Kinetic, Twine, Twitter, BOT, and Ruby. At present, the development of tools is so dynamic (including mobile and locative literary forms, augmented reality, fan fiction, generative projects, open-source projects, remixes, social media-based projects, Netprov projects, immersive works, installations, etc.) that defining and classifying post-hypertextual electronic literature has become almost impossible (Pawlicka, 2017, pp. 97–107).

In the search for sources of e-literature founded on a different way of perceiving text, which, in addition to the strictly literary aspect, include visual and experimental ones, it is worth taking into account the more distant past: antiquity and the Middle Ages. In fact, some e-works are based on text generators, and researchers date the origins of this trend to the works of Ramon Llull⁷ (born c. 1232) among others, with the trend

7 A philosopher, poet, logician, theologian, author of a textbook on navigation, astrologer, mathematician, medic, lawyer, and secular Franciscan; <https://www.>

culminating in the Baroque period (see Pająk, 2008; Pająk, 2009, p. 22). In his analyses of the tradition and sources of text generators in Baroque poetry, Andrzej Pająk points to the combinatorial works that preceded them, including Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius' *Poem XXV* (a song from 4th century, which offers 1.62 billion textual possibilities), Proteus poems⁸, as well as two Baroque works: Gottfried Leibniz's *Dissertatio de arte combinatoria* (1666) and Athanasius Kircher's *Ars Magna Sciendi* (1669), which combined combinatorics and literature in a way that resembles the processes taking place inside computers. The mechanism of operation of these works was based on three components: a source code from which texts were generated; a mini-grammar that described how to correctly process words and form sentences; and an algorithm responsible for processing linguistic signs. Leibniz was inspired by Ramon Llull's *Ars generalis ultima* (1305), in which Llull managed to create a machine consisting of concentrically arranged stacks of disks that could move independently. The letters of the alphabet placed on them were assigned absolute truths – essential attributes of God, which were to be combined with relative truths consistent with the scholastic philosophy of the time. When a reader rotated these disks, random sentences were generated, which were logical propositions related to a selected topic (Pająk, 2009, pp. 20–37). In this process, Pająk sees a similarity to E. Aarseth's (Aarseth, 2014) textons (placed on disks) and scriptons (appearing after the interactor has performed operations described by an algorithm). He argues that more-advanced experiments with the form of literary works began at the end of the 16th century and assumed two forms: the original, narrower technique (referring either to ancient literary strategies, manifested in the use of games like rebuses, palindromes, or anagrams, or to newer forms of artful poetry), and broader techniques, which were more literal, closer to our time, and capable of generating algorithm-based literary works long before the era of information technology (Pająk, 2009, pp. 20–37).

From the earliest sources of literary imagery and the first manifestations of interactivity, literary traditions are important when we take into

isf.edu.pl/a/czytelnia/rajmund-llull-pierwszy-islamolog-europy/0?f= (accessed on 20.04.2022).

8 Their name derives from their first example, included in Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Poetices Libri Septem*, dated to 1561.

account the departure of e-literature from a linear order and its use of imagery and visual structuring. This structuring is often externalized to give the impression that we are dealing with an intentional disclosure of structural seams, that is, of what in traditional literature is usually hidden from the eyes of the reader. In his history of visual poetry, Piotr Rypson (Rypson, 2002) points to antiquity and the Middle Ages for important contexts and traditions. Including (1) Greek technopaegnia (i.e., graphic poems of a magical nature placed on ancient epigraphs), cryptographic inscriptions from the reign of Ramses II in Egypt (c. 1290 BC), the Phaistos disk (the middle of the second millennium BC), inscribed in a spiral pattern in a Minoan language that has not yet been fully decoded; (2) votive inscriptions, whose composition reflect the shape of an object offered to a deity (e.g., an inscription-covered axe found in Calabria, dedicated to goddess Hera, from the 6th century BC); (3) biblical acrostics from the Old Testament in a similar composition to those of ancient Egyptians and Babylonians; and (4) the pre-Hellenistic tradition of poem-puzzles, language games in the form of lipograms, and backward verse (*versus retrogradi*) (Rypson, 2002, pp. 11–12).

According to Rypson, the very first examples of visual poetry include (1) six figurative poems in Greek (the Hellenistic period). The fathers of this genre and type of literature in Europe are Simmias of Rhodes (the author of three figurative poems in the shape of an egg, a hatchet, and wings), Theocritus of Syracuse (the author of a poem in the shape of a shepherd's pipe, c. 300 BC), and Dosiadas of Crete (the author of an altar-shaped work, c. 100 BC). (2) Geometric letter works (poems-labyrinths) by Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius, a panegyrist who lived in the time of Constantine the Great and created acrostics of varying degrees of complexity (i.e., artful texts of a regular rectangular shape into which acro-, meso-, and telestichs were woven in a way which created figures and symbols). (3) Gridded poems (*carmina cancellata*) by Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius (Rypson, 2002, pp. 12–14), which are thus named because acrostic sentences are woven into their main text; they are also called inscribed poems, woven poems, or intexts (*versus intextus*)⁹.

9 He also lists many other works created later: (1) during the 7th and 8th centuries, by, among others, Isidore of Seville, Eugenius of Toledo, Aldhelm of Malmesbury,

Discussion of the term

E-literature, created within the environment of dynamically converging media, differs considerably from traditional literature. It is difficult to evaluate this literature using concepts known from, e.g., *Słownik terminów literackich* [the *Dictionary of Literary Terms*], since many e-literary exemplifications defy traditional descriptions. Traditional literary categories prove to be insufficient. E-literary works are characterized by a certain set of semiotic, medial, and compositional features that emphasize the distinctiveness of the phenomenon and may suggest some form of new genre. The most prominent features that clearly distinguish an e-literary work from a traditional work include the following:

- links, active points, and nodal points in the work, which send the reader to the depths of the e-literary whole and are usually hypertext solutions (active points are marked by graphic features of the font, such as boldness, shading, or pulsating (e.g., Konrad Polak's hypertext novel *Schemat*, the multi-author project *Piksel Zdrój*, and the digital version of Zenon Fajfer's volume *Powieki* (Fajfer, 2013)), which offer the reader the opportunity to gradually enter into the depths of the work or reveal the surface layers of a text with a double meaning, as is the case with an acrostic);
- dynamic changeability of the work (in its entirety or in parts), which is a type of intra-activity (internal interactivity) and which indicates that the structure of the work contains an algorithmic, generative element (e.g., Piotr Puldzian Płucienniczak's *booms* cycle, whose successive parts are displayed as an endless series);

Ansber of Rouen, Wynfrid (known by the name of Boniface, a missionary, the author of *carmina cancellata*), Alcuin and Joseph Scotus, the most elaborate of which includes intexts in the form of the three crosses of Golgotha, surrounded by the outline of a temple; medieval visual poetry from the times of Rabanus Maurus Magnentius until the late 14th century; (2) numerous imitative Renaissance and Baroque works, created mainly in Western Europe; (3) Polish visual poetry from the period between the 16th and the 18th centuries, including artful poetry, acrostics, poems in the shape of the cross, *carmina cancellata*, and mesostich poems in the shape of sacred and liturgical insignia, wings, an altar, literary architectural forms, poems in the shape of coats of arms, a shield, a sword, a banner, a heart, astronomical objects, a crown, a circle and other geometric shapes, as well as labyrinth poems in the shape of a tree, etc. (Rypson, 2002, pp. 22, 160–177).

- collectivity of components, multimodality, the combined occurrence of the layer of a text, image, sound, and animation, all of which give the impression that the work approaches the specificity of an audiovisual work (e.g., Katarzyna Giełżyńska's volume *C()n Du It*, consisting of works described by the author as poetic video clips);
- spatiality, which should be understood broadly, both as the use of space within the structure on which the work is set, and as the placing of, e.g., the pictorial layer on a spatial figure (e.g., Aya Karpinska's *open.ended*), or as the arrangement of the parts that co-create the work in a large exhibition space, as in the case of e-literary installations (e.g., Andrzej Głowacki's *Archetyptura: Estetyka QR-kodu*);
- dismemberment of the semantic layer, which frequently occurs hand in hand with structural and physical (i.e., material – in the case of installations) breaks and suggests the form of modular works; such works allow receivers to compose their own reading sequences or follow those suggested by the author (e.g., K. Giełżyńska's e-work *Element*, which uses the semantic potential of the motif of a break and A. Głowacki's e-literary installation *Archetyptura: Estetyka QR-kodu*, which is a multi-module whole that is intended for individual composition of e-literary-artistic reading paths);
- a change of the context of the work's immediate surroundings, which ceases to exist only in the natural literary-medial environment (cyberspace, a computer screen) but becomes present in various physical spaces (e.g., in a museum, gallery, city, or in nature, as happens in the work of Jiyeon Song's *One Day Poem Pavilion* or Z. Fajfer's innovative (ultimately unrealized) project *Zegar Bezczasowości*, intended to incorporate poetry into urban spaces);
- the presence of references (e.g., those connected with the genre, signalled in the title¹⁰, or with the content) to older works (that

¹⁰ E.g., L. Onak's *Sonet Niezachodzący*; Ł. Podgórní and U. Pawlicka's digital adaptation of Titus Czyżewski's formist poetry *Cyfrowe zielone oko* (which preserves the original titles, e.g., *Mechaniczny ogród*, *Sensacja w kinie*, *W szpitalu obłąkanych*, etc.).

belong to the canon of literary classics), which may suggest a remix or a mash-up¹¹ (e.g., the sonnet and threnody launched in a subversive form in the remix and mash-up works of L. Onak and Ł. Podgórn¹²). Procedures that for many years were a particular way of dealing with the original work (in the case of remixes – usually musical) or a path of technological processing change their status and now aspire to the rank of new-medial e-literary strategies.

It should be observed that – thanks to new media – certain features which have always been the domain of literature have been exposed and, one might say, “literalised”. These features include (1) the concealment of meanings (resulting from the densification of the poetic function to receptive resistance and opacity that bounces the reader’s consciousness off the surface layer), which has always been one of the constitutive features of poetry, now takes on a more literal character; (2) the dynamics of the development of the narrative path in the epic, the expansion of the plot with new subplots, episodes (in e-literature expressed by means of hypertext); and (3) Ingarden’s undefined places (in e-literature reduced to the form of actual fissures).

In addition to these external features which characterise e-literary work most directly, one can also list several properties of a global nature, i.e., those that draw technological potential from a carrier and, at the same time, are linked not only to the structure of an e-work but also the sphere of its content, thus affecting its reception and interpretation. The most important features include the entanglements and the multilayeredness (modularity) of components, the non-linearity, spatialization, immersiveness, flow, figurative character, and the occurrence of fissures (intentionally introduced imperfections), i.e., places where the author (to some extent) makes way for the recipient, so that the latter can actively participate in the reading of e-literature.

¹¹ These terms are semantically similar; the difference between them lies in the fact that the key aspect of a remix is the new quality created as a result of processing, and the memory of the source itself becomes obliterated, while a mash-up preserves the memory of the source (see Nacher, 2011, pp. 77–89).

¹² See Leszek Onak’s works *Kroki Akermańskie* and *Bat Country on LCD* (Onak, Podgórn, 2012, <https://rozdzielchleb.pl/wgraa/#issuu>) (accessed on 20.04.2022).

Entanglements of e-literature¹³ stem not only from the convergent potential of various media embodied in e-literature but also from including in the work new spaces formerly considered external and non-literary. E-literature constitutes a text of culture created as the result of a special type of 'entanglement', knot, or binding – a shared place that sends the reader to other places and various semiotic systems. In the 1990s and at the turn of the 21st century, the categories that often appeared in literary descriptions were boundary moments and places and 'in-between' spaces. Today, researchers no longer focus merely on crossing borders or defining literary and cultural 'in-between' spaces. Since the aforementioned spaces and places have expanded and become internally activated (i.e., they are in a state of permanent dynamics), have moved into cyberspace, and sometimes penetrate into the physical albeit also mediatized space of the real world, researchers study, define, and describe these nodal places (or 'non-places'). In the case of literary works, these are places where the matter of the work transcends textuality and – through a medium – incorporates the image (digital or real, because such works are also created), sound, cyberspace, and physically existing space into its structure. Indeed, long ago, e-literature became something more structurally complex than an inter-medial entity (Hejmej, 2017, pp. 419–420). Representative examples of works in which this property is adequately exposed include (1) Andrzej Głowacki's e-literary installation *Archetyptura: Estetyka QR-kodu*, which is a large, literary jigsaw puzzle intended not only for reading but also for interactive participation, located in the space of a museum and gallery, using, in addition to the literary text, a painting (a reproduction of

13 In their diagnoses of e-literature, researchers often use such categories as 'entanglements', 'methodological entanglements', 'tangle of what is linguistic and extra-linguistic', 'tangle of phenomena', 'semantic interpretive entanglement', 'nodes of an open network', 'nodal points', 'ties', 'network connections', 'networks of texts', 'impermanent networks', 'multiplicity of lines running through one point', 'channels of mutual flows', or 'a basin of five currents'. The multitude of fluctuations of the term 'entanglement', its word-forming susceptibility to transformations and its semantic capacity prove that it has become a useful metaphor, open enough to be translatable into various disciplines and their shared places, and specific enough to directly refer to the connectors between disciplines, that is, to the characteristic elements of the new media spider web: nodal points, links, spaces that are medially and connectively active, equipped with sensors, movement detectors, and ultimately monitored and under constant surveillance (see also Czapliński, 2017, pp. 13, 15–16, 20–21; Nycz, 2017, pp. 36, 42–43, 179).

Malewicz's painting), design, and applied art; (2) Ken Feingold's interactive installation entitled *The Surprising Spiral*, based on particular literary work and containing within its structure film records, which are images of the real world, shot by the artist during his travels, among other things; and (3) Jiyeon Song's architectural e-poem, *One Day Poem Pavilion*, located in real space and incorporating it (i.e., nature and the movements of the sun) into its structure.

An e-literary work is a multi-layered whole in which multilayeredness is understood as both an external and internal feature. As an e-literary whole, an e-work consists of a literary layer and a technological layer. The level visualized before the eyes of the receiver – usually (but not exclusively) on the display screen – constitutes a multi-layered structure. It is most often co-created by text, image, sound, and animation layers, and convergence, which is the result of their fusion, and covers new features which have appeared as a result of the combination and interpenetration of these implementationally nested layers. What is most often hidden from the eyes of the receiver, i.e., the technological layer, is also a multi-level structure consisting of, among other things, a database¹⁴ and the algorithm. The latter is built of components that determine the final shape of e-works, including (1) input data (i.e., text entered into the system to “feed the machine” (Marecki, 2018, p. 10), which can be in the form of letters, words, sentences, sets of sentences, books, or entire corpora (e.g., all novels written in a particular era)); (2) coercions (i.e., sets of formal rules on the basis of which an algorithm processes and organizes data), which can be divided into database coercions (which are responsible for the way the input data is analysed¹⁵) (Marecki, 2018, p. 133) and structure coercions (used for ordering and selecting the elements of the database¹⁶); (3) the interface (which is responsible for interaction and the way in which the reader communicates with the

¹⁴ A database can be open (when the generator receives data from the Web, e.g., Onak's sonnet *sonet niezachodzący w.1.0*) or closed (when the generator receives data from a resource prepared by the author, e.g., Fajfer's *Powieki*).

¹⁵ For example, a programmer can trace the selected literary material in search of words lacking a particular phoneme or find sentences that follow a sentence with a particular key word, etc. (Marecki, 2018, p. 133).

¹⁶ These coercions can take the form of, e.g., drawing a feminine singular noun in the nominative + drawing a verb in the first-person singular in the present tense, etc. (Marecki, 2018, p. 133).

algorithm¹⁷); and (4) the source code (i.e., a set of commands expressed in a programming language that is understandable to the computer). The process of preparing an e-work itself is a three-step process which involves entering the input data in the chosen language, describing the coercions, and finally coding the way in which the interface works (Marecki, 2018, p. 133).

Non-linearity of a literary argument. The path of an argument is a hypertextual, branching structure. E-works often offer the receiver the possibility of an interactive ergodic reading (which entails some effort involved in traversing a hypertextually organized path), which essentially means following individual alternative reading paths, thus co-creating (within the numerous possibilities suggested by the author) the various forms (variations) of an e-work. This way, the author's functions are partially delegated to the reader, who – entering the role of an interactor – consequently creates further variants of the work himself, within the scope entrusted to him.

Spatialisation (and sometimes the cave paradigm, i.e., the use of virtual reality cave technology¹⁸), which results in varying degrees of immersion. In this work, immersive reading is made possible with a process structure in which the receiver's attention has a chance to express his willingness/agreement to sustain the impression of being inside a virtual reality. Not all e-works offer this possibility as reading can occur at different levels of perceptual immersion: (1) superficial, in which immersion does not occur; (2) shallow; or (3) deep (e.g., Noah Wardrip-Fruin's *Screen*).

The category of flow refers to processual works in which the authors have chosen to employ a strategy that creates the impression that their works emerge and expand, as if “flowing” on the screen either gradually and predictably, or dynamically and unexpectedly (Pawlicka, 2012, pp. 61–62), which brings to mind fluid transformations. This category, most frequently used in poetry, has become one of the properties of

¹⁷ It determines whether the user has an impact on the shape of the final fabric of a text, i.e., whether he can make changes or just press the ‘generate’ button (Marecki, 2018, p. 133).

¹⁸ See <https://techsty.art.pl/hipertekst/cyberprzestrzen/CAVE.htm> (accessed on 22.05.2022).

a large group of e-poems¹⁹ whose authors use it to create an impression of movement, depth, processuality, and drifting meanings. These features reflect literature that employs a dynamic, convergent medium. The components that co-create the flow effect are most often subordinated to two purposes: (1) constructing the iconic layer of the work, emphasizing features related to aesthetic qualities (exposing the visual beauty and fluidity of water, which is most often depicted as beautiful or threatening, e.g., K. Giełżyńska's *Błędne fale* or *slippingglimpse* by Stephanie Strickland, Cynthia Lawson Jaramillo and Paul Ryan); and (2) building the dynamics of the path of the work (an e-work is flowing, unlike a traditional work, which is static); the perception of an e-work is wobbly, processual, and follows a path that imitates the movement of water (e.g., the smooth development of a lyrical situation, supporting and exposing the directed course of the e-poem in Karol Lefer's *Kwartet na cztery fale* and Piotr Marecki's *Wąwóz (Taroko)*, based on Nick Montfort's generative poem *Taroko Gorge*).

A noticeable feature of e-literature is its figurativeness, which is related to both the plane of structure and the level of meanings. A figure to which the above term refers may be a combination of rhetorical traces (a metaphor, catachresis), or a form (a structure) that is often linked (as a flow or result) to certain elements of content. This feature is expressive and capacious; it connects the formal-structural level (indicating the key compositional features) with the textual-semantic layer of an e-work; it can contain interpretative suggestions or provide a clue that facilitates the formulation of new classifications as previous ones do not fully fulfil their functions, being either too detailed (based on detailed criteria) or too vague (e.g., suggestions to assign almost every e-work to a separate group) (Bodzioch-Bryła, 2019, pp. 490–496).

The occurrence of fissures (intentionally introduced incompletions) is linked to the presence in e-works of an unstable and split literary subject, which should be seen as a permanently

19 Their e-literary exemplifications include *Ah* by K. Michel and D. Vis, *Semantic Disturbances* by Andreas Jacobs, *slippingglimpse* by Stephanie Strickland, Cynthia Lawson Jaramillo, and Paul Ryan, Katarzyna Giełżyńska's audiovisual e-poems *Błędne fale* and *Chmura znaczników*, Karol Lefer's *Kwartet na cztery fale*, and Piotr Marecki's *Wąwóz (Taroko)*, based on Nick Montfort's generative poem *Taroko Gorge*. These authors implemented in their works the strategy of flow in a variety of ways, which nevertheless have some common and repetitive elements.

incoherent hybrid, outlined sketchily in a deliberately unfinished form so that the receiver-interactor can find his reflection in the work and artistically realize himself in it. This can be done in several stages by participating, filling in the blanks, and 'introducing cohesion' in a reading situation which differs each time the reading takes place. These fissures can also be found within the path of the narrative or in a lyrical situation. Sometimes they are also within the very boundary that permanently separates the senses introduced by the author into the work from the senses that are changeable. These changeable senses circulate in the cyberspace of the internet and are downloaded by the generator into the database of the work (e.g., works based on a locally open database, such as L. Onak's *Sonet niezachodzący*, which downloads headings, titles, and subheadings from network news services into the work). Thus, to some extent the author makes way for the receiver so that the latter can participate in the reading in a process of participation which consists not only in shaping the reading path and generating new literary meanings but also in making the work more coherent through an individual mode of filling in the places intended for this, which is a form of personalization.

Sometimes artistic strategies employed by authors are designed with such grandeur that they become forms of literary architectures (architec(s)tures); these architectures (architec(s)tures) cover many of the previously mentioned literary and new-medial properties with their figurative scope. A good e-literary exemplification which includes many of the features discussed above is Zenon Fajfer's volume *Powieki* (Fajfer, 2013)²⁰, in which the works branch out and are adapted not only for linear line-by-line reading, but also for structural reading, which involves going into the depths or deviating right or left, wherever the receiver is directed by active points. In this journey, one can observe both the spatiality of the volume (almost an architectural dimension), as well as its modularity, multilayeredness, multimodality, figurativeness, hypertextuality, internal and external dynamics,

20 In addition to the paperback version, the volume includes a CD with an electronic version of the text; some places in it also refer to the author's earlier works, included in *Primum Mobile*, an electronic series consisting of three works that flow seamlessly from one to the next: *Ars Poetica*, *Traktat ontologiczny*, and *Spoglądając przez ozonową dziurę*.

processuality, and (in some places) references to the strategy of flow. In one of the 'windows' opened in the digital version of *Powieki*, one can hear seagulls and the sound of the sea as this version is accompanied by a sound track. Thus, it is a multimodal work which consists of five layers: textual, visual, audio, animation, and convergence (which refers to a new quality that is the result of the fusion of the other four). The structure of the volume is multi-layered and, in one of his interviews, the author talked about "multi-layered" texts as incorporating a visible layer and an invisible layer, which the reader can explore in any order. The recipient co-shapes the text in the act of his individual reading, and it is this activity that determines the final shape of the text (e.g., the decision as to whether he will descend into the depths from the outer level or whether he prefers to stay on the 'surface' and read the poems in the traditional way; if he decides to read deeply, his activity will determine to what level he manages to descend, how long he manages to stay there, and how quickly the waves of meaning will push him back up to the surface). Different modes of reading are possible thanks to appropriate tools, vertical arrows (up and down), and horizontal arrows (right and left). The recipient is also the artist's partner at the level of interpretation (interpretive openness being one of the basic features of e-literature as, according to Fajfer, one-dimensional literature makes no sense). *Powieki* proves that – for the writer – the new-medial carrier can become a space shaped in an individual way. The poet stages his own text, within which he also begins to communicate through space and an architectural layer which plays a role almost as important as the word. The sign, the word, the text, the space, the image, the architecture – everything turns out to be closely entangled and mutually conditioning.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

The e-literature trend has expanded into the landscape of modern humanities. A growing number of universities offer courses related to it (see Pawlicka, 2017, p. 267; Bodzioch-Bryła, 2019, p. 499), and a growing number of researchers attempt to classify newly created genres. Among the works of authors who have tackled the genological problem,

the following monographs deserve attention: Urszula Pawlicka's (*Polska poezja cybernetyczna. Konteksty i charakterystyka* (Kraków 2012), Paulina Potrykus-Woźniak's, *Słownik nowych gatunków i zjawisk literackich* (Bielsko Biała 2011), Małgorzata Janusiewicz's *Literatura doby Internetu* (Kraków 2013), Piotr Marecki's *Gatunki cyfrowe. Instrukcja obsługi* and *Między kartką a ekranem. Cyfrowe eksperymenty z medium książki z Polsce* (Kraków 2018), Ewa Szczęsna's, *Cyfrowa semiopoetyka* (Warszawa 2018), Bogusława Bodzioch-Bryła's, *Sploty: przepływy, architek(s)ture, hybrydy. Polska e-poezja w dobie procesualności i konwergencji* (Kraków 2019), and *Ku ciału post-ludzkiemu. Poezja polska po 1989 roku wobec nowych mediów i nowej rzeczywistości* (Kraków 2006, 2011), as well as Elżbieta Winiecka's *Poszerzanie pola literackiego. Studia o literackości w internecie* (Kraków 2020). Assigning digital literature a proper place in science and the humanities is of considerable, even strategic, importance as it affects its perception and the type of discourse that will define it (Pawlicka, 2017, p. 28). An increasing number of new-medial e-literary works (i.e., e-literary installations) located between the space of the modern library and the sphere of the museum and gallery (the e-museum) are created. Sources collecting new-medial works are being created and developed, the most important of them being the international anthology *Electronic Literature Collection*, published by the Electronic Literature Organization (2022). Four volumes have been published so far and each of them has been increasingly international and richer in exemplifications. Admittedly, as a result of technological changes (e.g., in 2020, Adobe stopped supporting Flash Player), some works have periodically been (or still are) in a state of digital hibernation; fortunately, however, successive waves of digital mergers and convergences are slowly bringing them back to life²¹.

21 Some sections of this article are based on my book (Bodzioch-Bryła, 2019).

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Pseudohistory: a challenge in contemporary cultural studies

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: In a narrow perspective, pseudohistory, like its counterpart pseudoscience, consists of narratives regarding the foundations of identity in history or religion which are considered alternative to the facts, findings, and academic consensus of mainstream science. In a broader perspective, pseudohistory is also defined as all alternative attempts to explain past events, regardless of their scope and motivation.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: All pseudohistorical works have their own chronology. Certain trends occur regionally and are sometimes linked to a particular historical period. Those concerning the significant past events of a nation may be based on, or draw from, mythologisations of history during a period when that nation was in captivity. Dissemination of such stories is fostered by the development of the means of a free exchange of information.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: Pseudohistory draws on sources taken out of their historical context, but these have frequently failed to withstand traditional scientific criticism. Within pseudohistory, facts can be freely linked and often cross both chronological and geographical boundaries.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The creators of these ideas operate contradictorily: on the one hand, they question academic opinions (often considering them to be an expression of negligence or even conspiracy); on the other hand, they seek to strengthen their authority by affiliating with scientific institutions or obtaining academic titles, including in fields others than their specialisation. Pseudoscience can pose a challenge not only because

of the reckless approach of pseudoscientists to the study of different cultures, but also because of the threat they pose to national security.

Keywords: pseudohistory, Great Lechia, the Lost Tribes of Israel, information warfare

Definition of the term

Pseudohistory is often treated as theories that offer an alternative course or explanation of historical phenomena or events. They challenge the scientific consensus on the course of an event or the occurrence of a fact, or they offer explanations unsupported by verifiable evidence derived from sources that are subject to scientific criticism. This broad definition of the term 'pseudohistory' thus includes many false conspiracy theories, historical falsifications, or historical fake news events, such as those that have exerted an overwhelming impact on states' politics or social attitudes (e.g., the Popish Plot, the Soviet interpretation of the Katyń massacre, and the Protocols of the Sages of Zion). These are mostly isolated incidents related to a particular event or possibly to an idea or a plan, but their consequences are far-reaching because they affect social relations or attitudes towards religious groups. Nevertheless, they concern matters that are somehow isolated and are therefore viewed as fitting into some broader tendency or prejudice. Some researchers argue that simplistic and romanticised approaches from the history of science are also individual examples of pseudohistory.

Definitions of the term 'pseudohistory' also include those that can be considered more straightforward and commonsensical, such as Douglas Allchin's claims in which he describes pseudohistory as a variant of pseudoscience that entails a selective use of facts aimed to create misleading images (Allchin, 2004, p. 179). This definition can be criticised as being too broad, but it should be borne in mind that stories within pseudohistory hinder the formulation of any clear, concise classification due to their thematic diversity.

The very definition and categorisation of phenomena as pseudohistory result in heated debate between authors who accuse one another of methodological and terminological inadequacies (Hershey, 2006, p. 121ff). Even fiercer disputes take place at the level of individual examples of pseudohistory. This naturally leads to skirmishes between researchers who question the validity and reliability of the theories they label pseudoscientific and proponents of this approach who reject the stigmatising term ascribed to them.

A narrower definition of pseudohistory encompasses historical narratives of a more fundamental nature, i.e., an alternative explanation

of the basis on which the statehood of a given country is founded, or events related to religious history or doctrine. This approach is usually characterised by cross-sectionality, using arguments and examples from different historical eras, geographical locations, and cultural areas. Pseudohistory of this type is always confrontational towards mainstream scientific research, although sometimes it aims to build the foundations of an identity, i.e., ethnogenesis, religious identity, or both.

Cross-sectional pseudohistory in which religion is also important include, e.g., theories concerning the Lost Ten Tribes or the theory of the offspring of Jesus and Mary Magdalene.

The myth of the Ten Tribes has proved to be well suited to attempts to explain ethnic and cultural origins in various parts of the world. The starting point for these concepts is the fate of the biblical tribes who inhabited the northern part of the ancient Jewish state after it was divided into two kingdoms: the Northern Kingdom of Israel and the Southern Kingdom of Judah. In 722 BC, after the Assyrian invasion, the inhabitants of the Northern Kingdom were displaced and, over the centuries, alleged traces of the Ten Lost Tribes have been identified in various parts of the world, including the Persian territories, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and East Asia, particularly China, Korea, and Japan (Ben-Dor Benite, 2009, pp. 3–4). There have been attempts to find evidence of their presence in some of these areas; in others, theories of tribal wanderings have been exposed as identity pseudohistory. Early manifestations of this approach include the account of a Portuguese traveller and Marrano Sephardic Jew, Antonio de Montezinos, who, at the end of the first half of the 17th century, on his return from Ecuador, claimed to have discovered a Jewish community – descendants of one of the lost tribes – on Indian lands there. This account was publicised in Europe by the Amsterdam rabbi and printer Menasseh ben Israel, who included Antonio de Montezinos' account in his own messianic concept that is described in *The Hope of Israel (Spes Israelis)*, which was published in several languages. Through ben Israel and his English contacts, belief in the existence of an ancient Jewish settlement in America reached the English-speaking world – first England, and the American colonies soon after. The American version was associated with the Puritan settlement and the work of Thomas Thorowgood (d. 1669), the author of *Ievves in America or Probabilities that Americans are of that Race* (1650), in

which it was used to develop a missionary strategy based on the belief that the indigenous inhabitants of America were descended from the Israelites of the Lost Tribes.

In the introduction to his work, Menasseh ben Israel expressed his belief that the Ten Lost Tribes had dispersed among different continents (America, Asia, and Africa) and his faith in their future reunion with the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He treated his work as a continuation of Flavius Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, although a unique feature of his approach was his messianic focus on their future as the fulfilment of God's promise to the Chosen People.

Although Montezinos' vision, propagated by ben Israel and Thorowgood, was quickly challenged, it became firmly embedded in the field of ethno-cultural speculation, as evidenced by subsequent editions of his book (e.g., the Hebrew edition of *The Hope of Israel* in Vilnius in 1836) and references to the theory of more locations in which the Ten Lost Tribes had settled.

In the case of Japan, the foundations for this theory were laid by the 19th-century Scottish missionary Nicholas McLeod, who categorised the peoples of Japan according to three races and contrasted the indigenous Ainu people with the Israelites who had allegedly settled on the Islands. In his work *Epitome of the Ancient History of Japan* (1878), McLeod set out the directions still followed today by the proponents of the thesis that the Japanese were descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. He interpreted the legendary origins of the Japanese emperor's family accordingly and in this state-forming myth associated Japanese sacred objects with Old Testament descriptions and thereby argued for similarities in dress and weaponry (McLeod, 1878, pp. 1, 26 ff).

A contemporary advocate of the above thesis, Koji Soma, in his book entitled *The Traces of Jews in Ancient Japan – Evidence Based Research* (2015), argues that the Ten Lost Tribes reached Japan by several routes (northern, southern, and maritime). An important point for land routes across the entire Asian continent is Korea, which is how it is believed the tribes reached Japan; this creates a parallel with the actual documented traces of Buddhism reaching Japan.

According to Soma, proof of the shared origin of Jews and the Japanese is evidenced by, e.g., the Japanese not using yeast or baking powder in *mochi* cakes, which are associated with the transition

between the old and new year and are therefore similar to the Jewish custom of making unleavened bread, or matzo, for Passover (Soma, 2015, pp. 54–55). Another example would be the association of the similar-sounding words *kappa* (the Japanese legendary water creature) and *kippa* (the Jewish headdress) (Soma, 2015, p. 60). The author lists dozen of such associations, dividing them into older and newer ones.

In the case of more-recent attempts to find the descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes, there is a rather widespread tendency to find common origins in the similarity between local customs or religious imagery and the system of beliefs and values endorsed by missionaries. This was evident in the case of the Jesuit missionaries in Japan (quickly verified in religious disputes with Buddhist monks) and in the case of the Protestant missionaries in the New World.

While the Japanese vision of the wanderings of the Ten Lost Tribes brings a cross-cultural picture (or an example of the mixing of cultures), the most widely believed Korean pseudohistory is based on the myth of the founding of the Korean state by Dangun in 2333 BC and is the opposite of Ten Lost Tribes. In this case, nationalist theory links the establishment of the Korean statehood with divine intervention. Korean ethnogenesis is also presented in the same vein.

An example of pseudohistory with religious but not ethnic significance is the theory (which has several variations) of the marriage of Mary Magdalene and Jesus Christ and the offspring born of this union. Its most popularised form is derived from Dan Brown's thriller novel *The Da Vinci Code* (2003). Although this author openly states in a special publishing note that this is a work of fiction, he also assures us of the authenticity of all the works and documents referred to in the book, which gives the impression that it is based on a solid factual basis. In fact, Brown's work echoes previous theories put forward by, among others, Margaret Starbird (*The Woman with the Alabaster Jar. Mary Magdalen and the Holy Grail*, 1993) and M. Baigent, R. Leigh, and H. Lincoln (*The Holy Blood and The Holy Grail*, 1982). At the core of this pseudohistory is the belief that the accounts of the lives of Jesus and Mary Magdalene were deliberately falsified in church documents and reports in order to conceal the role played by Mary Magdalene among the apostles and to erase the memory of her offspring. The various strands and sometimes aspects of this story are supposed to point to a 'sacred female element' (the theological

aspect), to offspring forming a royal dynasty (the historical aspect), and to orders and societies established either to protect this secret or to combat it (the sensationalist aspect). Like other examples, this pseudohistory has also been stretched over time and covers associations from many cultural fields (customs, painting, sculpture, historical writings, literary works, etc.), and the material heritage gained from different regions.

A historical reinterpretation that encompassed a large slice of the past and reached back to the foundations of civilisation was made in the 1980s by the American academic Martin Bernal. In his audacious three-volume *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, he argued that Western science had rejected the thesis that ancient Greece was shaped from Egyptian heritage. An ideological shift in the form of growing racism and a sense of superiority that accompanied colonialism were responsible for this supposed turn in science (Fritze, 2009a, pp. 222–223).

The most widespread contemporary Polish pseudohistory is the theory of Great Lechia, a Slavic empire alleged to have existed in antiquity that was located in vast areas of central and eastern Europe and politically influenced the west, east, and south of the area. This theory was popularised by, in particular, Janusz Bieszk's publications *Słowiańscy królowie Lechii. Polska starożytna* [*Slavic Kings of Lechia. Ancient Poland*] (2014) and *Starożytne Królestwo Lehii. Kolejne dowody* [*The Ancient Kingdom of Lechia. Further Evidence*] (2019). The existence of this empire is supposedly confirmed by a wealth of evidence which, according to the proponents of this theory, has been either overlooked or misinterpreted in historiography. The existence of this strong pre-Christian state is allegedly inconvenient for historians who associate the beginning of historical Polish statehood with its baptism in the 10th century; it is also inconvenient for German historiography, which avoids recognising Slavic domination over a large part of the territories that later became part of the Reich.

Undermining the classical definition of truth facilitates believing in 'facts' based on illegitimate associations that cannot be confirmed by reliable sources. The interdisciplinarity of various approaches, which in itself is valuable and broadens cognitive horizons, hinders the verification of elements of theories that come from disciplines in which the recipients or researchers are not experts.

It is also worth mentioning the risks entailed in unmasking pseudo-history. These include exposure to harsh, non-substantive criticism, the active defensiveness of fanatical supporters of the challenged theory, and the uniting of supporters of competing pseudohistory narratives against representatives of the scientific mainstream (Fritze, 2009b, p. 3).

Historical analysis of the term

It is impossible to speak of one single historical analysis of the phenomenon of pseudohistory as each example originates from a different cultural background and is based on different sources. Pseudohistory did not appear everywhere at the same time. Moreover, it is necessary to distinguish between legends or tales and the pseudohistory constructed on their basis. In the case of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, the historical basis happened at the time of the Assyrian invasion in 721 BC. Many later Jewish writings from various traditions somehow refer to this event and acknowledge the existence of tribes in exile as a fact (Parfitt, 1987, p. 1). However, they did not form a coherent pseudohistorical narrative until the 17th century when the aforementioned Menasseh ben Israel published his work. Since then, the development of pseudohistorical narratives has been increasingly noticeable in various parts of the world, such as in East Asia, where it came to prominence in the 19th century (Parfitt, 2002, p. 102ff). Its later development in Japan is linked to 19th-century Protestant missions and a revival of interest in this issue at the turn of the 21st century.

A vital element on which pseudohistorical narratives created in the Central European region were founded in the 19th century was these countries' romantic fascination with their legendary past, which proved to be the source of numerous mystifications that are collectively known as Ossianism. Of particular importance in Bohemia was the mystification of Václav Hanka, who presented two manuscripts that allegedly originated from the Bohemian Middle Ages, i.e., *the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* and *the Manuscript of Zelená Hora*. Despite their evident and scientifically proven forgery, even today there are people who believe in the authenticity of these manuscripts and the particular vision of the

Czech history it advocates. The best-known mystification of this kind in Poland is the *Prokosz Chronicle* (full title *Kronika polska przez Prokosza w wieku X napisana, z dodatkami z Kroniki Kagnimira, pisarza wieku XI, i z przypisami krytycznymi komentatora wieku XVIII pierwszy raz wydrukowana z rękopisma nowo wynalezione* [The Polish Chronicle written by Prokosz in the 10th century, with fragments from the Chronicle written by Kagnimir, a writer of the 11th century, and with critical notes by a commentator of the 18th century, first printed from a newly discovered manuscript]). Thanks to Hipolit Kowalski, this work made a brief stir in 1825 when it appeared on the publishing market. It was quickly recognised as a forgery, which Joachim Lelewel proved in his research, indicating that the author of the work was a well-known forger of noble genealogies, Przybysław Dyamentowski (Strzelczyk, 1998, pp. 162–163). Almost two hundred years later, the forgery proved to be one of the main ‘testimonies’ referred to in the concept of Great Lechia, whose disseminators also referred to other source materials of dubious origin that failed to withstand professional source criticism.

In the case of the religious reinterpretation of the pseudohistory related to the role played by Mary Magdalene and her relationship with Jesus Christ, the source material consists of both the canonical books of the New Testament and later Gnostic apocrypha, especially the *Gospel of Mary Magdalene*. Their creative linking and subsequent reinterpretation on a larger scale took place in the second half of the 20th century in the popular works of M. Starbird and M. Baigent, R. Leigh, and H. Lincoln. The real popularity of this pseudohistory, however, came with the success of D. Brown’s thriller novel, which was the main catalyst for the publishing of these authors’ books in a number of countries and triggered serious discussions in the spirit of feminist theology.

Racially motivated pseudohistory, which in scholarly journalism is sometimes linked to the broader phenomenon of ‘Afrocentrism’, also had its foundations in attempts at historical revisionism in the 19th century, which fell on fertile ground with decolonisation and subsequent attempts at a cultural reckoning with the past. A milestone for the foundation of the view of the African origins of classical civilisations – and therefore of the entire civilisational development of the West (along with the recognition of looted cultural heritage) – was M. Bernal’s work *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (1987–2006). Manifestations

of this way of thinking can also be found in works dealing with other issues, e.g., S. Benko's *The Virgin Goddess. Studies in the Pagan and Christian Roots of Mariology* (2004). Today, these theories have found fertile ground in political movements based on the belief that racial historical injustices need to be rectified.

Discussion of the term

Examples of pseudohistory are extremely diverse, yet they are characterised by certain consistently recurring elements which make them a challenge for cultural studies. These include the method in which the very structure of pseudohistory is constructed, the inevitable confrontation with opponents of these theories at the discursive level, and the distinctive ways in which their proponents lend credibility to their theses.

A. The method of constructing pseudohistory. Despite their obvious cultural, geographical, and chronological diversity, some elements of these theories are frequently repeated, e.g., references to specifically interpreted archaeological findings, the notorious presence of time jumps in pseudohistorical narratives, and the undermining of the methodological soundness of traditional methods employed in the critical approach to sources. In identity pseudohistory, an important role is attributed to genetic research, which supposedly confirms the credibility of narratives from this area. In the case of Great Lechia, this is a reference to the haplogroup R1a1, which is currently dominant among Slavs and Hungarians in Europe. Proponents of the narrative of geographical discoveries by the Chinese also refer to genetics, namely to the analysis of the mitochondrial DNA of indigenous peoples of the Americas, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand (Menzies, 2002, p. 372); similarly, proponents of the Japanese–Jewish link refer to haematology (Soma, 2015, p. 21) to argue their case. In the case of these references, the primary (though not the only) problem lies in the interpretation of contemporary research from which conclusions are drawn regarding events that took place hundreds or more than a thousand years ago. As Artur Wójcik rightly points out, potentially scientifically fruitful results could only come from extensive studies of fossilised genetic material from long-dead organisms (Wójcik, 2019, p. 100).

The essence of all pseudohistorical narratives, whether they are linked to ethnicity, identity, or religion, lies in referring to existing and well-known historical sources. The authors of pseudohistory reject existing findings and interpretative perspectives and usually totally ignore the principles of source criticism. One of the most glaring examples of this is acknowledging the authenticity of false chronicles produced as a result of fashion and romantic fascination with a nations' distant past, which is clearly visible in Bohemia (V. Hanka's forgeries) and Poland (*Prokosz Chronicle*).

The method of constructing pseudohistory in an ironic literary version was described by Umberto Eco in his novel *Foucault's Pendulum* (1988), in which unrelated scraps of information, sentences, and claims were fed into a computer program which combined them into a single coherent narrative. This seemingly nonsensical narrative was given an interpretation that tied together its main points. In this literary satire, Eco, being a scientist himself, subjected the methods and means used by the creators of pseudohistory to criticism and drew attention to the randomness of combining distant elements, which is the basis of virtually all examples of identity pseudohistory.

In the case of Mary Magdalene, the elements in the narrative of her connection to Christ span between the time when Christ lived in Palestine (1st century AD), Merovingian France (5th–8th centuries), the history of the fall of the Knights Templar (14th century), Leonardo da Vinci's painting (15th–16th centuries), and the establishment of Opus Dei (20th century). In the theories of Chinese discoverers, there are references to the voyages of the Zheng He fleet (15th century), the religious reformers of England and Bohemia John Wycliffe and Jan Hus (14th–15th centuries), and the work of the American journalist, ethnographer, and historian of Californian tribes, Stephen Powers (19th century). In fact, each version, even if it evokes different events, fits into a pattern of temporally and territorially stretched associations, which are accompanied by an interpretation that fits a given theory.

This way of constructing narratives hinders the possibilities for scholarly criticism, mainly because some scholars find it difficult to discuss theories they consider nonsense, while others – out of professional caution – limit themselves to comments on only one element of the theory within their specialisation, avoiding other elements that are not the

subject of their research. This way of proceeding hinders any comprehensive critique based on unquestionable scientific authority. Indeed, such an attitude would be expected from a team of researchers specialising in fragmentary issues combined as elements of a pseudohistorical narrative. This makes pseudohistory relatively immune to repudiation by the academic community.

B. Opponents of pseudohistorical theories and their motivations. Pseudohistory poses a problem for historical and cultural research because of its specific approach to scholarly discourse. On the one hand, the proponents of pseudohistorical theories seem to challenge the scientific consensus on the debated subject; on the other hand, they usually downplay criticism of their theories and scientific source criticism by referring to unverifiable phenomena and attitudes by, for example, treating them as deliberate actions of hostile forces.

For example, the Korean proponents of the theory of the Hwanguk Empire and the divine ruler Dangun respond to criticism with stories about the Japanese occupation of their country in the first half of the 20th century and the attempts undertaken at the time to devalue Korean history, falsify it, and destroy the national identity of Koreans.

In the case of the Great Lechia thesis, critics of mainstream historical research are treated as subordinate to the Vatican, the Germans, the Russians, or international financial circles (Wójcik, 2019, pp. 41–42). Janusz Bieszk, one of the proponents of the concept of Great Lechia, argues that the fundamental source for this theory, i.e., the aforementioned *Prokosz Chronicle*, was criticised by German historians after its publication because it questioned the previous historical chronology concerning the Slavs' settlement in Central European lands (Bieszk, 2019, p. 125).

Supporters of the theory of the marriage of Mary Magdalene and Jesus and their offspring look for their opponents in the patriarchal Catholic Church, which depreciates the role of women and the female sacred element. More sensationalist approaches replicate Brown's images of secret societies and Opus Dei agents.

C. Lending credibility to pseudohistory and its authors. The authors of pseudohistory, despite criticising academics and their methods, do not shy away from attempts to support their theses with multiple references to scientific sources and studies. Unlike

novels, which by their very nature are not accompanied by scholarly apparatus (or they are accompanied by a sparse number of – mainly explanatory – footnotes), pseudohistorical works abound in references of a specific sort. An example is Laurence Gardner's book *Bloodline of the Holy Grail: The Hidden Lineage of Jesus Revealed* (2002), in which the author inundates the reader with footnotes, genealogical lists, and directories. Sometimes, footnotes with references to classical authors or the Bible serve to substantiate the author's theses, which, however, do not find definitive confirmation in the quoted source as it is only remotely linked with the point the author wants to make. This method is used in various pseudohistorical works, including all those discussed in this article.

Another method of lending credibility to controversial theses in order to promote them is by appealing to authority. As most authors of pseudohistorical works are not members of academia, they are very keen to exploit the authority provided by academic degrees and titles, sometimes gained in other disciplines or in special places outside the local academic community. For example, a short biography of the entrepreneur and proponent of theories on Jewish traces in Japan's ancient culture, Koji Soma, posted on the Kobe Peace Research Institute website, mentions that he was awarded an honorary professorship at the Moldovan State Pedagogical University (<https://kobepeace.org/en/about/index.cgi#02>). On the other hand, there are authors associated with academic centres – such as Martin Bernal, a professor at New York's Cornell University – who, due to methods adopted in their writing that question classical source criticism and the revisionist style of historical and cultural reinterpretation, are categorised as pseudohistorical.

In their argumentation, advocates of pseudohistory often mention the number of copies of books sold that are devoted to such theories. Indeed, in many cases such publications are very successful on the market. Books on Mary Magdalene and the Chinese discoveries based on Menzies' theory enjoyed bestseller status in many languages, as did books on Great Lechia in the Polish market. Their impressive sales, of course, in no way verify the concepts they promote. However, market success is argued on both sides – whether in a democratic sense (popularity in the post-truth era confers value) or as an allusion to the low circulation and limited readership of scholarly publications.

Authenticating pseudohistorical narratives by linking them to academic institutions is relatively rare and difficult to achieve. The mechanisms of scientific verification – often criticised for being overly conservative and for blocking fresh ideas – are relatively effective in curbing the spread of pseudohistory on the official scientific circuit. However, a paradox can be noticed here: on the one hand, the official scientific circulation is usually criticised by proponents of pseudohistory, who accuse the scientific and ecclesiastical circles of blocking the 'inconvenient truth'; on the other hand, they also attempt to reach the public by means of scientific publishing houses or universities. Failure in this field is used as a confirmation of the thesis that the truth is blocked, while cases of successful promotion through official scientific channels can be used to lend credibility to a pseudohistorical narrative for non-university audiences. For example, the Polish edition of Koji Soma's book was published by the Publishing House of the Bronisław Markiewicz State Higher School of Technology and Economics in Jarosław and promoted during meetings at, among other places, the University of Rzeszów, while a series of books devoted to Great Lechia was published by Bellona, a well-known Polish publishing house. The Polish edition of Gavin Menzies' book informed its readers about geographical, maritime, and sinological consultations provided by academics from the University of Warsaw. Tellingly, historical consultation was missing. However, the author was invited to give guest lectures to Yunnan University in China.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

Pseudohistory poses a challenge to cultural research for several reasons. Pseudohistorical narratives are constructed using a range of methods which differ from those employed in scholarly discourse. Their chronological cross-sectionality makes it difficult for individual researchers to address their claims holistically. The same difficulty applies to the multifaceted nature of pseudohistorical narratives that filter into the various fields and disciplines of science (apart from history, usually theology, archaeology, art history, and genetics). It is often the case that proponents of pseudohistory simultaneously try to gain support for their

theses from institutionalised authorities while undermining the legitimacy of mainstream science and the achievements of academia. Sometimes pseudohistorical narratives gain a strong position in public perception thanks to the fact that their theses are attractive for the media and that their authors are deeply committed to promoting them. Taken together, all these characteristics also make pseudohistory a challenge in the conditions of competition within the infosphere.

Researchers who study the phenomenon of pseudohistory talk of the danger of its use in information warfare (Wójcik, 2019, pp. 179–191). The development of modern media, the internet, and social media have created new conditions for information warfare which allow the network effect to be exploited and old recommendations in the art of war (dating back to the time of Sun-Tzu) to be implemented. These recommendations include the application of strategies which aim to depreciate the values on which society is based, to undermine the credibility of existing beliefs about the individual's history, and to negate recognised authorities. These strategies are intended to lead to social disintegration and to undermine national, cultural, and religious identity. In the opinion of Vladimir Kariakin, an expert from the Defence Studies Centre, some individuals subjected to these strategies create marginal groups which can be easily manipulated in the new generation war (Wojnowski, 2015, p. 19).

Security and defence specialists point to the multifaceted nature of modern information warfare, in which the destabilisation of one's sense of national identity and the undermining of trust in one's history and the sources of one's culture are vital elements.

For example, the nationalistic Korean myth of Dangun, nowadays disseminated in a version linked with the Hwanguk empire, is actively exploited in the political-religious arena. The popularity of this version not only clashes with traditional historical studies on Korea's past but also affects current politics. Given the distant past the theory refers to and the traditional locations in the Taebaek Mountains that are traditionally associated with Dangun, this myth is sometimes invoked as a symbol of the country's unification (e.g., during President Moon Jae-in's visit to Pyongyang in 2019). The belief that Korean culture preceded Chinese culture and that the alleged Korean empire covered vast territories can also create particular social attitudes towards Korea's contemporary neighbours.

Theories concerning Great Lechia or the marriage of Jesus Christ and Mary Magdalene and their offspring target the religious basis of Western societies: in the former case, the Polish nation; in the latter, the Christian communities in the West. In the case of Great Lechia, the anti-German sentiment that accompanies these theories is also significant: it is the Germans who are supposedly responsible for erasing the memory of the Poles' Lechian ancestors and the supposed power of the Lechian empire.

At the racial level, theories about the erasing from history of the Egyptian impact on the formation of Greek culture and, through it, the foundations of Western civilisation, are easy to exploit. Their aftermath can be seen in the successive variations or lists of 'black gods whitewashed in recent history' that appear on the internet (Tracy, 2013). In this case, it is the contemporary elites – political, religious, and academic – who are criticised with the aim of legitimising the attempts undertaken by proponents of pseudohistory to undermine their authority and academic achievements.

Pseudohistory poses a multifaceted and complex challenge to cultural studies. Pseudohistorical narratives are not particularly problematic in the academic context, in which research is conducted using an appropriate method and toolkit, but fighting them becomes a difficult undertaking at the level of confrontation in the public space. Indeed, the greatest challenge is to establish an effective method to prevent the disintegrative effects caused by pseudohistory and to counteract the popularisation of these theories through the network effect.

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The pictorial, iconic, and visual turns in contemporary humanities and cultural studies

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: In humanistic reflection, ‘the visual turn’, also called ‘the pictorial turn’ (by W.J.T. Mitchell) and ‘the iconic turn’ (*Ikonische Wende*) (by Gottfried Boehm), can be defined as a theoretical and methodological shift from the linguistic paradigm to the pictorial or visual paradigm. This new paradigm is situated within Visual Culture Studies or Visual Studies and is aimed at critical and comprehensive examination of the increasing role of images in contemporary society.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: During the last two decades of the 20th century, ‘the pictorial turn’ and ‘the iconic turn’ led to the development of two academic disciplines: American Picture Theory and its German version *Bildwissenschaft* (which also has its American counterpart called Image Science), both of which emerged around the same time. According to Mitchell, the pictorial turn also gave rise to the development of Norman Bryson’s semiotics of the image, which is now considered a historical discipline because its development took place in the 1980s.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: American considerations on the pictorial turn were largely motivated by an objection to the dominance of language and the absorption of the icon by the logos; instead, they chose to focus on the interpretation of the logos of the image. In his conception of the iconic turn, Boehm, like Mitchell, refers to the conception of the linguistic turn. In his search for the logic of the image – which would be distinct from the logic of language – he starts by asking the question ‘What is an

image?’ (‘Was ist ein Bild?’) and pointing to the extremely wide range of philosophical connotations of this term.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: In the sense proposed by Mitchell, the pictorial turn far exceeds the models of ‘textuality’ and ‘discursivity’. Unlike American visual culture studies, in the case of Boehm’s iconic turn the inspiration for this inter- and transdisciplinary image science comes from philosophising art historians and aestheticians (beginning with Aby Warburg) who were interested in various forms of imagery and visibility.

Keywords: pictorial turn, iconic turn, picture theory, image science, critical iconology

Definition of the term

In the humanities and cultural studies, the pictorial turn and its German counterpart, the iconic turn (*Ikönische Wende*)¹, are mirror images of the linguistic turn introduced by Richard Rorty. This trend already has a history marked by W.J.T. Mitchell's *Picture Theory* (1994), Erwin Panofsky's 'critical iconology' (Mitchell, 2009, pp. 4–19), and all the varieties of Gottfried Boehm's *Image Science* (*Bildwissenschaft*) (Gottfried Boehm, 2014, pp. 204–217). In humanistic reflection, 'the visual turn' can be defined as a theoretical and methodological shift from the linguistic paradigm to the pictorial or visual paradigm. This new paradigm is situated in Visual Culture Studies or Visual Studies and its aim is to critically and comprehensively examine the increasing role of images in contemporary society.

This situation has the following consequences, which should be particularly emphasised. In visual communication – or, in its extreme case, the semiotics of the image – 'the language of the image' becomes the same as linguistic (textual) communication, in which the function is replaced by visual coding. The visual turn is also manifested in the fact that visual communication is elevated to the status of an independent semiotic system, and the 'image' plays a role analogous to that of 'language', which – as advocated within the linguistic turn – was the

1 Several semantically different names for the visual turn are used in the literature, including iconic, pictorial, and visual, all of which can be treated as terms that describe the same phenomenon. It is worth noting here that the concept of 'the pictorial turn' simultaneously includes at least two separate tendencies in its development: those related to the research perspective (and, in its extreme form, to the theoretical and research perspectives), and those related to the period in contemporary culture associated with the presence of particular phenomena in the visual sphere (e.g., the introduction of the photographic image, the invention of film, and the invention of the digital image). W.J.T. Mitchell identifies several different understandings of the 'pictorial turn', highlighting the accompanying research contexts (Mitchell, 2012b, pp. 156–157). The outline of the process of the formation of the iconic turn can be found in (Boehm, 2007, pp. 27–36) and the explanation of the difference between the iconic and pictorial turns can be found in (Boehm & Mitchell, 2010, pp. 8–26). Polish readers can read a number of articles devoted to the pictorial, iconic, and visual turns written by both Polish authors and by foreign authors translated into Polish, including Bachmann-Medick, Boehm & Mitchell, Mitchell, Werner, Zeidler-Janiszewska. However, it is worth mentioning here that the term 'visual turn' is used in them only marginally and very rarely (see Moxley, 2008, pp. 131–146).

foundation for all modes of social communication². The linguistic turn reinforced the belief that verbal language is the most perfect semiotic and communicative system, and it cannot be replaced by any visual equivalents because they are deemed inadequate. However, this thesis is now being re-evaluated and is often challenged in many theoretical approaches.

‘The visual turn’ opened up new theoretical perspectives for reflecting on images, which until then had been studied mainly in aesthetic and art historical contexts and treated as cognitive and discursive phenomena. The modern research tradition not only devoted numerous branches of philosophy, sociology, and anthropology to images but also made them the subject of reflection within image science. Moreover, Mitchell, like Boehm, understands the pictorial/iconic turn itself as a ‘turn to pictures’, which is an indispensable and unavoidable condition for the configuration of visual media theory, in which

image is everything – and nothing – [and] is not strictly the province of sophisticated commentators or cultural critics but part of the everyday vernacular culture that makes a widely accessible language of advertising possible. The pictorial turn is such a commonplace that television commercials can rely on it (Mitchell, 2005, p. 80).

The contribution of the epistemological turn, which entailed restoring the role of images as a medium of visual cognition, is also important here (cf. Boehm, 2014, pp. 275–277).

Historical analysis of the term

During the last two decades of the 20th century, ‘the visual turn’, which is also called ‘the pictorial turn’ and ‘the iconic turn’, led to the development of two academic disciplines: American Picture Theory and its German version, *Bildwissenschaft* (which also has its American counterpart

² This point of view is represented by W.J.T. Mitchell, who describes this tendency in the following words: “What makes for the sense of a pictorial turn, then, is not that we have some powerful account of visual representation that is dictating the terms of cultural theory, but that pictures form a point of peculiar friction and discomfort across a broad range of intellectual inquiry” (Mitchell, 1992, p. 89).

called Image Science, see Mitchell, 2015, pp. 13–37), both of which emerged around the same time. Picture Theory was primarily developed by W.J.T. Mitchell (1994), the author of *Picture Theory. Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. However, it has to be said that the theoretical and methodological boundaries of this discipline have never been clearly defined. Mitchell's considerations devoted to the developmental perspectives of his theory presented in *Picture Theory* led him to the thesis – articulated at the very beginning of the book – that picture theory asks the question: 'What is an image?' (Mitchell, 1994, p. 4). However, in the humanities, it is still hardly possible to provide a satisfying answer to this question. In most publications, picture theory is analysed within comparative studies which address problems which differ from those set out by Mitchell. Examples of such comparative studies include semiotic and philosophical theories of visual representation and sociological-anthropological studies of film and mass culture. In *Picture Theory*, Mitchell also poses the following rhetorical question: does the problem with 'picture theory' stem from its specificity, or perhaps from the concept of 'image' itself? (Mitchell, 1994, p. 9) It is very difficult to give an unambiguous answer to this question.

The very notion of 'image' – which is the main focus of picture theory and Mitchell's project of critical 'iconology' (image science), i.e., the academic disciplines initiated by the pictorial turn – is one of the most ambiguous terms to have ever emerged in the humanities and social sciences (philosophy, sociology, and the anthropology of images). To this day, no satisfactory definition of the term 'image' has been proposed. This aspect was pointed out by Jacques Aumont, the author of a comprehensive monograph on the image, who writes in the first words of the introduction to his book *L'Image (The Image)* that:

The image has innumerable potential manifestations, some of which are perceived through the senses, and others that are purely intellectual, as when we use metaphors of vision in abstract thought (Aumont, 1997, p. 1).

In a similar context, the problem of the 'image' is posed by Andrzej Leśniak:

The place of the image in humanist discourse is not defined. Regardless of how one accounts for the relationships occurring between different languages and

ways of speaking, the concept of the image poses interpretative problems. This is a problematic situation, especially today when there is a multitude of texts in which the concept of the image plays a key role. The image, a category continuously present in different disciplines of knowledge – sometimes at their very centre, as a concept which organises a certain way of speaking, and sometimes on the margins or at the intersection of theoretical languages – is troublesome, almost incomprehensible, especially when one takes into account the controversies that arise in any attempt to define it (Leśniak, 2010, p. 93)³.

Thus, it is difficult to define what an image is, but it is even more difficult to describe it in the form of a compact theoretical formula. Using the term 'image' only complicates matters, as it often leads to a 'tautological trap' in which the defined word does not enrich the content of the defined word. Consequently, we still do not know where the boundaries of the conceptual scope of the term 'image' lie and how this notion can be defined.

It is significant that in Mitchell's conception of the pictorial turn, 'image' takes the place of 'language' and rises to the status of a sign system in its own right, just as language once did in the systems of post-structuralist philosophy within the linguistic turn. It should be noted here that Richard Rorty's linguistic turn gave rise to thinking about 'language' as an unsolved problem of the humanities, whereas in the case of the pictorial turn it is the picture that is conceived like this. In this way, the picture also became the subject of Erwin Panofsky's iconology. Mitchell writes about this explicitly:

The picture now has a status somewhere between what Thomas Kuhn called a "paradigm" and an "anomaly", emerging as a central topic of discussion in the human sciences in the way that language once did: that is, as a kind of model or figure for other things (including figuration itself) and as an unsolved problem, perhaps even the object of its own "science", what Erwin Panofsky called an "iconology" (Mitchell, 1992, p. 90).

In answer to the question 'What is an image?' it is worth referring to Boehm's theoretical considerations in which he reflected on the iconic

³ At the beginning of the first introductory chapter to his *Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, Hans Belting emphasises this aspect of the anthropological project of image science: The discourse about 'images' "has brought to light considerable confusion in the language that people use, a confusion that is merely glossed over by the word 'image'. [...] Though people are not talking about the same thing, they are nonetheless using the same word" (Belting, 2014, p. 9).

turn. Boehm argues that “Whoever asks about an image, asks about images, about the countless plural” (Boehm, 2014, p. 276), and this very first sentence of his essay *The Return of Images*, evokes an important question that troubles image science today. The image does not appear in the singular but only in the plural. In this situation, the definitional scope of the term is, and will probably long remain, a contentious issue. Hans Belting called it the confusion of words and languages which

gives rise again and again to new controversies in which definitions are contested. As a result, we not only speak in the same way about very different images, but we also apply very different modes of discourse to the same kinds of images (Belting, 2014, p. 9)⁴.

In Boehm’s view, the iconic turn allows not only a historical and ideological background in terms of philosophical references to be outlined but was also intended to overcome a widespread restrictive understanding of the concept of the image. As a result, however, it resulted in a maximal broadening of the scope of the concept, with numerous philosophical connotations that Boehm refers to in his essay *The Return of Images* (Boehm, 2014, pp. 277–281).

At least two different concepts or models of the visual turn are now known. In 1992, Mitchell, an American literary scholar from the University of Chicago, announced the pictorial turn in his famous text-manifesto *The Pictorial Turn*, first published in *Artforum* magazine and later reprinted in his aforementioned book *Picture Theory*. Some two years later, the German philosopher and art historian Gottfried Boehm, a disciple of Max Imdahl and Hans-Georg Gadamer, initiated the iconic turn (*ikonische Wende*) in his essay *The Return of Images* (Boehm, 2014, pp. 275–305). In his article on the pictorial turn, Mitchell argues that this turn has linguistic foundations which emerged when Richard Rorty announced the linguistic turn and expressed his objection towards the dominance of language. Mitchell is critical of the linguistic turn (Mitchell, 1992, p. 89) and argues that the history of culture or the history of

⁴ In this context, the dispute over images, especially the public dispute, has many participants and represents a rare moment when images are discussed at all, when they become visible, when they impose or reveal themselves, and the participants of the debate directly or indirectly articulate their attitude towards them (Zaidler-Janiszewska, 2006a, pp. 11–12).

philosophy could be characterised as a series of turns, the last of which was the linguistic turn. He writes that

Linguistics, semiotics, rhetoric, and various models of “textuality” have become the lingua franca for critical reflections on the arts, the media, and cultural forms. Society is a text. Nature and its scientific representations are “discourses”. Even the unconscious is structured like a language (Mitchell, 1992, p. 89).

Mitchell interprets Erwin Panofsky’s conception (interpreted in the context of Louis Althusser’s suggestion) in terms of a new ‘critical iconology’ and refers to past practices of imagery not only when discussing Panofsky but also when talking of David Freedberg’s *The Power of Images* (1991) (Zeidler-Janiszewska, 2006a, p. 12). Challenging the dominance of the research strategies that emerged within the linguistic turn, Mitchell accuses the pictorial turn of iconoclasm and writes that

Whatever the pictorial turn is, then, it should be clear that it is not a return to naive mimetic theories of representation, or a renewed metaphysics of pictorial “presence”: it is, rather, a postlinguistic, postsemiotic rediscovery of the picture as a complex interplay between visibility, apparatus, discourse, bodies, and figurality (Mitchell, 1992, p. 91).

According to Mitchell, the pictorial turn led to the development of Norman Bryson’s semiotics of the image, which is a discipline now considered rather historical since its development dates back to the 1980s. The main driving force behind the emergence of this discipline was the changes and transformations in art history brought about by the linguistic and semiotic turns. In their essay *Semiotics and Art History*, Mieke Bal and Bryson argue that semiotics goes beyond the linguistic turn and directs us towards “a transdisciplinary theory” which “helps to avoid the bias of privileging language”. Within visual culture, this theory *de facto* leads to a situation in which “rather than a linguistic turn, we will propose a semiotic turn for art history” (Bal&Bryson, 1991, p. 175). According to Mitchell, the semiotic turn was supposed to awaken art history from its ‘dogmatic slumber’. Not surprisingly, then, Mitchell asks the question, “Now that art history is awake, at least to the linguistic turn, what will it do?” (Mitchell, 1992, p. 90). This theoretical perspective allows us to think of visual arts and images as “sign systems” with their own “discourse” and “textuality”.

Bal and Bryson propose the adoption of semiotics – which overcomes the privileged position of language – as the primary research perspective suitable for the development of image studies. However, this proposal does not convince Mitchell, who makes this clear in *Picture Theory* (Mitchell, 1994, pp. 83–107), when he writes that he is “skeptical about the possibility [...] of transdisciplinary theory” and, although he has “great respect for the achievements of semiotics and draws upon it frequently”, he is nevertheless convinced and believes that

the best terms for describing representations, artistic, or otherwise, are to be found in the immanent vernaculars of representation. Sometimes, of course, the language of semiotics intersects with these vernaculars (consider the loaded notion of the ‘icon’). These intersections only make it clearer that the technical metalanguages of semiotics don’t offer us a scientific, transdisciplinary or unbiased vocabulary, but only a host of new figures or theoretical pictures that must themselves be interpreted (Mitchell, 1994, pp. 14–15).

Thus, semiotics disappoints Mitchell, although his theories are sometimes considered from the semiotic perspective due to his references to Panofsky’s iconology, which is the knowledge of symbols and their associated meanings. In his argumentation, Mitchell uses the term ‘vernaculars of representation’, which is rarely used in structuralist texts and does not refer to semiotic contexts. Interestingly, in *What Do Pictures Want*, Mitchell is no longer as radical about semiotic methods as he was in *Picture Theory*. He refers to Charles S. Pierce’s findings and observes that his animalistic perspective does not imply abandoning semiotic methods of image analysis but only advocates a different distribution of emphasis (Mitchell, 2005, pp. 73–74).

Discussion of the term

In the theoretical approach proposed by Mitchell, the pictorial turn is treated as being in opposition to the linguistic turn, which is particularly evident in Panofsky’s project of ‘critical iconology’, within which Mitchell proposes “the resistance of the icon to the ‘logos’” (Mitchell, 1994, p. 28). This project is a transgression of the linguistically mediated grammar of ‘iconology’ “as a kernel narrative embedded in the very

grammar of 'iconology' as a fractured concept, a suturing of image and text" (Mitchell, 1994, p. 28) into a single whole imagetext. When Mitchell directly refers to Panofsky's iconology, he finds the relationship between the viewer and the picture to be crucial; it is further transferred to two other relationships: between the subject and the object, and between the visual 'picture' and the 'object' of representation. In his opinion, critical iconology, linked to ideology, involves shifting

both 'sciences' from an epistemological 'cognitive' ground (the knowledge of objects by subjects) to an ethical, political, and hermeneutical ground (the knowledge of subjects by subjects, perhaps even Subjects by Subjects) (Mitchell, 1994, p. 33).

Icons (*sensu largo*) resist language, they resist being subjectively treated, and they demand other, equivalent relations. One solution Mitchell proposes is to abandon a 'metalanguage' or 'discourse' that controls the processes of understanding pictures and "to explore the way that pictures attempt to represent themselves – an 'iconography' in a sense rather different from the traditional one" (Mitchell, 1994, p. 24). However, Mitchell does not provide any solution to this. Moreover, adopting this assumption leads to problems stemming from the very root of the term 'iconology', which promises "a discursive science of images, a mastering of the icon by the logos" (Mitchell, 1994, p. 24). Mitchell claims that

Idolatry, iconoclasm, iconophilia, and fetishism are not "post-Modern" phenomena. What is specific to our moment [...] is exactly this paradox. The fantasy of a pictorial turn, of a culture totally dominated by images, has now become a real technical possibility on a global scale (Mitchell, 1992, p. 90).

According to Mitchell, multiple varieties of the pictorial turn can be found in Anglo-American philosophical reflection, in Peirce's semiotics, and in Nelson Goodman's 'languages of art'. In Europe, they can be found in phenomenological interest in imagination and visual experience, and in Derridian 'grammatology'. This 'grammatology' deconstructs the 'phono-centric' model of language and directs attention towards visible, special, and material traces of writing in terms of 'representation' or 'image'. The pictorial turn can also be linked with analyses of modernity, mass culture, and visual media conducted by thinkers from the Frankfurt School, with

Michel Foucault's concept of power/knowledge, in which he discusses the role played by "the nondiscursive and the 'visible' – the seeable as well as the sayable" (Mitchell, 1992, p. 89), and with Wittgenstein's reflections, especially those from his *Philosophical Investigations*. This list of associations begs the question of whether these associations can be legitimized, but it is impossible to give a clear-cut answer. On the one hand, the pictorial turn in the logic that Mitchell proposes emerges from the linguistic turn, which gives legitimacy to his list because, if verbal and non-verbal language exists, a 'language of images' must also exist. On the other hand, the question of whether a 'language of images' exists and whether the reasoning that Mitchell proposes is not an example of the reduction of visual problems to linguistic problems recurs again and again. This reduction is present in the semiotics of the image, that is, in the model of the functioning of the image as a text and a discourse, which Mitchell decisively rejects.

However, a central aspect of Mitchell's considerations is the issue of 'spectatorship', a term also borrowed from Panofsky, who

argued that Renaissance perspective did not correspond to actual visual experience either as it was understood scientifically in the early 20th century, or intuitively in the 16th century or antiquity. He calls perspective a "systematic abstraction from the structure of ... psychophysiological space" (p. 30), and suggests a link between "the most modern insights of psychology" (p. 154) into visual perception and the pictorial experiments of Piet Mondrian and Kasimir Malevich (Mitchell, 1992, pp. 91–92).

According to Mitchell, the issue of spectatorship is not fully explained in either Panofsky's *Perspective as Symbolic Form* or in the iconological method. The issue of spectatorship distinguishes picture theory from the 'textual' projects of iconology, and Mitchell highly values Jonathan Crary's book *Techniques of the Observer*, which addresses the problems of Panofsky's iconology and demonstrates difficulties with theorising about the notions of *spectator/spectatorship* (Mitchell, 1992, pp. 93–94). In this sense, the pictorial turn is an introduction not only to picture theory but also to the study of visual culture and possibly visual studies. In this theoretical perspective, these sciences gain common theoretical and methodological premises. According to Mitchell,

spectatorship (the look, the gaze, the glance, the practices of observation, surveillance, and visual pleasure) may be as deep a problem as various forms of *reading* (decipherment, decoding, interpretation, etc.), and that visual experience or “visual literacy” might not be fully explicable on the model of textuality (Mitchell, 1992, p. 91).

Moreover, visual culture is *de facto* about the ‘visual turn’ or the ‘hegemony of vision’ in postmodern culture, which are revealed in the dominance of visual media and spectacle over verbal acts of speech, writing, textuality, and reading. In this situation, iconophobes and opponents of mass culture look at ‘the fallacy of a pictorial turn’ with horror, as for them it is a symptom of the decline of literacy culture (Mitchell, 2002, p. 173). The terms ‘pictorial turn’ and ‘iconic turn’ date back to the early 1990s; however, as Boehm aptly points out, they are equally applicable today (Boehm&Mitchell, 2010, p. 9). However, the answer to the question ‘When does the pictorial turn take place?’ still seems debatable. In this context, Mitchell’s argues that

The pictorial turn (...) is not unique to our time. It is a repeated narrative figure that takes on a very specific form in our time, but which seems to be available in its schematic form in an innumerable variety of circumstances (Mitchell, 2002, p. 173).

A new version of the pictorial turn which is currently in use today, called the biopictorial turn, results from the emergence of biopictures and picture cloning (see Mitchell, 2011, pp. 69–111). Mitchell argues that the pictorial turn has been repeated many times in cultural history, beginning in antiquity. In the past it was associated with the invention of a central perspective: a sculpture cast, oil painting, photograph, film, the internet, writing, and *memesis* (Mitchell, 2006, p. 285). Today, the pictorial turn should be considered in the context of transformations within digital media and the internet. According to Mitchell, this phenomenon is linked to the concept of iconoclasm, which is characteristic of the modern age and is caused by iconophobia. Thus, the manifestation of the pictorial turn is the iconophobic fear of a new image rather than the emergence of a new visual technology (Boehm & Mitchell, 2010, p. 20).

Mitchell claims that

Panofsky's is an iconology in which the 'icon' is thoroughly absorbed by the 'logos', understood as a rhetorical, literary, or even (less convincingly) a scientific discourse (Mitchell, 1994, p. 28).

In Mitchell's opinion, postmodern iconology sustains the functioning of language rather than of image. This is why hybrid forms now frequently emerge. Mitchell advocates a critical iconology that directs us towards 'hypericons' and metapictures (Mitchell, 1994, pp. 35–82). However, the relationship between iconology and ideology seems particularly significant. Mitchell argues that

Iconology recognizes itself as ideology, that is, as a system of neutralisation, a homogenizing discourse that effaces conflict and difference with figures of 'organic unity' and 'synthetic intuition'. Ideology recognizes itself as iconology, a putative science, not just the object of a science (Mitchell, 1994, p. 30).

However, Panofsky's attitude to pictures is revealed in the figure of the Other who is situated in the social dimension. In this dimension, reflection on the pictorial turn shifts from the aesthetic to the social context and leads directly to the renewal of iconology as a 'new' image science. Mitchell claims that "The pictorial turn is not the answer to anything. It is merely a way of stating the question" (Mitchell, 1992, p. 94). In its rhetoric, this term seems dependent on the linguistic turn and Panofsky's 'textual' iconology.

The German reflection on the iconic turn seems better structured and clearer. Unlike American visual culture studies, the German reflection, conducted within transdisciplinary image science, is inspired by philosophising art historians and aestheticians, who (starting with Aby Warburg) were interested in various forms of imagery (Zeidler-Janiszewska, 2006a, p. 15). Gotfried Boehm refers to the concept of the hermeneutics of the image (Boehm, 2014, pp. 144–171). In his opinion, the iconic turn has made it possible to reinvent the history of science as a 'history of images', which has become an integral part of image science and has opened up the discussion between the sciences and the humanities (Boehm & Mitchell, 2010, p. 12). The boundaries of image science are constantly expanding and its methodological identity is constantly seeking new forms.

Referring, like Mitchell, to the concept of the linguistic turn, Boehm seeks the 'logic of images' (which he differentiates from the 'logic of

language'), but first he poses the question, 'What is an image?', and points to a wide range of philosophical connotations to which, in his opinion, this concept refers. In his text *The Return of Images*, Boehm writes about the vast multiplicity of images that are "painted, conceived, dreamt up", about "paintings, metaphors, gestures", and about "the mirror, echo, mimicry". The question can then be posed: 'Do [they] have something in common, something that can be generalised' (Boehm, 2014, p. 275) into a single image phenomenon? However, it is important to remember that Boehm's definition of the research area of image science means that this discipline covers more than just images (Zeidler-Janiszewska, 2006a, pp. 15–16).

According to Boehm, the iconic turn is the 'return of images' that has been taking place on various philosophical levels since the 19th century. In his 1994 treatise *The Return of Images*, Boehm announces the advent of the iconic turn (see Boehm, 2014, pp. 277–281). Doris Bachmann-Medick argues that:

Paradoxically, the iconic turn arose precisely at a time when art historians became involved (albeit somewhat belatedly) in the linguistic turn themselves began viewing the visual arts as sign systems and textual and discursive phenomena (Bachmann-Medick, 2012, pp. 394–395).

This term is an allusion to the linguistic turn, which goes hand in hand with an interest in images. As in the linguistic turn, all philosophical problems were reduced to the rules of language, which rejected argumentation referring to a supreme being, a transcendental Self, or the reflexivity of self-knowledge. However, the foundations of language on which the linguistic turn is built are shaky. Here Boehm refers to Ludwig Wittgenstein, whose reasoning and conception of 'language games', in their most perfect form developed in *Philosophical Investigations*, were related to uncovering (for fun or for cognitive purposes) in linguistic utterances those convergences of sounds or other surprising similarities of elements that make up the linguistic code or their combinations. This conception is based on the 'family resemblance' of concepts (rather than the strict rules of the logic of language). In this situation, the similarity referred to by Wittgenstein unites members of a single family, clan, and culture, as was the case with 'the family of images' (Mitchell, 1986, pp. 9–14). The notion of a 'language game' makes it possible to

characterise a set of regular connections and varying areas of arbitrariness in which the term similarity (*Ähnlichkeit*), taken from Wittgenstein, evokes belonging to 'one kind' of image (Boehm, 2014, pp. 277–278).

Wittgenstein links concepts by means of a rhetorical 'language game', by which he creates space for metaphors. The very meaning of the terms 'language game' and 'family resemblance' are metaphorical. Wittgenstein, as with all classical philosophical thinkers, is guided by the strict requirement to self-justify his thinking. However, the world of concepts cannot be separated from metaphorical or rhetorical approaches because philosophical thinking is 'bound to metaphors'. In the history of the iconic turn, Wittgenstein's theory marks an end point (a breakthrough) as studies on language revealed the potential of images, and the linguistic turn changed into the iconic turn, which is a 'figure of self-justification' that already has a history among philosophical references. Boehm adopts the Plotinian idea of the One, which he links with Wolfgang Wackernagel's conclusion regarding Master Eckhart's pictorial thinking as a construct of reference to the prepattern.

In Hans-Georg Gadamer's *Truth and Method*, the 'ontological value of the image' acquires extraordinary significance and derives the power of the image from its reference to a prototype, i.e., an 'aesthetic being'. This returning to the image finds its historical references in modern philosophy, where the problem of self-justification is most severely criticised. In this regard, it is worth recalling the role Immanuel Kant attributes to the free play of the imagination, which plays a key role in connecting sensuality and the intellect. In Kant's first two critiques, imaginative capacity is very important. It is no coincidence that Martin Heidegger, who interpreted Kant's philosophy, focuses on the term 'image-making capacity'. In addition to all this, Boehm refers to Johann Gottlieb Fichte's speculative 'image theory', in which he focuses on the imagination. Other relevant references include the function of aesthetic assessment and image in Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling's early philosophical system, which Boehm eventually abandons in his further reflections, where he merely observes that the image gains the status of a central organ in the philosophy of the 19th and 20th centuries.

In the history of 19th century philosophy, images increasingly aggressively invade philosophical argumentation, and not just in the field of rhetoric. The turn to metaphor also appears in the philosophy

of Friedrich Nietzsche, who combines knowledge of ancient rhetoric with its philosophical application. In particular, the essay *On Truth and Lying in an Extra-Moral Sense* can be regarded as an effective invasion of metaphor into the centre of philosophical thought, which creatively builds a bridge out of philosophical constructs over the abysses of logic. The deeper the abyss, the bolder the metaphors Nietzsche uses⁵. 'An army of metaphors' becomes the basis of human cognitive activity, and the existence of a 'sense of reality' (*Wirklichkeitssinn*) is accompanied by a 'sense of possibility' (*Möglichkeitssinn*). Thus, the creative potential of images became the guiding slogan of late nineteenth-century art, and even more so of abstract, Surrealist and Cubist art, considered in relation to Nietzsche's thought, whose real accomplishment (and the content of a 'historical event') is the degradation of representation and, at the same time, the discovery of the authentic, creative powers of the concept of the image itself (Boehm, 2014, pp. 278–281).

Boehm's iconic turn has nothing to do with Pierce's theory of iconicity. This term is borrowed from the art historian Max Imdahl, who defines his iconic meaning in line with Panofsky's findings. As can be seen from this example, the pictorial and iconic turns have the same sources and relate precisely to icono-logy. As Boehm and Mitchell observe

Essentially, the name 'icono-logy' would be the comprehensive methodological substitute for what art history is supposed to achieve: the understanding and interpretation of the logos of the image in its historical, perception-oriented, and meaning-saturated determinedness. Panofsky (whose authoritative reformulation of the term retains validity to this day) adopted the ancient concept of iconologia, and in so doing caused this shift to the side of textuality (Boehm & Mitchell, 2010, p. 12).

However, here we can speak of two different ways of understanding the notion of the 'history of images'. Boehm links this notion to the history of science, the aim of which has always been 'image-making', often understood in different contexts, e.g., the 'image of the world' or Heidegger's world-view (*WeltBild*). This process was not linked to the

5 In this essay, Nietzsche answers the question "What then is truth? A movable host of metaphors, metonymies, and anthropomorphisms [...]. Truths are illusions which we have forgotten are illusions – they are metaphors that have become worn out and have been drained of sensuous force".

creation of physical, painted, or photographic ‘images’, although there were times when image science could make use of the aforementioned visual media, e.g., photography, film, and digital media. The understanding of the term ‘image-making’ that Boehm proposes is related to the ambiguity of the term. Boehm also repeats questions asked before about how images speak to us and about their relation to language (Boehm, 2014, p. 281).

The discipline of visual studies advocated by Mitchell opens up the possibility of another turn, apart from the pictorial and iconic ones, namely the visual turn, which shifts the focus from image to performance and directs our interest towards cultural vision and scopic regimes, i.e., the practice of spectatorship treated as a socio-cultural process. In this dimension, reflection on images can be treated as a social and cultural studies perspective that largely relativises the autonomy of the visual. However, this perspective opens up possibilities for discussing subjectivity and visual identity as proposed not only by Mitchell but also by other theorists of visual studies (e.g., Keith Moxey and Michael Ann Holly).

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

In Moxey’s opinion, the significance of the pictorial turn proclaimed by Mitchell lies in the fact that he does not limit the study of images exclusively to privileged aesthetic research. Although the status of works of art is guaranteed by their aesthetic value, aesthetic qualities are not the only power that visual objects can be endowed with. Mitchell observes that their power to capture attention can manifest itself in a variety of ways. Consequently, Mitchell’s reflection on the pictorial turn is directed towards many seemingly unrelated different research areas which belong to visual culture, visuality, and ways of perceiving the world (Moxey, 2010, p. 137). Mitchell believes that it was a mistake to treat the pictorial turn as a means to prove that the modern era is unique and unprecedented in its obsession with vision and visual representation. He wants to “acknowledge the perception of a turn to the visual or to the image as a *commonplace*” (Mitchell, 2002, p. 173). In this sense,

both visual studies inspired by the iconic pictorial turn and those that owe their development to the sociological heritage of cultural studies direct our attention towards the reception of visual artefacts. In the first case, the distinction between subject and object is abolished, which *de facto* leads to images no longer being perceived as things; in the second case, the differential identities of sender and receiver determine the images (Moxey, 2008, p. 140).

In Mitchell's opinion, the pictorial turn goes far beyond the aforementioned models of 'discourse' and 'textuality' and reflects a growing interest in Panofsky's works, as his iconology may provide a theoretical context for the pictorial turn. Anna Zeidler-Janiszewska observes that the philosophical foundations of the pictorial turn are worth seeking not only in the later Wittgenstein but also among phenomenologists, especially Maurice Merleau-Ponty (Zeidler-Janiszewska, 2006b, p. 151). However, the fundamental questions raised by the pictorial turn concern the image, which, as in Panofsky's work, is understood as symbolic of a complex cultural dimension and the centre of multidimensional philosophical thought.

The iconic turn has not emerged directly within cultural studies, although Doris Bachmann-Medick treats it as a cultural turn. Bachmann-Medick's conclusion makes it clear that the development of the iconic turn was effectively blocked by the dominance of language in art history, and that it is now developing with the support of and in alliance with language criticism. In characterising the iconic turn as a cultural turn, Bachmann-Medick writes:

However, when we speak of the *iconic turn*, we by no means have in mind only such phenomena, characteristic of everyday culture. Talking about it triggers a new culturalist perception of the image. Joining forces with a critique of cognition and even a critique of language, the *iconic turn* works towards a visual contemplation that is still too inadequate in Western societies, starting from Plato's hostility to images and from logocentrism in philosophy. The dominance of language in Western culture has long pushed the study of image culture to the margins (Bachmann-Medick, 2012, p. 390).

The iconic turn goes far beyond analyses of images and encompasses the entire arena of visual culture. This turn is continually shaping and developing all the time. On the one hand, it is not – as Mitchell explains in his book *What Do Pictures Want* – a phenomenon of the present

(Mitchell, 2005, p. 348); on the other hand, the pictorial turn “is happening now, in what is often characterised as the ‘post-Modern’ era, i.e., the second half of the 20th century” (Mitchell, 1992, p. 90). Rather, it appears as a recurring topos in all media breakthroughs from the invention of photography to the internet, in which visibility marks a turning point (Bachmann-Medick, 2012, p. 395). The iconic turn is not the answer to all the problems of visual culture, but it is a historical, semiotic, anthropological, philosophical, theoretical, and cognitive question asked from the position of art history.

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Hybrid reality

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: Contemporary hybrid reality should be understood as a functionally differentiated configuration of real and virtual spaces. This configuration enables a free-flowing dynamic coexistence between these two realities while maintaining their distinctiveness and relative independence. Thus, hybrid reality merges the real dimension of man's presence with its virtual dimension.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: While the phenomenon of hybridity is not a new cultural or even historical fact, the theoretical framework of the concept of hybrid reality has only just started to be debated and analysed from an interdisciplinary perspective.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: The emergence of the virtual dimension has significantly expanded the arena of man's symbolic culture and has changed the rules by which it is experienced and defined. The disappearance of any sense of an inextricable link between the correlates of location, time, and the functions of human activity has been reflected in how we perceive and comprehend what this new form of space has created. Contemporary hybrid reality entails redefining many concepts and developing a new research methodology that enables the coherent analysis of its dimensions.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The processes of dynamic evolution of the one-dimensional world into a two-dimensional one preceded the conceptualisation of the latter. The contemporary space in which man is present, which is evolving into a hybrid reality, generates new social, cultural, and economic spaces as well as new fields of public debate, of bond formation, and of individual and collective identity formation. These processes should be

identified, analysed, and integrated into a new area of cultural studies which would include their practical applications.

Keywords: hybrid world, augmented reality, cultural synergies, communicative competences, identity transformations, media culture

Definition of the term

Thanks to the development of technology, the modern world in which man is present is no longer limited to the traditional real dimension. Its expansion is made possible by an increasingly rapidly constructed virtual world whose distinguishing feature is a radical change in its physical parameters, which can be called its 'disembodiment'. The two dimensions (the real and the virtual), although different from each other in the very foundations of their construction and analysis, have now become mutually penetrating and complementary forms, thus a hybrid reality has been created. The interdependence of these two spaces at the stage of creation is a one-way implication because – thanks to real people and the concept developed and implemented by them in the real dimension – the 'non-physical' space has emerged and continues to evolve. Today, this link is an increasingly complex system of relationships. It is already difficult to decide which dimension is more stimulating. Despite their differences, the two spaces interact with each other, use each other's resources, draw on each other's achievements, inspire each other, support each other, and sometimes shut each other out. Nowadays, it is increasingly difficult to imagine the space of modern man without mutual flows which generate a multidimensional hybrid reality that is characterised by internal differentiation and, at the same time, the interplay of its individual components.

Hybrid reality should be understood as a functionally differentiated configuration of real and virtual spaces. This configuration enables the dynamic coexistence of and free flow between these two realities, while maintaining their distinctiveness and relative independence. Thus, in the context of this analysis, a hybrid merges real and virtual elements, which are transformed into a 'meta-reality'. This does not imply the creation of a utopia but rather a change in the functioning and understanding of the processes that stimulate the transgressions of human actions and human products. A hybrid is a product and at the same time the beginning of new activities. It brings closer relationships between the distant entities of both material and symbolic, often imaginary, nature. The infiniteness of relationships between the diverse elements it creates ensures the freedom of its development and gives it evolutionary and transgressive potential. Free from systems, qualifications, and unifications, a hybrid

is a product of cultural processes, a combination of the real and the phantasmal. However, a hybrid also carries significant risks, which may include the loss of coherence and therefore identity, the generation of irresolvable contradictions, activities that verge on shaky subjectivity and disintegration, the unpredictability of behaviour and ambivalence of attitudes, and great difficulty in acting as a role model.

A similar understanding of hybrid reality is provided by the Collins English Dictionary, which interchangeably refers to it as 'mixed reality' and defines it as an environment in which computer-generated and real-world elements can interact in real time. The term 'mixed reality' was defined in 1994 by Paul Milgram and Fumio Kishino as "somewhere along the 'virtuality continuum' which connects completely real environments to completely virtual ones" that are experienced through the senses of sight and sound. In their article *A Taxonomy of Mixed Reality Visual Displays*, Milgram and Kishino argued that the introduction of such a term is necessary to refer to "a particular subset of Virtual Reality (VR) related technologies that involve the merging of real and virtual worlds" (1994, pp. 1321–1329). The term 'mixed reality' thus refers, on the one hand, to non-real entities that enter into interactions with users in the real world and, on the other hand, to physical elements that are dynamically integrated and can enter into interactions with the virtual world in real time. The effectiveness and scope of these influences, achieved through a variety of technologies, changes as they evolve.

The process of the dynamic evolution of a one-dimensional world into a two-dimensional one has preceded the analyses and conceptualisation of the latter. There are still no precise terms for describing this newly created hybrid reality, which consists of two different elements combined, merged, and integrated by an interface that allows them to cooperate. This bridge ensures communication between significantly different dimensions: the traditional and the virtual; the former being characterised by the possibility of referring to physical parameters of its definition, the latter being deprived of this physicality. This fundamental divergence excludes the application of old scientific terms and theories in describing the new processes, phenomena, and relationships that occur in hybrid reality. Attempts to transfer terms and concepts used for describing the real world to the virtual world may limit their understanding or interpretation and result in ambiguities. However, analysing hybrid reality from the

perspective of its virtual dimension alone largely restricts the interpretative possibilities of the processes that take place in it, reduces the perspectives for perceiving them and justifying their occurrence, and narrows the perspectives for defining the context and cause-and-effect relationships. The changeability and dynamism of hybrid reality creates the need to consider both traditional and virtual optics, i.e., to adopt an approach that combines these two dimensions. This procedure will additionally allow the values of the virtual world to be examined from the perspective of real space and vice versa (Jaskuła, 2012a, pp. 45–62).

Historical analysis of the term

The emergence and development of the internet created a new space for individuals' and communities' activities, the importance of which was downplayed in its initial phase. Many scientific discourses were dominated by the conviction that it had no social character, did not generate any new type of culture, and was merely technical in nature. However, its surprisingly rapid development increased researchers' interest and thus contributed to the consolidation of analyses of two spaces: the traditional space and the space generated through technology. The distinctiveness of the new dimension and its surprising consequences led to increasingly lively discussions and an awareness of the inevitable revolution heralded by the coming era of digitalisation, medialisation, and the increasingly real 'network society'.

The term 'virtuality', which refers to online activity, was introduced into academic discourse by Howard Rheingold in his 1993 work *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier*. Since then, the adjective 'virtual' has been increasingly used and has become almost synonymous with researching the internet. This new term exposes a different, 'non-physical' nature of reality, although in their 2006 discussion *The Death of Virtuality. A Proposal for the Resolution of an Internet Research Conundrum*, Reid Cornwell and Jonathan R. Cornwell highlighted a certain flaw in the use of the adjective 'virtual'. They observed that in colloquial language, virtual is associated with potentiality and thus with the 'quasi-' or 'pseudo-' prefixes, while this new human space exists in a real manner that is not theoretical or hypothetical. Also, the meaning of 'virtual' and

'virtuality' in the English language expresses what is potential, apparent, unreal, or hypothetical. This is also the sense often assigned to the terms 'virtual reality', 'virtual world', and 'cyberspace'. When we analyse virtual reality, we not only emphasise the existence of a potential reality but also the existence of some form of empirically analysable reality accessible in our sensory cognition. Combining these two dimensions (traditional and virtual) must take into account the concrete consequences of their integration, which will translate into real life situations:

we increasingly fuse and confuse e-personality with personality, virtual life with life, cloud computing with a more grounded way of interacting and transacting. This is what I call 'virtualism', and it is our new reality (Aboujaoude, 2011, p. 279).

'Virtuality' implies a presumption, not only in colloquial terms but also in philosophy, that 'virtual' means that which exists potentially and therefore 'not-really'. The classical philosophy of nature refers only to that which exists 'really'. The development of natural sciences and technology now requires reflection on expanding the area of research undertaken within a contemporary philosophy of nature. It is worth looking for arguments for introducing a new research area into the very definition of the virtual world. It is assumed that reality 'in itself' exists beyond the reach of the observer and is the totality of things that exist objectively, independently of the cognising subject and of attempts to describe it. It is an objective reality. Empirical reality is available to the observer to a limited extent; it is cognisable through the senses and is perceived thanks to concrete instruments used at a given stage of scientific development. Finally, a potential reality is that which we firmly believe can exist and can actualise. Its basic characteristic, i.e., potentiality, brings us closer to the idea of a virtual world. The contemporary human world is not a mere arithmetic sum of the aforementioned types of reality. The individual exists in each of them separately, but he also exists in a dimension that bridges them, i.e., in what constitutes their interaction. Expanding the understanding of reality in this way liberates us from cognitive limitations and opens us up to areas that already exist but are far from being recognised and analysed within the current level of scientific and technological development.

In his publications and statements, Edward Castronova, a professor of communication and cognitive science at Indiana University, author of numerous publications on virtual space, and the creator of the term

Synthetic Worlds, argues for the reality of the virtual dimension. He emphasises that human interactions in media reality are just as real as those unmediated. The reality of the virtual dimension is expressed by the activities of its participants, the results of which are the same as those achieved in the real dimension. Castronova defines

synthetic worlds as environments that allow people to undertake certain activities – to hunt, to socialise, to explore, to produce and consume goods, and to lead more or less full, rich and varied lives (Castronova, 2010, p. 272).

The new space of man's presence, which combines the real and virtual dimensions, namely hybrid reality, refers to the understanding of the concept of a hybrid, i.e., a certain whole composed of different, often incompatible parts. It is most often associated with the well-known ancient Chimera from Greek mythology which has two heads (the head of a lion and the head of a goat), the body of a goat and the tail of a snake, and is equipped with the ability to breathe fire. Half-human hybrids can also be found in this mythology, which include, for example, centaurs and the minotaur. Hindu stories feature water deities – nagas – who are half serpent. Also in ancient Egypt, most of the deities derived from earlier animalistic cults have both human and animal characteristics. In all cases, a hybrid is a bizarre, awe-inspiring creature that is a mix of human and animal body fragments that more or less fit together. A hybrid's unusual form and lack of resemblance to any known creatures evokes, above all, a sense of fear, but rarely curiosity or a desire to know more.

A hybrid is a cross between two different elements, e.g. breeds, plants, languages, or cultures. The phenomenon of hybridity is not a new cultural or historical fact because it has been known to all civilisations. Both in antiquity and in modern times, mixed cultures and societies have been formed through trade and the mobility of people and ideas. In Latin, the term *hybrida* meant the offspring of a Roman man and a woman from outside Rome. This term was popularised by Charles Darwin, who used it in 1837 to describe his experiments with the cross-fertilisation of plants. The term 'hybridity' was later used in the 19th century in linguistics and racial theory. Its contemporary uses are scattered across many academic disciplines, and it is also sometimes used in popular culture. A hybrid, let us repeat, is a mix of elements incommensurate with each other, thus it is not homogeneous in character, but the elements it is composed of remain homogeneous.

Since its emergence, the concept of hybridisation has had negative connotations. Although ancient Romans and Greeks borrowed extensively from other cultures, they viewed biological hybridisation as a racial anomaly. The legal and social prohibition of marriages between people from different cultures did not disappear with the collapse of the Roman Empire but continued through the Middle Ages right up until the present day. In some cultures, interest in racial hybrids persisted well into the 20th century and was usually manifested in pseudo-scientific theories that often justified the use of violence. It was not until the second half of the 20th century that a breakthrough in the perception of hybridisation processes was made. Increased awareness of multicultural and intercultural processes has led to the re-evaluation of views on this issue.

The original meaning of what a hybrid is differs from its colloquial image. It goes back to the Greek tradition of *hubris*, which meant pride, arrogance, downfall, and also outrage. Another interpretation of its meaning emphasises the importance of such processes as progress and transcending structures and boundaries. The essence of a hybrid lies in avoiding categorisation and standardisation. As Cohen puts it:

This refusal to participate in the classificatory 'order of things' is true of monsters generally: they are disturbing hybrids whose externally incoherent bodies resist attempts to include them in any systematic structuration (Cohen, 1996, p. 6).

Also, contemporary hybridity, which defines today's culture, changes the order of things based on long-standing classification, categorisation, and structure. The concept of contemporary cultural hybridisation was introduced by the Argentinian anthropologist Néstor García Canclini in 1990 in his work entitled *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, which is nowadays considered a cornerstone of Latin American cultural studies. He understood hybridisation as a phenomenon resulting from the fusion of different cultures and defined it as a process which materialises in ambiguous events in which different systems intersect and intermingle (Canclini, 2005). The process of 'crossing' that takes place between cultures can have a positive meaning: it can symbolise mutual adaptation and coexistence and it can guide strategies for survival and even interaction.

The essence of a hybrid lies in its being simultaneously different but also combining what has not been integrated before. In doing so, it expands, shifts, and even changes meanings:

Hybridity is one of the emblematic notions of our era. It captures the spirit of the times with its obligatory celebration of cultural difference and fusion, and it resonates with the globalization mantra of unfettered economic exchanges and the supposedly inevitable transformation of all cultures (Kraidy, 2005, p. 1).

The use of the term 'hybrid reality' thus seems to be legitimate today as a bridge between historically classical elements and those that are not physical in nature.

The term merges differentiation and homogeneity, need and necessity, structuration and fragmentation, classification and stratification, constancy and progress, as well as the fear of the new and the desire to exploit unknown resources.

Regardless of contemporary polemics and considerations, hybrid reality generates new social spaces and fields of public debate and leads to processes through which bonds are created and individual and collective identities are formed. This identity, however, is prone to fundamental stratification which might lead to the loss of a sense of unity and, consequently, a loss of continuity and cohesion. Consequently, it can result in a decline in subjectivity or an inability to stimulate developmental potentials.

Discussion of the term

Man is immersed in a reality that shapes his experience and marks the existential and cognitive boundaries of his existence. This cognitive boundary is continuously shifting, which expands the possibilities of understanding the world and, above all, develops man's capacity to feel, learn, and explore this world. The emergence of the virtual dimension has expanded the space of human symbolic culture but has also significantly changed the rules for experiencing and defining this culture. Inhabiting the virtual world is done in a mediated way and has an immersive character, i.e., a recipient is 'immersed' in a largely transcontextual way into both a given area of this world and its other configurations. The disappearance of any sense of inextricable connection with the correlates of location, time, and the function of human activities is reflected in a shift in perceiving and experiencing space itself. Immersion inside a hybrid world creates a feeling of transcending the physical limitations of its various dimensions.

Historically, people shaped the space around them by exploring new areas and arranging them according to their own activity, in which the physical component played an important role. Nowadays, virtual space allows people to freely shape and inhabit new areas of their non-physical, symbolic existence, i.e., the world of their own representations. Man is no longer merely immersed in space but shapes it according to his expectations, defines his scope of influence, functions, and access rules and, most importantly, reproduces what exists in the world of his ideas. The hybrid world has become a space for the realisation of what was previously unattainable by man. The form in which man realises his dreams and makes plans for himself and his environment has changed in the hybrid space and reality. Physical objects have been replaced by virtual images, actions, and interactions, and thus have acquired a mediated character. Man's activity has become symbolic, and man has generated the possibility of his multi-linear existence in different areas in which he assumes different identities.

The model of cognition of hybrid reality has also transformed. The physical limitations of moving around and covering distances in the traditional dimension meant that the scope and manner of cognition of unknown spaces was limited by the physical possibilities of moving, covering distances, and using time. Cognition was associated with the relative passivity of an individual and with reproducing patterns of discovery. Man looked at the world that was available to him and modified it in a limited way. Modern cognition is associated with creatively exploring conceptual images of the world, building alternatives, and working with their abstract representations, models, and reconstructions. Thanks to the unlimited possibility of formulating these conceptual dimensions, an individual becomes an animator of ways of discovering and shaping new forms of reality, while often assuming the role of his avatars. This cognition no longer has to be linear, i.e., it does not have to follow a fixed order of experiencing reality but can be characterised by spatial and temporal multilinearity. Access to space has become possible from different places, at different times, in different complementary ways, depending on the communicative and technological tools available.

The hybrid world has become a space for combining different modules of differentiated dimensions and adding new components to old elements, which are characterised by dynamism, rapid transformation, multidimensionality, parallelism and indeterminacy in the physical attributes of

access. The territory of this reality is extended by a space that has no fixed dimension and is constantly expanding. There is no map – traditionally defined – which would enable precise navigation in this new space. The infiniteness of the new dimension can be perceived as chaos, as it cannot be compared to any structures yet known: it is impossible to draw a map of something that has no shape or boundaries. The triviality of time, the unlimited possibility of movement, and the irrelevance of distance are all elements that increase the level of misunderstanding and the misinterpretation of hybrid reality (Jaskuła, 2012b). Even more so because the scope of virtual reality (and therefore hybrid reality) is symbolically many times larger, although making an accurate measurement is not possible due to the dynamics of its geometric growth, the multiplication of elements, and their interpenetration and transformation. Moreover, the characteristics of its format are incomparable to the physical parameters of defining the area as we know it in a classical imaging of reality. The sheer size of this dimension and the impossibility of measuring it are not the most significant problems; rather they are symptoms of our times and indicate that contemporary life does not only take place in an ‘embodied’ reality.

The virtual world, devoid of physical parameters in the sense of the traditional understanding of ‘to be’ and ‘to have’ allows neither physical ‘being’ nor material ‘having’. The dimension that is described as unreal, contrary to its name, is real and creates a sense of having total control over it. Man has always pursued his desire to control nature, and the development of technology has increasingly strengthened his conviction of his omnipotence. As Erich Fromm puts it:

The Great Promise of Unlimited Progress – the promise of domination of nature, of material abundance, of the greatest happiness for the greatest number, and of unimpeded personal freedom – has sustained the hopes and faith of the generations since the beginning of the industrial age (Fromm, 1976, p. 1).

The need to become omnipotent through the use of science, which would offer man omniscience, was equated with the ever-increasing prospect of domination over nature. Hence, the horizon of the new view of power reached the possibility of controlling natural phenomena:

We were on our way to becoming gods, supreme beings who could create a second world, using the natural world only as building blocks for our new creation (Fromm, 1976, p. 1).

In the 1970s, when Fromm's book *To Have or to Be?* was written, the development of the internet was not associated with the processes of self-construction and self-determination. And yet, nowadays, it is the virtual space that, to a large extent, satisfies man's aspiration of unlimited power to create the world in any way he wishes, to create its individual elements, and to model it in the direction expected by the user. The new dimension enables 'non-being' and 'non-having', at least in the physical sense of the meaning of these words. Liberated from physical constraints, man can possess much more, albeit in the immaterial sense of the term and in relation to metaphysical representations of real things. However, we should ask about the impact of thus-understood transformations on the actual development of personality and the potentials for personal development of a human being who is entangled in unknown mechanisms of addiction, control, dispersion, and objectification of his identity. The multiplicity of identifications acquired does not harmonise with the power to create an integrated model of development.

In the new dimension, man does not exist in the real world, but what exists are man's representations, images, and simulacra. This 'non-existence' offers liberation from corporeal constraints and makes it possible to be in 'non-places' and to travel any 'distances', providing a freedom that, until the digital age, man could only dream of. Obviously, this is not the freedom of the real world, for in the new dimension this concept has a different meaning and cannot even be equated with hard-won autonomy. This meta-freedom has not only changed its understanding but is also gained in a different way. Disorganisation, the lack of hierarchy, and dependency on the new space often leads to people losing their bearings, especially in terms of their identity. The current stage of hybrid reality results in loosening the links between an individual's outer and inner worlds. It is also conducive to losing oneself within the subjectivity of the inner world and the intuitive world, which prevents the formation of any sense of continuity of an individual's personal being. Moreover, the ease and ambiguity of being between dimensions provides the opportunity to experiment with alternative identities. The multiplicity of interactions and social relations – which change in different contexts generated by virtual space – generates contextualised identities, adapted to different situations. On the one hand, this can indicate the multifacetedness and flexibility of virtual space; on the other hand, it can be a symptom of

a deep identity crisis, as identity is more than a set of particularistic and transient self-identities.

The merging of the two dimensions has not significantly changed either of them: it has allowed them to remain distinct, but it has generated changes in the individual's activity. His actions have changed from static to dynamic, i.e., from processes whose aim is to adapt the action to the conditions set by the existing environment and to the activation of a subject's transgressive potential. The types of activities generated by the individual result from the creative modification and synergy of particular patterns and from dynamic changes in the environment and externally driven projects.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

Hybridity, which first appeared in the scientific discourse on racism, postcolonialism, multiculturalism, and globalisation, and now in the new dimension of human presence, was initially laden with negative connotations. For Aristotle and Plato, a biological hybrid was the source of racial degeneration and social unrest. Nowadays, hybridisation, understood as the 'third space', is a process that enables the creation of 'the space of the impossible', i.e., an environment which combines a classical space possessing the physical determinants of its existence with a space devoid of such properties. Its virtual dimension allows individuals to realise activities he would not be able to realise in the classical dimension, although it should be remembered that these creative acts are symbolic and are only a representation of reality. Such activities are possible thanks to, e.g., the unlimited possibilities of moving around, crossing borders, covering distance, and undertaking any dispersing and mobilising activity. The emergence of virtual space as one of the dimensions of the hybrid world has also changed the experience of time and, above all, the specifically human capacity for 'time binding' (Korzybski, 1995). Traditionally, man established time as a means to understand, order, or describe the transience of phenomena and to grasp the phenomenon of passing. In the virtual dimension, time is of less importance as everything is relatively permanent and reversible in relation to time in

the real dimension; thus, it is practically everlasting. In the virtual dimension, an individual can manage time flexibly, revisit the same events repeatedly, and stop or accelerate a course of action. This changes the perspective of perceiving and experiencing human possibilities, which in the new hybrid reality become multidimensional and allow people to do many things at the same moment. This transformation significantly modifies human activity, which no longer has a beginning and an end. This is because it has been transferred from reality into a dimension where it can be undertaken in different areas, copied, and modified without any known physical or temporal restrictions.

The term 'hybrid reality' attempts to merge two distinct spaces of contemporary human presence: the traditional space and the space generated by the media. The distinction of these two poles is the main cause of difficulties faced by analyses or descriptions which attempt to merge these dimensions into a single reality. On the other hand, the attempt to unite these dimensions and to capture them holistically broadens the space of human presence, thus allowing man to experience the infinity of the world. Man has always tried to tame unfamiliar places around him and to categorise time, while at the same time constantly searching for new areas to expand the space of his being. The non-physical dimension of the human presence makes it possible to satisfy an insatiable need to discover the new, to explore the unknown, and to be sure that there is more than what has been discovered so far. Hybrid reality becomes an area which combines often opposing values. The same activities in different dimensions can trigger different needs and satisfy divergent expectations, e.g., the need to be in the infinite is accompanied by a desire to order, structure, and encapsulate the world into one finite whole. These two elements, referring on the one hand to the infinite and on the other hand to an attempt to enclose the whole into certain ordered structures, are in contradiction to each other, which is probably why the contemporary finiteness of the world generates new cognitive necessities. Hybrid reality, together with the virtual dimension, now meets these expectations. On the one hand, it is characterised by the infinite possibility of cognition and the construction of a contemporary space of human presence; on the other hand, it is characterised by the possibility of choosing its limited ranges on a scale desired by the individual rather than a community.

Today's hybrid reality links the virtual and real worlds in a functional way. Hybrid reality is applied in a growing number of areas and industries. These typically merge a location in a physical space with a virtually generated environment and place individuals in a hybrid environment that is shared with its physical counterpart. The most practical element that links the real and virtual dimensions of human presence today is artificial intelligence. Whether this is understood as hypothetical intelligence realised through a technical process or as a technology and research field, its potential, as expressed in the creation of models and programmes that simulate at least partially intelligent behaviour, is a bridge between the possibilities of using technology and the dream of replacing humans – with all their faults – with their potentially perfect simulacra. Artificial intelligence is seen as central to the digital transformation of society and the digitalisation of economies in many sectors, such as industry, healthcare, construction, and transport. This does not mean, however, that it is not controversial, especially in the ethical dimension. For it does not provide an answer to the question of what and who a human being is. We do not know the extent to which human identity in a hybrid reality will cause the reduction of human dignity, freedom, and responsibility. All these values can be treated as 'artificial'.

The virtual dimension of hybrid reality is real reality, which leads to real consequences. Despite being a mixture of incommensurable elements and mismatched qualities, it creates a new arrangement that cannot be interpreted as pseudo-reality. It cannot be ignored in contemporary scientific analyses. It is real people who are increasingly transferring their activities to hybrid reality, which becomes a space for flows between different dimensions of human relations but also a place where they are generated. This reality determines the rules of human existence by combining cultural norms and positive laws in the physical dimension with the constraints contained in the code that defines the virtual dimension (Lessig, 2006). Despite the differentiation of the two dimensions that constitute hybrid reality, the principle of coherence, which is also its increasingly strong characteristic, should be an inherent element of its analyses.

Priorities for hybrid reality include working out new definitions for the terms used to describe it. Traditionally, terms often refer to dimensions correlated with physical parameters, which in modern conditions

become less relevant due to the possibility of exceeding them. It is difficult to speak here of the 'functioning' of man or culture within a particular territory or within its physical boundaries (unless these terms are used in a metaphorical sense, but with full awareness of this procedure). Another necessity is the development of a coherent research methodology for the two dimensions, one that will allow us to grasp the processes taking place not only in each of them separately, but also between them, and which combine their different attributes and the resulting consequences.

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Culture, the economy, and the experience economy

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: In recent years, research into the impact of culture on economic development, as well as the relations between the cultural sector and the economy, have become an important research area that overlaps several disciplines: the humanities, social sciences, and economic sciences.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: The relations between culture and the economy have been analysed for several centuries, including by such classic economists as Adam Smith and Thorstein Veblen. Nowadays, these relations are of interest to researchers who have identified many areas where they penetrate and interact and who analyse such issues as cultural industries, society, the experience economy, and the consumer society.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: The role of culture in the economy covers more issues than was previously assumed, including those that stem from the dynamic development of cultural industries. Hence, culture can be treated as a determinant in economic development and an area of economic significance as it has introduced a sphere of experience into the economy.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Culture and the economy cannot be analysed as separate categories nor reduced to their interrelations. The cultural (creative) industries, society, the experience economy, and the consumer society have become vital elements in the relations between culture and the economy.

Keywords: economy, consumer society, culture, cultural industries, experience economy

Definition of the term

Culture and its impact on economic development are inextricably linked to a contemporary understanding of quality of life and thus to society, the experience economy, and the consumer society. Access to culture and the opportunity to participate in it through impressions, experiences, and sensations makes culture's contribution to the economy real and relevant today, but this has not always been the case. Very often, culture, treated as a world of ideas, has not been compatible with economic activity. A closer examination of the relations between culture and the economy, however, reveals that these concepts have a great deal in common. This article, unlike the others in this volume, is devoted to several related terms. Consequently, the author has undertaken to provide definitions of all the terms used in the title and to describe the relations between them. First, the relationship between culture and the economy and the influence of culture on the development of the economy will be characterised; next, contemporary interpretations of society, the experience economy, and the consumer society (which is linked to the development of economic activity) will be discussed.

The term 'culture' derives from ancient times; originally, *cultus* meant cultivation of land. The Roman politician, orator, and philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero used the term in yet another context: *cultura mentis* as cultivation of the mind. In this sense, culture came to mean any effort to develop some area or skill. The next centuries brought about a number of other definitions, descriptions, and interpretations. Due to the word limit, I will not elaborate on the definitional interpretations of the term culture itself. Readers can find numerous widely available reference works on culture, including recent works by Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, who analysed 168 definitions of the concept of culture, and Albert Kravchenko, who listed over 500 definitions in one of his works. In the Polish literature, the most comprehensive definitional discussion of the term to date has been undertaken by Antonina Kłoskowska. It should also be noted here that economists also have their own perspective on defining culture, including the term 'cultural economy', which covers two dimensions. The first, termed the *economy of culture*, embraces relations between the economy and high culture, i.e., works of literature, film, art, theatre, etc.; the second, termed *cultural economics*, embraces

the field of economics that studies the impact of values that are important for a given society on its civilisational development (Włach, 2018).

In the search for the links between culture and the economy, it is necessary to return to the aforementioned ancient meaning of culture, i.e., the cultivation of land. The beginning of this relationship can be traced back to our ancestors' transition from hunting-gathering and nomadism towards food production, i.e., farming and breeding, and for centuries the term referred precisely to this most important dimension of their economic activity (Bagby, 2021). Nowadays, these relationships are studied by numerous economists, social scientists, and humanists, who multidimensionally investigate the intersection of culture and the economy, including the interpenetration of these two areas and, in particular, the impact of culture on the development of economic activity.

Interactions between the economy and culture have given rise to cultural industries, also called creative industries, which are an important part of today's economy. These industries include advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, video and computer games, crafts, design, fashion, film, music, the performing arts, books, software, television, and radio. Creative industries are based on human activity and their primary product is sensations, which in turn are related to experiences, which are already considered to be an independent part of the economy (Hutter, 2011). The experience economy offers experiences that are remembered by consumers in the form of sensations, emotions, and experiences associated with consumer goods or services (Pine II and Gilmore, 1999). In sociology, sensations are a central point of Gerhard Schulze's theory of experience (sometimes called 'sensation') society, which comprehensively explains what is happening to contemporary society. He argues that in contemporary society sensations play a key role (much greater than in the past) in shaping social life (Schulze, 1992).

Human economic activity is also inextricably linked to consumerism, which is an attitude involving the unreasonable (excessive) acquisition of goods and services and, at the same time, an attitude that regards consumption as a benchmark for assessing quality of life. Consumerism is influenced by many factors – economic, social and, of course, cultural. Excessive consumption affects the perception of modern society, which is very often termed the consumer society. In this type of society, the most important feature is consumption, which takes the form of the

consumption of particular indicators of prestige, success, happiness, success, etc. In this way, the utilitarian value of goods and services consumed takes a back seat and their signifying value comes to the fore.

Historical analysis of the term

Before the 20th century, economics as a science was not generally interested in analysing the relations between culture and economic development, although these relations had been mentioned in various contexts over the centuries. The first academic to link economics and culture was Adam Smith, who is known as the ‘father of economics’. Smith researched the processes which shape the market and thus the mechanisms that could influence the market through human needs, which stem from the culture of a given society. In this way, he emphasised the importance of culture, which should not be neglected by the economy because if the economy is separated from the cultural environment, it will be unable to help in understanding the various problems of society. However, Smith considered culture to be a non-productive sphere that does not produce any new value. The first author to describe art (understood as culture) in terms of a public good was William Stanley Jevons. This 19th-century English economist argued that the state should support artistic performances and libraries financially as it is a form of social investment. Jevons – along with two other economists, Carl Menger and Léon *Walras* – contributed to the creation of a subjectivist perspective. Jevons developed the subjective theory of value, i.e., an economic theory focused on, among other things, creativity, which is an important element of today’s cultural (creative) industries. Thanks to this research area, the focus of economics was shifted to human needs and goals. At the turn of the 20th century, Max Weber observed that the rise of capitalism in northern and western Europe was the result of the work ethos of these societies. When he discussed this work ethos – in the context of a Protestant work ethos – Weber also mentioned its religious factor, which thus entered the realm of culture.

In the 20th century, particularly after the Second World War, economists were increasingly more interested in looking at the relationship between culture and the economy. One of these was Antonio Gramsci,

an author who in his political analyses linked the economy and the dominant culture in a given area. Edward Banfield described human behaviours in economic development and argued that they play a big role in economic growth. Other economists emphasised the role of the state in stimulating the cultural market by subsidising it, and its consequent benefits for society as a whole. The above and other areas were of interest to economists, including John Maynard Keynes, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Lionel Robbins, and sociologists, e.g., James S. Coleman (Schnidler, 2019).

The year 1945 and the end of the WW2 led to an important development in research on the correlation between economic development and culture. The best-known researchers from this period include Benjamin Higgins, who studied unemployment in the context of a country's level of cultural development; Seymour Martin Lipset, who linked the impact of economic growth to an increase in the level of democracy; David Clarence McClelland, who described the level of motivation among different cultures and its correlation with the economy; and Geert Hofstede, who identified four dimensions of national cultures which influenced economic activity.

The last decades of the 20th century witnessed a boom in research on the correlation between culture and economic development. The American economist and historian Douglass C. North searched for reasons why some countries have high levels of economic development while others do not. He found that a major factor in the success of a given economy is the presence of culturally ingrained rights, such as property rights, civil rights, political rights, and freedom of religious beliefs. The American political scientist Robert D. Putnam observed that regions with a long tradition of free cities or states have much higher social capital than other regions, which facilitates their political and economic development. Increasingly, researchers who recognised culture as an important element in the development of economic activity also began to focus on the cultural factors that were relevant to business management. These included the aforementioned Geert Hofstede, Fons Trompenaars, and Charles Hampden-Turner, all of whom analysed how different cultures affect particular management models.

Research into the links between culture and economic activity and development have led to discussions on excessive consumerism. Adam

Smith identified this problem and argued that excessive consumption was the enemy of stable economic development. For Max Weber it was a departure from the old ethics of capitalist society. Thorstein Veblen studied lavish (ostentatious) consumption, called conspicuous consumption. The Veblen effect – named after him – describes the phenomenon of spending money on luxury goods and services to display financial power. The second half of the 20th century, with its post-war economic development, brought increased interest in the relations between culture and the economy in the context of consumerism. The economist Tibor Scitovsky, like the aforementioned Galbraith, was critical of consumerism and the American way of life and argued that consumers' behaviours could be explained not only as a way of satisfying their needs but also as a consequence of their desire for novelty, which is characteristic of contemporary cultural industries. Other scholars who researched relations between culture and the economy during this period included John Michael Montias, Alan Peacock, Ruth Towse, Glenn Withers, and David Throsby, who, over the next thirty years, significantly contributed to extending the knowledge of economic phenomena within the cultural arena (Towse, 2001).

One of the most important roles in culture is played by artists and cultural managers, as they shape works of art, present innovative contents, are initiators of change, and motivate audiences to act. They also create cultural industries. Technological progress, which influences the development of the above-mentioned cultural industries, led to an intensification of research dedicated to the role of culture in economic life in the second half of the 1990s, when the term 'cultural industries' became a permanent fixture in academic jargon, and when the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport issued a document entitled the *Creative Industries Mapping Document*, which listed the following creative industries: advertising, architecture, art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio. Museum objects and cultural monuments were not included in it.

Experiences, recognised to be a distinct part of the economy, are the main product of cultural industries. In the context of society and the economy, experiences appeared in academic literature in the 20th

century in the works of, e.g., Erving Goffman, Arthur Rolf Jensen, James A. Ogilvy, and Gerhard Schulze, who introduced the term ‘the experience society’ (*Erlebnisgesellschaft*) into sociology. In 1992, Schulze formulated a theory which claimed that sensations play a key role in shaping social life in contemporary society (Schulze, 1992). The term ‘the experience economy’ entered academic circulation in the late 1990s through B. Joseph Pine II and James H. Gilmore, who were the first to postulate the need to account for the role played by human experiences in market processes; in their opinion, experiences – alongside commodities, goods, and services – constitute the fourth type of economic offerings (Pine II and Gilmore, 1999).

Discussion of the term

So far, economics as a science has not been interested in the impact of culture on economic development. For a very long time, culture and the economy were considered to belong to two mutually exclusive areas of life. Culture was regarded to be a sphere with intangible boundaries, related to history, heritage, and certain ideas, norms, or behaviours, while the economy was treated as part of a large economic system governed by hard rules and, unlike culture, was measurable. The economic sciences analysed, e.g., regulation and deregulation, or various micro- and macroeconomic models, but they did not investigate the role of values, attitudes, and culture in general in economic growth. Of course, economists referred to a wide variety of factors which were conducive to economic growth, such as fair state governance, respect for human rights, freedom of trade, among other things, but they did not discuss the intrinsic importance of a society’s culture and its influence on the development of economic activity. Nowadays, it is definitely easier to study relations between culture and economic growth, thanks, first, to the fact that culture has been ultimately defined, and second, the fact that concrete research questions can be posed, e.g., about elements of culture that directly affect business performance, including growth (Włach, 2018).

The aforementioned Geert Hofstede conducted his most well-known studies at the IBM company in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He

explored, among other things, the role of culture in economic development, based on the assumption that being unaware of the vital role played by the processing of cultural factors and not analysing their impact on an organisation would lead to negative consequences in management. Based on his studies, Hofstede identified four dimensions of national cultures: power distance, collectivism-individualism, femininity-masculinity, and uncertainty avoidance. Although his studies were far from perfect and were heavily criticised, they became the foundation for subsequent researchers. They were used, among others, by Yuriy Gorodnichenko and Gerard Roland, who, using Hofstede's results as their starting point, proved that a culture that supports individualism has a better impact on creativity and innovation, which in turn has a direct positive impact on economic development (Gorodnichenko and Roland, 2017).

Other studies dedicated to the influence of culture on the economy include those of Robert J. Barro and Rachel M. McCleary, who analysed the impact of religion on economic development. They found that, on the one hand, religion has a positive impact on economic growth and increases the level of education; on the other hand, religiosity, measured by the frequency of attending religious services, has a negative impact on economic growth. In this context, it is also worth asking about the role played by Christianity in economic development. Of course, to say that Christianity itself affects the dynamics of economic development is too far-fetched an interpretation, but the fact that countries in which Christianity is the dominant religion are among the most developed economies may have some relevance in assessing the role of culture as a factor that influences economic growth. According to the data from the International Monetary Fund, which is part of the United Nations, seven out of ten of the largest economies in the world in 2022 were countries in which Christianity is the main religion: USA, Germany, UK, France, Canada, Italy, and Brazil.

David Throsby, one of the most prominent economists of the 20th century, emphasised the importance of cultural industries in the creation of a country's GDP and thus the vital role played by culture in shaping economic growth. His research brought together two seemingly contradictory views: those of economists and artists. He observed that the impact of culture on economic development can take place in three main ways. First, culture can influence economic performance by promoting specific

values endorsed by a group and which determine the way in which a group organises production processes. Second, culture affects economic activity through the notion of fairness endorsed by a group, which can manifest in moral principles professed by the group, such as concern for others. Third, culture can also impact the economy by determining the economic and social goals that a group sets for itself (Throsby, 2001).

At the end of the 20th century, trust began to play an important role in measuring economic growth. Judit Kapás reviewed research in this area and concluded that the higher the level of trust in a society, the more secure, faster, and better its economic growth (Kapás, 2017).

The beginning of the 21st century has witnessed a renewal of interest in the impact of culture on economic activity (Wilkin, 2016). Lawrence Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington's (2000) work brought together some important views on this topic and concluded that culture undoubtedly affects economic development. In their opinion, culture contributes to prosperity and democracy, but it can also impede broadly understood development. These researchers concluded that social resources, i.e., people and the values they endorse, affect the development of a community's economy, among other things. Of course, this view was not an exception to the rule, as other scholars were of a similar opinion. Amartya Sen argued that while it is true that culture plays a significant role in economic development, cultural factors are among many other elements that affect economic development, such as race, gender, occupation, political views, etc. Gary Clark claimed that technological development, e.g., the steam engine, was possible thanks to the work ethos, entrepreneurship, and systematicity that had been valued in England for centuries (Clark, 2007).

The notions of the consumer society and the experience economy are also linked to economic development. At the end of the 19th century, the concept of lavish (ostentatious) consumption, called conspicuous consumption, appeared in the works of the aforementioned Thorstein Veblen. His findings were referred to in the 1960s by researchers who described contemporary society as a consumer society¹. The most

1 The West experienced the consumption of signs much earlier than Eastern Europe, where, until the early 1990s, many basic products and services were unavailable, let alone those considered to be specific signs.

important characteristic of such a society is the consumption of concrete signs in the form of products and services which signify prestige, success, wealth, health, happiness, etc. The utilitarian value of these goods recedes into the background and the value ascribed to their sign comes to the fore. In this way, through the manipulation of products and services assigned to particular signs, their buyers can be assigned to a particular social group, such as one with a higher status. Ongoing discussions on the pluses and minuses of the consumer society have led to, among other things, the introduction of marketing strategies into areas of life in which decisions should be made on the basis of arguments other than catchy advertising slogans (Baudillard, 2017).

Gerhard Schulze's aforementioned theory of the experience society was formulated in the early 1990s. In that period, the market of experiences, which was partly the response to a lost sense of community and a resultant lack of opportunity to share experiences, became a dominant part of everyday life. Schulze comprehensively researched changes in German society associated with economic development, and he backed up his empirical research with in-depth sociological analyses. Germany's long and uninterrupted period of economic growth after 1945 and the marked rise in living standards were used as the basis for his studies. According to Schulze, contemporary Germans (between the late 1980s and early 1990s, when his studies were conducted) assigned a high value to experiences, which distinguished them from Germans before the Second World War. At the time of the study, Germany was experiencing the effects of German reunification, the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, and the rapid enrichment of German society, particularly West German society. For Schulze, the experience society that took shape at that time was a response to the search for happiness in a situation of rapid economic growth and growing social prosperity.

For comparison, Schulze described the state of German society in the 19th century, plagued by poverty, diverse illnesses, and hardly any medical care. At that time, survival was the most important goal of life, and society was driven by 'survival orientation'. Nowadays, under conditions of prosperity, social life is oriented towards experiencing inner sensations, which Schulze called 'experiential orientation'. As a result, consumer products and services are no longer evaluated, as they once were, by their utilitarian value, but by their experiential

value. Schulze emphasised that people today increasingly often make decisions that are dictated by the desire for experience. His diagnosis of modern society led not only to discussions within academia but also to changes in the way that business treated consumers, which was reflected in, e.g., marketing. The terms 'experience society' and 'experience market' that were introduced by Gerhard Schulze led to a transformation of lifestyles, consumption, new perspectives for cultural policy, etc. The basis for the rapid development of experience society was the expansion of experiences into ever-wider circles of society, which were becoming more affluent and elite. The possibility of leading or having an attractive life became an aspiration not only of the elite but also of the rest of society. Moreover, experience-related activities became increasingly time-consuming and were no longer limited to leisure time but entered daily life at work. In a word, we expect experiences to accompany us every day: at work, while shopping, on the road, etc. (Schulze, 1992).

Experiences – vitally important for marketing – were initially part of the services economy, but with time they have become a separate area of the economy called the experience economy (the other three being the commodities economy, the goods economy, and the services economy). This new area of economy, which dominates today, has changed the situation of culture in its economic dimension. Previous commercialisation of culture was replaced by the 'culturisation' of products of economic activity, which are considered art and called artworks, although they maintain their commercial character.

Undoubtedly, Gerhard Schulze's theory has led to discussions in various areas of science, including the humanities, the social sciences, economics, theology, and also in marketing, in which the concepts of the experience society, the experience market, and experiences themselves are reflected in marketing practices. Marketing is among the characteristic elements of the consumer society and a society in which culture is linked to economic activity. Culture, or rather its resources, are used in marketing practices in daily communication between entrepreneurs and customers. Profound changes in marketing happened as a result of the appearance of new social groups born out of changes in lifestyles and consumption patterns – predicted in Schulze's theory – and changes in society's outlook on existential problems.

The essence of marketing is to meet the needs of customers by means of employing a well-thought-out strategy. Initially, marketing was focused on a product (phase 1.0) and paid no attention to customers' needs or cultural contexts, as all products and services found their purchasers. Over time, marketing specialists began to notice the increasing benefit of listening to customers and bringing them real satisfaction (phase 2.0). A major change in this area took place in the 1960s and 1970s. At that time, manufacturers – faced with ever-increasing customer demands for products and services – were almost forced to change their marketing strategies, including their communication with customers, and to take into account cultural contexts. Marketing began to evolve towards a humanocentric process (phase 3.0), based on the observation that consumers no longer only want to meet their functional needs and achieve emotional satisfaction; they also expect brands to provide them with spiritual fulfilment. As a result, companies started basing their identity on values, thanks to which they were more recognisable in the market. Moreover, acknowledging cultural factors, they slowly moved away from product standardisation in the direction of individualising their offerings. Products and services were individualised, and sensations and experiences stemming from contact with purchases were emphasised. Marketing strategy specialists recognised the need to take cultural factors into account in predicting potential consumers' responses to market offerings. The next stage in the development of marketing was linked with the application of various forms of digitisation to marketing activities (phase 4.0). Finally, marketing based on the *next tech* sector (phase 5.0) employs technologies that mimic human behaviour in order to create, communicate, deliver, and enhance customers' experiences along their purchasing path.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

Links between culture and economic activity – recently including the cultural industries (known as creative industries) – are important and noticeable in socio-economic life. The cultural (creative) industries are themselves vital for the economy of any country. They are primarily

based on individuals' creativity and skills and – through the development and exploitation of intellectual property – affect prosperity and job creation.

Thanks to advanced research methods and an increasing availability of statistical data, researching the impact of culture on economic development is much easier than in the past. The results of some studies confirm that it is very difficult to precisely indicate those elements of culture that can influence economic development because their number is so huge. Consequently, further studies are necessary, particularly in the area of the elements of cultures of different societies, especially those that do not share common traditions. Reflection on the links between culture and the economy aims to answer a fundamental question: Why do some countries develop much better than others? The next step may be to look for cultural values that should be promoted in order to achieve stable economic growth in the foreseeable future.

The impact of culture on economic development should be considered very broadly, and all findings in this area offer great research potential. The success of a business does not just depend on economic factors, the capital invested, or the organisational and managerial skills of its staff. Likewise, economic growth cannot be measured only by certain achievements of civilisation, such as technological progress, innovation, or stable social institutions. Culture plays a vital role in planning market offerings, the offering and consumption of products and services, the functioning of businesses, and the development of marketing strategies. It also affects the creation of consumption patterns and experiences, as well as the perception of values endorsed by customers and companies.

Thus, it seems legitimate to conclude with a recommendation to regard culture as a major force which affects customers' individual choices and preferences. Economic growth is a highly complex process and all its above-mentioned components make it necessary to consider culture and the economy as inseparable elements with a significant impact on each other.

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Entrepreneurship, management, and leadership

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: As concepts, entrepreneurship, management, and leadership are interrelated and multidimensional. Entrepreneurship is defined as either an attitude or as features such as creativity, innovation, flexibility, and risk-taking; management is viewed as either a process or as managerial activities, such as planning, organising, directing, and controlling; leadership is described as the process of influencing others.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: Entrepreneurship, management, and leadership have been analysed in the literature for many years. Perceptions of these concepts have evolved and research into them continues, especially in the context of diverse cultural determinants.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: Entrepreneurship, management, and leadership are concepts that are relevant from the perspective of an individual, a team, an organisation, and society as a whole. In today's world, they should be analysed especially in the context of cultural differences.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: By familiarising oneself with the concepts of 'entrepreneurship', 'management', and 'leadership', one can broaden one's knowledge of these issues and their practical applications. Analysis of these concepts requires accounting for the current determinants that exist within different cultures.

Keywords: entrepreneurship, management, leadership, cross-cultural management, leadership in culturally diverse work environments

Definition of the term

The definition of entrepreneurship is not unambiguous. It is a multidisciplinary area of research as relevant studies are conducted within several scientific disciplines. Entrepreneurship is analysed and explained multifacetedly as a person's attitude and behaviour, and as a process. It is defined, for example, as the creation of something new, as a style of management linked with the efficient use of resources, and as a set of entrepreneurial characteristics, such as risk-taking, flexibility, and creativity, all of which are particularly important in the process of implementing new solutions.

In the opinion of many authors, management is also an ambiguous concept. It can be defined as managerial activity consisting of day-to-day and long-term planning, a complex organisational system, motivation, and control. Management is also defined as a set of activities that include planning, decision-making, organising, and leading (directing and controlling people). These activities are directed at an organisation's resources (human, financial, physical, and information) with the intention of achieving objectives.

Leadership as a concept has evolved as a result of the development of many scientific disciplines, including sociology, psychology, and management. According to various authors, leadership means 'to lead the way', 'to show the way', 'to influence', and 'to influence others by words and actions' (Adair, 1999; DuBrin, 2000; Blanchard, 2010; Avery, 2004). It is also defined as the ability to show direction, to activate and engage others, and to pursue a common goal. Leadership is also understood as the art of pursuing a vision and encouraging and inspiring people and teams to act together. It helps to shape a company's development strategy and focus the attention of the organisation, its employees, and managers on the most relevant future issues.

Nowadays, these concepts are analysed from the perspective of various cultural determinants which have a significant impact on the practice of entrepreneurship, management, and leadership.

Historical analysis of the term

Entrepreneurship. The principles that entrepreneurial people should follow, e.g., how to buy cheaply and sell for a good profit, were first described by the Greek writer and historian Xenophon, a disciple of Socrates (c. 430–355 BC) (Danilewicz, 2014, p. 62). Xenophon listed two methods for increasing family wealth: the first was to manage resources effectively so as to not lose them; the second was to increase wealth creatively by multiplying resources.

Historically, entrepreneurship theory is attributed to the physiocratic school, which was established by the French physician and economic theorist F. Quesnay (1694–1774). Quesnay and R. Cantillon (1680–1734) described their common economic vision and began research into entrepreneurship theory together – a vision later expanded on by Cantillon (Augustyńczyk, 2020, p. 20). Cantillon's theory of entrepreneurship emphasises that entrepreneurs are forced to take risks under conditions of uncertainty, and that entrepreneurship is simply part of the resource management process.

J.B. Say (1767–1832), a French entrepreneur and economist who lived at the turn of the 19th century, is considered the forerunner of analyses devoted to entrepreneurship. Say's definition of 'entrepreneurship' is still in use today. For him, entrepreneurship means identifying opportunities and seizing on them in order to act and enact change (Mierzejewski, Palimąka, 2018, pp. 332–333).

The Austrian economist J.A. Schumpeter (1883–1950) had a different vision of entrepreneurship. He defined an entrepreneur as a person characterised by creative activity who develops and implements new ideas and is focused on change (Drozdowski, 2006).

Schumpeter's theory was further developed by the management expert P. Drucker (1909–2005), who emphasised the role of an entrepreneur as, primarily, that of an innovator. According to Drucker, entrepreneurship is a feature of a person's attitude. It determines an individual's readiness to use creative solutions to solve new problems by himself, taking into account all the risks involved (Belniak, 2015, p. 63).

Analyses of selected entrepreneurship theories reveal that this concept is constantly evolving. Nowadays, attention is increasingly being paid to attitudes, behaviours, and the character traits of entrepreneurs (Andrzejczyk, 2013, pp. 12–13).

Researchers who attempt to define the term 'entrepreneurship' emphasise the importance of the role played by individuals who display entrepreneurial behaviour. Nowadays, especially in the literature devoted to human capital management, three main trends in defining entrepreneurship can be distinguished, which focus on entrepreneurial activities undertaken by both employees or managers, entrepreneurial employees, and the ways in which employees behave (Cieřlik, 2010).

It is worth mentioning that the concept of entrepreneurship has evolved over time and is analysed from within various socio-cultural realities. Nowadays, entrepreneurship is increasingly being studied from the perspective of diverse cultural determinants, against which attitudes, entrepreneurial behaviours, and entrepreneurial traits are assessed.

Management. The development of management theory has undoubtedly had a significant impact on practice. Researchers claim that in no other scientific discipline is the link between theory and practice as close as in the management sciences (Griffin, 2013, p. 43). The literature identifies the three main areas of research within the management sciences: the classical school, the human relations school, and the quantitative-systemic school. These schools approach management from the perspective of the different socio-cultural realities in which their theories were developed.

The classical school was developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This period was marked by the growth of industry, large companies, and banks. Rapidly developing markets in this period required management based on methods and techniques that would be conducive to generating profit and developing industrial civilisation. Two approaches were developed within the classical school: one focuses on scientific management, while the other focuses on administrative management (Kowalska, 2019, p. 178).

In the literature, scientific management is often termed Taylorism, after its creator F.W. Taylor (1856–1915). Taylor worked on developing principles and laws that could scientifically increase labour productivity (Lachiewicz, Matejun, 2012, p. 90). He implemented innovations in the way workplaces were designed and how employees were trained (Kowalska, 2019, p. 178).

Administrative management developed alongside scientific management but was directed at managing entire organisations. The

French engineer H. Fayol (1841–1925) is considered the founder of this approach. The managerial functions described by Fayol became the foundation for the modern understanding of managerial activities (Lachiewicz, Matejun, 2012, p. 98). The administrative approach to bureaucracy is also associated with the works of the German scholar M. Weber (1864–1920), who defined it as a style of governing and a form of social order oriented towards the impersonal (Kowalska, 2019, p. 179).

Another school described in the history of management is the human relations school, which emphasised the dominant role of psychosocial factors, an appropriate working atmosphere, trust in management-subordinate relations, and proper communication (Lachiewicz & Matejun, 2012, p. 102). M. Parker Follett (1868–1933) and Ch.I. Bernard (1886–1961) are considered the forerunners of this school, one of whose prominent representatives was E. Mayo (1880–1949), professor of psychology at Harvard University (Kowalska, 2019, p. 180).

The quantitative-systemic school, developed during the Second World War, is the most recent of the management schools. It is worth noting that the quantitative approach would not have developed without the support of information technology (mainly the use of computers) (Kowalska, 2019, p. 181). Within the quantitative school of management, two main approaches can be distinguished: the quantitative theory of management, focused on the use of mathematical models to solve management problems; and operations management, which is concerned with using operational research methods to support management (Lachiewicz & Matejun, 2012, p. 107).

Several new management methods and techniques have emerged in recent years as a response to the conditions in which modern companies operate. Researchers stress that management should, ultimately, always be characterised by effectiveness and efficiency; it should also be flexible and able to adapt quickly to the changing environment.

Nowadays, under the conditions of globalisation and the internationalisation of companies' business operations, the issue of intercultural management is particularly relevant.

Intercultural management is a product of progressive globalisation processes and occurs when cultural differences exist within or outside an organisation (Łukasik, 2011). Intercultural management assumes

that employees from different cultures can bring their ideas and experiences to an organisation, thus resulting in more effective teamwork and higher-quality products and services.

Leadership. Researchers have not yet agreed on a single universally accepted definition of this term. B.R. Kuc (2012, p. 110) observes that “the concept of leadership remains elusive and enigmatic despite constantly renewed efforts to develop an intellectually and emotionally satisfying interpretation of the phenomenon”.

Leadership is defined as, for example, the art of mobilising people to effective action. Its essence is the conscious exertion of a particular influence within a group’s environment in order to bring it closer to the goal of permanently satisfying its essential needs (Koźmiński & Piotrowski, 2004). According to A. Poczowski (2008, p. 187), “leadership is the process of influencing others in a way that induces them to voluntarily engage in and contribute to the achievement of an organisation’s goals”. However, many authors admit that capturing the essence of leadership is very difficult.

Researchers have distinguished nine eras in the evolution of leadership theory. These are as follows (Karaszewski, 2008, 19–22; Cybal-Michalska, 2015, pp. 24–25):

- The first era is called the Personality Era. This was divided into two sub-periods: the Great Man Period and the Trait Period. The former analysed the life paths of prominent figures, while the latter focused on the links between a leader’s character traits and the effectiveness of his leadership.
- The second era was the Influence Era. This described the sources of power and how leaders used that power.
- The third era was the Behaviour Era. This focused on leaders’ behaviour and on identifying the differences between the behaviour of effective and ineffective leaders.
- The fourth era was the Situational Era. This era investigated the context of how leadership was employed.
- The fifth era was the Contingency Era. This examined the dependence of leadership on one or more factors, e.g., those related to personality, behaviour, or situation.
- The sixth era was the Transactional Era. This analysed the essence of role identification and social interaction.

- The seventh era was the Anti-Leadership Era. This questioned the reasoning for conducting leadership research and looked for leadership substitutes.
- The eighth era was the Culture Era. This focused on building a strong organisational culture that can stimulate employees to lead themselves.
- The ninth era was the Transformational Era. This scrutinised a leader's behaviour – especially in the process of organisational change – and offered suggestions for encouraging employees' commitment to tasks and ensuring their participation in change.

Effective leadership is nowadays often seen as a prerequisite for the survival of an organisation, especially in an international context with culturally diverse employees and customers. Leadership today is not only dependent on the personality traits and skills of the person who assumes the leadership role but is also determined by the conditions – especially cultural – within which an organisation operates.

Discussion of the term

Today, the meaning of concepts such as entrepreneurship, management, and leadership seem self-evident. However, dynamic changes in the environment in which societies live and businesses operate increasingly lead to shifts in the perception of the role and the importance of entrepreneurship, management, and leadership.

In the opinion of many researchers, entrepreneurship, management, and leadership are challenges, especially in the context of cultural diversity. These three concepts are interrelated, and it can be argued that each of them is a certain ability, skill, or trait to gain followers, influence their behaviour, create a vision for development, and motivate people into action. They are the art of achieving goals and encouraging and inspiring people to take on challenges and overcome difficulties. In the culturally diverse contemporary world, including multicultural business and work environments, these concepts take on particular importance because of their connections with people, their attitudes, and behaviours. There is an ever-increasing demand for entrepreneurs, managers, and leaders who can operate effectively in a culturally diverse environment

and are effective in inspiring others to look forward, overcome difficulties, and introduce changes.

Entrepreneurship is nowadays perceived as a specific attitude and the possession of entrepreneurial traits such as initiative, resourcefulness, energy in action, risk-taking, an ability to function in changing conditions, and resistance to stress. In theory and in practice, an entrepreneurial person is still defined as someone who takes on new challenges, thinks outside the box, and is characterised by optimism and enthusiasm. It is a person who is courageous, confident, ambitious, responsible, independent, and is defined by their creativity, innovation, commitment to action, and openness to change. Many of these characteristics are also attributed to modern managers and leaders.

It should be emphasised that the socio-cultural context has a significant impact on the development of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs' cultural backgrounds and their communities' perception of entrepreneurship influence their entrepreneurial behaviour: motivation to work hard, openness to opportunities, ability to be innovative and look for new solutions, as well as their willingness to take risks.

According to Wach (2015, pp. 26–28), there are four dimensions to entrepreneurship today: the first dimension is entrepreneurship as a function of personality (of either an entrepreneur or a team), which focuses on the characteristics of human action; the second dimension is entrepreneurship as a function of managerial activities (behaviours); the third dimension is entrepreneurship as a function of a given entrepreneur; the fourth dimension is entrepreneurship as a function of the market, which is an analysis of entrepreneurship in terms of its outcomes.

Today, researchers also talk about ethical entrepreneurship, which is related to a philosophical-religious system adopted in everyday life and business (Marek, Białasiewicz, 2011, p. 39). In practice, this primarily means honesty, frugality, loyalty, and prudence in decision-making. Systemic entrepreneurship, which is also analysed in contemporary publications, is typical of countries with a well-developed market economy. In systemic entrepreneurship, it is the state that promotes entrepreneurship and creates the right conditions for the development of entrepreneurship within certain determinants, including cultural ones (Piecuch, 2010, p. 45).

Management. Nowadays, management – under conditions of dynamic changes taking place in the market, especially globalisation

and the growing importance of international cooperation – is becoming increasingly complex. Management is considered one of the most important factors in the economic and social development of countries and for the success of companies and teams.

At the turn of 21st century, classical management theory and practice were enriched with new concepts, methods, and techniques, which today make it possible to adapt the appropriate instruments (the most appropriate and effective) to the specific conditions of a particular organisation. Today's management of the organisations and relations with the environment in which organisations operate is multifaceted, with these facets being interrelated and interdependent. Globalisation and the progressive internationalisation of the economic activities of companies have a huge impact on the development of intercultural management.

The role and importance of intercultural management stems primarily from the fact that it has a major impact on communication, motivation, the smooth functioning of multicultural teams, and the relations between the people in these teams. Above all, it is an important aspect of the daily work of managers who perform their tasks in culturally diverse work environments.

Intercultural management takes into account and bridges cultural differences between employees and aims to improve communication both within an organisation and in its relations with the international environment. Hence, today's rapidly growing intercultural interactions and trade links make it necessary to acquire knowledge about different cultures and develop the competences necessary to effectively function in an intercultural work environment.

Nowadays, intercultural management primarily aims to create and maintain a working environment in which both similarities and differences between employees are valued, so that everyone can fulfil their potential by engaging in the accomplishment of their company's goals and strategies. Intercultural management assumes that employees from different cultures can bring their ideas and experiences to an organisation, thus increasing productivity.

Intercultural management is a permanent feature of business management in the 21st century. If implemented effectively, it can be the basis for building open and tolerant attitudes (of employees and

managers alike), thus enabling companies to reap the numerous benefits of multiculturalism.

Those who manage multicultural teams should have well-developed intercultural competences which are reflected in their openness and sensitivity to other cultures, as well as their ability to adapt to a culturally diverse work environment and to effectively employ the instruments of modern management in these environments.

Leadership. First and foremost, leaders bring goal awareness to their teams. They provide justification for their actions and highlight the benefits associated with them. They direct the team to move forwards, and they provide the guidance necessary in the search for innovative solutions (Wilmanowicz, 2012, p. 123).

The dynamic changes taking place in the contemporary world often trigger crisis phenomena and lead to changes in the perception of leadership and the position of a leader. Leadership and a leader's behaviour are nowadays often a condition for the survival of an organisation (Geryk, 2016, p. 92). Leadership in the 21st century should be oriented towards results and processes, gaining knowledge and applying it effectively, unleashing and developing employees' creativity, demonstrating the importance of honesty and integrity through actions, predicting changes in the environment, and investing in the continuous development of employees. For an organisation to be able to keep pace with a dynamic, changing environment, it needs to create a vision of the future through which it can effectively influence its employees (Zakrzewski, Zakrzewska, Brdulak, 2015, p. 11617).

Contemporary leadership faces many challenges. Internationally, these challenges in leadership relate to managing multicultural teams. Leadership is particularly important in culturally diverse work environments due to leaders' cooperation and interaction with employees who come from different cultures and usually have different values and expectations. Hence, there is an ever-increasing demand for leaders who can operate effectively in a culturally diverse environment and who are effective in inspiring people to look forward, take on challenges, and bring about change.

Researchers stress that it is nowadays desirable to combine leadership and management to keep them in balance. Effective management and effective leadership guarantee a well-organised and motivated team that is successful (Wilmanowicz, 2012, p. 132).

Societies differ in terms of culture. As Ch. Taylor writes: "Perhaps they are quite incommensurable, and just as we recognise in general that the existence of certain goods is dependent on the existence of humans, so we might be forced to recognize that certain goods are only such granted the existence of humans within a certain cultural form" (Taylor, 2006, p. 61). Thus, members of various societies (cultures) display different ways of being human and thus different ways of being entrepreneurs, managers, and leaders. Today, analysis of the concepts of entrepreneurship, management, and leadership requires their evaluation, especially in the context of diverse cultural backgrounds.

It should also be emphasised that the concepts analysed – entrepreneurship, management, and leadership – are linked to knowledge and knowledge management as well as to organisational culture, which is particularly topical and relevant from the perspective of running a business.

Today, thoughtful and effective management of intangible resources, especially knowledge resources, is very important (Jagielski, 2018, p. 99). Knowledge management is a process which, when properly planned and implemented, is of strategic, long-term importance for any organisation in terms of its development and competitiveness (Sudolska, 2006, p. 66).

Effective knowledge management allows a prompt reaction to changes that occur in the environment, which in turn leads to increasing the efficiency of operational activities and improving the quality of work (Klimczok, Tomczyk, 2012, p. 165).

Knowledge management is a concept which is substantially linked with the concepts of 'entrepreneurship', 'management' and 'leadership' that are analysed above. Knowledge management is the management of human resources, the management of information, and the effective use of innovation – all of which are key skills for each of the three concepts discussed here.

It should be emphasised that effective knowledge management consists in the processes of knowledge creation and dissemination, which lead to the creation of an organisational culture that supports organisational learning processes and the implementation of new technologies and innovative solutions in which human resources are treated as the most valuable resource of an enterprise (Klimczok, Tomczyk, 2012, pp. 165–166).

Organisational culture is directly linked to knowledge management, but it is investigated in numerous studies on entrepreneurship, management, and leadership. "Organisational culture describes issues related to the specificity, uniqueness, and identity of an enterprise. It is a set of characteristics or traits that distinguish an organisation from other entities and allow its employees to better identify with it. It is also a set of beliefs, behaviours, attitudes, and customs, etc., that help employees and collaborators better understand what an organisation supports, how it operates, and what its priorities are" (Stroińska, Trippner-Hrabi, 2016, p. 210).

Organisational culture affects individuals' and teams' performance and work quality, as well as organisational efficiency, job satisfaction and commitment, strategy, the day-to-day execution of tasks, people management, resistance or openness to change, interactions within an organisation, innovation, and new product development (Serafin, 2015, p. 87). From the perspective of the analysis of the concepts of 'entrepreneurship', 'management', and 'leadership', organisational culture is undoubtedly a factor that can significantly influence the success or failure of actions taken by entrepreneurs, managers, and leaders.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

It should be observed that entrepreneurship, management, and leadership are multidimensional and multi-faceted research problems, especially today, when these concepts are often analysed in the context of culturally diverse societies, businesses, and the professional environments in which people function.

In today's world, the market success of any enterprise increasingly depends on effective knowledge management. Knowledge is nowadays treated as a strategically important resource; hence, it should be constantly identified, measured, and developed so that it can be used effectively (Klimczok, Tomczyk, 2012, p. 165). Thus, entrepreneurs, managers, and leaders bear the responsibility for effective knowledge management and the skilful use of intangible resources to increase a company's competitive advantage in the market.

In addition, the market success of a company depends on the effective building of a strong organisational culture, which unites and binds employees around the common norms, values, and principles that characterise a given company and distinguish it in the market.

Thanks to organisational culture, a company is perceived in its environment in an individual way. A positive image facilitates the acquisition of new markets and new customers. A pro-efficiency culture also helps to improve an organisation (Szmurło, 2013, p. 368).

It should be emphasised that contemporary perceptions of organisational culture attach great importance to intangible resources such as knowledge, which, if managed appropriately, can have a significant impact on increasing a company's efficiency and competitiveness. "Above all, emphasis should be placed on broadening employees' knowledge, which should contribute to the implementation of innovative solutions" (Stroińska, Tripnner-Hrabi, 2016, p. 216).

The development of organisations and their operation in the changing, dynamic conditions of the global market have led to an increase in the need for entrepreneurs, managers, and leaders who can, above all, effectively achieve goals in a situation of cultural differences.

Entrepreneurship, management, and leadership are now of interest to not only researchers but also practitioners. They emphasise that the growth of intercultural interactions calls for entrepreneurship understood as an attitude characterised by creative activity directed towards creating and implementing new ideas, oriented towards change and open action under conditions of cultural differences; it calls for management, understood as effective and efficient action for the long term which brings profits in conditions of dynamic market changes, builds a competitive advantage for a company, and provides employees with good working conditions and the opportunity to use their talents in a culturally diverse working environment; it also calls for leadership, understood as the special ability to inspire people and energize them to act, overcome difficulties, take up new challenges, create change, and build competitiveness in a changing, intercultural market environment.

The development of international operations in contemporary companies has a significant impact on the increasing demands in the area of managing a culturally diverse workforce. A modern entrepreneur,

manager, or leader who operates in an international environment and manages culturally diverse teams should have up-to-date knowledge as well as the skills and aptitude that enable him to function flexibly in a multicultural environment.

Modern entrepreneurship, management, and leadership take place in a world in which different cultures coexist and interact. Today, within a single society or organisation, these are quite normal realities. Thus, given the responsibility of entrepreneurs, managers, and leaders, it is particularly important that they are well educated and adequately trained and prepared to function, communicate, and cooperate effectively within cross-cultural relations.

In order to understand cross-cultural determinants in entrepreneurship, management, and leadership, entrepreneurs, managers, and leaders need to be open and able to easily adapt to new situations and to co-workers from different countries. They must be curious and open-minded, constantly gain knowledge of how representatives of different cultures communicate and interact with each other, and they must be able to overcome cultural prejudices.

The profile of any contemporary entrepreneur, manager, and leader should emphasise their interpersonal skills, extraversion, innovation, creativity, adaptability, openness to new challenges and change, and cultural sensitivity.

The diversity of cultures should, on the one hand, be seen as an opportunity for the development of individuals, teams, organisations, and entire societies, although it can also be a source of cultural resentment and conflict. Consequently, paying attention to the intercultural competences of today's entrepreneurs, managers, and leaders is becoming an extremely important element of entrepreneurship, management, and leadership.

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Evaluation studies and evaluation research

Summary

DEFINITION OF THE TERM: Evaluation studies are a multifaceted and transdisciplinary area of reflection on evaluation. This is understood as a comprehensive, dynamic, criteria-based process for a methodologically grounded and socialised way of establishing the worth of a specific project or entity with the aim of supporting its development. Evaluation studies combine academic theoretical reflection on various aspects and functions of evaluation with practical issues of how to conduct and use evaluation research.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TERM: The development of evaluation studies and evaluation research, which has resulted in many attempts to systematise the various approaches and research models, began almost a century ago but is far from finished as new potentials of evaluation are still being discovered; these approaches can be found in both the expansion of the theoretical background of this sub-discipline and as a form of applied studies.

DISCUSSION OF THE TERM: The main aim of reflections and analyses undertaken within evaluation studies is to define the identity of evaluation as an emerging new academic sub-discipline that crosses the boundaries of previous disciplines and to varying degrees draws on their results. In the historical development of this discipline, representatives of evaluation studies have developed a number of approaches, theoretical models, and methodological assumptions that enable evaluation to be widely applied in many areas of social life. The practical nature of evaluation research makes it necessary to consider various conditions and contexts in which these studies are conducted, including social, political, cultural, economic, and scientific trends.

SYSTEMATIC REFLECTION WITH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The most creative perspectives today include models of evaluation that are democratic, socialised, and inclusive and are sensitive to social, political, and cultural contexts that respond to the challenges of a dynamically transforming world.

Keywords: evaluation, evaluation studies, evaluation research, evaluation theory

Definition of the term

Evaluation studies, primarily developed within the applied social sciences, is a relatively new field of theoretical reflection on the ways in which evaluation research is conducted and applied. They provide theoretical and methodological tools for the evaluation of specific projects, programmes, or initiatives implemented by and for different actors. They define basic principles and standards for research and delineate their axiological and epistemological assumptions. The dynamic development of this still-developing sub-discipline of science overlaps with previous disciplines and draws on their theoretical and methodological achievements. This dynamic phenomenon is taking place in the majority of developed countries worldwide, where it is manifested in a growing number of publications, specialised journals, scientific conferences, and the establishment of new institutions that deal with theoretical issues, practical research, and the professional training of evaluators. The maturation process of evaluation studies is uneven from the perspective of the level of their advancement in different regions of the world and in different areas of social life as it is subject to diverse organisational, cultural, political, economic, and even systemic determinants. Everywhere, however, the conviction of the need to intensively develop evaluation studies and evaluation research and to undertake in-depth reflection on evaluation is gaining in importance as it makes a significant contribution in the processes of planning and animating social change, reflection on its directions and effects, the improvement of organisational solutions, and transformations of human attitudes and patterns of action. This is because it uncovers and reveals different forms of relations between theory and practice in the implementation of reforms, programmes, and interventions, mainly between their objectives and the means employed, between the results of activities and their contexts, and between their rational-technical and personal-axiological aspects. Within evaluation studies, new concepts and theoretical approaches are constantly being developed, which situates evaluation in the context of broader theories of social development and the specific characteristics of contemporary social, cultural, and economic change. Conceptual tools are being developed and tested, specific methodological solutions are being verified, and assumptions for the formation of advanced forms of evaluative

culture are being developed, both at the level of specific organisations and in relation to the entire social system and its particular components.

The diversity of still-maturing evaluation studies is, on the one hand, a manifestation of the intensive search for their identity and, on the other hand, reveals their adaptability. The set of identity markers of evaluation studies is still open to new elements, approaches, and orientations and can be defined in different ways. One can speak of at least three main strands representing different perspectives on the essence and function of evaluation. It should be added here that the adoption of any of these orientations depends on the environmental and institutional grounding of evaluators. The first of these orientations primarily focuses on the technical and organisational aspects of conducting evaluation research and manifests in the form of manuals and extensive training activities which aim to train professional evaluators to conduct research in a particular area and under specific conditions. Within the second orientation, in which technical and organisational issues also feature quite strongly, the focus is primarily on the application of evaluation in various spheres and areas of social life and on the practical benefits of applying their results. In both these cases, evaluation is seen as a 'tool', with the primary emphasis being on the tool itself, with secondary emphasis on its application. The third orientation, which is definitely gaining in popularity today, is the attempt to analyse the broader determinants and contexts of evaluation which enter into diverse and multifaceted relations with social initiatives and cultural change. Attention here is drawn not only to the direct application of evaluation research results as an important factor in decision-making but also to the less visible aspects of evaluation, which include its activating potentials and its capacity to generate change in the diverse social, organisational, political, and cultural consequences of the spread of evaluation research, the complex nature of the process of generating and communicating knowledge obtained from research, and its various sources and legitimacy. This strand also addresses the impact of various academic disciplines and the epistemological theories and assumptions developed within them on the overall reflection on evaluation and the practical ways in which evaluation research is conducted.

Values are at the centre of theoretical reflection within evaluation studies, both as the subject of evaluation research and as general orientations which determine the choice of the object of evaluation, the

methodological perspectives adopted, and the methods and scope of application of the research results. The reflection on values, on their presence in the projects being evaluated, and on how to reach the axiological dimension of human attitudes and behaviours leads to the formulation of interesting concepts (Mizerek, 2017), which frequently go beyond the field of evaluation and are incorporated within other academic disciplines.

Historical analysis of the term

The practice of collecting and systematically collating information in order to improve the quality of practical undertakings is a universal activity, both today and in the past in various forms and subordinated to particular aims. Evaluation studies as a specific research sub-discipline began to develop about a century ago when new social and administrative needs emerged, which could be met thanks to the development of advanced social research methods. The relatively short history of evaluation studies entails two consequences: on the one hand, its relative immaturity fosters intensive reflection on the specificity and distinctive features of these studies, thus forcing continuous new attempts to answer questions about their essence and social tasks in the context of their relations to other scientific disciplines; on the other hand, the ongoing debates on these distinctive features and the multiplicity and diversity of arguments put forward in them has yet to lead to a consensus. Competing theoretical propositions that refer to different assumptions and various practices in the application of these propositions, which are often entangled in administrative, political, and economic constraints, hinder the development of a coherent research area in this young sub-discipline. The history of the development of evaluation studies also reveals their intrinsic vitality and dynamism, their propensity to seek new innovative solutions that challenge existing practices, their drive for adaptation and willingness to provide adequate answers to the challenges of a particular time and place, and their capacity to assimilate new scientific and management paradigms.

From the beginning, evaluation studies developed most dynamically within education and were subsequently adapted to other areas of

social life, where they underwent diverse adaptations. The first evaluation studies were conducted in the United States, which is also the country that has yielded the greatest number of new ideas, practical research solutions, and attempts to describe and institutionally organise the heterogeneous and multiform subject matter of evaluation studies.

The process of the development of evaluation studies is described in different ways, the most common of which consists in pointing to certain breakthrough moments and the most important trends in particular periods. An example of a well-known periodisation can be found in the proposal of Stufflebeam and Coryn (2014), who identified six major periods in the evolution of evaluation studies: 1) the Pre-Tylerian Period (before 1930); 2) the Tylerian Age (1930–1945); 3) the Age of Innocence, also called the Age of Social Apathy (1945–1957); 4) The Age of Realism (1958–1972); 5) the Age of Professionalism (1973–2004); and 6) the Age of Global and Multidisciplinarity Expansion (since 2005).

The history of evaluation studies is periodised differently in another widely known typology of four generations of evaluation by Egon Guba and Ivonne Lincoln (1989). This typology shows the gradual development of theoretical reflection on evaluation and evaluation research methodology as a succession of generations that illustrate a shift from the conventional positivist paradigm (realist, objectivist, and measurement-based) to a constructivist paradigm (naturalistic, interpretative, and hermeneutic). The first generation of evaluation focused on measuring the effects of implemented programmes, and the evaluator's primary functions included the technical skills required to quantify these effects. The second generation of evaluation meant that the research area was broadened to include a description of how a programme operates in practice in order to determine the extent to which the intended objectives were achieved and to search for the best solutions. The third generation, also based on the assumption that it is possible to objectively and neutrally assess the effects of a programme by means of scientific methods, extended its instruments to include evaluations. The fourth generation follows the assumptions of methodological constructivism and acknowledges the multiplicity of possible perspectives of perceiving the evaluated object, which entails the issues of understanding and valuing the programme. Hence, the evaluator plays a negotiating role in the processes of searching for what is common and what is differentiating.

He also strives for a broad identification of information needs, which requires engaging all parties of the evaluation process and running multifaceted and in-depth interpretations of the results; these interpretations broaden the possibilities for their creative use. This involves a departure from determinism and reductionism in approaching the relationships that link different components of the reality being evaluated. It also requires a high awareness of the tensions and antagonisms between different participants in the evaluation process, including the entanglements and contexts that affect the data obtained and the conclusions formulated. All these tensions, antagonisms, entanglements, and contexts limit the possibility of treating data and conclusions as an objective reflection of the actual state of affairs and of creating reliable programmes based on them.

According to Guba and Lincoln – in a view shared today by the vast majority of the evaluation community in many countries – the first three generations of evaluations were characterised by certain fundamental limitations which negatively affected their usefulness and functionality. These generations focused on the aims and intentions of the decision-makers who commissioned the evaluation, while marginalising and instrumentalising the role of other participants of the process. The results of evaluations from these generations were relatively rarely used in decision-making. There was no dialogue between some evaluation participants (groups in disadvantaged positions were neglected to the greatest extent), which resulted in not taking their experience and knowledge into consideration. The fourth generation has broadened and deepened the understanding of evaluation itself as a dynamic process which reveals the plurality of the needs, attitudes, and values of all stakeholders in any project being evaluated. This generation reflects the latest methodological trends in the social sciences and rejects the belief that it is possible to conduct research that is free of values and political and cultural entanglements.

Development of evaluation studies and evaluation research in Poland. The beginning of the development of evaluation studies in Poland took place at the end of the 20th century, when many new programmes that aimed to reform various areas of social life were launched that were financially supported by foreign funds. The academic community in Poland played a major role in the initial evaluation

initiatives, which drew on the achievements and experiences of different scientific disciplines that directed the path of the development of evaluation in a specific way. The relatively small role that administrative entities played in this process fostered, on the one hand, a broad openness to the latest developments in evaluation studies, not just in pure practice but also theoretical orientations; on the other hand, it resulted in a more holistic and multifunctional treatment of evaluation as, for example, a technique for collecting and compiling information. In the following years, evaluation was systematically integrated into ever-wider areas of public policy, which resulted in strengthening its political, administrative, and technocratic entanglements, thus limiting its significance and functions.

With the democratic transformation of Polish society, there was a more favourable climate for the adaptation of the idea and practice of evaluation studies, especially when thorough reforms of the educational system were undertaken, resulting in an intensive search for the best educational and organisational solutions. Activities of an evaluative nature and the development of evaluative competences were fostered by pre-accession programmes, the implementation of which was accompanied by preparation of the first widely available training materials, textbooks, evaluation didactics, and more general thinking about evaluation as an important factor supporting the work of public institutions. Cooperation between representatives of the academic community and the central educational administration, leaders of educational change, and non-governmental organisations played a major role here. Research undertaken at that time still lacked a systemic character and was far from being standardised, but it resulted in numerous innovative solutions and was strongly linked to the spirit of democratic reforms. Attempts undertaken at that time to implement and disseminate evaluation studies and evaluation research did not simply adapt Western European and American solutions but inspired a creative search for an unambiguously democratic orientation which reinforced the rejection of the autocratic system.

Evaluation gained importance and popularity in Poland as a result of its institutional and administrative adaptation as a functional tool of supervision and control in many sectors of social life. However, this did not translate into the energetic development of academic evaluation

studies, nor did it stimulate in-depth reflection on the specifics of Polish evaluation. Over time, evaluation studies were increasingly influenced by the neopositivist paradigm; they became standardised and devoid of many democratic and participatory components (Mizerek, 2016; Korporowicz, 2011b). In the field of public policy evaluation, similar processes of institutionalisation and the creation of comprehensive evaluation systems that were aimed to determine the efficiency and effectiveness of public expenditure took place (Żuber and Bienias, 2008). Although the first and second decade of the 2000s brought some progress in this field, the need to strengthen the scientific dimension of evaluation studies is still evident in the context of the dynamics of this development worldwide, of the increasing role of concrete research projects in planning and implementing social projects, and of changing cultural and political determinants of evaluation studies. The Polish Evaluation Society [*Polskie Towarzystwo Ewaluacyjne*] (founded in 1992) plays an important role in this process as an association that integrates evaluators, conducts training and conference activities, cooperates intensively with other international organisations of a similar profile, and cooperates with national public institutions, non-governmental organisations, and commercial entities.

Discussion of the term

Evaluation studies are sometimes treated merely as a background for evaluation whose aim is to answer the needs, expectations, and visions of those who commission research and apply its results. Despite this dominant practical orientation, tendencies to develop theoretical frameworks and foundations for evaluation studies are also visible. New theoretical approaches emerge which innovatively integrate the achievements of many scientific disciplines, the practical experience of evaluators, trends in the management and organisation of various spheres of social life, and general political and philosophical ideas. Systematised theories, developed in both academia and the professional organisations of evaluators, foster the crystallisation of this sub-discipline and reveal its ambitions to occupy an established place among scientific disciplines. They define the basic identity characteristics of evaluation,

both as a research discipline and as a practical occupation; they also shape the common conceptual apparatus, provide general assumptions and justifications for the adopted research methods, help to develop standards for the implementation of evaluation research, and establish the knowledge necessary for conducting responsible, ethical, and methodologically correct evaluation. In addition to supporting evaluator-practitioners in their decisions on how to conduct research, evaluation theories enable professional evaluators to effectively communicate with one another as well as with entities and individuals who commission evaluation or are evaluated. By emphasising the differences between evaluation and other research disciplines and forms of collecting and disseminating information, evaluation theories also strengthen evaluators' self-awareness of the specific characteristics of their work. They also play a considerable role in the training of future evaluators and other professionals for whom knowledge about evaluation can be useful to a varying extent and in different aspects, especially in the context of their professional work (e.g., educators or managers).

However, the evaluation theories that have been developed within evaluation studies so far do not form a coherent, complete, or complementary repository which would holistically address and resolve new problems and challenges coming from practice. As Shadish (1998) points out, the fundamental problems faced by existing evaluation theories include limited reflection on practical implications and different determinants of the use of specific theories; little emphasis on shaping an overall vision of what evaluation is supposed to be for the evaluators, institutions, and external actors; underdeveloped metatheoretical nomenclature; an imprecise framework for classifying different approaches; and, finally, the inadequate development of comparative studies focused on differences and similarities as well as the strengths and weaknesses of different theories. Recent years have witnessed more or less successful attempts to respond to these objections, but nevertheless they remain unresolved. Resolving or at least limiting the negative effects of these problems is certainly not helped by the rather obvious implications of their authors' disciplinary grounding and the political and ideological entanglements of many of the new theoretical approaches. Moreover, theoretical reflection on evaluation is not free from the theoretical 'pseudo-pluralism' generated by giving new names

to sets of ideas and hypotheses that are by no means new (Leeuw and Donaldson 2015).

Stufflebeam and Coryn (2014) rightly observe that there are various reasons for the multiplicity of different theoretical approaches, three of the most important being (1) the diversity of fields and areas of social life within which programmes and their evaluations are implemented; (2) the diversity of programmes themselves; and (3) the diversity of evaluation approaches and traditions. Most evaluators are pragmatically oriented, which is not conducive to developing any inclination to seek a broader and more general perspective.

Growing awareness of the importance of theoretical issues in evaluation studies and their various limitations and entanglements has triggered attempts to address them. Leeuw and Donaldson (2015) point out that many of the theories used within evaluation that are relevant to the practice of conducting evaluation research do not necessarily have roots within evaluation studies. In their research practice, evaluators refer to the theory of change, intervention theory, programme theory, implementation theory, policy theory, decision-making theory, management theory, and behavioural theory. These theories underlie programmes and projects being evaluated and are adopted by various participants of the evaluation process, in which these theories can be manifested in a number of ways. They do not originate from evaluation as such, but in many cases they determine evaluators' preferred objectives, criteria, methods, and the potential applications of the results of evaluation. These theories are accompanied by systematic sets of assumptions, mostly normative ones, which concern evaluation as well as its functions and ways of implementation. These are usually developed and tested by evaluators on the basis of their research practice. There are also scientific theories that aim to explain the consequences of evaluation policies, programmes, and activities. The multiplicity and diversity of these theories leads to a search for aspects they share and, in particular, those aspects that allow their combined use within evaluation studies, although obviously not all their elements are reconcilable.

Following Stufflebeam and Coryne (2014), the various theoretical approaches developed within evaluation studies can be grouped into more general and more specific metatheories. General metatheories focus on the essence of evaluation, leaving aside its object, time, and

place of implementation; they focus on the most important and common determinants of research, especially on its logic and discursive dimension. These theories also seek to establish the right way to conduct, treat, and apply evaluation. Specific metatheories focus on precisely defined objects of evaluation, their temporal and spatial determinants, and the domains to which they belong.

Metatheoretical perspectives can be used as an instrument that orders a rich spectrum of evaluation research approaches and models and facilitates their understanding while taking into account the specificity of the object of evaluation, its aims, functions, the nature and level of technological sophistication, and other organisational, social, or economic determinants. An example of this ordering classification is the grid proposed by Stufflebeam and Coryn (2014), where a total of twenty-three approaches are identified and further grouped into broader classes. In their opinion, the most valuable evaluation models include context, input, process, and product (CIPP) evaluation, constructivist evaluation, and utilisation-focused evaluation.

New theoretical approaches and research models developed in evaluation studies create the need to continuously test their assumptions and verify their practical usefulness and the range of possible applications. However, the almost 100-year history of evaluation studies leads to the conclusion that this increasingly rich body of theory is rarely used by evaluators-practitioners, especially those who represent a technocratic and controlling orientation. As the experience of many international organisations which have implemented large aid programmes and their evaluations demonstrates, this is a worldwide problem. Given that most theoretical approaches are based on the research experience of their creators and are not limited to abstract considerations, questions about the origins of this state of affairs and the possibilities of overcoming them have to be asked. The search for answers to these questions, which are pertinent not only for the scientific development of evaluation studies but also for practitioners who conduct research and apply their results, should include both the content and structure of theories and the competences of their potential users. This seems to be one of the fundamental challenges of the current phase in the development of evaluation studies.

Evaluation and research. Evaluation studies, nowadays frequently (but not always) categorised as a sub-discipline of the social

sciences, is a new and not yet fully mature discipline. However, it possesses distinct theoretical orientations, conceptual apparatus, epistemological assumptions, and a vision of its research subject. Arguments in favour of treating evaluation studies as an independent discipline include the growing awareness of its identity and distinctiveness in relation to other disciplines, the dynamically expanding institutional and organisational base, the rich and high-quality literature that is available on the subject, and the position of evaluation studies in the curricula of leading universities worldwide. Arguments against point to difficulties with establishing precise research areas and research objectives of this sub-discipline, its methodological non-specificity and – most importantly – the subordination of research to the requirements and needs of practice, which hinders formulating generalisations related to the functioning of a given aspect of social reality at a sufficiently general level. Evaluation studies are therefore characterised through the prism of their transdisciplinarity rather than as a separate discipline.

Another crucial issue is the more general question of the relationship between evaluation and research, especially between the various disciplines of the social sciences with which evaluation studies are linked by multidimensional interactions. It is not easy to precisely and unambiguously distinguish evaluation studies and evaluation research from other types of research conducted within the social sciences. This difficulty stems from most evaluator-practitioners' professional qualifications, which cover general theoretical and methodological orientations of specific disciplines within the social sciences and the widespread use of research techniques derived from this scientific field. Nevertheless, most evaluator-representatives of other social sciences are convinced of the distinct logic of evaluation research, its distinct location in relation to commissioning entities and objects of evaluation, its distinct functions, objectives, and theoretical assumptions, and its links with practice. Evaluation focuses on a particular object, and its results are expected to lead to concrete applications rather than the formulation of general theories. It should lead to the improvement, development, or enhancement of certain activities rather than simply proving or refuting theses. It is intentionally and multifacetedly incorporated in processes of valuation, does not seek autonomy from values, is sensitive to the various cultural and political contexts that determine the shape of an object

being evaluated and people's attitudes towards it, engages all participants in the research process, involves negotiation and dialogue, and requires adapting the knowledge obtained as a result of the research to the needs and competences of the specified audience. Those who commission evaluation share these convictions and expect that the analysis of their projects and activities is done as evaluation rather than as standard social research.

Although evaluation is usually based on traditional social research methods and techniques, it also draws on many non-standard methods developed within ethnography, journalism, law, and even art criticism. The theoretical background of evaluation studies, combined with evaluators' experiences gained in different social, cultural, and economic contexts, encourages avoiding explicit preferences for particular research methods and approaches, which was one of the problems in earlier stages of its development. Nowadays, a pluralism in terms of epistemological orientations and methods is clearly visible within these studies and research, as well as the inclusion of respondents in the processes of developing methodological assumptions, which avoids arbitrariness stemming from scientific authority.

Evaluative research that synthesises knowledge of facts with knowledge of values not only presents facts in an axiological optic but also assumes that it is possible to actively influence the sphere of values. Moreover, the purely scientific aspects of evaluation are somewhat weakened because evaluation is often closely correlated with other activities aimed at developing and improving the quality of an institution or programme, thus becoming part of broader development processes.

Contemporary evaluation studies and the practice of evaluation research reveal a great multiplicity of ideas, concepts, methodological approaches, and research models based on various ontological and epistemological assumptions. Distinct specialisations are being developed which are linked to the nature of the object of evaluation, its position in organisational structures, the sources of research funding, the source and characteristics of applied research strategies, and its links with different traditions of evaluation research. The internal dynamics of the development of evaluation studies, which are related to, among other things, the increasingly expanding experience gained in different contexts and areas of social life (the exchange of which is facilitated

by numerous networks of international and cross-sectoral cooperation), clearly reveals the tendency towards a broad and non-reductive understanding of the function of evaluation and results in intensive attempts to understand the entanglements and consequences of research. As well as purely technical skills, the vital competences expected of evaluators include ethical, cultural, and political sensitivity, advanced communication and negotiation skills, relevant qualifications related to the use of modern technologies, and the ability to understand processes occurring in the domain to which the object of evaluation belongs. Theorists and practitioners are increasingly trying to promote and implement such forms and models of evaluation that can be characterised as democratic, socialised, participatory, inclusive, dialogical, and sensitive to cultural contexts, and which account for a plurality of perspectives. They recognise the role played by colloquial, local, unstructured knowledge, which, thanks to the extensive use of qualitative research methods, is gaining ground when juxtaposed with discursive knowledge, which is based on a specialised conceptual apparatus that is specific to decision-makers and executives. The dynamics of the various changes faced by evaluators who conduct research and an awareness of the unpredictability of these changes are conducive to treating evaluation as a flexible process that is open to transformation.

Patton's concept of developmental evaluation (Patton, 1994; Jaskuła, 2012) is an example of such an approach. This concept considers everything that changes during the course of a programme but also adapts to these changes. Evaluation here is geared towards a continuous process of active learning through the ongoing use of results, not only for corrective purposes but also to stimulate transformation and innovative action. The need to constantly revise research assumptions and procedures means departing from the traditional formula of research, which is rigidly subordinated to a predetermined project. Here, the evaluator is deeply involved in the reality being evaluated, is open to new experiences, actively adapts to new conditions, undertakes continuous reflection, and participates in learning processes and the creation of knowledge that is adequate to the changing needs, problems, and ways of experiencing the reality being studied.

Contemporary evaluation studies do not limit the object of their interest to the issues within research methodology and techniques and the

application of their results. The theoretical reflections address a much broader spectrum of issues, including the various contexts in which research is conducted and how they affect the way and extent to which evaluation results are used. Undoubtedly, a context that research practice and evaluation studies theory cannot ignore is the unprecedented development of intensive and multilateral communication based on advanced digital technologies. Acknowledgement of the importance of this factor, which modifies the traditional roles of the evaluator by broadening his possibilities to obtain, develop, and disseminate information, as well as the challenges it poses, has resulted in the interesting theoretical proposal put forward by Korporowicz (2011a), which is called the fifth-generation evaluation. This develops, complements, and updates the previous (fourth) generation, while respecting its core values, such as socialisation, participation, dialogicality, democratisation, openness to change, contextualisation, constructivism, and methodological integrity. The qualities emphasised in fifth-generation evaluation include the dynamic nature of changes related to objects of evaluation and forms of evaluation, and the importance of the continuous learning process, which is triggered, animated, intensified, and reinforced by evaluation. Here, the scope of evaluation is widened to include different experiences and take account of different resources and forms of knowledge, including those resulting from the emergence and operation of (sometimes short-lived) networks of information flows which are alternative to traditional structures, are bottom up, and sometimes refer to totally different valuation criteria. The role of the evaluator is significantly expanded to include proactive communication activities, making extensive use of medialised, interactive forms which are directed towards creating horizontal, dynamic networks of information flows forms.

An interesting area of discussion currently undertaken in evaluation studies is the question of the application of evaluation results. In the traditional approach, in which evaluation serves decision-makers by supporting and justifying their decisions, the most relevant outcomes of evaluation are recommendations usually formulated when the research process is finished. However, evaluators' experiences reveal that decisions made do not necessarily take into account the results of evaluation. Rather, they stem from administrative, economic, or political determinants or are based on long-term predictions that are outside the

scope of evaluation. As a result of these ambiguities in the links between decisions and evaluation results, more attention is now paid to other ways in which evaluation affects the object of evaluation, organisations, or research participants. It is emphasised that the very fact of undertaking research dedicated to only selected values and goals, seeking answers to only certain questions, or based on a limited range of information collected and organised in a particular way, is a key factor for the introduction of changes into the evaluated reality. This factor is often as important as the meticulous application of recommendations (Patton, 1998) as it fosters the introduction of new organisational solutions, the assimilation of new values, and the formation of patterns of thinking and acting that take into account the logic embedded in evaluation research. It also leads to changes in communication practices, especially in the case of dialogical models, which presuppose the acknowledgment of different values, motivations, and needs and a mutual understanding of different aspects of the evaluation process. The dynamic and interactive form of evaluation is becoming more meaningful than recommendations and their application, and evaluation itself is reinvigorating and strengthening learning processes, facilitating the adaptation of change, and shaping an overall evaluative culture in organisations.

Another characteristic trend in contemporary evaluation studies is their growing interest in cultural determinants and the contexts of the evaluation process. Attempts to understand the influence of cultural rules on the quality of evaluated programmes, the way in which evaluation research is conducted, and the application of its results are particularly important in the context of intensive cross-cultural contact, in the evaluation of projects which cross the boundaries of cultures, and in research undertaken by evaluators who come from cultures other than the culture within which the evaluation is conducted. The new trend of evaluation, which is culturally sensitive, culturally competent, culturally grounded, multicultural, or intercultural (Chouinard and Cousins, 2009), places particular emphasis on evaluation's potential to challenge and reject traditionally dominant axiologies, epistemologies, and pragmatics, especially those rooted in Western instrumental rationalism, managerialism, and social engineering projects. The theoretical origins of this approach can be found in models of participatory and dialogical evaluation that enable active recognition, understanding, critical reflection, and

inclusion of the cultural aspects, contexts, and characteristics of evaluated objects, people, and organisations. Conducting culturally sensitive evaluation requires specific competences: primarily those related to recognising and understanding cultural distinctiveness and those that facilitate shaping such forms of cooperation, exchange, and reciprocal learning in the evaluation process that employ cultural factors as an active component of the developmental process.

The presence of cultural issues within evaluation studies leads to reflection on evaluative culture in general. Concepts of evaluative culture – developed in different countries and related to different theoretical traditions – most often refer to two aspects of social reality: the entire social system (or its subsystems), or concrete organisations. In the first case, attention is paid to evaluation within large international programmes or evaluation within individual components of the system, such as education, science, public policies, or the sphere of non-governmental and civil society organisations. In the second case, evaluative culture is considered a component of organisational culture and is related to the presence and functions of evaluation research in economic and social organisations or public institutions. Regardless of which frame of reference of the concept of evaluative culture is adopted, this culture is treated as a dynamic phenomenon of a developmental nature that enhances the effectiveness and efficiency of the activities undertaken by contemporary organisations and social subsystems.

Basic dimensions of evaluative culture include the following:

- a) General orientations and attitudes towards evaluation revealed in the ways in which it is treated as a stimulator of developmental and learning processes and in the values associated with it.
- b) Specific ways of designing and implementing evaluation research that reflect different evaluation approaches and models, methodological assumptions and forms of inclusion of the different participants in the evaluation process.
- c) The content and range of competencies, knowledge, and experiences of evaluators, of those who commission evaluation, and of those who are evaluated; these are manifested in their understanding of the function of evaluation and its practical potentials in relation to both evaluation and the practical application of its results.

Detailed analyses of the aforementioned factors within a given social system or its components facilitate the description of its evaluative culture and its place and functions within this system. They also make it possible to undertake active educational and organisational measures aimed to promote the desired forms or features of this culture, taking into account the changing needs of the system, the emergence of new practical problems, and the emergence of new ideas and theoretical perspectives.

Evaluative culture is conceptualised in a slightly different way in the approach that links it to the operations of economic organisations and public institutions. Its key manifestations include the purposeful, systematic, and targeted acquisition of information about organisational performance and the structured process of organisational learning based on this information in order to improve performance, achieve better results, and drive overall organisational development. Organisations with a strong evaluative culture (Mayne, 2010) (1) engage in self-reflection and self-examination by deliberately seeking evidence on what they are achieving, such as through monitoring and evaluation, by using results' information to challenge and support what they are doing, and by valuing candour, challenge and genuine dialogue; (2) engage in evidence-based learning by making time to learn in a structured fashion, by learning from mistakes and weak performance, and by encouraging knowledge sharing; (3) encourage experimentation and change by supporting deliberate risk-taking and seeking out new ways of doing business. Building an evaluative culture in organisations makes them open to cultural changes, which become components of the organisations' developmental vision. This requires an adequate form of leadership, structural support, and orientation towards continuous learning, as well as the engagement in the organisation's activities of all stakeholders, who should be involved in planning evaluation research and implementing its results, have access to full and reliable information about the results, and have their say in their application. Treating evaluative culture as a component of organisational culture emphasises a democratic and socialised form of evaluation in which communication and dialogue between all stakeholders plays a crucial role that allows them to freely articulate their needs and concerns.

Systematic reflection with conclusions and recommendations

The evolution of evaluation studies over the last century demonstrates that their development has led to new ideas and concepts that have been strongly linked to wider phenomena and processes within the social life in which evaluation has been practised. Furthermore, it has also led to changes in the academic world that are manifested in the form of successive theories, paradigms, and research methods. The current shape and state of evaluation studies results in an inner wealth of perspectives and approaches which describe assumptions, objectives, functions, and strategies for conducting research. However, the developmental potential of evaluation studies also entails some difficulties in precisely defining their essence and identity characteristics. Thus, it is necessary to continuously develop their theoretical and methodological background and to reflect critically on this background in order to develop the necessary level of consensus between different positions, to negotiate meanings of concepts, and to assess their relevance and effectiveness. It is also important to disseminate theoretical knowledge about evaluation among students of this field, experienced evaluators, and those who commission evaluation; this knowledge should clarify conceptual issues and limit the instrumental and technocratic understanding of the essence of evaluation research. A vital component of the further development of evaluation studies and evaluation research is the expansion of the intellectual and institutional base, which requires intensive and multifaceted cooperation within academic circles, thus opening up opportunities for higher education to capitalise on the achievements of evaluation studies for their own development. However, it seems that the most momentous task is the promotion and dissemination of democratic, socialised, and developmental approaches and models of evaluation that have solid theoretical foundations and have consistently proved their practical usefulness. Evaluation studies are thus faced with the challenge of developing new and increasingly technically advanced models which broaden the spectrum of solutions that can be used in research practice, as well as integrating and adapting these models to the continuously emerging challenges faced today.

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