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RAFAŁ JAKUBOWICZ — SYNAGOGUE/SWIMMING POOL

The first synagogue in Poznań was built in 1367 at the corner of ulica Szewska and ulica Dominikańska; it served the largest Jewish community in Poland at the time. The Lamadei Poznan Talmud school that opened there was universally acknowledged to be one of the best in Europe. From the Poznań Jewish community came such significant figures as Gaspar da Gama (1450–1510), the geographer, traveler, and discoverer of Brazil, Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccan Islands; and Juda Liv Ben Bekalel, the cabbalist, astronomer, and alchemist who is said to have created the legendary Golem after he moved to Prague. The Jewish community and the Polish community in Poland lived side by side rather than together, through thick and thin, never taking any particular interest in each other.

When Jakub Biliński, secretary of the Targowice Federation, carried out orders from the Prussian rulers and wrapped up the operations of the city court in Poznań on July 4, 1793, the final entry he made in its books was a phrase repeated many times in those days: *Regni Poloniae finis*.¹ That day marked the end of activity by Polish authorities during the pre-partition period. What followed were the so-called first Prussian occupation and the Duchy of Warsaw period. At the end of the 18th century, the Jews already accounted for almost one in four residents of Poznań. According to the 1794 census, the 12,538 residents of Poznań included 7,437 Roman Catholics, 3,021 Jews, 1,918 Lutherans, 115 Calvinists, and 47 Greek Catholics.²

In 1803, three of the six Poznań synagogues of the day burned down in a disastrous fire that swept through the north-east part of the Old Town and the Jewish quarter, leaving over 5,000 people without a roof over their head. The old synagogue, which had stood for almost 500 years, burned down. It was decided to rebuild and modernize³ the devastated areas of the city, liquidating the narrow jumble of lanes that made up the ghetto and laying out a single, broad Jewish street. At the same time, Jews were given the right to settle and own property in all parts of the city, without limitation.

As a result of the destruction of three synagogues in the fire and the necessity of closing the

old Jewish cemetery at Musza Góra, an architect named Schildener proposed the construction of a monumental temple “in the old Hebrew style.” He wrote that the building would be “modeled on the old synagogues, presenting a Hebrew style not previously seen in the city,” and that it would “become a great ornament, located on the existing hill, which would be formed with terraces and stairs on all four sides.”⁴

Schildener proposed that numerous old *matzevot* with Hebrew inscriptions should be placed on the elevations of the synagogue in chronological order. The edifice would thus become a sort of imposing “monument in homage to the dead” that appealed to the universal idea of death.⁵ “Speaking ‘in an allegorical way about transience and passing,’” writes Zofia Ostrowska-Kębowska, “the synagogue building would be an inducement to ‘look more deeply into the past, at previous centuries.’”⁶ Neither city hall nor the Jewish community showed any interest in the plan, which remained in the sphere of utopian, romantic ideas of a temple for a single denomination, which Schildener wanted to endow with a universal dimension, directed to everyone living in Poznań.

The progressive part of the Poznań Jewish community built a new synagogue on ulica Szewska in 1856-1857.

Nineteenth-century Poznań was torn by ethnic, social, and political conflicts. Poles regarded it as one of the three capitals of their shattered state, while the Germans flowing into the city and the Prussian government saw it as a provincial administrative-military center. The powers that partitioned Poland transformed Poznań, in turn, into a fortress city, a prison city, and a barracks city. Poznań seemed to exemplify the agonizing embodiment of the idea of Prussian domination and compulsion over the Polish state. The German residents of Poznań appreciated the architectonic values of the fortifications being erected in the city, while Poles felt anxious and vulnerable over the way they found themselves inside a fortress threatened with besiegement. The fact that there were no perspectives for change left them feeling helpless. This sense of helplessness and psychological pressure resulted from the onerous dom-

ination of the fortress over a city that was completely subordinated to it.⁷

The situation of the highly differentiated Poznań Jewish community changed significantly from 1833 to 1848. While many impoverished Jews arrived in town, mostly from the eastern parts of Poland, there were also assimilated, affluent, well-educated Jews living here who had long been connected with Wielkopolska, and who had contacts with Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, Wrocław [Breslau], and Prague.

Against the background of the constantly increasing number of Germans and the Polish community, the Jews who lived in Poland between 1835 and 1880 made up a significant group characterized by upward mobility, education, and wealth.⁸

Among these superbly educated people who took an interest in public, cultural, and scholarly affairs, the leading names included Bernard and Samuel Jaffé, Eduard Kaatz, Moritz Mamroth, and the Santer family. The lively activity of the Jewish intelligentsia was all the more significant because of the fact that no German bourgeoisie emerged in Poznań.

A great figure in traditional Judaism on a European scale was Rabbi Akiba Eger, an authority on Jewish religious law, the author of commentaries on the Talmud, and a community activist who played a role in caring for the victims of the 1831 cholera outbreak. He became the rabbi of Poznań in 1814, and was succeeded upon his death by his son Salomon Eger, himself a renowned Talmudist, who favored the adoption of German culture by the Poznań Jews. Salomon Eger also supported plans for Jewish agricultural settlements in Wielkopolska.

In 1833, in his efforts to tie the Jewish community with Germany and make them a part of his anti-Polish policy, Eduard von Flotwell, the *Oberpräsident* of the Grand Duchy of Posen, prepared a statute under which the poor would continue to be restricted in numerous ways while the wealthiest—scholars, artists, and “persons of particular service to Prussia”—would be able to apply for “naturalization.” One of the requirements was the exclusive use in public and professional life of the German language, which also became the language of in-

struction in Jewish schools. While naturalization provided an equal basis for private life and economic activity, it did not confer municipal and civic rights, which until 1843 were granted to only 58 naturalized Jews. After 1850, citizens certified as having a high standard of wealth held one-third of the seats on the city council. Ethnic antagonisms exacerbated by bureaucrats imported from Prussia—who did not understand the close relations, often dating back generations, between Poles and Germans—emerged particularly sharply in the latter stages of the Revolutions of 1848. While many of the newcomers from Prussia were competent organizers capable of initiating interesting cultural undertakings, they fell short in the role of leaders. “If their attitude towards local Germans was dismissive, they treated the Jews contemptuously and openly regarded the Poles as a dangerous, hostile element.”⁹ We should remember that, in the Grand Duchy of Posen, the events of the Revolutions of 1848 were felt less as a social movement and more as a national one. Under laws promulgated by the authorities in Berlin, 1848 brought the Jews further social emancipation and continued rapprochement with the Germans. These same laws aggravated the differences between Poles and Germans, regardless of social class.

1848 brought real political rights to the more affluent layers of the Jewish community. “The fact that the Committee (which included between 10 and 20 members of the local Jewish bourgeoisie) took the side of the Germans began to have repercussions on Polish attitudes towards the Jews, whom they later boycotted just as they boycotted the Germans,” writes Ostrowska-Kęłłowska.¹⁰ The rising ethnic conflicts began impinging on Jewish economic autonomy, since both Poles and Germans treated the economy as a battlefield in the political-national struggle. From the point of view of the Jewish bourgeoisie, such actions were irrational and contrary to the principles of economic liberalism.

When the Poles recovered independence, the majority of the Jewish population left for Germany. The exodus was so pronounced that Jews made up barely 1% of the city’s population from 1919 to 1939.

Ever since the great fire of 1803, the Jewish community in Poznań had had but a single synagogue. The new "Synagogue of the Community of Brothers," standing at the corner of ulica Sze-wska and ulica Dominikańska, was erected by a community foundation that included some of the wealthiest and best educated local Jews. Built in 1855–1856, the synagogue suffered severe damage during the fighting to liberate Poznań from German occupation in 1945, and was subsequently demolished. The corner of the edifice, visible from two sides and blended into the facades of residential buildings, was distinguished by three slender spires and high crenellation. The arcade rhythms of the large windows is emphasized by the semi-circular bands that surround them. On a rectangular plan of considerable size, the building featured a large two-story-high hall topped with a dome-like wooden vault. Inside, it was encircled by a gallery supported by columns with palmetto ornamentation. Stairs led up from the ulica Sze-wska side to the women's gallery and the gallery for the choir. The men's entrance was from ulica Dominikańska, and led through several rooms to the chamber of the small "weekday synagogue" in the courtyard. It is significant that oriental forms were not used in the Poznań synagogue. The copulas on the spires, constituting minor Moorish elements, were only added during renovation work in 1913.

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A new Poznań synagogue with a capacity of about 1,200 worshippers was built from 1905–1907. Designed by Wilhelm Cremer and Rixhard Wolffenstein, it was a massive central-cupola building located on plac Wroniecki. The basic building materials were two different kinds of bricks, and granite, which was used for the plinth surrounding the synagogue, and the stairs. The construction of the dome and gallery were of steel. Built on a symmetrical cross plan, the synagogue was a free-standing edifice on a lot between ulica Stawna, Wroniecka, Małe Garbary, and an extension of ulica Żydowska. The eastern arm of the floor plan ended in the form of an apse containing the Holy Ark and the choir. The spacious interior of the prayer hall, covered with an internal cupola resting

on massive pillars joined to the walls, was broadened by an arcade opening inwards and suggesting the interior of the Byzantine cupola basilicas built in the 6th century C. E. The diameter beneath the cupola was 17 meters, and the length of the cross-arms attached to it, covered with barrel vaulting, was 14 m. The height of the interior cupola was 20 m. In the center of the main room was an elevated Aron-ha-kodesh, with semi-circular stairs, symmetrically arranged at the sides, leading up to it. A pulpit stood in front of it, and an azure balustrade ornamented with marble separated the whole from the rest of the prayer hall. The synagogue lasted in this form until April 4, 1940, when the Nazis attached ropes to the six-pointed star atop the cupola and pulled it down. Next, the Germans remodeled the interior and exterior architecture and changed the synagogue into a swimming pool for the *Wehrmacht*. For the Germans, the change in the function of the building marked the profanation of a place that had been sacred to the Jews. The building serves the residents of Poznań as a swimming pool and public bath to this day. In 2002, the Poznań municipal authorities turned the synagogue over to the Jewish community. It still contains the swimming pool, but is now leased to the city by the community.

As an elementary-school student in the 1970s, I took part in swimming meets held at "the swimming pool on ulica Wroniecka." Residents of the Old Town who had no bathrooms at home—tenants of spacious pre-war apartments divided up for "housing allocations"—could come "to Wroniecka" to make use of public bathing cubicles equipped with bathtubs and showers. I still remember vividly the dark-green color of the tiles of the swimming pool and the intense light of the setting sun falling through the very high windows glazed with thick panes of greenish glass. That light filled the interior with a sense of vague contact with a reality looming out of the depths of the unspoken history of the place.

A Jewish Religious Community has existed in Poznań since 1989. Its membership has grown from year to year. Numerous Jewish organizations are active here, such as the Association of Jewish Second World War Veterans and Injured

Parties, The Social-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland, and the Children of the Holocaust Association. At present, the Jewish Religious Community plans to use the synagogue as the location for a Center of Judaism and Tolerance, and to set up a Memorial Chamber to pay tribute to the memory of Poles honored by Yad Vashem for saving the lives of Polish Jews during the occupation. In 2002, the Poznań municipal authorities formally transferred the synagogue, together with the land it stands on, to the Union of Jewish Religious Communities in the Polish Republic.

At the time of writing, despite numerous pleas, the old synagogue building at the corner of ulica Wroniecka and ulica Stawna has not been designated a legally protected landmark.

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On the evening of April 4, 2003, the Poznań artist Rafał Jakubowicz realized a projection/action titled *The Swimming Pool* / "בריכת-שהייה"

Using high-powered projectors, the Hebrew words for "swimming pool" (*berechat sechija*) were illuminated on the façade of the former synagogue on ulica Stawna. The action was intended to be evanescent, but afterwards there remained a postcard showing, on the front, the synagogue/swimming pool building during the projection, and, on the reverse, a view of boys bathing in the swimming pool, visible through a door left ajar as if the eye of the camera were "spying" on them. Two short videos were also made, one showing the illumination of the façade and the other a recording made inside the building by the artist. Rafał Jakubowicz showed the entire project in 2006 at the Auschwitz Jewish Center in Oświęcim (where there is also a synagogue that, until recently, was used as a carpet warehouse). Both videos were made in the quasi-documentary convention, with a handheld camera recording the "event" and the "place." One film shows an external view of the building with the inscription "בריכת-שהייה" projected on it in April 2003: a spring evening, urban streetlights, the lighted windows of the swimming pool/synagogue, and the inscription in Hebrew letters projected on the wall above the main entrance to the present swimming pool, *recognizable* as a "syna-

gogue" and suggesting a yearning for the wall to "speak," so that, at least for a single evening, the public swimming pool can become a monument to a fragment of history that has been relegated to oblivion. With the help of letters that *signify* and words that *remind*, Jakubowicz performs his own act of restitution—of a vestige of the past that has been confiscated by history, time, and forgetting. He wants to restore the memory, both individual and social/cultural.

We may recall at this point the idea by Maurice Halbwachs, contained in his work *On Collective Memory*,¹¹ where the philosopher grapples with the problem of memory as a social phenomenon and observes individual memory from the perspective of its dependence on the collective context. "It is specifically in society that man acquires recollections, recognizes them, and locates them,"¹² he wrote. Halbwachs asserts that, to the degree that we fail to take into account the series of social interactions in which the psychological phenomenon of memory occurs, memory remains merely an abstraction. Within the collective memory, we may distinguish between communicative memory and cultural memory.¹³ The first category consists of memories that are realized in intergenerational messages, the reflection of past events as shaped by the accounts of eyewitnesses, the people who remember. Rafał Jakubowicz was born in 1974. He "summons up" from bygone time witnesses who remember the original function of the swimming pool on ulica Wroniecka in Poznań, on the basis of documents, old photographs, history, and obliterated vestiges. This, according to Jan Assmann, a cultural researcher working in Germany, is cultural memory. Assmann's wife Aleida modified this division of social memory by taking into account the role of communicative and cultural memory.¹⁴ The media of cultural memory, according to Assmann, are the body or the mind, and the metaphors for it include wounds or wounded memory. "The body (and, we could add as well, the mind—E. J.) is a medium of a special kind. In the first place, it usually bears the memories of violence, pain, and suffering, and, secondly, in order for us to treat it as the medium of cultural memory (and not individual memory), it must undergo some special, collective trauma."¹⁵

Another medium of memory, distinguished by Assmann, is place, perceived and felt as a real space of memory. The researcher differentiates places of memory and memories of places. The first, she holds, are moveable, rooted mainly in mental maps. The memory of places is, on the other hand, linked with physical space. The important thing here is the nature of the relation between this place and the memories carried by it. Such a place is the old synagogue in Poznań, which has functioned for years as a swimming pool.

Assmann differentiates four varieties of links between places and the cultural memories that they represent: generational places constituting connections between different generations, places that contain vestiges of something that is no more. A story or events can be reconstructed on the basis of the remaining fragments. The lack of the continuity that was present in the generational places, the void that we encounter, “forces” the desire to fill it in. “There is still something present here, but that something indicates, above all, some Absence: there is still something contemporary

here, which yet in the first place signals the past of that something,”¹⁶ she writes. The third category is places important in view of their archaeological or antiquarian value, situated in the center of interest of history as a science. The final variety of memory spaces is traumatic places, such as Auschwitz—places of memory (*lieux de mémoire*¹⁷) constantly remembered by succeeding generations, similar to wounds that refuse to heal.

By projecting the Hebrew word *swimming pool* on the wall of the former synagogue building, Rafał Jakubowski performs an act of re-elaborating memory. He studies and, at the same time, indicates “the place of the past,” leading our thoughts towards the presence of something absent, pushed out of history and, especially, out of memory. The artist places himself and the audience for his realization into a relationship with past time, and makes himself and us responsible for the absent dead, and once again takes up the question of the presentation of the past.

The illuminated inscription, incomprehensible to the majority of the audience, to accidental pass-



Rafał Jakubowicz, *Swimming pool*, light projection onto the building's front elevation. Town's swimming pool, ulica Worniecka 11a. Poznań, April 4, 2003.

Foto: Rafał Jakubowicz

ersby, *should* evoke associations with the most tragic of human experiences. Its evanescence suggests a desire to summon something up from past time, a vestige of some uncomprehended story about people who are not there. Is this what happened? Has a bond of empathy been created between the beholder and the “monument” that the façade of the swimming pool has, for a brief time, been turned into? Has Jakubowicz’s intentionally transient work managed to return the “memory of the place” of the former synagogue?

The Hebrew letters make up an expression that is incomprehensible to the majority of the beholders and passersby—in this way, Jakubowicz separates the audience from the meaning, as it were, positing the uncertainty of the message directed to us, an uncertainty as to whether the “writing” will be read in accordance with the intentions of the creator of the projection. Taking this one step further, the artist suggests that the events he refers to in his work are by their very nature incomprehensible, and also that there is no way to refer to them; the message directed to us remains impossible to grasp.

This work is, in the first place, whatever the artist may try to suggest to us, about the horrible legacy of the Holocaust, about the distancing of the past, about the distance that separates different cultures, and finally about the feeling of alienation. Yet Jakubowicz also wants to say that the experience of the Holocaust, as a gap in history, imposes upon the present and following generations “the imperative to relate to Auschwitz.”¹⁸ In other words, the actions of the artist—those Hebrew letters projected on the former synagogue that, since 1940, has served first the Germans and now the inhabitants of Poznań as a swimming pool—*force* us to look into history, to search for traces of those/that who/which are not there. Let us evoke in this place the words of Emmanuel Lévinas: “The accomplished fact, raised up by the receding present, forever avoids human control, yet weighs upon man’s fate. Beyond the melancholy flow of things, the delusive present of Heraclitus, shines the tragedy of the irrevocability of a past that refuses to be effaced, which dooms every initiative to be merely its continuation.”¹⁹

The second film presents the interior of the swimming pool: room after room of a building that is a public utility, a pool full of water, showers, drains, the “hygienic” tiles of the floors and walls, enormous windows divided into six panes, already familiar to us from the external projection (as a result of the remodeling of the building, the windows in the elevation are divided into only four panes). The harsh lighting and uncertain eye of the camera seeking the traces of history, some sort of memory, a shadow, or even a regret. The following sequences of video material assembled during the work on this project show the path of someone searching/getting lost while tracing the vestiges of memory. The path of a seeker of trails, with an unsteady gait, leads through one room after another covered with wet, slippery tiles, and leads us along the surface of the damp walls; the camera registers drips, cracks, and splotches. For a moment, we hesitate at a threshold. The worn ceramic at this very point may reveal that which is beneath it, that which could define some sort of limit to what it is that can be presented HERE. The washed out, monochromatic colors of the film (grayish white, pale blue, greenish), distorted by the damp vapors, lead the beholder into an uncertain atmosphere of ambiguity: abandoned shower stalls and the shower heads in them, the drains, the provisional, reinstalled plumbing works, the blinding bare light bulbs, the insistent rush of the water pouring from the shower heads—all of these dispatch our consciousness in the direction of the traces of the past; they lead us, by way of association, towards events that are faded and that yet continue to emerge from the non-memory of events, about which, in the letters she wrote to Karl Jaspers in the latter part of the 1940s, Hannah Arendt opined that they are so monstrous that it is impossible to ever include them in any code of criminal law.

The present municipal swimming pool in Poznań was never the site of the annihilation of the Jews. Since 1940, it has been a swimming pool. Why do the images recorded on videotape refer our thoughts in the direction of the Holocaust? Yet the sense of the film seems to refer unambiguously to the memory of a place that, according to its origi-

nal designation, was a sacral place—and to the memory of the Holocaust of the Jewish people.

Everywhere, wherever Jews settled, they built synagogues, so that they could say prayers in them, read the Torah, and manage the affairs of the community. The synagogue also served as an inn for travelers, who could always count on finding a place to sleep there, on a free bench or in the corner. It is history, our store of knowledge about Nazi atrocities, that mental wound inflicted on history and refusing to heal, that determines the reception of Jakubowicz's film as being about—let us come right out and say it—the gas chambers. On the trail of something that was in THAT place years ago, Jakubowicz unwillingly stumbles upon his/our knowledge about the Holocaust—images of historical consciousness, memory, and reflection overlap. There are, the artist tells us, no innocent places, things, or thoughts. Ostensibly ordinary places and objects, so long as we know of them that they could have “participated” in the crime, become joined to it in the present time and in the thought of future generations; associations referring to history mean that our memory, as well, is burdened with responsibility for the extermination of six million people.

Walking around the desacralized interior of the former synagogue, the artist seeks shadows of the past. He lets his eye roam along the floor and the walls; he peeks through doors left ajar; he holds a lengthy shot that records the perspective of the water-filled pool and the people swimming in it. Time and again he seems to close up on and then back away from some object of mirage-like ambiguity—cracks, the angled light in the corridor, an eruption of plaster—and then the vestige has disappeared. In one of his interviews, Claude Lanzmann states that, while shooting his film *Shoah*, he found himself forced to struggle continually with “the disappearance of vestiges, with the vestiges of the vestiges of vestiges.”²⁰

Children are swimming in the bathing pool that we view in Jakubowicz's film. There are advertisements and banners hung here and there, and there is a computer game console in one of the rooms: on one screen, a soldier runs across the ruins of some oriental city, firing his rifle, and, on the other

screen, we see tanks, airplanes, and bombs going off—there is only NOW, in which *das Ereignis Auschwitz*²¹ is not the past, but rather remains eternally present on the fronton of History.²² We live an eternal catastrophe that passes for the rule of this world. The artist leads us through it to a place of calm and silence, impinged upon by the echoes of the mundane. He situates us within something undefined, which evokes regret and empathy, which gives rise to a vague conviction about the realization of the myth of the eternal return.

The history of the place, in the interior of which the artist seeks the past, remains veiled. No trace of the prewar synagogue has been found here. Hence, perhaps, the artist's overly long, unsettling “staring” into the depths of the room containing the pool, a moment that goes on long enough to make the audience feel impatient. In this unrelenting, dragged-out shot, filmed through a door left ajar and presenting people swimming in the pool, we can read a state of resignation, a sense of failure, or, as someone has written, the defeat of the seeker.

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When the projector was switched off and the illuminated inscription faded, the “swimming pool” apparently returned to normality. I feel, however, that questions, uncertainties, and discomforts re-



Foto: Rafał Jakubowicz

Rafał Jakubowicz, *Swimming pool*, a still from a video recording. Town's swimming pool, ulica Woroniecka 11a. Poznań 2003.

mained behind. Rafał Jakubowicz's realization, titled *The Swimming Pool* is, on the one hand, a meditation on the galloping progression—the dramatic endeavors of researchers into the past, philosophers, artists, and cultural archaeologists notwithstanding—of historical and moral anemia. On the other hand, doomed to failure as it may be, it is a dramatic quest for the vanishing traces of a tragic past. The Hebrew inscription that Rafał Jakubowicz projected for a single evening left behind a trace of itself, every bit as uncertain as the shape, at this moment, of the future. It is precisely this uncertainty, if we may employ an idea of Pierre Nora's, that imposes upon the present—disposing, as it does, of unprecedented technical means for the preservation of those very traces of the past—the duty of remembering. We do not know what our successors will need to know about us, in order to understand themselves.²⁴

- ¹ Cf. J. Łukaszewicz, *Obraz historyczno-statystyczny miasta Poznania w dawniejszych czasach*, vols. 1-2., Poznań, 1832, pp. 65-66.
- ² Cf. *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1., p. 880.
- ³ A Retablissement Commission was established. It was supposed to oversee the rebuilding and expansion of Poznań in the course of 6 years. For this purpose, a sum of 770,000 thalers was appropriated. The Commission, consisting of four officials in the Chamber and city hall plus an architect was supposed to supervise all the work. Ferdinand Triest was in overall charge.
- ⁴ See Z. Ostrowska-Kęłowska, *Architektura i budownictwo w Poznaniu w latach 1790–1880*, Warsaw-Poznań: PWN, 1982, p. 144.
- ⁵ Vorschlag des Maurermeisters Schildener, auf dem alten jüdischen Begräbnissplatze eine Synagoge zu erbauen und deren Aussenwände mit den alten Leichenstein zu bekleiden (22. IV. 1804)—as quoted by R. Prümers, *Der grosse Brand...*, pp. 142-144.
- ⁶ Ibid., Z. Ostrowska-Kęłowska, p. 145.
- ⁷ Ibid., p. 170.
- ⁸ There were 7,500 Jews living in Poznań in 1867, along with approximately 18,000 Poles and 16,500 Germans.
- ⁹ Cf. Z. Ostrowska-Kęłowska, op. cit., see also M. Jaffé, *Die Stadt Posen unter preussischer Herrschaft*, Leipzig, 1909. Moritz Jaffé came from an old Poznań Jewish family; his works are mainly based on original sources and today rep-

resent invaluable documentation of the life of 19th-century Poznań.

- ¹⁰ Z. Ostrowska-Kęłowska, ibid., p. 221.
- ¹¹ M. Halbwachs, *Spoleczne ramy pamięci*, trans. M. Król, Warsaw, 1979; see also Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Chicago and London, 1992.
- ¹² Ibid., p. 4.
- ¹³ Cf. J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung, politische Identität in den frühen Hochkulturen*, München, 1992.
- ¹⁴ Cf. A. Assmann, U. Frevert, *Geschichtsvergessenheit, Geschichtsversessenheit. Vom Umgang mit dem deutschen Vergangenen nach 1945*, Stuttgart, 1999.
- ¹⁵ M. Saryusz-Wolska, *Od miasta do muzeum sztuki*, [in:] *Muzeum sztuki od Luwru do Bilbao*, Katowice, 2006, p. 216.
- ¹⁶ A. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, München, 2003, p. 309; quoted by Saryusz-Wolska, ibid., p. 216.
- ¹⁷ The concept is introduced by the French historian Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1: *Conflicts and Divisions*, New York, 1996, and Nora, *Czas pamięci*, trans. W. Dłuski, [in:] *Res Publica Nowa* 7 (2001), pp. 37-43.
- ¹⁸ Cf. A statement by Jacques Derrida: "If there exists any political or ethical question, and if there exists somewhere 'Necessity,' then it must be connected with 'the necessity of relating to Auschwitz' (*Il faut enchaîner sur Auschwitz*). Derrida uttered these words during a discussion that took place after a reading of *Phrasing after Auschwitz* by Jean-François Lyotard. See Lyotard, *The Lyotard Reader*, Oxford, 1989, p. 387.
- ¹⁹ E. Levinas, *Kilka myśli o filozofii hitleryzmu*, trans. J. Migasiński, „Literatura na świecie” 3-4 (2004), p. 6.
- ²⁰ Quoted by J. Robbins, *Pismo Holocaustu: "Shoah" Claudia Lanzmanna*, p. 252.
- ²¹ The term *das Ereignis Auschwitz* was coined by the Jewish-German social theorist Dan Diner. Cf. Diner (ed.), *Vorwort des Herausgebers* [in:] *Zivilisationsbruch: Denken nach Auschwitz*, Frankfurt am Main, 1988, p. 7. A. Milchman, A. Rosenberg, *Eksperymenty w myśleniu o Holocaustcie. Auschwitz, nowoczesność i filozofia*, trans. L. Krowicki and J. Szacki, Warsaw, 2003, p. 1: "Słowo 'Ereignis' oznacza po niemiecku wydarzenie lub zdarzenie, zaczęło być filozoficznie nośne dzięki jego wykorzystaniu w późnych pracach Martina Heideggera na oznaczenie 'wydarzenia przywłaszczania', wydarzenia ujawniającego, poprzez które bycie bytów zaznacza swa obecność, czyli wyłania się z ukrycia."
- ²² A. Milchman, A. Rosenberg, ibid., p. 16.
- ²³ Por. P. Nora, op. cit., s. 40.