

Historical Memory in Post-Communist Poland: Warsaw's Monuments after 1989

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The year 1989 was a major date for Polish modern history. The Round-Table Talks in spring and the partially free elections in June led to the collapse of communism and marked a new era for Poland as the so called “Third Republic.” The changes in the political system also brought about changes in historical culture, however. Historical events and topics that had been unmentionable before—or worse, that had been falsified—during communism, could now openly be discussed. Periods throughout Polish history that had been neglected could finally obtain the attention they had always deserved.

This paper examines these changes to the *past relationship* of Poland as they are reflected in the monuments and statues of its capital, Warsaw. How is historical memory being reconstructed in post-communist Poland? Monuments are highly fitting and representative in the project of reconstruction because, more so than books and other written historical publications, they are the first point of contact with history for an average Pole or typical foreigner/tourist. Only the monuments which are located in open air will be discussed, as it is precisely they that constitute the city's street scene. Moreover, Poland and especially its capital have a long and rich culture of monuments and statues, mostly put up to commemorate persons or events throughout history. Up until today, discussions and arguments about existing or newly planned monuments are regular topics in the Polish media. Over the past two decades, the greatest number of newly erected monuments has occurred in Warsaw. This paper therefore focuses on the monuments which were erected in the capital after 1989. Is this new Polish pantheon richly differentiated concerning its content, or can it be characterized as nationally and ethnically homogeneous? Are there any statues commemorating regional or foreign heroes? What about Jews? Do they have a place of their own in Polish collective memory? To what kind of heroes are these monuments

dedicated? Are we mainly dealing with a collection of the country's finest military leaders, or do representatives of Polish culture rather predominate the city's street scene? What can these monuments tell us about gender-related issues? Are there any women who have been honored with a statue of their own and, if so, what kind of image of "the ideal woman" emanates from these monuments?

Consequently, attention will be paid to specific topics and historical periods often reoccurring in these national objects of memory. Do the majority of them refer to recent, twentieth-century history, or have earlier periods supplied their own "bronze heroes" in similar proportions? Are there historical events that have received particular attention in Warsaw's monument culture, or are there topics that are notably missing from the capital's street scenery?

This survey offers a distinct surplus value to the already existing studies on the *past relationship* in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989, as most of these studies focus either on one particular topic or on a historical period, as with Monika Flacke's *Mythen der Nationen* on European memory of World War II. In addition, most publications concerning the visualization of history do not deal with Poland, or do so only selectively, although the country represents an interesting case-study with regards to its tradition of monuments and its reputation of being preoccupied with its historical traumas. The publications of Rudolf Jaworski and Arnold Bartetzky are both exceptional in this regard, as they deal with monument culture in Central and Eastern Europe. Finally, Irena Grzesiuk-Olszewska's book *Warszawska Rzeźba Pomnikowa* should be mentioned. It explicitly focuses on Warsaw's monuments, but remains largely descriptive in nature and lacks analytical dimension. In this paper, an attempt will be made to approach the topic in all its complexity and thematic diversity. Based on the collection of monuments that will be discussed, it will be possible to deduce an overall picture of how history is currently perceived and remembered by Poles, and of how Poland is dealing with its past in the political transformation process.

The fate of communist monuments

One cannot start talking about the new monuments in Warsaw without first mentioning the monuments that disappeared after 1989. After all, before the erection of new monuments, several symbols of the "old system" were taken down or destroyed. Toward the end of 1993, over the whole of Poland, about two thousand monu-



Figure 1. The Monument to the Fallen in Service to and Protection of the Polish Republic.

in Service to and Protection of the Polish People's Republic (Fig. 1). Erected in 1985 and already dismantled in 1991, the monument was granted only a short lifespan. Other political figures whose statues disappeared from the streets of Warsaw included Władysław Gomułka (secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party from 1956 to 1970) and several activists of the Polish workers' movement. During the 1990s, the two statues of both Julian Marchlewski and Marceli Nowotka and three of Karol Świerczewski were taken down. The monument to Georgi Dimitrov, a Bulgarian communist leader, whose statue was a gift from the Bulgarian government to the city in 1982, was also removed.

The phenomenon of taking down monuments after a change of power is anything but new. In the book entitled *Nośniki pamięci historycznej*, M. Kula stipulates that in various situations throughout history, monuments and statues have been removed or destroyed as inconvenient "bearers of memories." Such was the case in Poland towards the end of the tsarist era and subsequently during the Interwar period. During World War II, the Germans destroyed almost all the monuments in Warsaw together with the rest of the city. Many of them were rebuilt soon after the war, others reappeared later, and yet others not at all. Several monuments disappeared from the city scene during communism also. Examples are the monument to the "Dąbrowscy" and the statue of M. House.

It was therefore only natural that after the fall of communism in 1989, the monuments and statues that honored and commemorated communism and its heroes were once again removed from the

ments and commemorative plates were removed (Kula 209). In Warsaw, eleven statues were taken down between 1989 and 1998. Perhaps the best known example of this was the dismantling of the monument to the first head of the Soviet political police, Feliks Dzerzhinskii, in November 1989, which had stood in the capital's city centre. The next event of similar symbolic value was the taking down of the Monument to the Fallen

public scene—a similar trend could for example be observed in former Czechoslovakia. However, resistance on the part of former communists and the problematic nature of soviet cemeteries on Polish territory raised a great number of questions. Could the graves of soviet soldiers be destroyed or moved as simply as that? Was getting rid of all monuments really the best way of dealing with the past, and should not at least some of them be preserved as a reminder (for future generations) of communist times?

As a result, the process of removing statues and other symbols was only partly carried out. This created a somewhat ambiguous situation. Apart from some street names which still refer to activists and other figures of the communist regime, there are also several monuments, commemorative plates, and of course burial grounds left that are devoted to the communist era in Poland. Ferocious debate on how to deal with these “relics” of the past raged especially during the last few years, reaching a climax under the Kaczyński brothers. In May 2007 (almost immediately after the Russian-Estonian crisis over the disputed soviet statue in Tallinn) the Polish government revealed that it was considering a law which would enable local authorities to remove communist-era memorials. In January 2008, an international conference titled “Places of Remembrance in Central and Eastern Europe” was held in Warsaw. Although the bill was not eventually passed and the conference once more revealed divided opinions on the matter, both demonstrated how very much alive this issue still is.

In Warsaw, the discussions concern the Memorial to the Fallen Red Army Soldiers, the statues in honor to Soviet soldiers at the Cemetery-Mausoleum of Russian Soldiers in Rakowiec, the Monument to the Partisan, and particularly the Memorial to Polish-Soviet Brotherhood in Arms, better known to the inhabitants of Warsaw as the monument to the Four Sleepers (Pomnik Czterech Śpiących: Fig. 2). It was the first monument to be unveiled in Warsaw after World War II. In 1992, local authori-



Figure 2. The Memorial to Polish-Soviet Brotherhood in Arms (“Monument to the Four Sleepers”)

ties for obvious ideological reasons considered removing it for the first time. In the end, due to the many differences that this caused, not least the arguments of the artist himself, the monument was left where it has stood since 1945. In 2007, however, Szpala reported that the question had arisen once again, this time for practical reasons. To improve the city's public transport system, experts were considering the construction of a new tram stop on the exact location where the monument to the Red Army Heroes is now situated. Several party members of PiS (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość [Law and Justice], a right-wing Polish political party) immediately reacted more than favorably to the idea, some of them even going so far as to suggest seizing the opportunity and once and for all getting rid of all the monuments and statues in honor of soviet fame. Thus far, all of these monuments are still present on the streets of Warsaw, but one thing seems to be certain: the final word on this matter has not yet been said.

New monuments: an overview

As Table 1 reveals, almost eighty new monuments have been erected in Warsaw since 1989. Each year, approximately three to four of them appeared in the city, though this number could double to seven or eight in some years (e.g. in 1994 and 2002). More than 90 percent of the new monuments are dedicated to national history, which in addition can be divided into political and military history on the one hand, and cultural history on the other. Traditionally, as was the case before 1989, the majority of these monuments were inaugurated on the anniversaries of the events or persons they commemorated. Only two of the monuments erected after 1989 can be called completely "non historical." These are the Monument to the Student and the Monument to the Happy Dog, which both date from the beginning of the 21st century (2002-2004).

The two World Wars

As already mentioned above, an enormous amount of new monuments in Warsaw is devoted to national history, most of them particularly to the political and military history of Poland. Especially those periods in which Poland found itself under foreign oppression were its marks left on the national consciousness. In this respect, World War II is one of the most traumatic experiences in Polish history, not just because of the enormous losses the country suffered, but also because it still remains very fresh in the national memory and

Table 1. Monuments that were erected in Warsaw between 1989 and 2007

1989	1990
1. Memorial to the Warsaw Uprising Heroes	4. Monument to Józef Piłsudski
2. Monument to George Washington	5. Monument of the Fallen Sailors
3. The Bell of Peace	6. Monument to Edward Szymański
1991	1992
7. Memorial to the Action of V-1 and V-2	10. Memorial of Remembrance
8. Monument to the Soldiers that Fought in the Military Unit "Chrobry II" during the Warsaw Uprising	11. Monument to Pope John Paul II
9. Monument to Edward M. House (re-erected)	12. Monument to Fallen Pilots
1993	1994
13. Monument of the Fallen and Murdered Soldiers of the 27 th Wolyń Division of the Home Army	16. Monument "In Memory of the Uprising Fights in 1944 for Królikarnia and the School in Woronicza Street
14. Memorial to the Martyrs of the Communist Terror in Poland. 1944-56	17. Monument to Jan Matejko
15. Monument to Mayor of Warsaw Stefan Starzyński	18. Memorial to 1000 Years of Polish Cavalry
	19. Monument to Blessed Father Józef Stanek (SAC)
	20. Anchor of Fighting Poland
	21. Monument to Pope John Paul II
	22. Monument "In Memory to the Fighting for Freedom and Independence of the Polish Republic on the 50 th Anniversary of August 1944
1995	1996
23. Monument to Józef Piłsudski	28. Monument to Father Jerzy Popiełuszko
24. Memorial to the Fallen and Killed in the East	29. Monument to Pope John Paul II
25. Monument to the First Armored Division of Gen. Stanisław Maczek	30. Monument to Father Jerzy Popiełuszko
26. Katyń Monument	
27. Monument to the Prisoners of the Camps	

1997

31. Monument to King Stanislaw August Poniatowski
32. Monument of *Electio Virorum* (Free Election)
33. Memorial to Royal Air Forces

1999

39. Memorial to the Battle of Monte Cassino
40. Monument to the Polish Underground State and the Home Army
41. Monument to the Warsaw Little Insurgents
42. Monument to Father Jerzy Popiełuszko

2001

47. Monument to “the Jaworzniacy”
48. Memorial to King John III Sobieski, the First Citizen of Wilanów
49. Monument to Juliusz Słowacki
50. Monument to Stalinism’s Victims
51. Monument to Engineer Wiesław Piątkowski

2003

60. Monument to Chrystian Ulrych
61. Memorial to the Victims of the Massacre in Volhynia in 1943
62. Monument to the Pilots Killed in the War of 1939-45

1998

34. Monument to the Soldiers of the First Storm Battalion “Nalęcz” of the Home Army
35. Memorial to the Military Action of the Polish-American (“Monument to the Blue Army”)
36. Monument to Józef Piłsudski
37. Eagle on the Column (relocated)
38. Monument to Blessed Edmund Bojanowski

2000

43. Monument to Henryk Sienkiewicz
44. Memorial to the Teachers of Underground Teaching, 1939-45
45. Monument to Maurycy Mochnacki
46. Monument to Adam Mickiewicz

2002

52. Monument to Taras Shevchenko
53. Monument to Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski
54. Monument to Gen. Józef Bem
55. Monument to Father Jakub Falkowski
56. Monument to the Student, called “Sławek”
57. Monument to Gen. Antoni Madaliński
58. Monument to Gabriel Narutowicz
59. Memorial to the Polish Victims of the Terrorist Attack in New York on 11 September 2001

2004

60. Monument for Polish Aviation
61. Monument to the Inhabitants of the Wola District that were killed during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944
62. Monument to the Happy Dog

2005

- 66. Monument to Charles de Gaulle
- 67. Monument to Gen. Stefan Rowecki "Grot"
- 68. Memorial to Father Ignacy Skorupka
- 69. Monument to the Victims of the German Executions in the Woods of Kawęczyn, 1939-44

2006

- 70. Monument to Janusz Korczak
- 71. Monument to the Street Folk Group (in Praga)
- 72. Monument to Cyprian Kamil Norwid
- 73. The Monument to Roman Dmowski

2007

- 74. Monument to Gen. Maria Wittek
- 75. Monument to Agnieszka Osiecka
- 76. Monument to Druhna Wanda Tazbir

was partially under taboo during communist times. This is very well reflected in the monuments of Warsaw, as the city probably suffered the most during World War II. Twenty three of the seventy seven new monuments (or almost 30 percent) erected after 1989 are directly linked with World War II. Although during communist rule in Poland several monuments of this theme could appear, most of them had to stress the role the soviets had played in "liberating" Poland and its capital. In addition, the significance and heroic struggle of the Polish Home Army (*Armia Krajowa*) had always been neglected or even disputed. The Warsaw Uprising was taboo for a long period and was forbidden to have its own monument.

This explains why after 1989, the large majority of monuments connected to World War II were being erected to commemorate precisely these facts, facts which had been disregarded for over forty years. On the 1st of August 1989, the Monument to the Warsaw Uprising, which had been fought over for so many years, was finally inaugurated (Pyzel 7). During the nineties, new monuments honoring the participants and the victims of the 63 day long battle kept popping up all over Warsaw. The most recent is the Monument to the Inhabitants of the Wola district who were killed during the Uprising (2004).

Besides the monuments that were specifically dedicated to the Warsaw Uprising, the regained freedom in Poland was also used to create monuments which paid homage to the soldiers of the Polish Army. The clearest examples are the Anchor of Fighting Poland ("*kotwica*," the symbol of the Polish resistance during World War II, which can still be found all over the city) erected in 1994, and the

Monument to the Polish Underground State and the Home Army, which dates from 1999. The naval officers, pilots and separate divisions of the Polish armed forces all received their own monument. The Polish soldiers who fought the German enemy outside Poland were also commemorated by means of statues such as the Monument to the First Armored Division of Gen. Stanislaw Maczek and the Memorial to the Battle of Monte



Figure 3. The Memorial to the Teachers of Underground Teaching, 1939-45

Cassino, right outside Krasieński Garden. The Memorial to the Teachers of Underground Teaching between 1939 and 1945 (Fig. 3), which was erected in 2000, is an example of a tribute to another important and very active, but often forgotten, group of people, albeit on another “battlefield” during the German occupation. New monuments connected to World War II are being erected in Warsaw continually. One of the most recent examples is the Monument to General Stefan Rowecki (pseudonym “Grot”), the first commander of the Home Army, which was only put up in 2005.

An individual whose resistance and rebuilding efforts during World War II helped to turn him into “a special hero of the capital” was Stefan Starzyński, the mayor of Warsaw both before and during the siege of the city. He had already gained popularity through his pre-war accomplishments in the development of the city, but was during and after the war first and foremost seen as the embodiment of the defense of Warsaw. Before 1989, Starzyński already had two statues in the city dedicated to him, as well as several schools and a street honoring his name. In 1993, a third monument in remembrance to him was erected on Plac Bankowy, in the immediate vicinity of the town hall.

In contrast to the enormous number of monuments commemorating the events of World War II, there are only 5 new statues (or about 6.5 percent of the total amount) in Warsaw that refers to World War I. The most natural explanation for this is that in Polish

national memory, this war, despite the terrific human and material losses on the Polish side between 1914 and 1918, mainly has a positive connotation, because of its outcome. After 123 years of “non existence,” Poland regained its independence and began a new chapter in its history as the

“Second Republic.” The Memorial to the Military Action of the Polish American (1998: Fig. 4), also known as the Monument to the Blue Army, can be seen as a tribute to the enormous efforts that were put into the creation of this new state by thousands of Poles. More specifically, it is dedicated to the army of Polish American soldiers—all of whom were volunteers who fought under Commander Haller on different fronts, first in France and later in Poland. As such, this Memorial is also one of the few monuments to refer to the wars which took place on the borders of Poland in the aftermath of World War I; these were a taboo topic during communist times. It can therefore be just as well regarded as a tribute to all those soldiers who took part in the fight to establish the national borders of Interwar Poland. A recent example of a monument referring to the same period is the Memorial to Father Ignacy Skorupka, erected in 2005. Father Skorupka was a chaplain in the Polish Army, who died in 1920 during the battle against the Bolsheviks.

The most important name in the context of World War I and the Interwar period is without doubt that of Józef Piłsudski, which is also demonstrated by the three statues dedicated to him in Warsaw during the nineties. All of them were only able to be put up after 1989, since in the People’s Republic of Poland, a monument in honor of this famous patriot, who was considered largely responsible for Poland having regained its independence in 1918, was out of the question. After all, it was under the command of Piłsudski that the Polish troops had defeated the Red Army during the war against the Bolsheviks (1919-1921). In 1990, First Marshal Piłsudski was given a bust of his own in the grounds of the Academy of Physical Education (in Bielany district), which hereby also regained its original patron. Five years later, after long discussions concerning a suitable location, a statue was erected in the heart of the city, on the square that was



Figure 4. Memorial to the Military Action of the Polish American

named after him. The third monument to Pilsudski finally arose in 1998, right in front of the entrance to the Belweder Palace, where the Marshal had lived for some years.

Another Polish statesman and politician of the same period, who like Pilsudski—although in different ways—devoted himself to the Polish cause of regaining independence, is Roman Dmowski. However, this chief ideologue and co-founder of the National Democratic Party (“Endecja”) only recently in 2006 received his own statue in Warsaw. The erection of his monument was accompanied by heavy protests and objections (Protest), as the figure of Dmowski is highly controversial in Poland. While most people acknowledge his national merits in standing up for Poland at the Treaty of Versailles (1919), many of them condemn his hard core nationalism. The name of Dmowski is associated not only with nationalism—in the negative sense of the word—but also with the idea of racism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism. The protests from the “Green Party 2004” and intellectuals like Marek Edelman, who participated in the Warsaw Uprising, and Prof. Maria Janon against Dmowski being added to the Polish pantheon came too late, however, since the erection of his statue had already been approved by the local authorities. They did nevertheless help revive a debate concerning the question of “how and who do we want to commemorate from our past?” And where do we draw the line? In the opinion of some, the Monument to Dmowski—who had already a roundabout named after him in Warsaw—had overstepped this boundary.

Jews and Ukrainians

What draws the attention while looking at all the new monuments connected to World War II is the lack of “Jewish monuments.” Whereas the streets of Warsaw are filled with mementoes of the Polish victims of Nazi and especially Soviet terror in the form of sculptures—the latter had obviously not been possible during communism—only one new monument was put up to specifically commemorate the tragic fate of the Polish Jews during World War II, i.e. the Memorial of Remembrance (1992: Fig. 5). The monument in question is situated in a remote area, away from the city centre (near the railway station in Falenica), and can easily be overlooked because of its sober proportions and design. There were of course the impressive Memorial to the Ghetto Heroes (1948) and the Monument-Wall at the Umschlagplatz in Stawki Street (1988), but they were both

erected before 1989. All in all, these three monuments are the sole examples of monuments dedicated to Jewish victims of World War II, and demonstrate a complete under representation compared to the enormous amount that are dedicated to the Polish victims, erected both before and after 1989. One could obviously argue that the Jewish victims are just as well commemorated in all these monuments, but the fact remains that the distinction made during World War II between

“a Pole” and “a Jew” (and consequently the different fate that resulted from this distinction) rather demanded for separate memorials as well.

A possible exception might be Janusz Korczak (actually Henryk Goldszmit), who had already received two statues towards the end of the seventies. Recently, in 2006, he was given a third one near the Palace of Culture and Science, where during the German occupation an orphanage was located. These statues can also be regarded as monuments to the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution. Nevertheless, they are first of all marks of honor for “a great Pole,” a doctor, writer, and educationalist, who died a martyr’s death in one of the German concentration camps, together with the children that were under his care. The monument was symbolically inaugurated on the 1st of June, International Children’s Day, which is celebrated in Poland annually. An episode from World War II that could not be discussed, let alone be commemorated during communism in Poland—considering the propagated “brotherhood of all Soviet people”—was the massacre that took place in Volhynia between 1942 and 1944. Ukrainian nationalists ethnically cleansed the region by murdering ten thousand Poles. In 2003, a monument was erected that commemorated these atrocities, which had left a scar from World War II on Polish national memory. How deep this scar is can be illustrated by the ongoing dispute on the raising of a second monument in Warsaw commemorating the Polish victims of the genocide committed by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in Western Ukraine during World War II (w



Figure 5. The Memorial of Remembrance



Figure 6. The (planned) Monument to the Victims of OUN-UPA.

stolicy). The dispute began in 2007, when the organizations of the “*kresowiacy*” were trying to obtain the city council’s approval to erect their statue on Plac Grzybowski. A group of scholars, politicians and other public figures immediately wrote a letter of protest to the local authorities. Their protest was not aimed against the project as such, but against the macabre design of the monument, which had already been constructed: it showed a five meter high winged tree, to which the corpses of little children were tied with barbed wire (Fig. 6). In the light of efforts to improve Polish relations with neighboring Ukraine,

this could provoke a lot of problems, especially because this monument—just like the first one—disregarded the casualties on the Ukrainian side. After all, during acts of retaliation, a considerable amount of Ukrainians had been murdered by the Poles as well. When it later became apparent that the design was based on a picture of a dramatic child-murder that had actually nothing to do with the UPA, the amount of opposition increased even further, although others—as Fusiecki and Wojtczuk report in their article—maintained support for the monument. For the time being, the organizations of the “*kresowiacy*” have not yet obtained any approval from the city council, but they will undoubtedly continue their efforts to commemorate these painful events.

Anti-communist monuments

New monuments that could obviously only appear after 1989 are those that commemorate the enormous casualties of the communist regime. They do not only refer to the victims of Soviet terror during World War II, but also to the persecution of “political enemies” during the following decades. The so called “Stalinist years” in Poland have especially found their echo in the street scene of Warsaw.

Exemplary for this are the Memorial to the Martyrs of the Communist Terror in Poland 1944-1956 (1993) and the Monument to the Stalinism Victims (2001). One of the most famous victims of the communist regime was Jerzy Popiełuszko, the Catholic priest who had been associated with the Solidarity Union and was murdered by the soviet intelligence agency. During the nineties, three monuments (two in 1996 and another one in 1999) were dedicated to this charismatic priest, who also has a street and a square in Warsaw named after him.

A person known for his opposition to communism, who became a moral authority and one of the most outstanding representatives of Polish culture, is Karol Wojtyła (John Paul II). During the 1990s, over the whole of Poland, several statues were dedicated to the Polish Pope. In Warsaw he was honored with two statues (1992-1994), a bust (1996) and a street named after him. The Pope's death in 2005 instigated a debate on how this extraordinary man could be commemorated and "immortalized" in the Polish capital (Bartoszewicz; Fusiecki and Szpala). Suggestions were made concerning a monument on Pilsudski Square, where Poles had gathered around their Pope during his first pilgrimage to his home country in 1978 and where the first spontaneous Mass was read immediately after the news spread that the Pope had died. Some preferred yet another traditional statue, while others thought along the lines of a large commemorative plaque or even a small architectonic structure. So far, there has not been any final decision made regarding the erection of a new monument in Warsaw: the city, for the time being, seems to be satisfied with the number of existing tributes to the Holy Father.

Kings and aristocrats

Although the most recent history of twentieth-century Poland and Warsaw clearly predominates in the new street scene of the capital, several monuments have been devoted to persons and episodes from earlier periods in history as well. Regarding political and military history, the monument that probably takes the furthest leap back into the past is the Monument of *Electio Virorum* or Free Election in 1997. It was put up in the Wola district in the exact location where royal elections took place between 1572-1764. Although the monument had already been constructed in 1987, problems with finding the necessary funds kept it from actually being erected for another ten years. For that matter, the communist authorities in particular displayed very

little interest in earlier periods of Polish history. Between 1945 and 1989, not a single monument was erected commemorating a person or event that took place prior to 1795 (the Third Polish Partition).

Two Polish kings who received a statue of their own in Warsaw after 1989—and had both been elected on the “Wola election field”—are Jan Sobieski (2001) and Stanisław August Poniatowski (1997). The first one, who ruled from 1674 to 1696, is especially known for his victory over the Turks in the 1683 battle of Vienna. Besides being a brilliant military commander, his 22-year reign was marked by a period of stabilization, much needed after the turmoil of the Deluge and the Chmielnicki Uprising. It is thus hardly surprising that this king, who in the eyes of many Poles was the personification of patriotism and dedication to his country, was honored with his own statue in the Polish capital after 1989.

Stanisław August, the last king of Poland (1764-1795), on the contrary remains a controversial figure. Many historians regard him as a weak and subservient puppet of Russian Empress Catherine the Great, whose lover he had been for some time. Some even accuse him of treason. Nevertheless, his accomplishments in the realm of culture and education are unarguable. The statue to Poniatowski (1997) was therefore first of all an expression of gratitude for what this king had done for the capital and for the development of culture and sciences. The long discussions about a final resting-place for Poniatowski however again revealed the divided opinions on the merits of this Polish king. Because of the protest against the idea of placing him in the Wawel Cathedral next to the most distinguished figures in Polish history, his remains were finally transferred to Saint John’s Cathedral in Warsaw in 1995 (“Królewska”).

References to military and political history at the time of Partitions and insurrections on Polish territory in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century can be found in several new monuments in Warsaw. First of all, there is the Monument to Antoni Madaliński, a Polish general, who participated in the anti-Russian Kościuszko Uprising of 1794 and was afterwards taken prisoner by the Prussians. In 2002, he was given a statue of his own in the street that had already borne his name since the 1930s. This monument raises the question of why Jan Kiliński, a just as equally active participant in the Kościuszko Uprising, had already received a statue in Warsaw in 1936, while Madaliński had to wait for his until 2002. A possible answer can be found in the biographies of these two heroes (Chodery 688; 905-906).

Kiliński only entered into politics just before the insurrection, whilst Madaliński was already able to look back on a long and turbulent (anti-Russian) political career. This difference in political background however only forms a partial explanation, as both Kiliński and Madaliński were imprisoned after the uprising had been suppressed. Moreover, Kiliński openly continued his anti-Russian activities. The additional reason therefore has to be seen in the social background of both figures. While Kiliński was a shoemaker by profession and had been the leader of the townspeople during the Uprising, Madaliński was an aristocrat and a general in command of the First Greater Polish National Cavalry Brigade. As a consequence, the re-erection of the statue of Kiliński was still acceptable in communist Poland, whereas there could be no room for a monument honoring an aristocrat.

Two other aristocrats and participants in the national insurrections of the nineteenth century, who only very recently received their monument in Warsaw, are Józef Bem (2002) and Maurycy Mochnacki (2000). The first one was, like Madaliński, a general, who was not only one of the leaders during the Polish November Uprising in 1830, but also played a key role in the Hungarian Insurrection of 1848-49. Therefore he is regarded as a national hero in both countries. Mochnacki was a well known literary and music critic, who played the piano and was also a published writer. His merits as a devoted patriot—he was a member of several secret societies and participated in the November Uprising—however undoubtedly played an equally important part in him receiving a statue in honor to him.

National artists

Besides military and political history, the dominating themes among Warsaw's newest monuments, a considerable number of them (about a dozen out of a total of 77, or more than 15 percent) were erected to honor Poles who had earned their merits in the cultural sphere. Included are scientists, engineers and painters, but predominant are writers and poets, who have always been held in high esteem by Polish society. What attracts attention is that almost all of them are national artists that are generally acknowledged as "great Poles" not only because of their artistic talents, but also because of the significance that their ideas and works have had for the entire Polish nation. Most of them have no special connection to Warsaw. They either lived or worked there for a short period, or never even set foot in the city.

It can hardly be called a coincidence that three of the four so called “bards of Polish literature” were recently honored with their own statue: Adam Mickiewicz (2000), Juliusz Słowacki (2001) and Cyprian Kamil Norwid (2006). The absence of Zygmunt Krasiński, who is usually considered the third bard (while Norwid was added to this list as the fourth only at the beginning of the twentieth century) can be explained by the skepticism of some modern literary critics as to the value of his work. All three (or four) of them were representatives of the Romantic Movement in Polish literature and are seen as moral leaders of the nation in a time that it was deprived of political freedom. For Mickiewicz, whose name to a Pole is emblematic of Polishness and greatness, it was already the third statue in a row. The bust, which was put up in 2000 can therefore be considered as an affirmation of his irrefutable position at the top of the Polish pantheon.

Słowacki was first and foremost (like Mickiewicz) recognized as an outstanding poet. Due to the lyrical verses he wrote during his stay in Warsaw right before and during the November Uprising of 1830, he also earned the name of being a patriotic writer. These verses that had incited the Poles to revolt (against the Russian occupying forces) and his subsequent emigration in March 1831, hindered the construction of any memorial to him before 1989. The eventual realization of such an event in 2001 was a highly symbolic event. After all, his statue was erected in almost the exact same place where, during communism, the sculpture of Feliks Dzierżyński had been located. The replacement of the hated Dzierżyński by a generally accepted “Polish hero” can be regarded as a way of permanently settling scores with the past. The old memory had not only been removed, but had also been replaced by a new personal one.

Cyprian Kamil Norwid, who like Słowacki had lived in Warsaw for only a couple of years and had spent the larger part of his life abroad, was (in contrast to Słowacki and Mickiewicz) not appreciated in his lifetime because of his originality and non-conformist style. His work was only rediscovered and valued towards the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Therefore his statue—erected in Warsaw’s Łazienki park in 2006—has to be seen, first of all, as a confirmation of his being one of “the big names in Polish culture” not only as a writer, but also as a critic, linguist and in general as a great thinker. This is emphasized as well by the fact that in 2001, an urn with soil from his grave in Paris, consecrated by John Paul II at the Vatican, was added to the crypt of the bards in the Wawel Cathedral (Chodery

1045-1047).

The next writer, who also belongs to the circle of the most highly appreciated Polish writers, is Henryk Sienkiewicz. His work was not only rewarded with the Nobel Prize in Literature but also gained him the accolade of being “the patriot novelist of Poland.” Although the author’s popularity and the significance of his work for several generations of Poles seem to more than justify his having a monument of his own in Warsaw, his statue was only erected in 2000. Originally, the city had intended to erect it immediately upon the death of Sienkiewicz, and so a building committee was already in place in 1937. However, when World War II broke out, it put an end to those preparations and they would only be resumed during the second half of the nineties. The anti-Russian stance of the first part of his Trilogy “With Fire and Sword” (“Ogniem i mieczem”) as well as his openly critical attitude towards the foreign occupiers in Poland was obviously the reason for this.

From among Polish painters, only the nineteenth-century Jan Matejko was given a place of honor on the streets of Warsaw after 1989. As was the case with Sienkiewicz, the idea to raise a statue in his honor had already dated from the thirties, but was never executed because of World War II (Grzesiuk 182-183). The monument was finally erected in 1994 after years of quarrelling over an appropriate location. In fact, Jan Matejko is the only painter to ever receive a statue in the Polish capital; Wyspiański, also a painter, is primarily known as a writer. Matejko’s fervent patriotism can definitely serve as one of the reasons for this. His paintings, which are well known all over the world (e.g. *The Battle at Grunwald* [1878]) were always imbued with a deep patriotism and have strengthened the national consciousness of many Poles.

Local heroes

Besides the above mentioned cultural figures that were all national artists (the pride of all Poles), only a few local heroes have been honored with their own monument in Warsaw. The need for Warsaw as a capital to display firstly Polish rather than any individual regional singularity can serve as the main reason for this.

In the natural sciences, Wiesław Piątkowski, engineer and one of the most important architects of the capital, was given a statue in 2001, ten years after he had passed away (Grzesiuk 230). Piątkowski was responsible for modernizing several streets, squares and other

places in the city, and headed the construction of an extensive road system. He co-designed, among others, the Trasa Toruńska, the Wisłostrada and the Trasa Łazienkowska.

Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski, whose statue was erected in 2002, was an engineer as well, but also a chemist, economist and politician during the interwar period. From 1926 to 1930, he was minister of Industry and Trade and subsequently vice-premier and minister of Finances between 1935 and 1939. He was the executor of the development of Gdynia harbor and the Polish trading fleet. After the war, he dedicated most of his time to scientific research.

A final name that can be mentioned in the context of the natural sciences is Chrystian Ulrych, whose monument was inaugurated in front of the Wola Park shopping centre in 2003. His bust is a copy of an original one which dated from 1876 and which was miraculously preserved in Warsaw. Ulrych was a famous botanist who had several gardening institutes and shops in nineteenth-century Warsaw.

The two remaining (and less known) poets with their own statue in the capital are also both closely connected to the city. The first one, Edward Szymański, lived his short life in Warsaw's Wola district where, since 1990, he has had a statue of his own in the park which was also named after him. During World War II, Szymański was arrested by the Gestapo and first held prisoner in Pawiak prison. Later, he was transferred to the concentration camp of Auschwitz, where he died in 1943. His statue therefore also has to be looked



Figure 7. The Monument to Agnieszka Osiecka

upon as a tribute to one of the meaningless victims of Nazi terror during World War II. On the other hand, the second one is an example of the way in which poets and writers are nowadays still held in high regard, as in the case of Norwid. Agnieszka Osiecka, a popular poet, journalist, and songwriter, was in 2007 given her own statue in Saska Kępa, the city district where she had lived and worked for a considerable part of her life (Sulewska-Toczyska) (Fig. 7). Her statue, moreover, is the only one in Warsaw which has been dedicated to a contemporary writer (Osiecka died of cancer in 1997) and—just as noteworthy—one of the rare new monu-

ments in Warsaw devoted to a woman.

Women

It does not take a perceptive mind to notice the lack of women who have been honored with a statue in Warsaw. Starting from 1989, only four monuments were specifically devoted to women, all of which were, in addition, inaugurated in the same year (2007). The absence of women on the streets of Warsaw can however hardly be called a new phenomenon. Women in general have always been underrepresented in the sculptures of the capital. Before 1989, only three Polish women had their own statues: Eliza Orzeszkowa, Maria Konopnicka and Marie Curie-Skłodowska (Grzesiuk 97;117;118;127). The first two were popular writers—Orzeszkowa was even twice nominated for the Nobel prize in Literature—and Marie Curie, as twice honored Nobel laureate (1903 and 1911), is probably one of the most famous Polish women of all times. The only other way in which women appeared on a pedestal was as an allegory or symbolic figure such as “*Matka Polki*,” the Virgin Mary, the mermaid on the city’s coat of arms (*Syrenka*), or the goddess of Victory (Nike).

This trend was continued also after 1989. “The man of marble” chiefly remained a literal man. This is not surprising, given the fact that the absolute majority of new monuments in Warsaw are devoted to military and political history, which up until the last decades (and even nowadays) was mainly “made by men.” Of the few monuments dedicated to women honor “the fighting (and caring) woman and first-class patriot,” precisely as was the case for their male counterparts. First of all there is the obelisk in the Park of Freedom, next to the Museum of the Warsaw Uprising, which commemorates all the women who fought to protect their homeland. Next, there is the Monument to Maria Wittek (Fig. 8) who was the first Polish woman to be promoted to Brigadier-General in 1991; this monument was erected after she had retired. She had served in the Polish Army and associated organizations since she was 18 years old. Finally, also in 2007, Wanda Tazbir received a statue of her own in front of the Institute for deaf-mute children in Warsaw (Fig. 9) where she had worked as a girl scout leader and teacher of deaf children until her death in 2006. During World War II, Tazbir had worked in the emergency service run by the girl scouts and subsequently had been a nurse on the front during the Warsaw Uprising. In 1994, she was decorated with a medal for having saved numerous Jews during the time of oc-



Figure 8. The Monument to General Maria Wittek



Figure 9. The Monument to Druhna Wanda Tazbir

cupation.

Foreigners

There are a few monuments in Warsaw that have been devoted to foreigners. After 1989, three new such statues (one was re-erected) were raised, all of which have to be seen within the framework of Polish international relations.

The first example of this is the Monument to George Washington that originates from 1989. This statue, dedicated to the first president of the United States, was erected the day before the state visit of President George Bush to Warsaw (July 1989). It can be regarded as a token of gratitude for the American support to Poland, not only during the eighties—when President Reagan openly expressed his sympathy towards the Solidarity movement and

America opened its doors to Polish political refugees—but also on several other occasions throughout history. This general feeling of gratitude towards the U.S. is likewise illustrated by the Monument to Edward M. House, the presidential advisor of Woodrow Wilson, which was re-erected in Park Skaryszewski in 1991. This monument of the “noble spokesman for the Polish cause,” as it says on the commemorative plate, had for ideological reasons been removed from Warsaw’s city scene by the communists in 1951 (Grzesiuk 85). The Poles however had not forgotten about the efforts made by House in restoring an independent Polish state and so, forty years later, his statue returned to Warsaw.

Another new statue, also closely connected with international relations, is the Monument to Charles de Gaulle, situated at the roundabout that has also carried his name since 1990. The pro-

posal for the erection of this monument was made by the Polish-French Association of Friendship in 2000, when de Gaulle had just been given a statue on the Champs-Élysées in Paris. A copy of the French sculpture was made, and since 2005 this famous general and subsequent president of France between 1959 and 1969 has had his own monument in the heart of Warsaw. Finally, a third monument that should be mentioned in the context of good neighborly relations is the statue to Taras Shevchenko (Fig. 10), the famous Ukrainian poet, painter and revolutionary democrat. It was a present from both Lviv and Kyiv to the city of Warsaw.

The plinth of the monument resembles the stump of an oak that has been cut down. This symbolizes—as the artist explained—the shared past of the Polish and Ukrainian people that was brutally cut by history. During the inauguration in 2002, the Ukrainian minister of Foreign Affairs said, “This monument represents a new beginning in Polish-Ukrainian relations ... Poland and Ukraine are brothers and we believe that this will forever remain that way...” (Grzesiuk 231). The square on which the Ukrainian national hero now resides was renamed “Plac Tarasa Szezczenki.”



Figure 10. The Monument to Taras Szezczenko

Conclusion

This thematic survey of Warsaw’s post-communist collection of monuments shows the numerous difficulties that go into the creation of a new historical memory—and hereby a new state identity. One of the first dilemmas which occurred in the new Poland was what to do with communist relics such as street names, names of buildings, statues and other monuments. Parallel to the road which was chosen in political life—the road of coexistence and cooperation—a moderate approach was employed towards these material objects of memory. In the capital, the majority of monuments honoring communist figures and their merits were removed and sometimes even destroyed. However, outside of the immediate city centre, several statues referring to communist times remained untouched. This tends to arouse dissatisfaction and discussion—particularly in certain political circles—and illustrates the existing discord amongst different

groups of Polish society regarding the proper way of handling this sensitive part of the country's past. The political spectrum in this respect consists of two large camps polarized amongst one another. The political right would like to permanently settle scores with communism and are in favor of a process of de-communization and lustration, which they believe would lead to a full catharsis, a process needed in order to begin building "the new Poland." The more moderate group of politicians, which up until now has had the upper hand in the country's and the capital's politics, advocates a softer approach in an attempt to find a balance between remembering and in trying to focus on the future of the country instead of concentrating too much on the past.

Besides the removal of several statues, a large number of new monuments have been erected over the past two decades. On the one hand, this was simply a continuation of the ongoing politics of commemorating the past, but on the other hand this has to be seen as being part of the creation of a new historical narrative, one that is first and foremost very nationalistic. Over 90 percent of the new monuments are dedicated to national history, which can be subdivided into political and military history on the one hand, and cultural history on the other. The emphasis predominantly lies on national—and not regional—figures with special merits to the country or the city. This can partly be explained by the simple fact that Warsaw as the capital fulfills the role of visiting card to the entire country. However, besides that, it undoubtedly also results from the need to present Poland as being a nation with strong national values and traditions, one which cannot be simply destroyed or disregarded even in times of severe change.

With regards to specific historical periods, it is eye-catching that the vast majority of new monuments are related to the latter history of 20th century Poland. The most obvious explanation for this is that this period was extremely traumatic for the Polish people and that the scars inflicted by these events are still very fresh in the national consciousness. References to World War II distinctly predominate within the street scene. First of all, the resistance of Polish soldiers against the Nazi-enemy is glorified in these objects of national memory, not only in Poland—the clearest example of this can be found in the monuments devoted to the Warsaw Uprising—but also abroad. Secondly, the innumerable victims and casualties of the war have extensively found representation on the streets of Warsaw. However, in

this respect it has to be mentioned that comparatively few monuments have been erected that specifically commemorate the Jewish suffering. In order to understand the reasons for this, more research is needed, but undoubtedly this is a result partly of exceptionally complicated and still contentious Polish-Jewish relations.

The overall picture gathered from the majority of Warsaw's monuments is therefore that of Poland and the Polish people as victims of their history, nevertheless always displaying an indestructible will to fight for the existence and freedom of the nation. This propensity for victimization and heroism can also be found in the many monuments commemorating victims of communist terror, not only during the war, but also during the following decades.

Warsaw is similar to other post-communist cities with a tempestuous past, struggling to find a balance between "too much memory and not enough." Painful events from the country's history such as Katyń, the massacres in Volhynia, or wartime experiences in general, all demand a place of their own in the national consciousness. Because not all memories can be retained on a daily basis, *lieux de mémoire*—such as monuments and statues—replace the disappearance of these diverse memories and provide comfort to a society that needs to have its past represented in fixed symbols of significance and defined in terms of a common national vocabulary. However, with this comes the danger of focusing all attention on the past and neglecting the challenges ahead.

Monuments are one of many elements of the commemorative arena. More precisely they constitute a part of the official memorial culture—in contrast to private memory—that constructs and influences historical culture amongst people. What seems to be specific in the case of Warsaw is the city's adherence to a traditional collection of male, military and national heroes in order to compose a new historical narrative that honors and by no means disregards the past.

Notes

1. Statues which are located on cemeteries however will not be discussed, as they are far less frequented places.
2. For example, Volkhard Knigge, Ulrich Mählert, and Daniela Ruge deal with the representation of communism specifically in museum culture and Johanna Säger has recently published on the politics of name giving in Eastern Germany.

3. Pomnik "Poległym w służbie i obronie Polski Ludowej."
4. For example, in Warsaw the monument (put up by the Russians) to the Poles that had remained true to the tsar during the November Uprising of 1830 was taken down in 1916 and in 1917 the same was done with the statue of Russian Field Marshal Paskiewicz.
5. During the interwar period all Prussian and German monuments in Silesia were destroyed. It took 15 years to tear down the 20 meter high tower of Bismarck, built in 1907. After 1939 the Germans for their part "cleansed" Silesia of all Polish monuments and when World War II had come to an end, once again, the Poles took down all German monuments.
6. The first monument destroyed by the Nazis was the monument to Chopin in Łazienki park (31 May 1940). It was rebuilt and inaugurated in 1958.
7. Dowborczycy are the soldiers, who during World War I fought against the Bolsheviks under the command of Józef Dowbór-Muśnicki. The monument to M. House could return to Warsaw (Park Skaryszewski) only in 1991.
8. Interesting in this respect is to what extent this process of dismantling statues was initiated from grass roots: in countries like Poland, former Czechoslovakia, Romania and the Soviet Union, the gods of the old regime were brought down by the people, while in Germany, for example, popular anger did not bring about an iconoclastic fury. It was only in the beginning of the 1990s that the process of dismantling statues was given a start by the political establishment (Schulz 231-257).
9. Examples of such streets in Warsaw are: ulica Marcina Kasprzaka (whose monument is still standing near house number 19 as well), ulica Józefa Ciszewskiego, ulica Henryka Świątkowskiego, and ulica Związku Walki Młodych.
10. One of the main topics was how to deal with monuments and statues of the communist regime.
11. For the period between 1989 and 2003 these data were based on Grzebiuk's book on Warsaw's sculptures. For the monuments that have been erected in Warsaw after 2003, I rely on press sources.
12. Other monuments, which were erected during the nineties to commemorate the Warsaw Uprising, were the Monument to the soldiers that fought in the military unit "Chrobry II" during the Warsaw Uprising (1991), the Monument "In Memory of the Uprising Fights in 1944 for Królikarnia and the school in Woronicza Street" (1994), and the Monument to the Soldiers of the First Storm Battalion "Nałęcz" of the Home Army (1998).
13. Examples of this are the Monument of the Killed Sailors (1990), the Monument to the Pilots Killed in the War of 1939-1945 (2003), and the Monument of the Killed and Murdered Soldiers of the 27th Wolyń Divi-

- sion of the Home Army (1993).
14. This is already taken into account with the statues to people whose names are first of all associated with World War I, for example Józef Piłsudski.
 15. In Poland they first fought in the Polish-Ukrainian War (1918-1919) in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. Afterwards, they joined the Polish Army in their fight against the Bolsheviks (1920).
 16. The Bolsheviks were finally defeated during the Battle of Warsaw, also called “the Miracle at the Vistula.”
 17. The night after its inauguration (11 November 2006), the statue was daubed with pink paint and its commemorative plaque was plastered with swastikas and anti-Semitic quotes.
 18. “Partia Zielonych 2004” [the Green Party 2004] is a Polish political party which was founded in 2003 and legally registered in 2004.
 19. In November 2006 the Green Party 2004 renamed the roundabout in “rondo Gombrowicza” during a symbolic action.
 20. All information on Jewish sites in the Polish capital related to the Holocaust was obtained through the documentation section of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.
 21. Examples include the Memorial to the Fallen and Killed in the East (1995); The Katyń Monument (early nineties); the Monument to the Prisoners of the Camps (1995) and the Monument to the Victims of the German executions in the woods of Kawęczyn between 1939 and 1944 (2005).
 22. The Umschlagplatz (in German, “collection point or reloading point”) was where the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto had to assemble to board the trains which transported them to the death camp at Treblinka, beginning in July 1942. In 1988, a stone monument resembling an open freight car was built to mark the Umschlagplatz. The monument was created by architect Hanna Szmaleńberg and sculptor Władysław Klamerus.
 23. I am not counting the statue on the Jewish Cemetery in Warsaw.
 24. The murders were mainly committed by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the military wing (created in 1942) of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN, a Ukrainian political movement) originally founded in 1929 in the interwar Poland).
 25. The Poles that used to live in the eastern territories of Poland (“*krusy*”), which are now part of Ukraine, Belorussia and Lithuania.
 26. One of the best known examples of this is the murder of Ukrainian civilians by Poles in Pawłokoma near Przemyśl in Poland on March 3rd. is one of the best known examples of this.
 27. The years 1656-1660 were the time of the Swedish invasion in Poland, also called “the (Swedish) Flood/Deluge,” or in Polish “Potop”. Bogdan Chmielnicki was the commander of the Cossack rebellion, which raged over Poland (mostly in the lands of present-day Ukraine) from

- 1648 until 1654.
28. Sobieski already had two statues in Warsaw, which date back to 1788 and 1983. The only other Polish kings (besides Sobieski and Ponia-towski) who have their statue in the capital are Zygmunt III Wasa (1644) and Stefan Batory (1933).
 29. On the commemorative plaque of the bust, it says: "To King Stanisław August as thanks for Łazienki park" (Stanisławowi Augustowi Królowi w podzięce za Łazienki).
 30. There are plans to erect a monument to Kościuszko in Warsaw as well (Urzykowski; Cicio).
 31. The statue was originally raised on Plac Krasińskich. During the war it was taken down in retaliation for the Polish inscription that had been placed on the Monument to Kopernik and was transported to the National Museum. After the war, it was one of the first monuments (already in 1946) that reappeared on the streets of Warsaw. The statue received its current location in 1959 (Grzesiuk 93-94).
 32. Examples of the latter are Adam Mickiewicz and Jan Matejko.
 33. Some literary critics of the period between the World Wars, however, claimed Stanisław Wyspiański to be the fourth bard.
 34. Słowacki lived and worked in Warsaw between 1828 and March 1831. Afterwards, he emigrated and lived in Dresden, London, Paris, and Geneva. Examples of the lyric verses (that incited the Poles to fight), written in Warsaw in the atmosphere of the pending uprising are: "Oda do wolności," "Hymn," and "Kulik" (Chodery 1408).
 35. Henryk Sienkiewicz was the first Polish Nobel Prize Winner in Literature (1905). He received the prize for his historic novel "Quo Vadis."
 36. Originally, the building committee wanted to erect it at the crossroads of Aleje Ujazdowskie and the street that is named after Matejko, but the local council did not agree to this. Finally, it was raised in Mokotów, another district of Warsaw.
 37. Osiecka wrote over 2000 songs during the course of her life, and her numbers were enthusiastically performed by such artists as Maryla Rodowicz, Sława Przybylska, Seweryn Krajewski, Violetta Villas and Krystyna Janda.
 38. The first time she was beaten by her fellow-countryman Henryk Sienkiewicz, the second time by the Swedish candidate Selma Lagerlöf.
 39. The exception is the Monument to Agnieszka Osiecka that also remains within the pattern of those people most likely to get a statue, namely writers and poets.
 40. Warsaw has a square named after him as well—Plac Wilsona.
 41. It is said (though never officially confirmed), that the statue to M. House was melted down and afterwards used for the lettering of the Palace of Culture and Science.
 42. On the initiative of Prof. Halina Skibniewska, president of the Polish-

- French Association of Friendship, the city administration renamed the roundabout after this French president. Previously it was called “Rondo Nowego Świata” like the street that joins the roundabout.
43. The so called policy of “the thick line” (“*gruba kreska*”) is a term used by the first post-communist prime minister of Poland Tadeusz Mazowiecki and referring to the new government’s policy oriented towards the future of Poland instead of launching a witch hunt of people who had in the past compromised themselves with the former governing powers. In more recent years Mazowiecki’s “*gruba kreska*” is often (mis) represented as a policy of non-punishment for crimes committed by the communist regime of pre-1989 Poland.
 44. It is the question of a legally sanctioned mechanism for the elimination from public life of those who compromised themselves in the past by collaborating with the repressive regime.
 45. For recent publications on the topic of Polish-Jewish relations after World War II see Chodakiewicz and Gross.

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- Figure 1. “The Monument to the Fallen in Service to and Protection of the Polish Republic.” Photograph. Majewski, Jerzy, Tomasz Urzykowski and Dariusz Bartoszewicz. *Spacerownik Warszawski 1*. Warszawa: Agora, 2007. 28. Print.

Figure 6. “The (planned) Monument to the Victims of OUN-UPA.”

Photograph. Wiech, Tomasz. *Gazeta Wyborcza* 22 May 2007. Web.

Figures 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 by author.

