

## Research Article

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# Against the Nudity in Art: Eliasian Reading of National Conservative Catholic Habitus

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**Abstract:** *The Cleaner* Marina Abramović Retrospective Exhibition in the Centre of Contemporary Art in Toruń, Poland, sparked much protest. This article analyses the protesters' attitudes to capture their habitus. The analysis employs Norbert Elias' sociological theory on national habitus. Demonstrations of protest invite interpretations of the peculiar national conservative Catholic habitus that – in the light of my study – stems in Poland from selective post-Tridentine pre-Vatican II Catholic magisterial thought and a sociopolitical historiography of traditional Polish culture. I recognise that the aim of the national conservative Catholics is to preserve a specific kind of Polish culture based on its early-modern image: strong state influenced by the Catholic Church in both policy and culture, with the accompanying theology of art taken from the Tridentine Council and the post-Tridentine debate. As a result, the national conservative Catholics invest much energy in remembrance politics and historical politics. I conclude that this habitus requires theological and religious reworking of national conservative Catholics' understanding of the term “catholic.”

**Keywords:** modern history, Poland, Catholicism, fundamental theology, body art, Norbert Elias

When the right-wing party *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* (Law and Justice; PiS) came to power in 2015–2023, the message of traditional Catholic values and Church role were reinforced in Poland.<sup>1</sup> The situation has encouraged right-wing Catholics to manifest their viewpoint about the important role of Polish culture in saving traditional Christianity in Poland, whose antithesis is to reside in a culture that supposedly promotes sexuality, nudity, feminism, and non-heteronormative gender.<sup>2</sup> They articulate this view during protests that – unlike pre-2015 religion-inspired public activities – express opposition to cultural events with non-traditional content and are characterised by special props, such as colourful costumes often stylised as liturgical vestments, small procession floats, banners, national symbols, rosaries, and depictions of Christ the King and Black Madonna of Częstochowa.<sup>3</sup> The protests worthy of consideration in this regard are the protest against secularisation during the annual Manifestation of Faith and Prayer in Warsaw held since 2016,<sup>4</sup> the annual Penitential Rosary March in Siedlce held since 2019,<sup>5</sup> the protest against the metal band Behemoth on 30 September 2016, in Katowice,<sup>6</sup>

1 Bucholc, “Schengen,” 153–81; Graff and Korolczuk, “Worse Than Communism,” 175–94.

2 Heinen and Portet, “Religion,” <http://www.humanizm.net.pl/rpgepoland.pdf>; Grzebalska and Petó, “The Gendered Modus Operandi,” 164–72.

3 See Appendix 2–5.

4 See Appendix 2.

5 See Appendix 3.

6 MW, “Katowice,” <https://wiadomosci.onet.pl/slask/katowice-rozaniec-przed-koncertem-behemotha/lfc75mp>.

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the play *Kłątwa* (Curse) by Oliver Frlić on 3 August 2017, in Chorzów<sup>7</sup> and 19 October 2017, in Wrocław,<sup>8</sup> protest against *The Cleaner* Marina Abramović Retrospective Exhibition in the Centre of Contemporary Art (CCA) on 8 March 2019, in Toruń,<sup>9</sup> a set of assemblies in Białystok since 2019 against the Equality March that emphasises LGBT and gender,<sup>10</sup> the film *Benedetta* by Paul Verhoeven on 7 January 2022, in Toruń,<sup>11</sup> the first post-pornography festival *Post Pxrn Film Festival Warsaw – Body. Art. Society* in 2022 in Warsaw,<sup>12</sup> protest in Nowy Targ 3 March 2023 against the results of investigation – into whether Cardinal Archbishop of Kraków Karol Wojtyła (the later Pope John Paul II) covered up child sex abuse cases – presented in a reportage *Franciszkańska* by Marcin Gutowski,<sup>13</sup> protest in Warsaw 26 November 2023 against a new restauration called *Madonna*,<sup>14</sup> or protest in Warsaw 10 December 2023 against a new resolution of public funding of the in vitro method.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the organisation Rosary Crusade for Fatherland posted 24 posts on its website about planned or conducted protests and demonstrations on its website since 2013, albeit most (18) refer to the period beginning with 2015.<sup>16</sup>

An especially relevant example of the protest is the protest against *The Cleaner* Marina Abramović Retrospective Exhibition at the Centre of Contemporary Art (CCA) in Toruń (Poland) on 8th of March 2019. The manifestation was one of the first protests that included the following three elements: (1) highlighting that Polish traditional culture should be strongly associated with Catholicism and protected from foreign secular influences; (2) protesting art that conveys nudity and sexuality; (3) presenting a rich form of special props.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, this article studies the case of the protesters in Toruń. Moreover, I believe that the case inspired analogical protests in big Polish cities of other cultural texts, such as the film *Benedetta*<sup>18</sup> or the post-pornography festival *Post Pxrn Film Festival Warsaw – Body. Art. Society*.<sup>19</sup>

7 [No author], “Chorzów,” <https://e-teatr.pl/chorzow-protest-przed-wystawieniem-spektaku-klatwa-w-teatrze-rozrywki-a241211>.

8 Piekarska, “Festiwalowa ‘Kłątwa’,” <https://wroclaw.wyborcza.pl/wroclaw/7,35771,22431161,festiwalowa-klatwa-i-kara-nie-bedzie-pol-miliona-zlotych.html>.

9 See Appendix 5.

10 Minko, “Kilkadziesiąt marszów,” <https://www.radio.bialystok.pl/wiadomosci/index/id/171674>; Urząd Miejski w Białymstoku, “Pokutne przeżłaganie,” [https://www.bip.bialystok.pl/urzadz\\_miejski/zgromadzenia/zgromadzenia2020/pokutne-przezlaganie-maryi-krolowej-polski-za-lamanie-dekalogu-w-polsce-i-jasnogorskich-slubow-narodu-protest-przeciwko-lamaniu-prawa-i-deprawacji-dzieci-niszczanie-rodzin-narodu-przeciwko-biernosci-wladz-samorzadowych-i-rzadu-wobec-zla-lgbt-i-gender.html](https://www.bip.bialystok.pl/urzadz_miejski/zgromadzenia/zgromadzenia2020/pokutne-przezlaganie-maryi-krolowej-polski-za-lamanie-dekalogu-w-polsce-i-jasnogorskich-slubow-narodu-protest-przeciwko-lamaniu-prawa-i-deprawacji-dzieci-niszczanie-rodzin-narodu-przeciwko-biernosci-wladz-samorzadowych-i-rzadu-wobec-zla-lgbt-i-gender.html); Witkowska, “Weekend w Białymstoku,” <https://www.bialystokonline.pl/weekend-w-bialymstoku-bedzie-proekologiczny-marsz-i-pokutne-blaganie-maryi-za-zlo-lgbt,artykul,125059,1,113.html>.

11 [No author], “Będą protesty,” [https://ddtorun.pl/pl/14\\_kultura/36813\\_bede-protesty-przed-kinem-w-toruniu-chodzi-o-ten-film.html](https://ddtorun.pl/pl/14_kultura/36813_bede-protesty-przed-kinem-w-toruniu-chodzi-o-ten-film.html).

12 Kurek, “Rozpoczął się festiwal,” <https://kmag.pl/article/rozpoczal-sie-festiwal-filmow-postpornograficznych-pod-kinem-protest-rozancowy>.

13 Gutowski, “*Franciszkańska* 3,” [https://wiadomosci.onet.pl/krakow/bylismy-na-marszu-w-obronie-jana-pawla-ii-uslyszelismy-ze-tusk-to-bandyta/v02jjw0](https://tvn24.pl/go/programy/7/czarno-na-bialym-bielmo-odcinki,880782/odcinek-14,S00E14,1019683?said=58700008273493026_p75147975289&gad=1&gclid=CjwKCAiA0syqBhBxEiwAeNx9N48xEycEp4vca8hmLxYmiUpKvD-FL8yUM6nCIvYc9uy8AUg6OuRshoCqygQAvD_BwE&gclid=aw.ds; Mateusiak, “Byliśmy na marszu,” <a href=).

14 Mączewski, “Katolików oburzył lokal,” <https://natemat.pl/527338.nowy-lokal-madonna-w-warszawie-ma-juz-pierwszych-wrogow-to-katolicy>.

15 Słowiński, “Wojownicy Maryi,” <https://warszawa.wyborcza.pl/warszawa/7,54420,30491457,wojownicy-maryi-przeciw-in-vitro.html>.

16 (Rosary Crusade for Fatherland 2013-2022), Results of searching: “protest” at <https://krucjatarozancowazaojczyzne.pl/?s=protest>, accessed on 13 June 2022.

17 See Appendix 5. Public religious manifestations with the presentation of a particular worldview have a tradition in Poland. Pilgrimages to Jasna Góra, celebrations of the Millennium of Baptism of Poland in 1966, and the visits of Pope John Paul II in Poland, in 1979, 1983, and 1987 were occasions to protest against the atheizing policy of the Polish communist state. Polish People’s Republic authorities presented policies similar to the Catholic moral evaluation of the body, nudity, and sexuality, beyond the legalization of divorces and abortions; Podemski, “Manifestacje,” 10.

18 [No author], “Będą protesty,” [https://ddtorun.pl/pl/14\\_kultura/36813\\_bede-protesty-przed-kinem-w-toruniu-chodzi-o-ten-film.html](https://ddtorun.pl/pl/14_kultura/36813_bede-protesty-przed-kinem-w-toruniu-chodzi-o-ten-film.html).

19 Kurek, “Rozpoczął się festiwal,” <https://kmag.pl/article/rozpoczal-sie-festiwal-filmow-postpornograficznych-pod-kinem-protest-rozancowy>.

In this article, I briefly characterise Ambramović as an artist and *The Cleaner* exhibition in Toruń. I treat it as the elements of the context of the protest against her art. Next, I will reconstruct three contexts visible in the protesters' attitudes. My goal is to argue that the protesters manifest their own habitus in which they unite the resources common to universal Catholicism with those of Polish national memory resources (like Jesus Christ as the King of Poland), thus binding Catholicism and Polishness. Furthermore, I aim to show that the protesters' habitus cooperates with their attitude towards art based on selective post-Tridentine yet pre-Vatican II magisterial Catholic thought. I posit that their habitus's origins can be traced to the full or major habitus present in the Catholic Church in Poland and next the patriotic vein of Polish Catholicism.

The study will employ Norbert Elias' theory of "national habitus," which identifies and describes the experience patterns and actions in which nature's determinism is influenced by culture and history, thus regulating social relationship mechanisms. National habitus links elements of collective cultural identity – including religious identity – with individual identity.<sup>20</sup> Taking the above definition of the national habitus as a point of departure, I apply it to capture the protesters' habitus. In my view, their beliefs and resulting actions in Toruń are symptoms of their habitus. Because the protesters claim Catholic beliefs motivate their actions and profess a mutual bind between their espoused variant of "Polishness" (consisting in the preservation of traditional values linked with the historiography that popularises Polish society as a cultural monolith<sup>21</sup>) and Catholicism, I believe that their habitus can be called national conservative Catholic. This habitus is a fixture of current political, social, cultural, and religious reality in Poland, as it includes features analogical to the national habitus. The national conservative Catholic habitus concerns a specific community of believers, as the national habitus refers to a nation. However, Catholicism of the national conservative variety in Poland is characteristic of right-wing Catholics, and not of the entire community of the universal Church nor the entire community of Catholics in Poland. However, it can be observed as dominant and supported by a significant part of the Polish institutional Church and politicians of the ruling party in 2015–2023, and currently non-ruling but with the most public support.<sup>22</sup> This study contributes to a further elaboration of theoretical approaches inspired by Norbert Elias. The habitus theory will allow me to answer why some magisterial Church ideas about art present in the Catholic teaching entered the protesters' attitude and others did not. Finally, this research will inspire me to recognise and evaluate the protesters' manifested meaning of "catholic." Moreover, my analyses will enrich the study of combining religion and national identity based on historical resources.<sup>23</sup>

## 1 The Protest Against the Abramović Exhibition

The Centre of Contemporary Art (CCA) in Toruń exhibited Marina Abramović's works entitled *The Cleaner*. Abramović is a Serbian conceptual and performance artist working mostly in Belgrade, Amsterdam, and New York. She refers to herself as the grandmother of performance art. She popularised a new notion of identity by engaging her audiences, focusing on pain, blood, and the body's physical limits. In 2007, she established the Marina Abramović Institute (MAI) for the Preservation of Performance Art in Hudson, a non-profit foundation for performance art.<sup>24</sup> Her works provoked various forms of opposition, for example in 1974, the director of the Studio Morra of Napoli stopped the performance *Rhythm 0* fearing for Abramović's life, and in 1977, Italian police interrupted the performance *Imponderabilia* by Marina and Ulay in Galleria Comunale d'Arte Moderna in Bologna, deeming the nude bodies obscene, and in 1997, Abramović's work *Balkan Baroque* did not receive

<sup>20</sup> Elias, *The Civilizing Process*.

<sup>21</sup> Stanley and Stanley, "Whose Poland Is It To Be?," 378–94.

<sup>22</sup> Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza, "Wybory do Sejmu," <https://wybory.gov.pl/sejmsenat2023/>.

<sup>23</sup> Conf. analogical study about Hungary (Buzogány and Varga, "The Ideational Foundations," 811–28), Lithuania (Cruz, "The Role of Catholicism," 479–504), Ireland, USA, England, and Wales (Dillon, "Cultural Differences," 25–36), about religion as a basis for national identity of Europeans, refer to Kunovich, "An Exploration," 435–60.

<sup>24</sup> [No author], "Wystawa/Marina Abramović," <https://csw.torun.pl/wystawy-2/wystawa-marina-abramovic-czysta-the-cleaner-wystawa-retrospektywna-26519/>.

the Italian Ministry of Culture's approval to show it at Venice Biennale. The lack of approval did not stop her from performing it, for which she received the Golden Lion prize.<sup>25</sup> The exhibition *The Cleaner* was the most exhaustive European retrospective of Marina Abramović's works. It was organised in cooperation with Moderna Museet in Stockholm, the Louisiana Modern Art Museum in Humlebæk, and Bundeskunsthalle Bonn. The purpose of the exhibition open in Toruń from 8 March to 11 August 2019 was to present the most famous artworks by Abramović, 120 pieces in total, starting with the 1960s and concluding with the most recent ones. Re-performances were prepared by selected and specially trained young artists.

In the context of nudity, sexuality, and the body, Abramović's works presented at the CCA can be divided into four groups. The first group includes archival materials about controversial actions using Abramović's body. The artist undertook dangerous activities that resulted in scarring, for example, the series *Rhythm* (1973–1974) included *Rhythm 10* (1973) with scars on her fingers, *Rhythm 0* (1974) – when she became an artistic object with which each participant could do whatever they wanted and the reperformance *The Onion* (first showed in 1995), in which her eating the onion served as a therapy to work through difficult experiences. The second group of Abramović's works includes those in which she used her nudity in a controversial yet not dangerous manner. *The Closer* exhibition showed archival materials about such performances as the one with the ironic title *Art Must Be Beautiful* (1975), a protest of love in *Relation in Space* (1976) performed with her partner and artist Ulay, and the re-performance *Imponderabilia* (first presented in 1977). The third group contains artworks with the body of other person(s) or a material object(s). This group includes the archival materials about *Cleaning the Mirror* (1995) in which Abramović scrubs a skeleton, *Balkan Baroque* (1997) in which she cleans a pile of bones and tries to wash blood as a reaction to the Bosnian War in the 1990s, and the video series *Balkan Erotic Epic* (2005) including rites of fertility and virility. The last group comprises less controversial works that lack nudity but show meaningful participation of the body. *The Cleaner* presented archival materials about the performance *Artist Is Present* (2010), the photograph *Shoes for Departure* (1991) with shoes made from stones, and photographs from 2002 by Paolo Canevari, including *Stromboli No III (Volcano)*, in which Abramović touches stones with her tongue. Moreover, the exhibition included the manifesto, drawings, paintings, sculpture, photos, videos, and other works by Abramović.<sup>26</sup>

During the exhibition opening, conservative Christian movement representatives in a group of about one hundred people were protesting at the door of the CCA. The protest was announced online.<sup>27</sup> Participants were asked to gather in front of the CCA and pray the rosary. The protest advertisement was displayed online on *Polonia Christiana*, which is a conservative Catholic website and magazine owned by the Piotr Skarga Christian Culture Society in Krakow.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the action was supported by other right-wing Catholic institutions like the Foundation Pro Right to Life and the Rosary Crusade for Fatherland.<sup>29</sup> In a protest announcement, the latter members wrote that “the ‘Artist’ performs with the head of a goat, poses for photographs with horns, does not avoid showing a pentagram, and even prepares cakes in the shape of a human body.”<sup>30</sup> The protesters opposed the exhibition of archival materials and re-performances with nudity because they were convinced these promoted satanism and clashed with the traditional Catholic culture of Poland. They prayed in a public space, standing, kneeling, or prostrating; they used posters with symbolic religious and national pictures and displayed phrases about the fault and guilt of those people who promote a non-traditional Catholic worldview, expecting their repentance. The protesters talked to the people who were entering the CCA, trying to convince them not to see the exhibition. Moreover, the protesters demanded the closing of the exhibition. It is difficult to assume that their reaction was due to a theological interpretation of Abramović's works, since they did not see the

<sup>25</sup> Majchrowska, “7 najbardziej kontrowersyjnych performansów,” <https://rynekisztuka.pl/2021/12/02/7-najbardziej-kontrowersyjnych-performansow-marina-abramovic/>.

<sup>26</sup> [No author], “Wystawa/Marina Abramović,” <https://csw.torun.pl/wystawy-2/wystawa-marina-abramovic-czysta-the-cleanerwystawa-retrospektywna-26519/>.

<sup>27</sup> MWI, “Nie dla promocji satanizmu!,” <https://www.pch24.pl/nie-dla-promocji-satanizmu-nie-dla-wspierania-przez-ministerstwo-okultystycznej-sztuki,66617,i.html>.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Antyk, “Apel o przybycie,” <https://krucjatarozancowazaojczyzne.pl/?p=7251>.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

exhibition. Rather, this reaction stemmed from the protesters' identifying what was a threat to the Catholic faith and the Polish nation and was a response to their imagination of her art, probably based on critical articles and photos showing her controversial performances. The protest was described in foreign, national, and local media.<sup>31</sup>

## 2 Method and Data

This study used the integral three-step interdisciplinary method of fundamental theology developed by Elżbieta Kotkowska.<sup>32</sup> The method may be employed not only in theological but also in historical, cultural, and sociological research, as it refers to the issue of faith in historical and modern sociocultural contexts. The three steps focus on (1) context, (2) event, and (3) explanation. The first step includes describing the recognised interdisciplinary space with ecclesial theological thought as a context of the studied theme. This article briefly characterises Ambramović as an artist and *The Cleaner* exhibition in Toruń, as well as detailed data on artistic, doctrinal, and religious practices context of the analysed protest. In this part, I point to the selected Church's teaching on art. The second step analyses the human experience of oneself, others, the world, and the sacred.<sup>33</sup> In its intersubjective ambiguity, this experience functions as an event in sociocultural reality, called by Kotkowska "work." In the second step, I analyse the protest as a sociocultural event and the "work" with theological suggestions and religious appeals. The last step explains, meaning it "evaluates the conditions for accepting a human *work* as a *locus theologicus* in dialogical tension between objective and subjective approaches to the studied reality."<sup>34</sup> I follow Kotkowska and recognise *locus theologicus* in accordance with post-Vatican II extension of the meaning of this term, namely as a source, an inspiration providing content, issues, marks, and spaces from which one can do theology. The Church and the world, tradition, cultural text, as well as human experience can be such sources.<sup>35</sup> In my research, the dialogical tension between objective and subjective approaches to the protest implies the notice of a specific historiography by the authors of the "work." Thus, in the analysed event, the historiography functions as an argument in framing the "work" in the social imaginary about the past and present. The integral method's aim is to "search for a more rational way to discover the seeds of truth also in spaces perceived as ecclesiastically external, as theology calls this after the Second Vatican Council."<sup>36</sup> Following Kotkowska, my article shows the protest with its visual, behaviour, and worldview specificity as *locus theologicus* which allows as to explain the features of the Polish national conservative habitus of the protesters and related to it the protesters' postulated meaning of "catholic."

The above method refers to the ideas of Gerald O'Collins and Karl Rahner. O'Collins concentrates mostly on the sources of faith in the category of human experience – not on the rational credibility of faith. As a result, he emphasises not conceptual terms but the hypotheses explaining human experience: the hypotheses enabling multi-faceted interpretations of reality.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, O'Collins repeats Rahner's statement that an individual simultaneously experiences oneself and their community. As a result, the research concentrates on passive or active human experience recognised socially and in his/her relationship with oneself.<sup>38</sup>

Allow me to emphasise that Elias presents an analogical approach in his sociological writings. He criticises the dichotomous interpretations of reality especially visible in theoretical narratives, which are expressed in such antitheses as "individual and society," "body and spirit," and "subject and object."<sup>39</sup> Elias approves of the

<sup>31</sup> Appendix 5.

<sup>32</sup> Kotkowska, *Ku metodzie*.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>35</sup> Kotkowska, *Ku metodzie*; cf. Cano, *De Locis Theologicis*, [https://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/30\\_10\\_1509-1560-\\_Cano\\_Melchior.html](https://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/30_10_1509-1560-_Cano_Melchior.html); Tracy, *Blessed Raged*, 43–90; Pilario, "Locus Theologicus," 84–98.

<sup>36</sup> Kotkowska, *Ku metodzie*, 102.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., *Ku metodzie*, 148–9; O'Collins, *Retrieving Fundamental Theology*, 113.

<sup>38</sup> Kotkowska, *Ku metodzie*, 153.

<sup>39</sup> Elias, *The Symbol Theory*, 5.

theoretical schemata and methodological strategies that help to grasp culture in its specific individual forms, explaining personal experiences in a sociohistorical context. As a result of his research, Elias developed the process-oriented narrative, which emphasises the combination of individual and social processes.<sup>40</sup>

The noticed correlation of theological and sociological methodological approaches agrees with René Latourelle's postulate that methods of fundamental theology should dialog with research tools and knowledge from outside of theology so as to support the explanation and interpretation of experience.<sup>41</sup> In my study, such a tool was the qualitative analysis of the behavioural and verbal expressions of the protesters against Abramović's Toruń exhibition. As data for analysis, I used visual sources (photographs), media comments, interviews,<sup>42</sup> and Church documents.<sup>43</sup>

### 3 Contexts

Now, I present the three contexts of the protest. I call them "artistic," "doctrinal," and "religious practices" ones.

#### 3.1 "I Would Invite All the Protesters to the Exhibition:" The Artistic Context

The mere announcement of the Toruń Abramović exhibition provoked a reaction from representatives of the artistic community. On 29 January 2019, artists, curators, academics, and educators wrote an open letter to Marina Abramović. The letter was signed by one hundred fifty-seven people, one gallery, and one artistic collective. The signatories accuse the Head of CCA, Waław Kuczma, of organising Abramović's exhibition as an argument in a dispute with the artistic community about the excessively low participation of female artists in CCA exhibitions. Moreover, the signatories mention the restriction of women's rights inspired by right-wing politicians and influential priests.<sup>44</sup>

Having learned about the protest against the Abramović exhibition planned by the national conservative Catholic milieu, some signatories of the Open Letter took to the floor again: "We strongly oppose constraining on religious basis artistic and exhibition events. The Rosary Crusade for Fatherland is a menace to the freedom of speech in this country. We condemn such initiatives of imposing extreme conservative, Catholic, and chauvinistic censorship on modern art."<sup>45</sup>

During the protest against exhibition, Arek Pasożyty, a performer, visual artist, and one of the inspirers of both letters, showed a painting entitled *Populism*. He made it part of his series of *Striking Paintings*.<sup>46</sup> In 2010, the artist assumed the surname *Pasożyty*, which is Polish for "parasite." For the last 10 years, Pasożyty creates what he calls parasitic paintings. He collects old, discarded images and processes them, giving them a new artistic quality and content. In *Populism*, he used a print of the painting *Battle of Grunwald* by Jan Matejko

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., Elias, *The Symbol Theory*, 16; Elias, *Involvement and Detachment*, 68–233; Lahire, *Monde pluriel*, 229.

<sup>41</sup> *Ku metodzie*, 68 and 87–8; Latourelle, "Apologétique et fondamentale," 9–27.

<sup>42</sup> Appendix 5.

<sup>43</sup> Appendix 1.

<sup>44</sup> Additionally, they critique the poor preparation of the workshops preparing selected young artists to recreate Abramović's performances. Furthermore, the signatories took note of the low pay for the artists in charge of the re-performances proposed by the CCA; Chylińska et al., "Open Letter," <https://www.facebook.com/events/toru%C5%84/list-otwarty-droga-marino/806489729695231/>.

<sup>45</sup> Qtd. after Giedrys, "Egzorcyzmy," <https://torun.wyborcza.pl/torun/7,48723,24531375,egzorcyzmy-w-toruniu-rozaniec-za-marine-abramovic-zdjecia.html>.

<sup>46</sup> Pasożyty, "Obrazy Strajkujące," [https://parasite.pl/pl/obrazy-strajkujace?fbclid=IwAR0Z95m\\_Wc1nLC3nyXN\\_V9Vo4TI89-PnpS3cMZNIl6hqe2qXjyCxZq-l6B4](https://parasite.pl/pl/obrazy-strajkujace?fbclid=IwAR0Z95m_Wc1nLC3nyXN_V9Vo4TI89-PnpS3cMZNIl6hqe2qXjyCxZq-l6B4).

from 1872 to 1878. Matejko's painting contains references to the biblical idea of the victory of humility over pride.<sup>47</sup> According to Pasożyt, his work based on an old print of *Battle of Grunwald* is a response to the current cultural battle, the façade cultural policy of CCA and the city of Toruń, which finances commercial and celebrity art, as well as attempts at controlling culture by extremist religious groups. The presentation of Pasożyt's approach and his work *Populism* is visible in Marek Krupecki's photo published on Pasożyt's websites:<sup>48</sup> in the background of the photo, one can see the protesters against Abramović's art and the image of Abramović.<sup>49</sup>

In the context of the protest of conservative Catholics, I note that the members of the artistic milieux presented their own views on the matter, referring to the protesters in a negative way. In reaction to the protest, Kuczma commented: "Such a reaction comes from ignorance ... I would invite all the protesters to the exhibition, and I would gladly offer them a personal guided tour."<sup>50</sup> This argument failed to appease the protesters. As I mentioned, they neither abandoned the protest nor visited the exhibition. Moreover, they asked those entering the CCA to not attend the event. This protesters' approach shows that they were not focused on finding a compromise with Abramović, signatories of the Open Letter to Abramović, Kuczma, or the exhibition's audience, but rather on exhibiting their own knowledge, assumptions, convictions and assessing the significance of cultural and religious heritage in Poland.<sup>51</sup>

### 3.2 "I Am the Most Peace-Loving Human Being on Earth:" The Doctrinal Context

The protesters alleged that Abramović's art is satanic and offensive towards traditional Catholic culture in Poland. The protesters did not explain in detail what they meant calling the artist a Satanist and a person who worships Satan.<sup>52</sup> For this reason, it is impossible for us to theologically evaluate this argument, pointing only to the general fact that the Church in its magisterial teaching condemns satanism as a worship given to Satan,<sup>53</sup> and shows the equality of man and woman by abandoning the misogynistic interpretation of women as weaker than men in defence against the devil.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, during the press conference that was a part of the exhibition opening, Abramović provided a lengthy explanation of what she perceives as the possible source for the accusation of satanism. As she said, in 1996, she commenced her project called *Spirit Cooking*, which includes poetic recipes of totally fictitious dishes: "take 13 leaves of green cabbage and mix it with 13.000 grams of envy," "stand at a wall and eat nine hot chili peppers," or "cut your left-hand middle-finger skin and

<sup>47</sup> The painting shows one of the greatest clashes of the Middle Ages, meaning the battle of the Polish–Lithuanian army with the troops of the Teutonic Order and its allies on 15 July 1410. Painted in the nineteenth century, Matejko's work about the victory of Poles at Grunwald was created to uphold the awareness and feelings of patriotic Poles who then lived in a country controlled by other states (Russia, Prussia, and Austria), which some associated with the rule of the Teutonic Order in some parts of Poland in the middle ages; Wróblewska, "Jan Matejko," <https://culture.pl/pl/dzielo/jan-matejko-bitwa-pod-grunwaldem>.

<sup>48</sup> Pasożyt, "Obrazy Strajkujące" [https://parasite.pl/pl/obrazy-strajkujace?fbclid=IwAR0Z95m\\_Wc1nLC3nyXN\\_V9Vo4TI89-PnpS3cMZNl6hqe2qXjyCxZq-l6B4](https://parasite.pl/pl/obrazy-strajkujace?fbclid=IwAR0Z95m_Wc1nLC3nyXN_V9Vo4TI89-PnpS3cMZNl6hqe2qXjyCxZq-l6B4); Pasożyt, "Populizm," <https://www.facebook.com/parasitepasozyt/photos/a.340172702986036/826740910995877>.

<sup>49</sup> Pasożyt, "Populizm," <https://www.facebook.com/parasitepasozyt/photos/a.340172702986036/826740910995877>; it has to be added that this photo was awarded Grand Prix Award Kujawsko-Pomorskie Press Foto in 2020. The work was exhibited 6–30 October 2020 in the Artus Manor in Toruń.

<sup>50</sup> Qtd. after Giedrys, "Egzorcyzmy," <https://torun.wyborcza.pl/torun/7,48723,24531375,egzorcyzmy-w-toruniu-rozaniec-za-marine-abramovic-zdjecia.html>.

<sup>51</sup> Kołodziejska, "Religion," 160.

<sup>52</sup> Pasożyt, "Populizm," <https://www.facebook.com/parasitepasozyt/photos/a.340172702986036/826740910995877>.

<sup>53</sup> The Council of Trent, *The Twenty-Fifth Session*, canon 1; John Paul II, "Creator of the Angels," <http://www.totus2us.co.uk/teaching/jpii-catechesis-on-god-the-father/creator-of-the-angels-who-are-free-beings/>; Apostolic See, *Catechism*, no. 2113; Russell, *Satan*.

<sup>54</sup> Second Vatican Council, "Pastoral Constitution," nos 9, 27, 29, and 49; Apostolic See, *Catechism*, no. 369; Zwoliński, "Geniusz kobiety," here 45–58.

consume all the pain.”<sup>55</sup> Such short phrases appeared in a series of exhibitions until Abramović published her artistic cookbook. She then started to compose entire lunch menus and invite her close friends to them. One of these guests was Tony Podesta, an American art collector, brother of Barack Obama’s Chief of Staff, and a close collaborator of Hilary Clinton, John Podesta. Two years prior to the last US presidential elections, Wikileaks published some e-mails, one of which contained an invitation to one of the artistic lunches served by Abramović. As a result, some right-wing media and conspiracy theory proponents started to propagate news about certain American administration officials supposedly participating in an occult conclave.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, Abramović said in Toruń that everybody can see online how she is cutting a five-pointed star on her stomach during one of her performances. She assumed that a narrow-minded American could view her as a satanist, mentioning that because of that performance, she was later receiving messages with threats. She added that some wanted to cast the devil out of her. However, as she indicated, “the truth is, I am the most peace-loving human being on Earth.”<sup>57</sup> I recognise this declaration as emphasising Abramović’s peaceful intentions. At the same time, I note the provocative overtones of this declaration in the face of the fact of creating controversial, emotionally stirring art. Moreover, Abramović’s statement potentially could have further strengthened the approach of the protesters, who may have interpreted that she recognised herself as a more “peace-loving human being” than Jesus Christ himself. This kind of remark is merely speculation, as the protesters did not hear Abramović’s statement while outside the CCA.

The spokesman of the Diocesan Curia in Toruń, Fr. Paweł Borowski also commented in this regard. One day before the exhibition opening, he gave an interview in which he mentioned that the Curia knows about the event and the controversial form of Abramović’s art. He suggested that it is difficult to comment on the opening without watching the exhibition and stated that there was no confirmation the vernissage was intended to be a satanic gathering. Moreover, he remarked that the exhibition is only available to adult viewers<sup>58</sup> and that the Curia neither organises the planned protest nor prohibits anyone from attending the prayer in front of the CCA. Furthermore, he invited the faithful to participate in prayers for the pedophilia sins committed by some clergymen in the Toruń Diocesan Cathedra on the same day as the protest against Abramović’s exhibition.<sup>59</sup>

One could get the impression that Borowski distanced the Curia from the protests. As a clergyman, spokesman, and diocesan chaplain for social media workers, he had to consider the universal Church’s teachings about art. Allow me to note that *imagines sacri* were the subjects of five councils in the Church – namely the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the Second Council in Trullo in 692, the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, the Fourth Council of Constantinople in 869–870, as well as the Council of Trent in 1545–1563. The Second Vatican Council in 1962–1965 conferred the role of art in the way of sanctification.<sup>60</sup> I believe that the two recent councils have a special importance in shaping the reception of art in modern Poland. The Council of Trent teaches that the purpose of an artwork is to be a *Biblia pauperum* – a Bible for the poor – meaning a communicative and simple source of knowledge about the saints and an impulse to increase devotion, develop faith, and promote moral life.<sup>61</sup> The Tridentine decree encourages the removal of these paintings from sacred spaces that may invoke perverse, disturbing, impious, shameful, or morally disorganised (sinful) behaviour.<sup>62</sup> Maintaining the above magisterial points is noticeable in historical documents about post-Tridentine apostolic visitations,<sup>63</sup> as well as theological debates.<sup>64</sup> The Krakow Synod on Religious Paintings (1621) decreed that the

55 Qtd. after Giedrys, “Egzorcyzmy,” <https://torun.wyborcza.pl/torun/7,48723,24531375,egzorcyzmy-w-toruniu-rozaniec-za-marine-abramovic-zdjecia.html>.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 In fact, at the entrance to the exhibition, there is an information plaque in the CCA, advising only adults to visit. It is difficult to see children in pictures from the opening published in the press release.

59 Dąbrowska and Gill, “Na wystawę z różańcem?,” <https://www.radiopik.pl/6,76680,na-wystawie-z-rozancem-kontrowersje-wokol-torunsk>.

60 Bellitto, *The General Councils*.

61 The Council of Trent, *The Twenty-Fifth Session*, no. 235.

62 Ibid., nos 235–6.

63 Garpster, “Evaluating the Altarpiece,” 615.

64 Białostocki, *Teoretycy, historiografowie i artyści*; Białostocki, *Teoretycy, pisarze i artyści*.

images of naked or immodestly dressed saints must be removed from sacred spaces.<sup>65</sup> Certainly, the hard position taken by the Toruń protesters in 2019 could be viewed as compatible with the above early modern religious ideas on paintings.

However, my point is that what escaped the protesters' attention were the post-Vatican II theological currents. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum concilium* (1963), articles 122–129, for the first time in the Apostolic See's teaching ex cathedra defines sacred art as an allegorical and symbolical depiction of the higher things.<sup>66</sup> The conciliar fathers took a critical position against art contradicting Christian faith, morals, and piety. However, they perceived art no longer as a mere illustrative tool for simple folk but instead as a vehicle to communicate the truth about the most sublime realities. The same goes for artistic nudity. If it serves the ultimate goal of artistic expression, it is also instrumental in fulfilling the function attributed to art as such. Thus, the Church recognised no art style as its own but rather noticed the contemporary forms of expression.<sup>67</sup> The Second Vatican Council ideas appeared towards the wars of the twentieth century, as well as social uncertainties, hope, and spiritual longing at that time which in turn was reflected in iconography – either aesthetically beautiful or painful and scary.<sup>68</sup> When commenting on the conciliar positions, Janusz Pasierb, a Polish theologian and art historian, remarks that artworks can be neither obvious nor pretty. Modern art has no obligation to be polite because it foresaw and experienced much human suffering in the twentieth century. As a result, art should rather inspire, provoke, and lead people to spiritual cleansing or catharsis, which they so desperately need, also in religious matters. Modern art may be crude and devoid of sentiments, albeit when viewed symbolically, it gives a chance to consider many important theological things.<sup>69</sup> Hans Urs von Balthasar,<sup>70</sup> Theodor Bogler,<sup>71</sup> Yves Congar,<sup>72</sup> and Karl Rahner<sup>73</sup> noted analogical points in which even controversial art may be a way to sanctification. Moreover, Pasierb teaches that the artistic moral message is not precluded from using human nudity, and he dismissed the opposite view as naive moralism.<sup>74</sup>

In my view, Vatican II and post-Vatican II ideas were not included in the content manifested by the Toruń protesters. Moreover, I conclude that the protesters' attitude is post-Tridentine yet at odds with the Second Vatican Council; their approach as members of the Church community heavily relies on religious, historical–cultural sources to legitimate their actions, rather than the fully doctrinal sources.<sup>75</sup>

### 3.3 “Wake Up Poland and Return to God:” The Religious Practices Context

The demonstrators expected that their action contributed to the end of the cultural war which, in their opinion, is taking place in Poland with foreign influences of leftist culture. Moreover, they were appalled

<sup>65</sup> Synod Krakowski, “Uchwała Synodu Krakowskiego,” 174–84 and 199–200.

<sup>66</sup> The Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, nos 122–9.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., no. 123.

<sup>68</sup> Pasierb, “Zagadnienia nowoczesnej sztuki,” 526–32.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., “527–8; Pasierb, *Miasto*, 286; Pasierb, “Zło i dobro,” 214–5; analogical content was included in Pasierb's writings about literature. He writes: *In our Catholic area, has it not been demanded that a literature should show the sunny side of life, always the victory of good over evil? The Church has long since lived its period of religious propaganda and moral success ... The religious establishment, full of justice and self-satisfied, was afraid of exposing, as always... Mauriac's books were not much “blacker” than the Gospel pages, where you can still hear the groans of the sick and the possessed, where the humiliation of Jesus is assisted by crowds of witnesses, and no one sees His resurrection. The bright sides, the dark sides ... I don't know if dark and dramatic literature does not lift hearts higher than the light ones. How many people do these dark pages restore hope, and how many do they bestow with the experience of brotherhood. Here sin is drawn into the orbit of salvation...;* Pasierb, “Strony Mauriaca,” 6.

<sup>70</sup> Balthasar, *Herrlichkeit*.

<sup>71</sup> Bogler, “Erwägungen über das Sakrale,” 78.

<sup>72</sup> Congar, “Situation,” 399.

<sup>73</sup> Rahner, “Zu Theologie des Bildes,” qtd. Woźniakowski, *Czy kultura*, 210; Rahner, “La nature et la grâce,” 27; Fritzn, *Karl Rahner's Theological Aesthetics*.

<sup>74</sup> Pasierb, “Sztuka,” 4; analogical point see Rahner, “Zu Theologie des Bildes,” qtd. Woźniakowski, *Czy kultura*, 210.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Dillon, “Cultural Differences,” 25–36.

by the fact that the exhibition happened in the CCA, which is an institution financially supported by the Polish Ministry of Culture. The protesters prepared banners with images of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa, Our Lady of the Rosary, and Christ the King. The three symbols are important for Polish culture and history. As a result, the criticisms of the exhibition are based on the shared knowledge of religious symbols, prayers, and important religious figures.<sup>76</sup>

The Black Madonna of Czestochowa image and Holy Rosary prayer have become permanent fixtures of Polish Catholicism. They were especially relevant symbols of saving national and religious identities during such events as repelling the Swedish attack on Poland in 1655, the period of Poland's partitioning in 1772–1918, the First and Second World Wars, and the communist period in Poland in 1944–1989. The devotion to the Black Madonna was the focal point of a pastoral plan devised and implemented by Primate of Poland Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński during events such as traditional Marian devotion, the rededication of the nation to the “Queen of Poland” in 1956, the Great Novena in 1957–1966, and the 1966 Millennium celebrations of Polish Christianity. Jasna Góra – with the icon of the Black Madonna as the Mother and Queen – is the sanctuary of the Polish nation.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, Marta Bucholc argues that the Holy Rosary prayer “is the single most powerful symbol in which Polishness and Catholicism became combined in recent Polish history.”<sup>78</sup> The important status of the Holy Mary in Polish past and current religiosity comes from her position as a source of relevant emotional load capable of recognising in local surroundings,<sup>79</sup> probably the single strongest symbol in the Catholic Church, and one recognised literally, militarily, and metaphorically as a weapon in the culture war.<sup>80</sup> Referring to this context, in May 2019, Elżbieta Podleśna was inspired by the iconic Black Lady and created a feminist and queer protest art piece called *Rainbow Mary*. Mary and Jesus were given a halo in the colours of the rainbow. Podleśna reworked the mainstream symbol to better serve LGBTQ + people, transforming the meaning of Polishness and being Polish.<sup>81</sup> Podleśna's work has provoked opposition from right-wing Catholics in Poland. Thus, we can see that the image of Mary and the Holy Rosary prayer is seen as key complementary correlates of the experience of religiosity and a religious-cultural subject of a “drag-effect” in the competing clashes between Poles with Catholic-traditional and liberalising approaches.<sup>82</sup>

The next religious symbol used by protesters was the image of Christ the King. The figure has biblical sources,<sup>83</sup> albeit it has become popular with the enthronement of Jesus Christ as the King and Lord, conveying the reign of Jesus over “Poland and our entire nation, living in the homeland and the world,”<sup>84</sup> on 19 November 2016, in Krakow on the one thousand and fiftieth anniversary of the Baptism of Poland dated 966. According to Bishop Andrzej Czaja, enthronement also referred to the appeal of Pope Pius XI, who in his 1925 encyclical “*Quas primas*” encouraged the recognition of Jesus as King in individual and social life against secularisation.<sup>85</sup> The theological and social discussion preceding the Polish act of enthronement lasted twenty years. According to Czaja, there was also a complex debate in the Polish Episcopal Conference which generally presents traditional conservative social and theological views.<sup>86</sup> Finally, the enthronement was conducted by Polish bishops in the presence of the President of Poland Andrzej Duda, other prominent politicians, and six thousand people. The Jubilee Act of Acceptance of Jesus Christ as King and Lord was read in churches across Poland.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Kołodziejska, “Religion,” 160.

<sup>77</sup> Pasierb and Samek, *The Shrine*; Pasierb, “Królowa,” 2–5; Kubik, *The Power*, 108–10; Casanova, “Religion,” 421.

<sup>78</sup> Bucholc, “Schengen,” 165.

<sup>79</sup> Warner, *Alone*.

<sup>80</sup> Porter, “Hetmanka,” 151–70; Porter, *Faith*, 360–90.

<sup>81</sup> Przybyło, “*Rainbow*,” 107–30.

<sup>82</sup> More about the theory of drag-effect: Elias, *The Society*; Gibbons, “Norbert Elias's Concept,” 1910–23.

<sup>83</sup> Bates and Scott, *Salvation*.

<sup>84</sup> Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, “*Jubileuszowy Akt*,” <https://episkopat.pl/jubileuszowy-akt-przyjecia-jezusa-chrystusa-za-krola-i-pana-2/>.

<sup>85</sup> Czaja and Honisz, “Intronizacja,” <https://www.ekai.pl/intronizacja-jezusa-chrystusa-rozmowa-z-bp-andrzejem-czaja/>.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Makowski, “Katolicyzm,” <https://www.newsweek.pl/polska/spoleczenstwo/intronizacja-jezusa-chrystusa-na-krola-polski-komentarz/e069lcm>.

Another symbol of the protesters' religious approach was their costumes.<sup>88</sup> Some of the participants were members of a Church community of laity called the Knights of Christ the King. They dressed in red capes with the image of Christ the King and the emblem of Poland. Others prepared posters with images of crucified Christ, Christ the King, Holy Mary, and Black Madonna of Częstochowa, as well as sentences reading in Polish and English: "Wake up Poland and return to God." The members of the Rosary Crusade for Fatherland presented white-red Polish flags with an inscription of their organisation's name and graphics showing Poland's borders and with the image of the Black Madonna of Częstochowa.

The meeting began with a speech of one of the protesters' leaders. The speech was a planned part of the demonstration. Next, all prayed the Holy Rosary led by a priest. Afterwards, they dispersed. Their action did not make the CCA close the exhibition.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, the presenting of religious symbols and religious-cultural issues from the past indicate their influence in shaping demonstrators' views of the present. Additionally, historically rich symbols represent cultural codes that can unite Catholics,<sup>90</sup> and the institutional Church in Poland, which stresses its historical role in building and maintaining national identity and making social opinion.<sup>91</sup>

## 4 Protesters' Habitus

In this section, I will address three questions. Can demonstrators in general have a habitus? Towards what detailed issues did they manifest their habitus and selective approach to Polish historiography? Why some elements of Catholic thought about art make it to the protesters' approach and others did not? Thereby, I will carry out the third step of the method of fundamental theology by Kotkowska, namely to explain the attitude of the protesters.

### 4.1 Can Demonstrators in General Have a Habitus?

According to Elias, the term "national habitus" refers to patterns transferring from one generation to another in any given nation. These are patterns of behaviour, feelings, and actions.<sup>92</sup> In other words, the national habitus conveys patterns of experiences and activities influenced by culture, history, and social relationships in the nation-state. As Miklós Hadas states, "[habitus] governs human praxis at the non-conscious level; being perceptible, these 'structured, structural structures' are liable to social classification and differentiation."<sup>93</sup> In the wake of Elias and Pierre Bourdieu, Hadas believes that the habitus intends "to grasp structurally conditioned, non-conscious, non-intentional, taken-for-granted, durable dispositional patterns (urges, drives, tastes, feelings, inclinations, emotions, value preferences, etc.) that are manifest in continuous improvisations and can be transferred to diverse areas of practice."<sup>94</sup> I identify the same features of habitus in the religious context of the Toruń protesters' attitudes.

Moreover, according to Andreas Pickel, what can reveal one's habitus and what happiness or good life means are simple automatic behaviours.<sup>95</sup> I think that this point expresses the protesters' goals. They expect a

<sup>88</sup> One can see the costumes at the photo presenting Pasożyt's work *Populizm*: Pasożyt, "Obrazy Strajkujące," [https://parasite.pl/pl/obrazy-strajkujace?fbclid=IwAR0Z95m\\_Wc1nIC3nyXN\\_V9Vo4TI89-PnpS3cMZNI6hqe2qXjyCxZq-l6B4](https://parasite.pl/pl/obrazy-strajkujace?fbclid=IwAR0Z95m_Wc1nIC3nyXN_V9Vo4TI89-PnpS3cMZNI6hqe2qXjyCxZq-l6B4); and Pasożyt, "Populizm," <https://www.facebook.com/parasitepasozyt/photos/a.340172702986036/826740910995877>.

<sup>89</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>90</sup> Guzek, "Religious Memory," 75–93.

<sup>91</sup> Szwed and Zielińska, "A War," 113–36.

<sup>92</sup> Elias, *The Civilizing Process*; Elias, *Die Gesellschaft*; Alikhani, *Institutionelle Entdemokratisierungsprozesse*.

<sup>93</sup> Hadas, "The Culture of Distrust."

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.; cf. Bourdieu, *Distinction*; Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*; Elias, *The Germans*.

<sup>95</sup> Pickel, "The Habitus Process," 439.

good life with a Catholic, calm, and traditional lifestyle for themselves and other people based on their traditional values and uncontroversial art – taken by them as obvious and the only correct one – so they expected the exhibition to be closed.

Scholarship so far has proposed no idea for grasping habitus in the context of a selected faith or religion. There are characteristics of the national habitus of German,<sup>96</sup> American,<sup>97</sup> or Austrian and English nations.<sup>98</sup> However, there is some research into the protester habitus made by Pickel.<sup>99</sup> From my point of view, inspired by Elias' writings, Pickel's remarks are particularly useful to describe the protests in Toruń. He notices that protesters generally follow an overwhelming trend. As people follow the organisers' call to meet at the planned venue, "most participants will be familiar with the habitus of such an event while others will be familiarised with the habitus by participating in this particular event."<sup>100</sup> Moreover, according to Pickel, protesters take symbolic objects that help to manifest their views.<sup>101</sup> In Toruń, the objects were posters, rosaries, crosses, and capes with images of Christ and Mary. As Pickel argues,

[protesters] generally respect that the event should be peaceful. They feel concerned enough about what they perceive to be an issue to participate, and they expect to feel good by participating. They may interact with other demonstrators, though anonymity will remain the general condition. The crowd may briefly assemble at some point during the march to listen to speakers, but at the end it will quickly dissolve.<sup>102</sup>

Applying Pickel's notion to the Toruń events, I realise that the protesters' habitus inspired the demonstration and expressed their expectations. These expectations were part of a larger knowledge system that informed demonstration with its content and forms.<sup>103</sup> I point out that the protesters' habitus characterises such patterns of behaviour as public prayer, informing about someone's fault and guilt, expectation of repentance, apology, and change of behaviour of the person who is the addressee of the demonstration. Even if this change does not occur, the fact of participating in the demonstration can provide partial satisfaction. I assume that a probably deeper satisfaction of the protesters comes from their praying in the position of humility, supplication, and special involvement of one's own body in kneeling and prostrating. At the same time, I believe that humility and supplication paradoxically manifest the Catholics' pride in defending their values. Such a form both defends protesters against non-traditional, non-Catholic influences and calls for a change in the behaviour of the initiators of the influences. I recognise that the corresponding habitus in the case of the analysed protesters can be recognised as a national conservative Catholic one. A confirmation of this recognition is available in the protested issues.

## 4.2 In View of What Did the Protesters Display Their Habitus?

According to the protesters, they presented their viewpoint as a form of participation in a cultural war happening in Poland. As Marta Bucholc describes, a cultural war is a metaphor for the rivalry between different orientations in the creation of a national habitus. Especially since 2015, the right-wing party in Poland supported the intense reworking of national memory and history. This work resides in the use of emotionally charged historiography, as well as historical and religious symbols that are created or restored and further emotionally charged by their use as arguments in current debates. According to Bucholc, such

<sup>96</sup> Elias, *The Germans*; Elias, *The Civilizing Process*.

<sup>97</sup> Mennell, *The American Civilizing Process*; Mennell, "The Problem," 59–73.

<sup>98</sup> Kuzmics and Axtmann, *Authority*.

<sup>99</sup> Pickel, "The Habitus Process," 446–7.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 446.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Ibid., 446–7.

historiography and symbols provide material for politically mobilising collective identity.<sup>104</sup> Thus, in my opinion, the historiographic capital and symbols used by the protesters bear a relevant weight. On the one hand, the protesters employ traditional symbols from Polish history: the Black Madonna of Częstochowa and Our Lady of the Rosary. On the other hand, they unite the resources common to universal Catholicism with those of Polish national memory resources (like Jesus Christ as the King of Poland), thus binding Catholicism and Polishness.<sup>105</sup>

Furthermore, I believe that the protesters' habitus cooperates with their attitude towards art based on Tridentine documents. Although the Vatican II and post-Vatican II ideas might be viewed as articulated by the magisterium of the Church, in my view, the protesters did not include it in their attitude to art. There are no sources that would suggest the protesters became acquainted with all the Church teachings on art and then consciously decided which documents to accept or not. It seems much more probable that they received their attitude towards art and religious symbols from those who shaped their views based on pre-Vatican II Catholic tradition, meaning parents, grandparents, teachers, and some priests. Thus, they forget historical content about the art or sift through them by considering some and not others, and retrospectively invent new ones that they believe took place in the past or give their own interpretations.<sup>106</sup> As Lahire<sup>107</sup> and Hadas<sup>108</sup> claim, the external forces to which individuals are subjected since their birth determine their behaviour and attitudes. The state, the Church, family, school, society, and culture all have institutionalised strategies for effectively inculcating habitus.<sup>109</sup> The more intense and the longer the socialisation process in the Church – as well as in family, school, workplace, or another environment – the more durable the instilled dispositional patterns.<sup>110</sup> Thus, it is possible to reconstruct the protesters' habitus from the patterns of their protectors with a traditional Catholic worldview. In this approach, I include a specific type of protesters' behaviours, feelings, and actions transferred from one generation to another.<sup>111</sup>

According to my observations, the protesters' national conservative Catholic habitus shaped their ideas and behavioural patterns towards Abramović's exhibition. If the protesters used historical and religious symbols, they would recognise Abramović's art as a symbol of values opposite to those espoused by the protesters.<sup>112</sup> I assume that the protesters did not know Abramović's biography or art well because they did not see some common ground between her works and the traditional patriotic worldview. The common ground refers to the communist past of both the Polish and Yugoslav societies, which were ruled by leaders dependent on Soviet Russia. Moreover, in materials of the CCA exhibition, Abramović explains that the difficult history of her country affected her family and education, so it appears as a recurring theme in her artistic and personal journey.<sup>113</sup> Thus, the protesters did not interpret the five-pointed star on Abramović's body as related to communist Yugoslavia. They only wanted to read into the star's satanic connotations combined with nudity as something that – according to them – should remain hidden. The protesters' ideas affected their view of art as an element of culture. They believed art ought to display images rooted in tradition compatible with post-Tridentine Catholic theology, meaning they should not scandalise, shock, or arouse negative emotions. To ironically quote the title of one of Abramović's works, the protesters suggested that *Art Must Be Beautiful* (2010), and its beauty was to be obvious, safe, and sanctioned by tradition. The protesters rejected art that is ugly, repulsive, controversial, nuanced, provoking, full of nudity, sexuality, or corporeality, including limbs, bones, muscles, blood, and bodily organs. Using Bourdieu's observations, I mention that when faced with legitimate artworks such as Abramović's, people most lacking the specific competence apply to them the

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Bucholc, "Schengen," 155; Topidi, "Religious Freedom," 293.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Topidi, "Religious Freedom," 293; Kunovich, "An Exploration," 447–52.

<sup>106</sup> Hervieu-Léger, *Religion*.

<sup>107</sup> Lahire, *Monde pluriel*, cover page.

<sup>108</sup> Hadas, *Outlines*, 78.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 83 and 85; Lahire, *Monde pluriel*, 2.

<sup>110</sup> Hadas, *Outlines*, 78.

<sup>111</sup> Elias, *The Civilizing Process*; Elias, *Die Gesellschaft*; Alikhani, *Institutionelle Entdemokratisierungsprozesse*.

<sup>112</sup> Kotwas and Kubik, "Symbolic Thickening," 345–471.

<sup>113</sup> [No author]. *Wystawa/Marina Abramović*.

perceptual schemes of their own mentality and worldview, the very ones that structure their everyday perception of everyday existence. “These schemes, giving rise to products of an unwilled, unselfconscious systematicity, are opposed to the more or less fully stated principles of an aesthetic.”<sup>114</sup> It explains why the protest was criticised by the members of artistic society and why the protesters did not recognise the artistic content of Abramović works as significant in a positive way. Bourdieu brilliantly captures what I notice in the protesters’ approach to art in the context of their habitus. Following him, the protesters’ taste (i.e. manifested preference) was manifested by identifying differences between their ideas and supporters of Abramović’s art. The demonstrators’ taste was asserted purely negatively by the exclusion of other tastes, namely negation, distastes, disgust, and intolerance. The protesters’ taste seemed to be natural and the only right, and therefore, their aesthetic intolerance is so strong. In other words, aversion to different life-styles (including interpretations of art) led the protesters to create a crucial barrier between them and art supporters.<sup>115</sup> Bourdieu theoretical observations explain the protesters’ approach: “The most intolerable thing for those who regard themselves as the possessors of legitimate culture is the sacrilegious reuniting of tastes which taste dictates shall be separated. This means that the games of artists and aesthetes and their struggles for the monopoly of artistic legitimacy are less innocent than they seem.”<sup>116</sup>

Then, Bourdieu continues his theoretical observations, which I read as an explanation for the attitude of the protesters in Toruń:

At stake in every struggle over art there is also the imposition of an art of living, that is, the transmutation of an arbitrary way of living into the legitimate way of life which casts every other way of living into arbitrariness. The artist’s life-style is always a challenge thrown at the bourgeois life-style, which it seeks to condemn as unreal and even absurd, by a sort of practical demonstration of the emptiness of the values and powers it pursues. ... Like the visibly ethical judgements of those who lack the means to make art the basis of their art of living, to see the world and other people through literary reminiscences and pictorial references, the ‘pure’ and purely aesthetic judgements of the artist and the aesthete spring from the dispositions of an ethos; but because of the legitimacy which they command so long as their relationship to the dispositions and interests of a group defined by strong cultural capital and weak economic capital remains unrecognized, they provide a sort of absolute reference point in the necessarily endless play of mutually self-relativizing tastes.<sup>117</sup>

Moreover, as Bourdieu shows “habitus as a system of dispositions to be and to do is a potentiality, a desire to be which, in a certain way, seeks to create the conditions of its fulfilment, and therefore to create the conditions most favourable to what it is.”<sup>118</sup> Describing the chosen protest as one revealing the national conservative Catholic habitus, the above notion explains why protesters tried to dissuade visitors from partaking in the exhibition and expected its closing. Their aim was to create favourable conditions for saving traditional culture in Poland. Because they recognised Abramović’s art as opposing the Catholic tradition, they considered it obvious to dissuade others from viewing her exhibition.

Therefore, we should consider why were the protesters so selective in their approach to the teachings of the universal Catholic Church about art, and the aesthetic value of Abramović’s artworks.

### 4.3 Why So Selective?

The analysed case shows that habitus in general came from top-down but also bottom-up influences, thus communal and individual. The habitus is a social phenomenon as it can be indicated in specific social systems, power, economics, institutions, cultures, and languages. However, on the individual level, the habitus of the protesters was connected with their neural networks and brain processes, feelings, thoughts, actions, and the range of psychological dispositions.<sup>119</sup> The notion of habitus is applicable across all the bio-psychological and

<sup>114</sup> Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 44.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>116</sup> Bourdieu, *Distinction*.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 56–7.

<sup>118</sup> Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, 149–50.

<sup>119</sup> Pickel, “The Habitus Process,” 439.

sociosemiotic systems that shape personality.<sup>120</sup> Therefore, the set of norms and worldview interpretations of the protesters imposed on the individual by such entities as the Church and the nation matters, but it does not determine what one exactly accepts or rejects. On the contrary, each individual is responsible for its own attitude.

The habitus processes happen in both directions: ascending and descending.<sup>121</sup> One specific systemic habitus can impact individual members of the protest like the descending impulse called the magisterium in the Catholic Church. The magisterium promotes certain patterns of desires, emotions, thinking, actions, and interactions, which reach individual human beings through social experiences (*inter alia* being part of the Church) and undergo mental processes. As I see in the case of the protesters in Toruń, as intra-ecclesial groups and inculcating institutions, right-wing Catholic communities in Poland apply strategies aimed at incorporating not only cognitive knowledge according to their own worldview but also dispositional drives. Dispositions are reactions or products of sociohistorical circumstances.

On the other hand, one's neural activities lead to decisions that influence the personal profile, and then the social systems are part of the ascending impulse. In other words, the way the protesters desire, feel, think, act, and interact shapes the social systems in which they participate. The systems impact their "internal plurality of individuals" as simultaneous members of several environments, such as the universal Church, the parish, the intra-ecclesial community like the Rosary Crusade for Fatherland, family, or workplace.<sup>122</sup> Social norms and customs do not have a determining power. Thanks to free will and individual choices, the demonstrators could select the things they accept or not in the social systems to which they belong. Moreover, Church members typically simultaneously identify with other groups, which leads to individual choices between (competing) ideas. Environmental factors influence how this selection of social norms occurs. For example, populations that occupy specific ecological niches or experience adverse conditions such as wars, poverty, or plagues tend to be more rigorist. On the other hand, people who live in conditions that satisfy their diverse needs are more likely to lean towards tolerance and innovation.<sup>123</sup> Notably, during twenty-five years after 1989, the Polish society increasingly experienced satisfaction in life economy- and culture-wise.<sup>124</sup> The narration about reality has changed since 2015 when the discourse about cultural war with traditional values became more pronounced. The narration has convinced a relevant part of the Polish society that they live in a cultural (Catholic) niche in the European context, and so the narration has reinforced rigorism. Using Lahire's theoretical reflection about habitus,<sup>125</sup> we may conclude that the narration about Polish society as a cultural and religious niche makes the right-wing Catholics' attitude grow ever stronger, because the approach is actualised with a significant frequency by the state and Church's authors of discourse about the defence of Polish culture against foreign non-traditional influence. The actualisation establishes the Catholics' habitus firmly in their reactions, feelings, and emotions that appear in their bodies.<sup>126</sup>

Andreas Pickel<sup>127</sup> and Miklós Hadas argue that most people belong to several social systems simultaneously:

As a result of not being socialised homogeneously, individuals are generally carriers of contradictory dispositions: Depending on the context, the same individual can be simultaneously schoolboy, son, father, boyfriend, lover, goalkeeper, altar boy, client, director, activist, etc. Each actor can thus incorporate a multiplicity of schemes of action or habits, which are activated according to the situation. It may easily happen that an individual is embedded in networks and institutions that are in radical opposition to each other, and if an actor is socialised in a plurality of non-homogeneous social contexts, s/he will have heterogeneous or contradictory dispositions that are not necessarily harmonious with those of the family.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 442 and 450; Elias, *The Symbol Theory*, 128.

<sup>121</sup> Pickel, "The Habitus Process," 446.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Lahire, *Monde pluriel*, 343–4.

<sup>123</sup> Shalin, "Norbert Elias," 526.

<sup>124</sup> Czapliński and Panek, *Contemporary Economics*, 1–461; Czapliński, *Jakość życia*.

<sup>125</sup> Lahire, *Monde pluriel*, 339–40.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Pickel, "The Habitus Process," 448–9, 453, and 455.

<sup>128</sup> Hadas, *Outlines*, 34.

As a result, social norms overlap and mix. Some social systems overlap hierarchically while others horizontally. The power, authority, and appeal of any social system come from its political, economic, and cultural influence. The more powerful the system becomes, the more impact it exerts (functionally and/or symbolically) on its members compared to other overlapping systems. In the case of more numerous social systems, the dominant habitus is usually confronted with competing ones.<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, various areas of social existence are interconnected in religious life, art, and sexual relations.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, taking into account that the socialisation process is more or less heterogeneous – and sometimes even contradictory – individuals pass through different contexts (in the case of the protesters: artistic, doctrinal, and religious practices). Thus, the protesters' dispositional plurality opposes the “singleness” and homogeneity of their habitus.<sup>131</sup>

Applying the above point to the case of Toruń protesters, we may observe that the national and Catholic habitus overlaps hierarchically with other systems to which the protesters belong such as workplaces or families. The fact is that the protesters are multi-socialised and multi-determined.<sup>132</sup> After all, their own original national conservative Catholic habitus led them to protest in public. The habitus's origins can be traced to some full or major habitus present in the Catholic Church in Poland, and next the patriotic vein of Polish Catholicism represented by the Militia of Christ the King or the National Rosary Crusade. The protesters' habitus and the perception of a good life were partly shaped by external structures such as right-wing patriotic groups while partly by their individual choices. The formation proved so powerful both symbolically and functionally that it led the protesters to confront their ideological adversaries.<sup>133</sup> Thus, I evaluate the overwhelming habitus of the Catholic Church in Poland and the patriotically oriented associations in Poland as “meta-habitus” that dominate the overlapping habitus on the individual level.<sup>134</sup>

The above complies with the views of Elias and Scotson about habitus as not a pure self-projection but a relational quality.<sup>135</sup> The relation relies on the identification of the group with an individual member of the group, as well as the group with external subjects. This conception includes the figure of conceptualising individuals as biopsychosocial systems that partake in habitus. This image of individuals as biopsychosocial systems circumvents the dualism of “individual” and “society” without resorting to either sociological or biopsychological reductions, so it agrees with Elias' idea of creating narratives without dichotomous interpretations of reality.<sup>136</sup>

The case of the Toruń protesters and their selective approach to the teachings of the universal Catholic Church about art, or the aesthetic value Abramović's artworks draws attention to habitus inculcation. Hadas enumerates three types of habitus inculcation – coercion, reinforcement, and enticement – arguing that the Catholic hierarchy practiced the strategy of coercion.<sup>137</sup> I believe that this point cannot be applied to the protesters because they did not manifest the universal Church approach to art. Thus, their full habitus was only partly shaped by the universal Church. Instead, according to my observation, the protesters revealed the third type of inculcation: enticement. The authors of the online announcement about the planned protest – and the protesters – offered the promise of use value for the products they created.<sup>138</sup> The product was the saving of traditional values of the Polish-Catholic culture, while in the supernatural order – the salvation of souls.

<sup>129</sup> Pickel, “The Habitus Process,” 448–9, 453, and 455.

<sup>130</sup> Hadas, *Outlines*, 49.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Hadas, *Outlines*, 75; Lahire, *Monde pluriel*, 229; Lahire, “From the Habitus,” 351–2.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Hadas, *Outlines*, 94.

<sup>133</sup> Kotwas and Kubik, “Symbolic Thickening,” 435–71.

<sup>134</sup> Pickel, “The Habitus Process,” 448–9, and 456.

<sup>135</sup> Elias and Scotson, *The Established and the Outsiders*.

<sup>136</sup> Elias, *The Symbol Theory*, 5.

<sup>137</sup> Hadas, *Outlines*, 98.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

## 5 Conclusion

In this article, I showed that the Toruń protesters revealed their habitus, which expresses peculiar right-wing, national, Catholic values, as well as determines their negative attitude towards nudity, the body, and sexuality in visual arts and culture in general. Their habitus cherry-picks from the “full” or “major” habitus of the Catholic Church. These adaptations result from individual decisions whether to accept, promote, or reject specific ideas, feelings, emotions, preferences, inclinations, and values of external social systems, such as the Church, intra-ecclesial communities, family, school, workplace, and other environments to which the protesters simultaneously belong.

The study also suggested that in the case of the protesters, the specific national conservative Catholic habitus has analogical strong features as a national one with traditional, right-wing viewpoint.<sup>139</sup> The specific united national and Catholic habitus of the protesters in their minds must correspond to the significance of the modern Polish national state.

Allow me to emphasise that the national conservative Catholic habitus should not be equated with the we-image of the members of the universal Catholic Church or with the general habitus of the universal Church, which promotes a global pattern of behaviours, values, and feelings. Moreover, I believe that the habitus described above cannot be recognised as a habitus common to all Poles, as it is not displayed by those Poles-Catholics who hold views other than right-wing. Nevertheless, I recognise it as a key habitus in Poland since 2015, because of the support it receives from the national conservatives despite their loss of power in 2023. This means that between 2015 and 2023 the government politically elevated the post-Vatican II national conservative Catholic variant associated with, among others, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, its coalition partners, and Fr. Tadeusz Rydzyk, to the status of the dominant variety of national habitus in modern Poland. Moreover, this elevation was reinforced by gender politics, which shaped the ideological space of national conservatives in an illiberal approach that defined the increasingly limited freedom of artistic creation, a veiled image of the body and women in culture, and a ban on combining the body, sexuality, and art with Catholicism.<sup>140</sup> As a result, the image of the protesters and other right-winger Poles-Catholics uses conjoined Catholic and national Polish symbols, including similar historiography,<sup>141</sup> while driving hostile reactions towards visions of Poland that encompass external foreign, including (1) foreign Catholics, (2) non-Catholics, (3) and Polish left-wing Catholics. This also suggests that Catholics in Poland are an inhomogeneous society of groups enjoying certain autonomy.<sup>142</sup>

Continuing the third step of Kotkowska’s method of fundamental theology, I explain the present the analysed protest in a broaden (social and theological) context. Simultaneously, I highlight the fruitful application of Elias’ sociological theory (which inspired the qualitative analysis in this article) to obtain theological assessments of the socio-cultural phenomenon that is the described protest. I recognise the Toruń protest is a synecdoche, a figure representing the national conservative Catholic habitus in Poland. Based on the above analysis, I assume that the source of this habitus’ strength stems partly from what is subjectively selected and partly from what is passed down in generational transfer as elements of the universal teaching of the Catholic Church on art or the selective use of Catholic symbols, both common to all believers and those specific to the country. Moreover, in the light of my research, the habitus’ foundation stems from the fear that the supposedly great Polish culture embedded in religion in difficult times (partitions, wars, and the communist period) may be lost. Nevertheless, I note that the national conservative Catholics’ memory of the past is also selective. It does not contain any content about the Polish multinational, multicultural, and multi-religious state of that time,<sup>143</sup> relying solely on Polish–Catholic accents. This confirms that religion, which relies heavily on historical memory, can integrate some into groups, and thus be a tool for differentiating that group from other groups of

<sup>139</sup> Heinen and Portet, “Religion,” 1–39.

<sup>140</sup> Grzebalska and Pető, “The Gendered Modus Operandi,” 164–72.

<sup>141</sup> Porter, *Faith*, 328–59.

<sup>142</sup> Kołodziejska, “Religion,” 162.

<sup>143</sup> Kłaczko et al., *The History of Poland*.

Catholics and/or Poles. The differentiation is an integrating force for protesters, and the context for determining the identity of “us”-right Catholics and “them”-unbelievers or wrong believers.<sup>144</sup>

I recognise that the aim of the national conservative Catholics is to preserve a specific kind of Polish culture based on its early-modern image: strong state influenced by the Catholic Church in both policy and culture, with the accompanying theology of art taken directly from the Tridentine Council. As a result, the national conservative Catholics invest much energy in remembrance politics and historical politics. If I were to find one common denominator in this habitus, it would be the restoration of Catholic, national glory.<sup>145</sup> The national conservative Catholic habitus has been created by some Poles as a response to figurational challenges such as influences without a traditional viewpoint. If conditions were to change following the wishes of this habitus’ representatives – so Polish culture would no longer be threatened by external influence – the protesters and their supporters’ dispositions would become weak. As Hadas argues, “if the structuring conditions re-appear, inactivated patterns can re-emerge from the dispositional arsenal and be brought into operation again. In other words, the inculcated dispositions may change and fluctuate in duration and strength.”<sup>146</sup> However, the consequence of this habitus may not only lie in the increased probability that the cultural network of interdependencies between Poland and other countries will be torn apart<sup>147</sup> but also in the continuation of the disruption of the network of (1) interdependences between Catholics in Poland and (2) the teachings of the universal Church, together with the experiences of Catholics in other countries. In other words, if this habitus were to gain popularity in the Polish society,<sup>148</sup> it would reduce Catholicism and historiography to ‘narcissistic self-idolatry,’ a dangerous idea that would change the work on symbols and historiography into an emotionally closed, isolationist, and xenophobic perpetuum mobile.<sup>149</sup> This issue calls for all Catholics’ deepened reflection and pastors’ consideration of the fact that faith can be realised in the context of national culture but not only; after all, “Catholic” means “universal.”

The last point should lead Polish national conservative Catholics to their theological reconfiguration of “catholic” term. Their attitude in the Toruń protest suggests that “catholic” means to identify with certain ideas of the Catholic Church, and view the Church as strongly combining faith with national symbols, as well as presenting traditional moral teaching about the body, nudity, and sexuality in art. Nevertheless, referring to the national symbols they seem to tolerate only national-Polish ones. Meanwhile, theologically, “catholic” (Greek *katholikos*) means one of the attributes of the Church which is doctrinally “comprehensive,” “universal,” “general,” “common,” and “for everyone who believes in Jesus Christ.” This definition means that the entire ecclesial community (not just Polish Catholics) possesses the totality of the truth and means of salvation, as well as is sent and redemptively directed towards all people of any time and space. This meaning of “catholic” is proclaimed by the institutional Church<sup>150</sup> and has been established in theology.<sup>151</sup> Recently, the catholicity and synodality of the Church are discussed, namely how to reconfigure the obligation to guard the revealed truth together with the particularity of the Church.<sup>152</sup> Theologically, this particularity does not oppose the universality of the Church; it takes into account the historical and cultural peculiarities of local Catholic communities, however criticises religious nationalism, and the exclusion or devaluation of the importance of culturally distinct local religious communities.<sup>153</sup> For these reasons, and taking into account the teaching of the

<sup>144</sup> Cf. Kołodziejska, “Religion,” 159–60, and 162; Guzek, “Religious Memory,” 75–93.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Bucholc, “Schengen,” 176.

<sup>146</sup> Hadas, *Outlines*, 88.

<sup>147</sup> Bucholc, “Schengen,” 178; Guerra, “Without Losing My Religion,” 51–68.

<sup>148</sup> Topidi, “Religious Freedom,” 293.

<sup>149</sup> Bucholc, “Schengen,” 178.

<sup>150</sup> Matthew 1:21; Matthew 28:19–20; 1 Timothy 2:4; Letter to the Hebrews 5:9; Second Vatican Council, “Dogmatic Constitution,” [https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_const\\_19641121\\_lumen-gentium\\_en.html](https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19641121_lumen-gentium_en.html); Apostolic See, *Catechism*, nos 839–48.

<sup>151</sup> State of art in Sullivan, *The Church*; Ozorowski, “Katolickość,” 1202–4.

<sup>152</sup> Hinze, “Synodality,” 121–30; Kantyka, “By What Authority?,” 1179; Faggioli, “From Collegiality to Synodality,” 352–69.

<sup>153</sup> Second Vatican Council, “Decree Concerning the Pastoral Office,” [https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_decree\\_19651028\\_christus-dominus\\_en.html](https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19651028_christus-dominus_en.html), no. 11; Paul VI, “*Evangelii Nuntiandi*,” [https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/apost\\_exhortations/documents/hf\\_p-vi\\_exh\\_19751208\\_evangelii-nuntiandi.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_p-vi_exh_19751208_evangelii-nuntiandi.html), no. 62.

Second Vatican Council about the art, I recognise the Polish national conservative Catholics' hostile reactions towards art with a non-traditional approach to the body and nudity, foreign Catholics, non-Catholics, and Polish left-wing Catholics as a field for cultural, theological, and religious reworking their attitudes and reactions that make up their habitus.

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