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Military museums in Poland – between the past and the future

Dagmara Chylińska – Łukasz Musiaka

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Military museums in Poland – between the past and the future

Museums are a constantly developing segment of cultural tourism. Poland is in line with current trends in museums, expanding its offer and adapting it to the requirements of the world of contemporary image culture and multisensory experiences, which is increasingly dominated by technology. The authors of the paper undertook to recognise the specificity of military museums, by conducting a survey of approximately a third of all such institutions in Poland. Due to the subject-matter of their exhibitions, military museums create a broad field of research both in terms of aesthetics and museum practice, as well as the issues of shaping and maintaining collective memory and the identity of the nation. They form a special mirror in which the country's ideas and aspirations are reflected more often than any real characteristics. In reference to contemporary trends in museums, the article aims to place Polish military museums between locality and universality, education and entertainment, stability and dynamism, knowledge and experience. The results obtained allowed the authors to distinguish three groups of military museums in Poland, as well as indicate conditions conducive to the further development of such attractions in the country.

Keywords: museum, military museum, heritage, Poland, Central and Eastern Europe.

Introduction

Since the nineteenth century, when museums became a widely accepted means of collecting, preserving and popularising relics of the past, they have become one of the most popular ways to make cultural heritage accessible to visitors. The concept of the “museum” has undergone far-reaching changes since its inception.¹ Nowadays, some of the largest museum facilities may aspire to become not only cultural centres but also tourist enterprises.² Among the extremely

¹ GÜNAY, Burcu. Museum concept from past to present and importance of museums as centers of art education. In: *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 55, 2012, p. 1250–1258; MARSTINE, Janet. Introduction. In: MARSTINE, Janet (ed.). *New Museum Theory and Practice. An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006, p. 1–36; ROSS, Max. Interpreting the new museology. In: *Museum & Society*, vol. 2, Issue 2, July 2004, p. 84–103; WITCOMB, Andrea. *Re-Imagining the Museum. Beyond the Mausoleum*. London, New York: Routledge, 2003.

² HERREMAN, Yani. Museums and Tourism: Culture and Consumption. In: *Museum International*, 50:3, July-September 1998, p. 2–64.

rich museum offer of what we would like to call heritage, collections related to history and military art occupy a prominent place.³ This is not a coincidence – world history is largely the history of wars. Military-themed museums often reflect what has shaped nations and what they have been most proud of. The time when the first museums, including military ones, were opened to the general public is also significant. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were marked by the struggle for the independence of many nations and emerging nationalisms. Museums helped to build a sense of community based on history and heritage that was understood as the best products of the material and spiritual culture of past generations. The changes in the character of military museums in Poland are treated as part of a paradigm shift in cultural heritage⁴ which took place in the post-war period and represented a departure from the passive protection of monuments to their conservation and, finally, the treatment of heritage as a factor of social and economic development.⁵ Currently, this is resulting in the search for new forms of adaptation and management of change in museums. The contemporary creation of heritage therefore not only involves its protection, but also its creative use.⁶

In the paper, we discuss issues concerning military museums focusing on those located in Poland. In the era of far-reaching political transformations, globalisation and unification processes, and diverse views on the concept of the nation and its function in the present world, we ask questions about the role of military museums in the social and tourism spaces. By establishing the number of military museums in Poland in the twenty-first century and characterising them in terms of values most sought after in contemporary tourism (including authenticity, uniqueness and unconventional interpretation) and in relation to contemporary trends in museums, we aim to place Polish military museums between locality and universality, education and entertainment, stability and dynamism, knowledge and experience. In order to achieve these goals, it was necessary to formulate two research questions:

- to what extent do these museums follow the profound conceptual changes of the contemporary “museum”;
- can we make some categorisation of Polish military museums and is there a clear specificity of this type of museum? If so, what is it?

The paper is structured as follows. The first section discusses the development of the concept of the museum in history in order to present explicitly the “old” and the “modern” model of such institutions. This particular section allows us to locate Polish military museums in the continuum of conceptual museum development. Later, we provide analysis of the nature of

³ ARNOLD-DE SIMINE, Silke. *Mediating memory in the museum. Trauma, empathy, nostalgia*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

⁴ KUHN, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1962; MCGIMSEY, Charles Robert. *Public archeology*. New York-London: Seminar Press, 1972; LOWENTHAL, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

⁵ PURCHLA, Jacek. Dziedzictwo kulturowe a kapitał społeczny [Cultural heritage and social capital]. In: *Małopolskie Studia Regionalne*, 1, 2011, p. 5–8. [In Polish]; MURZYN-KUPISZ, Monika. *Dziedzictwo kulturowe a rozwój lokalny* [Cultural heritage and local development]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego w Krakowie, 2012. [In Polish].

⁶ RODELL, Dennis. Urban Conservation in the 1960s and 1970s: A European Overview. In: *Architectural Heritage*, 21:1, March 2011, p. 1–18; KŁOSEK-KOZŁOWSKA, Danuta. *Dziedzictwo miast. Ochrona i rozwój* [Heritage of the cities. Preservation and development]. Warszawa: Drukarnia Naukowa PAN, 2013. [In Polish]; KOWALSKI, Krzysztof. *O istocie dziedzictwa europejskiego – rozważania* [On the core of heritage – reflections]. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2013. [In Polish]; ASHWORTH, Gregory. *Planowanie dziedzictwa* [Heritage planning]. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2015. [In Polish].

war museums, focusing on the wide and complex character of their expositions, including conflicting and agonistic ones. The universal problems with interpretation of war heritage are also briefly discussed. The body of the paper presents the results of the surveys on Polish military museums. In order to capture the aforementioned ideological transition in museums we focused mainly on the ways expositions are constructed (traditional versus narrative approaches, cold and hot interpretation), the role of authentic monuments and modern tools of exposition in supporting or entirely building museum exhibition spaces, and the multiple scientific, social and market-driven functions of the museums under study. In light of these analyses, a categorization of the Polish war museums towards the “old” or “new” paradigms of the museum is presented and analysed.

In order to obtain these results, we used desk research methods supported by a questionnaire⁷ (carried out on the basis of the procedure described below) and observation. We also provide an analysis of national literature on the subject, mainly in terms of resource size, character and changing trends in museology; analysis of international literature, in order to determine current trends in museology outside Poland; and analysis of source materials, including museums’ official websites and a list of museum objects and sources/documents such as museum reports on participation in culture and the impact of culture on society. The literature reviews are enriched with the results of our own surveys, which served to verify previously adopted assumptions and described processes in Polish and international museology. The analysis of surveys is complemented by selected statistical methods.

Changing concepts of the museum

The tendency to accumulate objects seems to be an inherent feature of the human character. Collections, once gathered mainly by the wealthy or by group efforts, offered a tangible link with the past, a sign of wealth and social status, and, ultimately, helped to build a sense of community, to define what would distinguish one social group from another. “Social hierarchy inevitably leads to the appearance of a collection”,⁸ and collections often belong to the symbolic setting of authority and rituals accompanying the life of authorities.⁹ As Günay¹⁰ observes, ancient and medieval collections deposited in monasteries and universities were especially key to protecting the most valuable cultural works from destruction. While the Enlightenment owes its development in the field of knowledge and science to collecting, Romanticism brought interest in all that is strange, bizarre and abnormal, shown at fairs and in circuses, but also at freakshows. The passion for accumulating various types of collections, artefacts and peculiarities was fuelled by great geographical discoveries and civilizational progress, which triggered nostalgia for the traditional world that was becoming a thing of the past, sometimes during the lifespan of one generation.¹¹ Some of the richest museum collections in the world were creat-

⁷ The formulary of the questionnaire is included in the Appendix.

⁸ POMIAN, Krzysztof. *Zbieracze i osobliwości. Paryż–Wenecja XVI–XVIII w.* [Collectors and curiosities. Paris–Venice the 16th–18th centuries]. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2001. [In Polish] quoted in: POPCZYK, Maria. *Estetyczne przestrzenie ekspozycji muzealnych* [The aesthetic spaces of museum exhibitions]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Universitas, 2008, p. 21. [In Polish].

⁹ POPCZYK, *Estetyczne...*

¹⁰ GÜNAY, Museum concept....

¹¹ GÜNAY, Museum concept...; URRY, John. *Spojrzenie turysty* [Tourist gaze]. Warszawa: PWN, 2007. [In Polish].

ed during the colonial period.¹² The development of European museum collections was also facilitated by wars and conquests in the turbulent political climate of the nineteenth century.

The significant development of museums in the nineteenth century also coincided with the search for and definition of the concept of “nation” and the enclosure of this concept by a series of sociocultural practices aimed at consolidating a community based on a common history, heritage and blood. As Ashworth has repeatedly written, “heritage” is a subjective category, socially and culturally constructed, a kind of collective “delusion”.¹³ According to the author, this is probably the most important instrument for shaping territorial identity. The nation also identifies itself through links with the land of inhabits. Visiting places embodying a clearly defined collective memory of the “nation”, including museums whose collections reflected the strategy of remembering and forgetting adopted by the community, made it possible to achieve the political and ideological goals of the nation-state.¹⁴ Heritage has been closed in museums not for aesthetic satisfaction or cultural enrichment; heritage accumulates power, authority and agency.¹⁵ Although the narrative of national museum collections was often based on a history heavily filtered by the needs of the present,¹⁶ visitors were offered a sense of belonging, community and uniqueness in relation to other groups.¹⁷ Museums certified as “national” were given special importance not only because of the uniqueness of their collections or their extraordinary volume, but also because of their far-reaching institutional and material care. Given the role of museums in shaping national identity,¹⁸ they can, like archives, be classified as “memorial sites” according to Pierre Nora’s concept.¹⁹ Museums, treated as a kind of depository of what we want to call “heritage”, serve to celebrate the past (or rather the imagination of it), while visiting them has become a kind of secular pilgrimage undertaken on

¹² MICHALIK, Magdalena. Instytucja muzeum, praktyka muzealna oraz muzealia w ujęciu teorii postkolonializmu – wstępne rozpoznanie [The institution of museum, museum practice and exhibits within the theory of postcolonialism – preliminary research]. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 59, 2018, p. 28–33. [In Polish]. DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0011.7254.

¹³ ASHWORTH, *Planowanie dziedzictwa*, p. 13.

¹⁴ KERN, Patrizia. Framing the Military-Nation: New War. Museums and Changing Representational Practices in Turkey since 2002. In: MUCHITSCH, Wolfgang (ed.) *Does War Belong in Museums? The Representation of Violence in Exhibitions*. Bielefeld: Verlag, 2013, p. 203–217; ZHANG, Carol X., XIAO, Honggen, MORGAN, Nigel, LY, Tuan Phong. Politics of memories: Identity construction in museums. In: *Annals of Tourism Research*, 73, 2018, p. 116–130.

¹⁵ “Heritage is about Power”, ASHWORTH, Gregory. *Pluralising the Past. Heritage Policies in Plural Societies*. 2011, p. 13. https://sites.eca.ed.ac.uk/ear/files/2011/11/EAR_30_2.pdf (accessed 10 October 2019).

¹⁶ Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge even write “heritage is present-centred and is created, shaped and managed by, and in response to, the demands of the presence.” ASHWORTH, Gregory, GRAHAM, Brian, TUNBRIDGE, John. *Pluralising Pasts. Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*. London: Pluto Press, 2007, p. 3.

¹⁷ FOUCAULT, Michel. *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972 and WAKER, Rob. Postmodernism and nationalism. In: MOTYL, Alex. (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of nationalism*. San Diego: Academic Press, 2001, p. 611–630 quoted in: ZHANG et al. Politics of memories.

¹⁸ The core of traditional museums is what we define subjectively as national heritage (see e.g. ASHWORTH, *Planowanie dziedzictwa*; DELAFONS, John. *Politics and preservation: a policy history of the built heritage 1882–1996*. London: Routledge, 1997. Some artefacts gain the status of historical monuments. Saryusz-Wolska writes about the role of cultural heritage and historical monuments in shaping the collective memory and identity of national communities, SARYUSZ-WOLSKA, Magdalena. Turystyka uwikłana w pamięć zbiorową [Tourism involved in collective memory]. In: *Kultura Współczesna*, 3, 2010, p. 63–74. [In Polish].

¹⁹ NORA, Pierre. *Les lieux de Mémoire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1984. [In French]; NORA, Pierre. Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire [Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory]. In: *Representations*, 26, Spring 1989, p. 7–24.

the basis of both our own tastes and patriotic duty.²⁰ Due to the turbulent processes of shaping the political map of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century world, which generated numerous conflicts often resulting in the deaths of tens of thousands of people, the desire was born to commemorate the victims, to mourn the tragic death of the sons of the nation – or, in a more personal dimension, someone’s sons, fathers, brothers – as well as to celebrate the heroism and sacrifice of the fighters or the genius of the commanders.²¹ For these reasons, not only battlefields and war cemeteries, but also museums reflecting the horrors of war, or celebrating military triumphs, tragic defeats and brilliant commanders, were visited. Some museums were created at the site of a historical event or in its vicinity, but more often they were built in central locations, determining the status of the state and nation.

The development of world (although first of all European) museology in the nineteenth century coincided with the great acceleration that took place in tourism at that time, owing to the invention of railways, which led to the democratisation and spread of travel as an attractive model of spending leisure time. Museums and tourism are positively linked, largely mutually conditioned phenomena.²² Museums as new, secular “places of worship”²³ require special, even ritualistic, behaviour from tourists.²⁴ Famous museums such as the Louvre, Museo del Prado, the Hermitage or the British Museum are becoming a must-see for every mass tourist, even those not necessarily well-educated or particularly interested in culture.

An ancient collection, even an unusual and rich one, is a long way from the “museum” in the modern sense. We are talking about the latter, above all, when the exhibits do not only delight only the eye of the owner of the collection, but are collected with the aim of being made publicly and freely available, pursuing broad social, political and ideological objectives. This concept became popular in the aforementioned nineteenth century, the true “golden” era of museums, in which there appeared a rash of museums both in the Old and New World.²⁵ However, the beginnings of this process date back to the eighteenth century and were sometimes violent. In France, it coincided with the Revolution, when, as Folga-Januszevska²⁶ writes, “On the wave of ‘freedom, equality and brotherhood’, concepts of public collections as public property were created, as well as the first historical museums, where narration and the creation of a ‘story’ became a new form of presentation.”

The second museum “boom” occurred after the Second World War. From the ruins that the war left behind, collections were built or reconstructed. The tragic events of the global conflict – mass extermination not only on the battlefield but also in bombarded cities, in concentration camps or as a result of the use of new deadly weapons (such as the atomic bomb used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki) – resulted in the creation of a new type of war museum with a pacifist message, commemorating the victims of collective cataclysms, but also condemning the war.

²⁰ However, visiting museums is induced by very extensive and varied motivations. See for instance: FALK, John Howard – DIERKING, Lynn Diane. *The museum experience*. Washington: Howells House, 1992.

²¹ WHITMARSH, Andrew. We will remember them. Memory and commemoration in war museums. In: *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies*, 7, November 2001, p. 1–15; WINTER, Caroline. The multiple roles of battlefield war museums: a study at Fromelles and Passchendaele. In: *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 13:3, 2018, p. 211–223, DOI: 10.1080/1743873X.2017.1287189.

²² HERREMAN, Museums and Tourism....

²³ FOLGA-JANUSZEWSKA, Dorota. Muzeologia, muzeografia, muzealnictwo [Museology, museaography, museum studies]. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 47, 2006, p. 9–17. [In Polish].

²⁴ MACCANNELL, Dean. *The Tourist: a new theory of the leisure class*. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

²⁵ See RICHARDS, Greg. (ed.) *Cultural Tourism in Europe*. Wallingford: CABI, 1996, p. 15–16.

²⁶ FOLGA-JANUSZEWSKA, Muzeologia..., p. 10.

The phenomenon of the post-war museum boom was also rooted in the democratisation of culture, the growing importance of popular culture, the emergence of social groups with different expectations and preferences, and general globalisation. As Richards writes, museums could abandon the modernist project of universality in favour of market segmentation and theming.²⁷ The political and sociocultural processes in the postcolonial and postmodern world, which gave an impulse for self-determination to increasingly diverse communities in ethnic, cultural and philosophical terms, were also not without significance for the creation of further museums. Indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities or communities marginalised for various reasons have regained their voice, along with the right to define their own heritage. Bezzeg also underlines that: “In addition to strengthening national identity, museums can also contribute to enhancing the consciousness of humanity as a species”,²⁸ pointing that, after all, we as humans share the same emotions, needs and desires. In the face of globalization, according to Young: “museums need to rethink their roles and objectives within new, relativist frames; and museums may find new representational roles as interpreters of cultural expressions both particular and universal”.²⁹ In other words, there is a need to connect local specificity with broader world contexts (also in relation to war museums). Technically, globalization in museums means a wide opportunity to exchange ideas, concepts, tools and skills, as well as high professional standards in terms of the collection of artefacts and their conservation, restoration, evaluation, preservation and exhibition.³⁰

In terms of contemporary mass and global tourism development, Richards shows that among all cultural attractions, the number of museums has been growing the most rapidly, as has the competition they face, both among themselves and with other tourist attractions.³¹

Contemporary museology, represented, among others, by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and the legislation of many countries, understands the museum as “a permanent, non-profit institution, serving society and its development, accessible to the public, which conducts research on the evidence of human activity and human environment, collects, preserves, makes available and exhibits collections, carries out educational activities and serves entertainment”.³² Although the tasks of a modern museum remain essentially the same, the way in which they are carried out has changed. Traditional museums, once treated as “guardians of the past”, have evolved³³ into modern educational centres whose aim is no longer simply to collect and present authentic, unique artefacts valuable from some strictly defined perspective, but to provide “centres for observation, learning and questioning”.³⁴ In other words, the museum has become a space for interpretation, and museums themselves have been transformed from

²⁷ RICHARDS, *Cultural Tourism in Europe*, p. 15.

²⁸ BEZZEG, Maria. The influence of globalisation on museology. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 5:1, 1999, p. 20.

²⁹ YOUNG, Linda. Globalisation, culture and museums: A review of theory. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 5:1, 1999, p. 11.

³⁰ BEZZEG, The influence of globalisation...

³¹ RICHARDS, Greg. Cultural Tourism. In: MCMANUS, Paulette. (ed.) *Archaeological Displays and the Public. Museology and Interpretation (2nd edition)*. London: Routledge, 2016, p. 1–12.

³² FOLGA-JANUSZEWSKA, Dorota. Muzeum: definicja i pojęcie. Czym jest muzeum dzisiaj? [The museum: definition and concept. What is a museum today?]. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 49, 2008, p. 200. [In Polish].

³³ These changes resulted, among other things, from the reduction of financial resources allocated to the maintenance of museums (the need to attract more visitors as a source of additional income), as well as the need to adapt to the tastes of an increasingly mass visitor. Ibidem.

³⁴ GÜNAY, Museum concept..., p. 1255.

places where culture and its products are shown into places where culture is created. Moreover, thanks to this ideological transformation, they are no longer perceived as elite, exclusive places for the sublime consumer. Petrunina³⁵ also notices the broad and growing engagement of local communities, volunteers, collectors and “friends of the museum” societies in museums’ activities, resulting in the transition of the static museum, focused on hoarding and protecting, into a social institution which is truly responsive to visitors’ needs.

In Günay’s³⁶ opinion, contemporary museums are tools for mass culture.³⁷ They are also (or should be) more and more participatory.³⁸ As Jagodzińska writes,

More and more museums are focusing their attention on the viewer, and meeting their expectations and needs is becoming a priority for the management staff. The word ‘spectator’ frequently ceases to mean just a museum visitor. A visitor to the museum becomes a participant in museum activities, and even a co-creator of them.³⁹

Although in practice the issue of museum participation is realised to varying degrees and in different ways depending on the nature of a given museum (for example, participation is eagerly used by institutions such as contemporary art museums or science centres), and although it is difficult to define its limits, the fact remains that museums are looking for new ways to conduct dialogue with the public or to get people more deeply involved.

Another noteworthy change in the contemporary museum industry is the replacement of the nineteenth-century “cult of the original” with the rush towards visualisation. As Folga-Januszewska⁴⁰ notes, in many contemporary museums, “the process of replacing physical reality with the reality of reproduction has been greatly accelerated” and computer tools, animations, multimedia and interactive educational programs have become just as important (or perhaps more important?) as one’s contact with the “real” exhibit.⁴¹ In accordance with the paradigm of interpretation, more and more museums are in fact focusing increasingly on narrative, on telling stories, rather than on objectively documenting reality.⁴² Interpretation is a keyword in contemporary museology (similarly to tourism). Its principles were defined by Tilden⁴³ in 1957 in the classic work *Interpreting Our Heritage*. Understanding interpretation as art, Tilden emphasises the importance of referring to the personal or group experience of the visitors and the use of educational techniques and tools from various arts adapted to the intellectual and emotional capabilities of the audience (especially children). The interpretation is strongly based on information, but not on information alone. The exposition is rather a provocation, and in its

³⁵ PETRUNINA, Liubow. Museums: Towards the Social Institution. In: SMEDS, Kerstin (ed.) *The Future of Tradition in Museology. Materials for a discussion*. Paris: International Committee for Museology – ICOM, 2019, p. 133–137.

³⁶ GÜNAY, Museum concept..., p. 1257.

³⁷ See: MORAWIŃSKA, Agnieszka. Rozszerzenie funkcji edukacyjnych współczesnego muzeum. [Expanding educational functions of the modern museum]. In: *Kultura Współczesna*, 3:37, 2003, p. 56–58. [In Polish].

³⁸ See: SIMON, Nina. *The participatory museum*. Santa Cruz: Museum, 2010.

³⁹ JAGODZIŃSKA, Katarzyna. Granice partycypacji w muzeum. [The limits for participation in a museum]. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 57, 2016, p. 112. [In Polish].

⁴⁰ FOLGA-JANUSZEWSKA, Muzeum..., p. 201.

⁴¹ The contact with the “authentic” exhibit is also understood differently in museums today. On the one hand, it does not always mean physical proximity – artefacts can become “tangible” in almost every detail through a virtual tour of the museum. On the other hand, visitors are able to shorten the distance between them and their heritage in “touchable museums” as much as possible, and are able to touch many exhibits, since the originals were replaced with replicas.

⁴² FOLGA-JANUSZEWSKA, Muzeum....

⁴³ TILDEN, Freeman. *Interpreting Our Heritage*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957.

“hot” version it evokes an emotional response from the visitors. Uzzell,⁴⁴ referring to the latter, writes that “Interpretation should be interesting, engaging, enjoyable, informative and entertaining. But now and again it has to be shocking, moving and provide a cathartic experience.”

Among the many voices pointing to the transformations of contemporary museology on a global scale, there is no shortage of less optimistic or even critical ones. Clair⁴⁵ points to the increasingly frequent phenomenon of the transformation of world museums into global brands on the same basis that real corporations governed by corporate laws are created. These processes are caused by museum commercialisation, museum marketing, museum franchises, branding and the global trading of museum exhibits. In extreme cases, the museum is already located somewhere between a “casino and a department store” and this problem is part of the wider phenomenon of cultural commodification. The phenomenon of expansion of the museum signalled by Clair⁴⁶ takes place in many regions of the world. It largely concerns countries building a brand of luxury tourist destinations, but it is less threatening for countries such as Poland.⁴⁷ Although the region of Central and Eastern Europe, especially after the fall of communism, fits in well with the post-war museum boom and has enormous potential in the context of the development of museum resources and the implementation of visionary ideas, it is still too weak economically to provide opportunities for the creation of domestic museum corporations to match the Western Europe ones.

Military museums: definition, breakdown according to selected criteria

In Polish legislation, Article 1 of the Museums Act⁴⁸ stipulates that a museum is a non-profit organisational unit whose aim is to collect and permanently protect the natural and cultural heritage of humanity of material and non-material character; to inform about the values and contents of these collections; to disseminate the basic values of Polish and world history, science and culture; to shape cognitive and aesthetic sensitivity; and to make the collections available for use. The museums, which we will call “military” in our paper have in common either: 1) the directly military character of the collected exhibits (weapons, warfare equipment, military equipment and technology) or 2) the relationship of the presented exhibits to the history of war, the development of the art of war, defensive architecture, biographies of people involved in selected wars, both in practice and in general, at the theoretical level. These museums also include those whose collections or narrations focus on the semantic category of “war”, show its material and spiritual consequences (including war cemeteries or *in situ* preserved places affected or completely destroyed by war), and explore its commemorative, affirmative, cautionary or pacifist meanings. Taking into account the classification of museum according to the type of collected museum exhibits, military museums fall into almost every commonly distinguished

⁴⁴ UZZELL, David. The Hot Interpretation of War and Conflict. In: UZZELL, David (ed.) *Heritage Interpretation. Volume 1. The Natural and Built Environment*. London, New York: Belhaven Press, 1989, p. 46.

⁴⁵ CLAIR, Jean. *Kryzys muzeów: globalizacja kultury* [Crisis of the museum: globalization of the culture]. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo słowo/obraz terytoria, 2009 [in Polish] quoted in: JAGODZIŃSKA, Katarzyna. Ekspansja muzeów w Europie Środkowej? [Expansion of museums in Central Europe?]. In: *RIHA Journal* 0121, 3 June 2015. <http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2015/2015-apr-jun/jagodzinska-ekspansja-muzeow-pl> (accessed 10 October 2019).

⁴⁶ Ibidem.

⁴⁷ JAGODZIŃSKA, Ekspansja muzeów....

⁴⁸ *Ustawa z dnia 21 listopada 1996 r. o muzeach*. [The Act of 21 November 1996 on museums]. Dz. U. z 2012 r. poz. 987, z późn. zm. [In Polish].

category of museums⁴⁹ (Table 1). Military museums can be included in ten of the categories of museums distinguished by Lorentz,⁵⁰ namely: museums/ monuments of combat and martyrdom, historical-military museums and collections, partially historical museums and collections, museums and collections of technical history, biographical museums and collections, maritime museum collections, palaces and castles, outdoor museums, memorial chambers and regional chambers.

In the scientific literature, military museums often appear under war museums, either dedicated to war in general or to selected conflicts.⁵¹ This is therefore a slightly narrower view of military museums than we use in this work. War museums are analysed primarily in a memorial context, where the main focus is on the commemoration of fallen soldiers or civilian victims. Among them, Holocaust museums or those dedicated to the mass extermination of selected human groups constitute a clearly distinguishable group. Museums created to oppose the war, although devoted to it, are usually called peace museums.⁵² Studies on the psychological and social foundations of commemoration, as well as forms, traditions and practices associated with them, including in museums, are widely represented in scientific literature.⁵³

A museum, including a military museum, creates a kind of environment in which various rules of exhibiting and watching are practiced, where “conditions for the exchange of views are created, at the same time defining the scope of acceptable behaviours.”⁵⁴ Military museums can function as: 1) traditional museum establishments where collections are accumulated, exhibited and made available. Sometimes, however, a museum is created 2) *in situ*, as in the case of defensive architecture, battlefields or war cemeteries. In such cases, the utility values of

⁴⁹ Categories of museums referred to in the reports on Polish museology prepared by The National Institute for Museums and Public Collections; see, for example, *Muzea w 2017 roku. Statystyka muzeów*. Warszawa: Narodowy Instytut Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zbiorów, 2018. https://nimoz.pl/files/publications/55/Statystyka_muzeow_2017_online.pdf (accessed 10 October 2019). [In Polish].

⁵⁰ LORENTZ, Stanisław. *Przewodnik po muzeach i zbiorach w Polsce*. [Museums and collections in Poland Guidebook]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Interpress, 1982. [In Polish].

⁵¹ See for instance: KERN, Framing the Military-Nation...

⁵² TAMASHIRO, Roy, FURNARI, Ellen. Museums for peace: agents and instruments of peace education. In: *Journal of Peace Education*, 12:3, 2015, p. 223–235. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17400201.2015.1092712>

⁵³ See e.g.: GAJDA, Kinga Anna. Muzeum jako nośnik pamięci. [Museum as a medium of memory]. In: DE ROSSET, Tomasz, BEDNARZ-DOICZMANOWA, Ewelina, TOŁYSZ, Aldona (eds.) *Muzeum a pamięć – forma, produkcja, miejsce. Materiały konferencji zorganizowanej w dniach 8–9 czerwca 2017 roku przez Zakład Muzealnictwa Wydziału Sztuk Pięknych Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu*. Warszawa: Narodowy Instytut Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zbiorów, 2018, p. 73–81. [In Polish]; GREGORY, Adrian. *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1919–1946*. Oxford: Berg, 1994; HIRSCHBERGER, Gilad, KENDE, Anna, WEINSTEIN, Shoshana. Defensive representations of an uncomfortable history: The case of Hungary and the Holocaust. In: *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 55, 2016, p. 32–43; KING, Alex. *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Oxford: Berg, 1998; MOSSE, Georg. *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990; WHITMARSH, We will remember them...; WINTER, Jay. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; and in Polish literature, among others, BRZEZIŃSKA, Anna, FABISZAK, Małgorzata, OWSIŃSKI, Marcin. (eds.) *Znaki (nie)pamięci. Teoria i praktyka upamiętniania w Polsce*. [Signs of oblivion. Theory and practice of commemoration in Poland]. Kraków: Universitas, 2016. [In Polish]; PARAFANOWICZ, Halina. Wojna i pamięć. Pierwsza wojna światowa i jej upamiętnianie przez Amerykanów. [War and memory. The Great War and its commemoration by the Americans]. In: *Dzieje Najnowsze*, XLIX, 2017, p. 131–157. [In Polish]; WOŹNIAK, Michał. Muzeum – pamięć – miejsce pamięci. [Museum – memory – site of memory]. In: DE ROSSET, Tomasz et al. (eds.) *Muzeum a pamięć – forma, produkcja, miejsce. Materiały konferencji zorganizowanej w dniach 8–9 czerwca 2017 roku przez Zakład Muzealnictwa Wydziału Sztuk Pięknych Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu*. Warszawa: Narodowy Instytut Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zbiorów, 2018, p. 22–30. [In Polish].

⁵⁴ POPCZYK, *Zbierające i osobliwości...*, p. 38.

historic military objects, such as medieval castles or bastion fortresses, are used to display other historical-military artefacts or collections of different character, not always military. Due to the specificity of military collections, the formula of 3) the open air museum is often used; such places not only provide visitors with access to historical artefacts, but also act a backdrop for the events of so-called historical re-enactment. From here, we are getting close to the transition from a traditional museum to an amusement park.

museum	interdisciplinary	ethnographic and anthropological	fine art	archaeological	historical, including regional and interior design	martyrological	natural history	technology and science	specialised, including biographical and literary
military	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+

Tab. 1: *Museums by type of exhibit and military museums among them, own study*

Military museums, similarly to other categories of museums, may also be characterized according to many other categories (Table 2).

	Criterion			
Museums	Character of the operator	Structure	Physical form	Function
	state	branch	material	educational
	local government	non-branch	virtual	educational and cultural
	non-governmental organisations			educational, cultural and entertainment
	organisational units of a school or higher education institution			entertainment
	church organisations			
	private			

Tab. 2: *Types of museums according to their selected characteristics, own elaboration*

Military museums, or museums with military exhibitions, are among the most widely represented type of museums in many countries of the world.⁵⁵ Human history is a history of constant rivalry, often becoming an open war. These museums collect artefacts that prove victories, but also commemorate defeats, emphasising the heroism, devotion and moral superiority of the losers. Military museums are perfect as a tool for shaping the collective identity of nations, for preserving their collective memory; they represent the desire to arouse patriotic attitudes

⁵⁵ See for instance: TYTHACOTT, Louise. Trophies of War: Representing ‘Summer Palace’ Loot in Military Museums in the UK. In: *Museum & Society*, 13(4) November 2015, p. 469–488.

as well as to manifest pride in belonging to a particular human community. Since wars are fought with complex weapons and other tools for attack or defence, military museums offer the opportunity to trace human technical genius and to admire the beauty of complex technical, engineering or constructional solutions. It is no coincidence that everything that is connected with warfare is called “ars militaris”.

Due to the controversial nature of part of the collections (or military events which are commemorated from opposite and conflicting perspectives), military museums might be placed in the category of “dissonant heritage”.⁵⁶ The authors of this term, Tunbridge and Ashworth,⁵⁷ simply refer to it as a heritage that can “hurt” and be a source of conflict. It is a controversial heritage, unwanted, denied or even destroyed and rejected by individuals or entire human groups. Examples include places associated with death, cruelty, guilt and unfair social practices (for example, slavery or racism). This category also includes the heritage of minorities, especially if they have been harmed (including genocide) by the majority, or “nobody’s” heritage, a top-down name, with which none of the living identify. War belongs to the category of those who always carry death and destruction, both material and spiritual. It activates the worst features of human nature, it is a testimony to human imperfection. Therefore, it may seem controversial to collect objects created for the purpose of inflicting death, praising those who have mastered this art to perfection, measured by the number of triumphs on the battlefields and the number of dead, injured or mutilated. Every triumph is usually connected with someone’s defeat, so it can be interpreted in a completely different way. Military museums or straightforward war museums usually present someone’s point of view, someone’s narrative, more often taking sides deliberately than unknowingly. Thus, a considerable proportion of war museums might be seen as “agonistic spaces”⁵⁸ where the adopted way of interpreting the past may evoke mixed emotions. As Jarecka⁵⁹ writes, even assuming the neutrality of the message, the factual and educational character of a warfare or military exhibition, through the selection of artefacts – complex, technically perfect, great, ingenious, sometimes simply beautiful – may in effect become a kind of affirmation of war. According to the author, such exhibitions emphasise the “beauty” of war, which is positively valorised as something that releases features such as courage, fraternity and solidarity in its participants. Moreover, with the increasing multimedia content of exhibitions, a wide range of exhibition tools or ways to engage visitors through various activities (e.g. through the possibility of virtually “shooting” historical weapons, transforming war into a role-playing video game, as in AK Museum in Kraków, Poland), a visit to a military museum becomes more of a fun and entertaining experience than an experience bringing deeper knowledge, increased empathy and reflection.

Creating exhibitions on the basis of war or military collections in military museums requires consideration of the problem of the purposeful aestheticization of such collections. As Popczyk⁶⁰ writes, “At the basis of all collecting lies aesthetics centred on the sense of sight.” This

⁵⁶ REYNOLDS, Chris, BLAIR, William. Museums and ‘Difficult Pasts’: Northern Ireland’s 1968. In: *Museum International*, 70:3–4. Special Issue: Museums & Contested Histories, 2018, p. 12–25.

⁵⁷ TUNBRIDGE, John, ASHWORTH, Gregory. *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*. Chichester: Wiley, 1996.

⁵⁸ At least theoretically, see: CENTO BULL, Anna, LAUGE HANSEN, Hans, KANSTEINER, Wulf, PARISH, Nina. War museums as agonistic spaces: possibilities, opportunities and constraints. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 25:6, 2018, p. 611–625.

⁵⁹ JARECKA, Urszula. Turystyka patetyczna? Groza wojny jako atrakcja turystyczna. [Pompous tourism? The terror of war as an attraction in tourist experience]. In: *Kultura Współczesna*, 3, 2010, p. 75–91. [In Polish].

⁶⁰ POPCZYK, *Zbieracze i osobliwości...*, p. 19.

fact makes the collections appealing not only because of their merits, but also because of their visually attractive appearance. While admiring the beauty of the ancient melee weapons, illuminated, lying in elegant showcases, it is easy to forget that it was used primarily for killing, or that the well-tailored, elegant SS uniform was worn by members of one of the most criminal formations of the Second World War. Quoting Welsch,⁶¹ Popczyk emphasises that aesthetization leads to making reality unreal, beautifying various areas of human life and even creating “new” realities. Owing to aesthetization practices, war and everything connected with it becomes an intelligent hand, a game that requires equal cleverness and romantic bravado, equipped with visually attractive instruments.⁶² Likewise, while some military museums deliberately emanate death and horror, others, contrary to the tasks set by Uzzell⁶³ for the interpretation of heritage, frequently portray a sanitised version of warfare.⁶⁴ Paradoxically, in some cases, the pacifist message of exhibitions presented in military museums may also be controversial since, while focusing on the suffering of war victims, we forget about the perpetrators and their responsibility. Allen and Sakamoto⁶⁵ write about this using the example of selected, less-known war museums in Japan. According to the authors, they focus on the suffering of the Japanese during the war and its personal costs, ignoring the perpetrators and the reasons why this tragic conflict took place.

Showakan and Shokeikan also share a discursive register about peace; they both point to the suffering of Japanese during the conflict and encourage a visitor to think about the personal cost of wars. Through understanding this pain and suffering, current generations will learn that war is bad; that all suffer in a war. The reasons for war remain silent.⁶⁶

Contemporary geopolitics is not without significance for that which museums in general, and military museums in particular, commemorate and how they do so. Similarly, controversies around military museums are often related to the direction of narration⁶⁷ or the choice of historical artefacts or media (photographs or films⁶⁸), around which it is conducted. All this is connected with the question of who history belongs to and who has a greater right to tell it in their own words, according to the point of view shaped by book-bound knowledge or

⁶¹ WELSCH, Wolfgang. Estetyka poza estetyką. O nową postać estetyki. [Aesthetics beyond aesthetics. On a new shape of aesthetics]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Universitas, 2005. [In Polish].

⁶² REKDAL, Per. About the Beauty of War and the Attractivity of Violence. In: MUCHITSCH, Does War Belong in Museums?..., p. 123–130.

⁶³ The author puts it best in words: “Our museums and interpretative sites should be centres of excellence for telling the story of our cultural heritage in all its dimensions. Of course, we want them to be a celebration of the finest achievements of man, but if they are to be of educational value then they must also honestly represent the more shameful events of our past. To provoke an emotional response is not soft or weak. It is what it is to be human.” UZZELL, The Hot Interpretation..., p. 46.

⁶⁴ WHITMARSH, We will remember them..., p. 2.

⁶⁵ ALLEN, Matthew, SAKAMOTO, Rumi. War and Peace: War Memories and Museums in Japan. In: *History Compass*, 11/12, 2013, p. 1047–1058. doi:10.1111/hic3.12108.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, p. 1054.

⁶⁷ CERCEL, Cristian, PARISH, Nina, ROWLEY, Eleanor. War in the Museum: The Historial of the Great War in Péronne and the Military History Museum in Dresden. In: *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 12:2, May 2019, p. 194–214; SCOTT, James. Objects and the Representation of War in Military Museums. In: *Museum & Society*, 13:4, 2015, p. 489–502; VERBYTSKA, Polina, KUZYMYN, Roman. Between amnesia and the “war of memories”: politics of memory in the museum narratives of Ukraine. In: *Музеологія а культурне дедіство*, 7:2, 2019, p. 23–34.

⁶⁸ STYLIANOU-LAMBERT, Theopisti, BOUNIA, Alexandra. War Museums and Photography. In: *Museum & Society*, 10:3, November 2012, p. 83–196.

life experience.⁶⁹ The museum might become here a real “conflict zone”, a clash of different memories and ideologies. According to Dean,⁷⁰ in the case of the Canadian War Museum and Bomber Command, the commemorative function of the museum (as a memorial site for the heroism and dedication of Canadian soldiers) triumphed over its educational objective:

Yet given past controversies, commemorative contexts, the Museum’s history and its function as both a history museum and a site of memory, perhaps a display on the Allied bombing offensive that sought to do just that was always going to provoke controversy. This is a museum that combines the functions of a war memorial museum well, in its architecture, its design, and in the galleries where curator and veteran volunteers collaborate on a daily basis, but when differences did emerge it was perhaps inevitable that the museum as sacred site won over the museum as a trusted teacher. [Emphasis by the authors]

Number and localisation of military museums in Poland

The number of museums in Poland, including military museums, is not easy to establish (Table 3). There are large discrepancies between counts supplied by the institutions responsible for collecting statistics, web portals, thematic websites, reports and scientific publications. This may result from the application of different methodologies, taking into account or omitting museum departments and institutions in the organisation, as well as differences in the understanding of the scope of a museum (including a military-themed museum), as well as the inertia common to all lists and official registers in the face of changes in the number of museums over time. The total number of museums in Poland and the number of military museums, according to various sources, are presented in the Table 3.

Source	Date	Number of all museums in Poland	Number of military museums in Poland
Guide to Museums and Collections in Poland	1982	x	49 (historical-military museums and collections) 20 (museums, monuments to combat and martyrdom)
Polish National Committee of ICOM	2013	1,050	x
1st Congress of Polish Museologists	2015	1,100	x

⁶⁹ DEAN, David. Museums as conflict zones: The Canadian War Museum and Bomber Command. In: *Museum & Society*, 7:1, March 2009, p. 1–15.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 12.

Source	Date	Number of all museums in Poland	Number of military museums in Poland
GUS report	2016	944	55
Wikipedia (according to NIMOZ)	2016	519	67
NIMOZ (The National Institute for Museums and Public Collections)	2017	1,027	x
Ministry of Culture and National Heritage	2019	821	x
www.muzea.net	2019	717	x
www.museo.pl	2019	x	34
Own research due to Ministry of Culture and National Heritage	2019	821	66

Tab. 3: *Number of military museums in Poland due to different sources.* Source: own research based on: NIMOZ (The National Institute for Museums and Public Collections), Polish National Committee of ICOM, data from 1st Congress of Polish Museologists in Łódź (23–25 April 2015), The GUS report (www.stat.gov.pl, accessed 21 June 2019), <https://www.muzea.net/> portal (accessed 21 June 2019), <https://www.museo.pl> portal (accessed 21 June 2019), Wikipedia (accessed 21 June 2019), Ministry of Culture and National Heritage (<http://bip.mkidn.gov.pl/pages/rejstry-ewidencje-archiwa-wykazy/rejstry-muzeow.php>, accessed 22 June 2019), State Register of Museums and information on the status of the museum (<http://bip.mkidn.gov.pl/pages/rejstry-ewidencje-archiwa-wykazy/rejstry-muzeow.php>, accessed 23 September 2019), LORENTZ, *Przewodnik po muzeach....*

The final source of information which the authors decided to use in the paper was the list of museums published on the website of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage.⁷¹ According to the data presented by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage on 23 April 2019, there are 821 museums in Poland (without categories).⁷² The ministerial list contains data on museums which operate on the basis of statutes or regulations agreed with the minister in charge of culture and national heritage, pursuant to Article 6 of the Museums Act of 21 November 1996 (Journal of Laws of 2012 item 987 as amended). According to Article 5b of the Act, the list includes: the name of the museum; the address of the seat of the museum; the name of the entity that created the museum (in the case of a natural person – his or her name and surname, and in the case of a registered museum – the date of entry into the State Register

⁷¹ <http://bip.mkidn.gov.pl/pages/rejstry-ewidencje-archiwa-wykazy/rejstry-muzeow.php> (accessed 22 June 2019).

⁷² The list contains data on museums which operate on the basis of statutes or regulations agreed with the minister in charge of culture and national heritage, pursuant to Article 6 of the Museums Act of 21 November 1996 (Journal of Laws 2012 item 987 as amended); <http://bip.mkidn.gov.pl/pages/rejstry-ewidencje-archiwa-wykazy/rejstry-muzeow.php> (accessed 23 September 2019).

of Museums); and information on the status of the museum.⁷³

As for the numerical data on museum facilities in Poland in the literature on the subject, it should be stated that the authors of the works cited in the article provide data on the basis of the described ministerial and institutional sources. Comparatively, it is worth mentioning Lorentz's⁷⁴ work from nearly forty years ago entitled "Guide to Museums and Collections in Poland", where the author lists 49 museums classified as historical-military museums and collections, and 20 institutions classified as: museums, monuments to combat and martyrdom. Thus, the number of museums in Poland, including military museums, at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century is clearly growing.

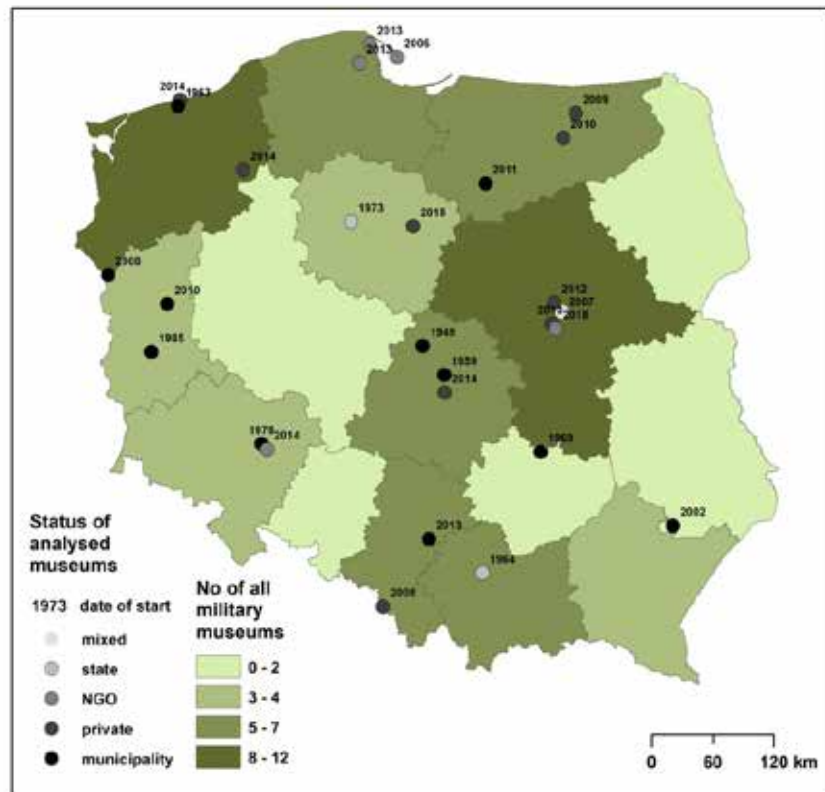


Figure 1: *Analysed military museums according to dates of foundation and ownership compared to all military museums distinguished in Poland by voivodeships, own study*

After the selection of a group of military museums, or museums that are at least partially military in character, the first step was to prepare a research tool in the form of an online questionnaire to be completed by the museums themselves. The questionnaire was sent to the e-mail addresses of all selected institutions or, in the absence of an e-mail, via a Facebook social networking account. Establishments with only a telephone number (single cases) were omitted from the study. Eight questionnaires were sent out in a test study and a small correc-

⁷³ <http://bip.mkidn.gov.pl/pages/rejstry-ewidencje-archiwa-wykazy/rejstry-muzeow.php> (accessed 23 September 2019).

⁷⁴ LORENTZ, *Przewodnik po muzeach...*

tion of the test tool was made upon receipt of the first two replies. The main research period was from February to the end of March 2019, when questionnaires were sent to the remaining museums. The first completed questionnaire was received on 6 February and the last one on 20 March. If, seven days after sending the questionnaire, no reply had been received, the message was sent again. If there was still no answer after another week, a telephone call was made to request that the questionnaire be filled in. If this did not bring any results, further examination was abandoned. In this way, a total of 28 completed questionnaires were obtained and analysed.

The online survey had an extended form which can be divided into a demographic section and a main section. A total of fifty substantive (non-technical) questions were asked, both open, closed and semi-closed, including eight questions in the demographic section. The extensive questionnaire allowed the authors to collect rich research material, although its length may have had a negative impact on the number of returns received due to the time required to complete it (4% of respondents completed the questionnaire within less than 10 minutes, 54% within 10–30 minutes, 11% within 30–60 minutes and 32% of the surveyed institutions within more than one hour). The authors tried to select the number and scope of questions in such a way as to reach a compromise between collecting the fullest possible research material and the comfort of people filling in the questionnaire on behalf of individual museums. The substantive questions concerned such issues as: the scope of activity of the museum, the size and character of collections, ways of presenting exhibits, promotion, planned and implemented investments and projects, and the size and structure of tourism. Due to the specific subject matter and scope of this article, only a part of the collected material has been analysed here.

Information collected as a result of the survey was first subjected to quantitative analysis, by adding up the answers to individual questions from all collected questionnaires. In the second phase we looked for correlations and links between the character of particular museums and the type of answers given. The third stage of analysis involved the development of conclusions from the research material and a critical comparison of these findings with the literature on the subject.

Results

As already mentioned, each of the institutions selected for the survey had an equal chance to be included in the survey. Unfortunately, the achieved return of questionnaires at the level of 26% of museums narrows to some extent the possibilities of inference. Some large, modern museums refused to cooperate (usually local-government ones, such as the Warsaw Uprising Museum, Emil Fieldorf “Nił” Home Army Museum in Cracow and the Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk, subordinate to the Minister of Culture and National Heritage). Responses to questionnaires from these museums could perhaps have provided a better picture of some of the processes taking place in Polish museology in the last decade. Among the institutions that took part in the survey, more than half (53%) are facilities run by private persons, foundations, associations and companies. Thus, market-oriented and visitor-centred establishments were more likely to respond. In the study, the most numerous museums were those of military equipment (64%), followed by museums of battles, campaigns, uprisings and wars (25%) and museums of military buildings and structures (18%), while the least represented were biographical museums and museums of war (7% each). The majority of museum exhibitions in the surveyed institutions were ordered thematically (68%); less common were those ordered chronologically or historically (18% each). The general narrative character of

the museum exhibition was declared by 14% of museums, while the thematic character was reported by only 7%. Almost all of the military museums surveyed⁷⁵ build their exhibitions either solely (52%) or partially (44%) on the basis of authentic historic exhibits or monuments, the latter group offering replicas of historic objects and content presented on information boards or through multimedia alongside the original exhibits. In fewer than 4% of military museums, the museum space is constructed exclusively on the basis of replicas of monuments and exhibition tools in the form of information boards, multimedia displays and so on. The role of monuments in the studied military museums is therefore still dominant. Although in terms of the tools and means of exhibition used, military museums follow the latest trends in museology (50% of museums use traditional means of exhibition enriched with multimedia boards and/or multimedia⁷⁶), still almost one third of museums use a traditional “showcase” way of presenting the collected material. Among the establishments that support their exhibitions with multimedia exhibition tools (13 institutions), most use 2D film as the most popular medium (85%), 46% of museums use sound effects, and almost every fourth museum uses 2D multimedia presentations on an equal footing with the ones selected as frequently as multimedia applications (23% of the surveyed establishments each). Relatively rarely, museum workers use educational multimedia games or light effects (15% each); however, 3D films or presentations and 360° technology, turned out to be unused exhibition tools among the surveyed museums. 53% of all “multimedia” museums were established after 2000. Museums that are to some extent “multimedia” facilities also include museums of military equipment, museums of armed conflicts, museums of military units and formations, and museums of military buildings and structures.

The vast majority (75%) of all surveyed military museums direct their offer to people of different ages, including children. Approximately 21% of museums target older audiences: young people and adults. None of these institutions, however, points to the controversial, child inappropriate or martyrological character of the collected artefacts, and their character also varies.

Not all museums are engaged in scientific activity; in fact, fewer than 40% of them are engaged in research. Those that do not conduct scientific research are almost entirely facilities established by private individuals or foundations (91%); only one is a local government museum (Fig. 1). Scientific activities undertaken by museums usually involve activities relating to publishing, the participation of museum employees in (or organisation of their own) conferences, conducting fieldwork, archaeological studies or archival searches. A separate category is activities in the field of science communication, mainly popularising knowledge – for example, through public lectures – among children and young people. More than 65% of the surveyed military museums conduct commercial activities, including the sale of souvenirs (89%) or scientific and popular science literature (89%). Catering services are provided by every third museum. Thirty-eight per cent of these museums indicate other activities, the most frequently mentioned being the renting of commercial or historic space for all kinds of events (conferences, special events, photo wedding sessions or corporate events), and where the exhibitions include operational historic military vehicles, there are opportunities to organise trips.

The vast majority of museums collaborate with other such establishments (almost 86%), most of which undertake cooperation of a scientific nature (62%). Less than one in five of

⁷⁵ Out of 28 surveyed institutions, one did not answer the question about the share of authentic exhibits in the total museum exhibition.

⁷⁶ Of the 26 institutions that answered this question.

the collaborating museums (17%) do so in the field of promotion, also engaging with tourist organisations of various levels; 8% undertake multilateral cooperation in the field of education and training; and 12% declare other, undefined forms of cooperation and collaborative partners.

The researched museums use a wide range of means and tools to promote their activity (Fig. 2) – from traditional analogue approaches (information leaflets were used in 71% of the establishments) to the latest digital ones, especially websites (61%) and social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram or Snapchat (64%).

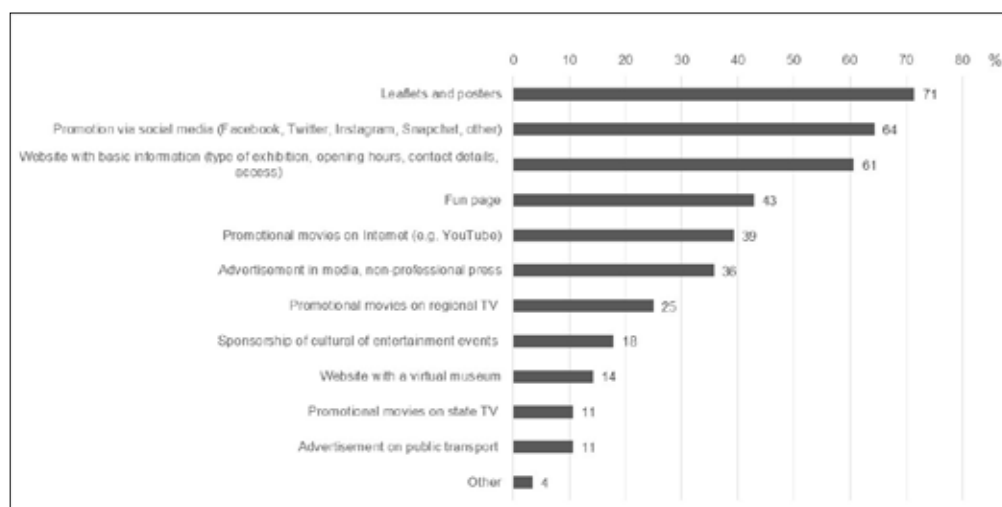


Fig. 2: *Percentage share of museums using selected means and tools of promotion*

Three quarters of the 24 museums that responded to the issue of public value declared that their exhibition shows the value of the collected exhibits (uniqueness, rarity, aesthetic values, etc.); the remaining museums indicated the more contextual nature of their exhibitions in illustrating wider historical, cultural, social or political phenomena by means of the collected exhibits. However, it is difficult to find any homogeneity in the latter group which would justify this approach to constructing a museum exhibition. A significant proportion of the surveyed museums – slightly over 64% – use impersonal information messages focused on facts and the material characteristics of the collection items. Fewer than 3% use personalised narratives, combining objects with their manufacturers or selected human groups, or describing events through the biography of selected characters or human groups. This fact certainly explains the nature of most of the institutions surveyed, devoted more to historical objects than to the circumstances in which they were used. Every fourth museum described their exhibitions as having a mixed narrative character, depending on the character of the respective parts of the exhibition.

Table 3 shows the Pearson Contingency Coefficient (C) values for selected independent (first row from the top) and dependent (first column from the left) variables. The selection of variables resulted from the willingness to present the character of the activity of the studied museums and the way of asking questions in the questionnaire. The Pearson Contingency Coefficient (C) applies to data of a qualitative nature and returns values in a range from 0 to

1. Coefficients in the range from 0 to 0.3 characterise a very small correlation, those from 0.3 to 0.6 a moderate correlation and those above 0.6 a strong correlation. Using the presented method, we can only determine the intensity of correlation, without defining its direction and magnitude. For this reason, the analysis was enriched with additional factors not measured in the form of variables in Table 4.

Independent variables/dependant variables	Location (urban/rural)	Year of foundation	Founder/ownership /management of the institution	Military/non-military facilities headquarters of the facility
Diversity of forms of promotion	0.40	0.44	0.49	0.28
Conducting a commercial offer	0.31	0.46	0.48	0.19
Carrying out scientific activities	0.33	0.43	0.52	0.10
Multimedia/traditional exhibition form	0.37	0.27	0.24	0.06
Narrow/wide exhibition context	0.22	0.11	0.33	0.06

Tab. 4: Pearson Contingency Coefficient (C)⁷⁷ values for selected variables (the table shows corrected C values)

The variables whose impact on the nature of museum activity was statistically more significant were the institution's founder and its form of ownership/management and the year in which the museum was established. These independent variables had a major impact on the diversity of the forms of promotion used, the range of commercial services offered and the scientific activity carried out. In the case of the forms of promotion used, the most modest promotion was conducted in small, young establishments owned by private persons (enthusiasts), foundations or associations. The most extensive promotion was undertaken by military museums located in areas outside large cities which are relatively difficult to reach, and which are market-oriented in their activities and look for all possible ways to reach their potential customers/ visitors.

As far as the available commercial offer is concerned, such activities were not usually carried out by small, relatively new private museums run by history enthusiasts and focusing mainly on the exhibition, storage and provision of collections. Scientific activities were conducted mainly by older museums with a well-established market position and achievements, with adequate

⁷⁷ A measure to assess the relationship between two quality characteristics (non-measurable) X and Y when data are presented in the form of a quota table. This coefficient takes values from the range zero to one. A value of 0 means that the characteristics are independent and consequently uncorrelated. A value of 1 means a functional relationship. The coefficient does not indicate the direction of the relation. The value of the C-Pearson Contingency Coefficient depends on the size of the independence table, so in order to compare coefficients from different size tables it is necessary to normalize them. <https://stat.gov.pl/> (accessed 5 August 2020).

human resources and premises. These were mainly state and local government institutions, less often private ones or those run by foundations and associations.

Discussion

The collected material, although it came from only a quarter of the military museums in Poland, allows us to draw cautious conclusions about Polish military museums. Museums are one of the most important destinations of interest for heritage tourism, as evidenced, among other things, by the dynamic growth in the number of such facilities and the increase in the number of visitors, which can be treated as a reflection of the demand for such attractions.⁷⁸ With the growing popularity of museums among visitors all over the world, museum workers face many problems related to the protection of collections or ensuring proper conditions of their use.⁷⁹ Although, according to Krakowiak,⁸⁰ military museums are not among the most popular type of institution, their number and, as we may assume, their popularity is growing. Polish military museums are a clear part of this phenomenon, which is confirmed by the fact that about 71% of the surveyed military museums were established after 2000, of which a fifth began in the last five years. Moreover, a search of all military museum objects showed up as many as 121 other museums “underway”. Even if we assume that not all of these institutions will be created, this number confirms the continuing upward trend for museums with historical military themes. Moreover, the increase in the number of museums of a military nature is explained not only by the historical policy of the state, but also by the general commitment of society to creating an image of the past and the promotion of heritage, as expressed by the increase in the number of museums set up on the initiative of and run by private individuals or non-governmental foundations. The volume of the latter will increase even more, as evidenced by the survey conducted by the authors. Among the 121 museums in the process of organisation, only one is being established by a local government and two by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, the remainder are the responsibility of private individuals.

Referring to the research questions posed at the beginning of the article, it should be stated that the museums under our study are characterised by a kind of “cleavage”, as if they were

⁷⁸ See, for example, FOLGA-JANUSZEWSKA, Dorota. Muzea w Polsce 1989–2008. [Museums in Poland 1989–2008]. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 50, 2009, p. 18–46. [In Polish]; MIKOS VON ROHRSCHEIDT, Armin. Polska: największe muzeum fortyfikacji na wolnym powietrzu w aspekcie rozwoju turystyki kulturowej [Poland: the biggest military open air museum in the view of cultural tourism development]. In: *Turystyka Kulturowa*, 2, 2009, p. 20–48. [In Polish]; MIKOS VON ROHRSCHEIDT, Armin, JĘDRYSIAK, Tadeusz. *Militarna turystyka kulturowa*. [Military cultural tourism]. Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 2011. [In Polish]; MUSIAKA, Łukasz. *Funkcja turystyczna średniowiecznych zamków i jej wpływ na miasta Pomorza, Warmii i Mazur*. [The tourism function of the medieval castles of Pomerania, Warmia and Masuria]. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2013. [In Polish]; MUSIAKA, Łukasz. Funkcja turystyczna zamków dawnego państwa krzyżackiego na przykładzie Malborka [The tourism function of the castles of the Knights of the Teutonic Order on the case of Malbork]. In: HOCHLEITNER, Janusz (ed.) *Wyzwania turystyki kulturowej w Malborku*. Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2016, p. 23–42 [in Polish]; RICHARDS, *Cultural Tourism in Europe, Uczestnictwo ludności w kulturze w 2014 roku*. Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2016. <https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/uczestnictwo-ludnosci-w-kulturze-w-2014-r-6,2.html> (accessed 23 September 2019). [In Polish].

⁷⁹ The urge to collect more exhibits and collections also means an increasing cost of their maintenance and the growing stock of “heritage” leads to an “accumulation crisis” (see e.g. MORGAN, Jennie. MACDONALD, Sharon. De-growing museum collections for new heritage futures. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 26:1, 2020, p. 56–70. doi: 10.1080/13527258.2018.1530289).

⁸⁰ KRAKOWIAK, Beata. Miejsce muzeów w turystyce kulturowej w Polsce. [The place of museums in cultural tourism in Poland]. In: *Turyzm*, 23:2, 2013, p. 23–33. [In Polish].

simultaneously stuck in the old and new paradigms that define the concept of contemporary museology. They may be called museums in the times of change. On the one hand, these institutions fulfil one of the basic tasks of a museum – they collect and make available authentic exhibits – while on the other, they do not conduct scientific research, although they do cooperate with other institutions “of a scientific nature”, as they call them. While the first circumstance, namely the “cult of the original”, which comes straight from the nineteenth century but is supported to a large extent by modern interpretative tools (information boards, multimedia), places the studied Polish military museums somewhere between possible extremes, the fact that they do not carry out research or other scientific activity undermines the sense in which such institutions can be called “museums” in accordance with Polish legislation.⁸¹ Although in the survey the studied museums did not specify the reasons for such activity, it is somewhat puzzling that among institutions which do not carry out scientific activity, as many as 75% support themselves from their own or other activities (e.g. owners’ own funds), whereas among those which carry out such activity, 54% finance their activity mainly from subsidies and only 36% from their own or other sources.

When confronting the results of the survey with the contemporary trends in museology, some quite puzzling results draw our attention. It seems that they are in agreement with the general conclusions of Nieroba on Polish museology generally in the twenty-first century: namely that “the Polish museologist community does not fully embrace the ideas of New Museology” and “the status of the museum in the contemporary world seem to situate them closer to the traditional approach to the museum’s social functions”.⁸² These statements are based on the author’s opinion that the economic and political circumstances in Poland simply differ from those present in the Western context, where the idea of abandoning the recipient’s hegemonic subordination to the message conveyed by the museum was originally formed.

It should be noted that the researched museums are very slowly becoming part of the interpretation paradigm that is popular today, which is based on the narrative character of the museum’s message and usually offers an objective and cold message of content (*cold interpretation*). As already mentioned, this fact can be partly explained by the nature of the institutions. Military equipment or militaria usually do not express emotions in themselves; they are also difficult to connect in an emotional and intriguing way with the people to whom they are connected (e.g. those who created them) or with the individual experiences of others (such as museum visitors). Therefore, it seems that the quintessence of the visit, at least in part among Polish military museums, is still more knowledge than experience. The results of the survey, however, confirm the gradual transformation of museums from educational institutions into “tourist attractions”, places of broadly understood consumption, surrounded by other services that are not purely educational. This fact is also confirmed by the free use of many modern marketing tools that allow museums to reach potential consumers with their product offer. The question of whether the surveyed military museums are participatory in nature was outside the objectives of the survey, but the tourist has a partial possibility to shape his or her experience in them: more than half of the establishments (57%) make their collections available either to visitors on their own or under the supervision of a guide; 14% do not offer guide services; and

⁸¹ According to the Museums Act of 21 November 1996, Journal of Laws of 2012, Item 987, as amended, museums carry out their tasks through, among other things: cataloguing and scientific elaboration of accumulated collections, organising research and scientific expeditions, including archaeological ones, conducting publishing activities.

⁸² NIEROBA, Elżbieta. National Museums and Museums of Modern Art in Poland – Competition for Domination in the Field of Museums. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 6:2, 2018, p. 45–58, p. 56.

about 17% of museums only provide guided tours. This, however, is only a substitute for the true participation of the viewer in a museum spectacle,⁸³ but it does show that participatory museums have a broader *raison d'être* in contemporary facilities, which do not have to set boundaries and protect historic architectural objects.⁸⁴

The results of research into military museums confirm the opinion of Jagodzińska⁸⁵ on the lack of perspectives for the creation of strong and extensive museum corporations in Poland. Sixty-four per cent of the museums are independent: that is, they are neither subsidiaries of any other institution nor have branches themselves. It is interesting to note that some of the museums which conduct their operations within an external structure indicate membership of the Association of Private Polish Museum Collectors, which was registered in 2016⁸⁶ and which aims to represent and lobby for the community of private museum creators deprived of economic support from the state, based on the provisions of the Museums Act (Journal of Laws of 2012 item 987 as amended). The fact that among the 46 members of the association,⁸⁷ over 76% of private museums have a historical-military character confirms that museums presenting this kind of subject matter are part of the museum boom phenomenon of the twenty-first century in Poland. Jagodzińska⁸⁸ goes so far as to call this phenomenon in Poland “museum overproduction” or even refer to it as a “museum factory”.

The museums that responded to the question on the origin of visitors were seeing a clear majority of domestic visitors (80% or more) in their overall footfall. Only three institutions declared that domestic and foreign guests were visiting in a ratio of approximately 2:1, and these were all located in close proximity to the Polish-German border, at a seaside summer resort popular among foreign tourists. The predominance of domestic traffic in most of the surveyed museums is not surprising, as most of them are of a regional or local rank, often located far from large tourist centres, suggesting that sightseeing options or other tourist attractions are important from the point-of-view of foreign tourism. Are the surveyed museums therefore an attractive offer only in the market of domestic museum attractions? In light of the research, it seems that they are located somewhere in the middle of the scale between locality and universality. As described above, most institutions focus on the presentation of the objective values of the military exhibits (uniqueness, technical thought, antiquity and so on) and thus meet the conditions of universality. The specific “beauty” or technological thought behind the creation of the T-34 tank or melee weapons and firearms from different epochs will interest the viewer regardless of their cultural or national roots. Nevertheless, as in other parts of the world, the museums studied contain artefacts that are important not for these objective features, but for the local national context, not always obvious or understandable to the outside world. In the collections of the studied museums we can find, for example, a PZL P.11c plane which took part in the September 1939 campaign (according to the museum itself) and, as the only surviving specimen of this type of aircraft, is considered to be the most valuable exhibit of the Museum of Polish Aviation.

⁸³ SIMON, *The participatory museum...*

⁸⁴ JAGODZIŃSKA, Granice partycypacji w muzeum...

⁸⁵ JAGODZIŃSKA, Ekspansja muzeów...

⁸⁶ This institution continued the tasks of an earlier foundation, “Eksponat”.

⁸⁷ As of 31 May 2019, <http://prywatnemuzea.pl/muzea-zrzeszone>.

⁸⁸ JAGODZIŃSKA, Katarzyna. Muzealna nadprodukcja? [Museum overproduction?]. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 52, 2011, p. 215–225. [In Polish].

Conclusions

As a summary of the proper analysis of the results of research on military museums in Poland, the authors propose to separate the studied museums into three characteristic groups according to selected characteristics of their activity and the nature of the exhibition:

1. Small museums, established over the last 10–15 years, run by private individuals, foundations or associations, with small floorspace, a low number of exhibits and usually run by one person. These museums tend to be focused on traditional forms of exhibiting their collections, largely consisting of original objects, without multimedia or a broader historical narrative, presenting the value of collections/monuments “in themselves”. They do not conduct any scientific activity, do not have any commercial offer, and their promotional measures can be described as modest. Such establishments are not aimed at generating the highest possible profit.

2. Institutions established 10–15 years ago, but also older ones, with more extensive premises, a wide commercial offer and a very extensive promotional apparatus. They have significant floorspace and a larger number of exhibits or additional attractions, offering relatively high levels of multimedia in their exhibitions. The narrative of the exposition often has a broader historical character. Such facilities are largely geared towards mass tourism, mainly children's groups. They have a clear market orientation. They do not carry out scientific activities to any great extent.

3. Museums with an established position which have been operating for several dozen years, located in cities. Usually established by local governments or state institutions. Such museums have a large number of exhibits, sometimes including very valuable collections. In terms of human resources, staffing levels tend to be high, allowing them to carry out scientific research. Promotional activities are carried out dynamically, but to a lesser extent than in museums in the second group. The museum's advertising and brand are often positively influenced by the historic character of its premises. Museums classified in the third group use multimedia devices to a significant degree and the narration of the collections is very often broad. These establishments are characterised by a moderate focus on commercial activities.

It is impossible to discuss all the topics concerning military museums in Poland within the framework of an article, but it is worth mentioning in the summary those that testify to the Polish specificity of this segment of cultural heritage and, at the same time, the tourist product. According to the authors, the situation of the central (main) Polish Army Museum in Warsaw may serve as a certain symbol of the current qualitative changes in Polish military museums. It is the largest museum institution in Poland with a military profile (over 250 thousand exhibits). The vast majority of the institution is given over to exhibitions which, due to the period of their creation (in the times of the People's Republic of Poland) do not conform to modern standards or the requirements of a modern museum. In 2018, a tender for a general contractor for the construction of a new facility, together with a modern display of forms of communication, was completed.⁸⁹ The new facility, which cost over PLN 250 million to build, has a chance to set new standards and canons concerning the form and manner of museum narration in Poland.

Another trend in Polish museology visible in recent years is the attempt to describe some events from the past anew. This movement is primarily about bringing to light and preserving in the form of a museum exhibition those events, people and conflicts that have, for political reasons, been neglected in scientific research, education, media and public discourse in Poland,

⁸⁹ <http://www.muzeumwp.pl/> (accessed 17 September 2019).

especially during the period 1945–1989. History is the mother of politics, and newly emerging museums – such as the Warsaw Uprising Museum (2004), the Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk (2017), or the Westerplatte and War 1939 Museum, which opened on 1 September 2019 (the 80th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II) – show the need to verify, update and, above all, disseminate knowledge about the most difficult moments in Polish history and the tragedy of armed conflicts.⁹⁰ Both situations described above are, to a large extent, determined by the twentieth-century history of the country, and can be applied to other museums in Poland (including those studied by the authors).

Looking for generalisations, it is worth noting that the example of Polish military museums also clearly illustrates just how far museums in the world have evolved from their origins to the present day. Nowadays, museums, in order to increase their attractiveness and adapt to an increasingly technologically oriented world and the rise of image culture in society, focus more and more on participation, interactivity and multimedia. They are inevitably heading towards the amusement park paradigm rather than representing respectable cultural institutions. It would seem that the message from museums, including military ones, is being simplified and trivialised. However, the growing role of some museums as powerful tools for shaping historical policy and representing the interests of states, nations and communities contradicts such a one-sided assessment. And in this field, military museums are probably among the most important.

In the technical dimension and the form of exhibition, we can observe a dynamic pursuit of modernity in the message and an attempt to fight for customers. Owners of the largest and richest museums observe world trends and try to follow them. Museums are increasingly becoming economic entities operating in the tourism market. This also applies to institutions established by local authorities or the state. As for issues related not to the form but to the content of Polish military museums, we can also observe an interesting phenomenon: namely, a specific attempt at making up for the lost time of the Communist period. During this period, history was hypocritical due to its one-sided political orientation towards the USSR; certain facts and events that were inconvenient for the Communist authorities were simply not allowed to be spoken about. An attempt to rectify the legacy of the years 1945 – 1989 is connected with the contemporary educational mission of museums. This mission is addressed both to domestic and, increasingly often, to foreign audiences. This is particularly visible in the context of defining the role and significance of Poland in the Second World War. Since Poland, following its social and economic transformation at the beginning of the 1990s, returned to the family of democratic states, there has been no shortage of media examples of disinformation, lack of knowledge and attempts at presenting Poles as co-perpetrators of the Second World War. After 1989, Polish military museums faced an opportunity to tell a story without the form and content of the message imposed from above. However, answering the question whether they have taken advantage of this opportunity is not the aim of this study, although it does, of course, create a broad and difficult field for further analysis and research in many respects.

⁹⁰ www.1944.pl; museum1939.pl (accessed 3 October 2019).

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Appendix

The paper version of the online survey conducted among military museums in Poland (<https://www.surveio.com/survey/d/E8K3O7D3P9J2Y5H0W>). The questionnaire was originally in Polish. In the published article, only the answers to selected questions (marked in bold below) have been analysed.

Military museums in Poland

Dear Member of the Museum Staff

We cordially invite you to take part in a study of military museums in Poland. The research is conducted by the Department of Political and Historical Geography and Regional Studies at the University of Łódź and the Institute of Geography and Regional Development at the University of Wrocław. Our aims are to create a comprehensive database for all institutions of this type in Poland, to compile the collected information, and to publish the results in a renowned scientific journal. We kindly ask you to fill in the questionnaire, which should not take more than several minutes. Thank you for your help and your time! Unless stated otherwise, it is possible to indicate one answer.

1. Full name of the museum (*please fill in*)
2. Foundation year of the museum (*please fill in*)
3. Founder (e.g. private person, community, government, denominational union, etc.) (*please fill in*)
4. Branch, if your institution belongs to a larger organization (*please fill in*)
5. Character of the structures, interiors, rooms within the museum operates (e.g. in a castle, a citadel, new building, open air museum, etc.) (*please fill in*)

6. Thematic profile of the museum (what kind of artefacts are collected and facilitated)
(*please fill in*)
7. Website (if exists) (*please fill in*)
8. Prices of entrance tickets (*please fill in*)
9. Percentage of the whole collection that is facilitated for visitors (*please fill in*)
10. How many items does the whole collection consist of (exhibited and collected in a museum store) (*please fill in*)
11. How many exhibition rooms are within the museum (*please fill in*)
12. Area of the museum (in sq. m) (*please fill in*)
13. How many temporary exhibitions are organized on average per year? (*please fill in*)
14. How many permanent exhibitions are housed within the museum? (*please fill in*)
15. Please list the most valuable collection or their groups (up to five) in the museum giving a brief explanation (one or two sentences) (*please fill in*)
16. Who is the author of the idea and design of the exhibition? (*choose one option*)
 - Museum staff
 - Hired company
 - Other option(s), please explain
17. What is the general character of the whole exhibition in the museum? (*choose one or more options*)
 - Chronological
 - Thematic
 - Narrative
 - Historical (linked with specific historical époques)
 - Problem-oriented
 - Other option(s), please explain
18. In terms of selected exhibitions, the most frequently used kind of exhibition structure is (*choose one or more options*):
 - Chronological
 - Thematic
 - Narrative
 - Historical (linked with specific historical époques)
 - Problem-oriented
 - Other option(s), please explain
19. Place of historical authentic artefacts in the museum exhibition (choose one option):
 - Authentic historical artefacts constitute the entire museum exhibition
 - Authentic historical artefacts dominate in the museum exhibition, but it is also complemented by replicas of historical objects or/and other exhibition tools (traditional information boards, multimedia, etc.)
 - Authentic historical artefacts appear sporadically in the exhibition; the exhibition is mainly based on replicas of historical objects or/and other exhibition tools (traditional information boards, multimedia, etc.)
 - The exhibition is entirely based on replicas of historical objects or/and other exhibition tools (traditional information boards, multimedia, etc.)
20. Please describe the character of the main tools in the museum exhibition (*choose one option*):

Entirely traditional, i.e. artefacts exhibited in display cases

Traditional enriched by some conventional thematic information boards

Traditional enriched by some conventional thematic information boards and some multimedia

Traditional enriched by some multimedia

Entirely based on multimedia

21. If multimedia displays are among the tools of the exhibition, please indicate which type?

(choose one or more options)

2D films

3D films

360-degree videos

Educational games

Sound effects

Smell effects

Visual effects

Interactive 2D multimedia presentations

Interactive 3D multimedia presentations

Multimedia applications

Other option(s), please explain

22. Please describe how do visitors use the exhibitions *(choose one option)*:

Independently

Independently but supported by a virtual tour guide

Only with a tour guide

Having an alternative: visiting independently or with a tour guide

23. In the museum, can one find: *(indicate using an X)*:

	Yes	No	Partly (24. please explain what does it mean in this case)
Places for relaxation or contemplation			
Elimination of physical obstacles of access for people with disabilities (stairs, doorsteps, etc.)			
Adjustment of the exhibition to make it accessible for people with disabilities (captions in Braille, lowered showcases, etc.)			
Adjustment of the exhibition for foreign visitors (e.g. information in foreign languages, tour guiding in a foreign language)			

25. In which foreign languages has the museum exhibition been prepared? (please fill in)

26. Who was the main target audience for the museum exhibition in terms of the choice of exhibits (*choose one option*)
- Children
 - Youths and adults
 - People of various ages (including children)
 - Other options, please explain
27. Please describe the type of museum (*choose one or more options*)
- Museum of battles, military campaigns, uprisings, and specific conflicts
 - Museums of military equipment
 - Biographical museums
 - War (itself) museums
 - Museums of military buildings and structures
 - Museums of selected military troops
 - Other option(s), please explain
28. Does the museum conduct scientific activities? (*choose one option*)
- Yes
 - No
 - Other, please explain
29. If does, please explain with one or two sentences (*please fill in*)
30. If does, how many people are involved in these activities? (*choose one option*)
- 1–2
 - 3–4
 - 5 and more
31. Does the museum offer commercial services listed below? (*put X*)

	Yes	No
Selling souvenirs		
Selling scientific and popular-science literature		
Catering service		
Other	32. If does, please explain	

33. Which kinds of promotional tools from listed below does the museum use? (choose one or more options)
- Website with basic information (type of exhibition, opening hours, contact details, access)
 - Website with a virtual museum
 - Leaflets and posters
 - Advertisement in media, non-professional press
 - Promotional movies on regional TV
 - Promotional movies on state TV
 - Promotional movies on Internet (e.g. YouTube)
 - Advertisement on public transport

Fun page

Promotion via social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, other)

Sponsorship of cultural or entertainment events

Other, please explain

34. Does the museum cooperate with other museums? (choose one option)

Yes

No

Other, please explain

35. If does, please list them. (*please fill in*)

36. If does, please describe the character of this cooperation, choosing one from below listed (choose one option):

Cooperation of a scientific nature related to statutory activities of the museum (collecting, protecting and preserving exhibits)

Popularizing activity in terms of education, also with schools and units of territorial administration

Popularizing activity in terms of tourism, also with local, regional and national tourism organizations

Popularizing activity in partnership with NGOs

Other, please explain

37. Please describe the economic foundation of the museum operation by the percentage of share each of given source (*please fill in*)

	Share [%]
Own economic activity	
State grants and donations, subsidies	
Other, 38. please explain	

39. Please estimate a percentage share of selected groups of visitors in the total volume of tourist visits in the museum (*please fill in*)

	Share [%]
Domestic visitors	
Foreign visitors	

40. Please estimate a percentage share of selected groups of visitors in the total volume of tourist visits in the museum (*please fill in*)

	Share [%]
Individual visitors	
Groups	

41. How many staff are employed by the museum? Please count according to their position (*please fill in*)

	Number
Permanent workers	
Temporary workers	

42. How many grants has the museum received based on financial support of (*please fill in*)

	Number	Total amount of financing
European Union		
The state		
Other, 43. please describe them		

44. Please indicate the numbers of visitors for selected years (please fill in or send us data via an e-mail)

45. When was the museum last renovated in recent years? (please fill in) Describe the scope of the renovations (please fill in)

46. Is the museum planning any investments? If so, please indicate what type of activity (choose one option)

Extension of the building

Increasing number of exhibition rooms

Increasing the volume of exhibits

Increasing outdoor space for collections

Other, please explain

47. Please describe seasonality of tourist flow in selected years per months (please fill in send us data via an e-mail)

48. Please describe the character of the exhibition (choose one option)

Exhibition exposes values collected exhibits themselves (uniqueness, rarity, aesthetic values, etc.)

Exhibition illustrates wider historical, cultural, social or political contexts

Other, please explain

49. Please describe the dominant style of museum narration used in the museum (choose one option):

Impersonal, factual, focused on material characteristics of objects

Personalized, combining items with their individual producers or selected groups of people, describing events through a biography of selected individuals or their groups

Mixed, 50. In what condition is this approach used?

Other, please explain

Watermills and windmills as monuments in Poland - protection of cultural heritage in situ and in open-air museums

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Watermills and windmills as monuments in Poland - protection of cultural heritage in situ and in open-air museums

This paper presents the results of research on the history of the protection of mills as objects of cultural heritage on Polish lands. First, the spatial distribution of over 20,000 mills at the beginning of the previous century is characterized, then the main actions undertaken for their protection in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are discussed. Merely 3.4% of mills that worked in the past are now protected as monuments and recorded in the national register. Most of them remain in their original locations (in situ), and another 71 windmills and 22 watermills have been relocated to open-air museums. These specific institutions face a particularly important task involving the necessity to retain the original functionality of the mills.

Keywords: mills, monuments, cultural heritage, open-air museums, Poland

Introduction

Human use of the energy of wind and flowing water became a stimulus for the dynamic growth of civilization.¹ It is difficult to pinpoint unambiguously when humans began to benefit from wind energy. In the fourth century BCE, the first known description of the application of a windmill for water pumping was created in India, and in the second century BCE China was already using winch-shaped windmills to irrigate cultivable fields. At the beginning of the Common Era, windmills were used in the countries of the Middle East. The first European windmills operated in the ninth century in England, in the eleventh century in France, and starting from the thirteenth century they became common in other countries of Western Europe. The highest increase in the number of windmills took place in the mid-nineteenth century. During that time, about 200,000 facilities of this type were operating in Europe.² On the other hand, watermills had been used to mill grain in the countries of the Mediterranean Sea Basin since the third century BCE.³ Large milling complexes in which water moved about a dozen water wheels already existed in Europe during the first centuries of the Common Era. They provided food for tens of thousands of people in surrounding settlements.⁴ At the beginning of the twelfth century, in France alone there were about 20,000 operational watermills, and by the end of the fifteenth century their number had reached 70,000.⁵ Such a high number of milling facilities made them important elements of the cultural landscape.⁶ Watermills and windmills were used not only for milling grain into flour, but also as irrigating devices, sawmills, oil mills, paper mills, gunpowder mills, fulling mills, ironworks and many others.⁷ For whole centuries, their abundant presence in a particular area was an indicator of a high level of economic development.

The earliest indications of the consideration of monuments as significant factors of social and political processes took place already during ancient times.⁸ In the case of products of folk culture, the oldest known records of interest in this regard date back to the sixteenth century in Spain, where the national statistical summary included local legends, customs and the design of folk costumes. Another good example of a country that was early to initiate such actions is Sweden, where legal provisions for cataloguing and protecting remains from the past (such as runestones) functioned from the seventeenth century.⁹

The main research objective of this paper is to present the history of the protection of

¹ BLOCH, Marc. Avènement et Conquêtes du Moulin à Eau. In: *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 7/36, 1935, p. 538-563; REYNOLDS, Terry S. *Stronger than a Hundred Men: A History of the Vertical Water Wheel*. Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology, Book 7, Baltimore-London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

² HEYMANN, Mathias. *Die Geschichte der Windenergienutzung: 1890-1990*. Frankfurt/Main-New York: Campus Verlag, 1995.

³ WIKANDER, Örjan. Archaeological Evidence for Early Water-Mills – an Interim Report. In: SMITH, Norman. (Ed.). *History of Technology*, 10, 1985, p. 151-180.

⁴ LEVEAU, Philippe. The Barbegal water mill in its environment: archaeology and the economic and social history of antiquity. In: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 9, 1996, p. 137-153.

⁵ BRAUDEL, Fernand. *L'identité de la France*, Vol. 3, Paris: Arthaud-Flammarion, 1986.

⁶ OLIVER, Stuart. Liquid materialities in the landscape of the Thames mills and weirs from the eighth century to the nineteenth century. In: *Area*, 45 (2), 2013, p. 223-229; BRYKAŁA, Dariusz, PODGÓRSKI, Zbigniew. Evolution of landscapes influenced by watermills, based on examples from Northern Poland. In: *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 198, 2020, article no. 103798.

⁷ LUCAS, Adam. Industrial Milling in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds. A Survey of the Evidence for an Industrial Revolution in Medieval Europe. In: *Technology and Culture*, 46 (1), 2005, p. 1-30.

⁸ ARSZYŃSKI, Marian. *Idea, pamięć, troska. Rola zabytków w przestrzeni społecznej i formy działań na rzecz ich zachowania od starożytności do połowy XX w.* Malbork: Wydawnictwo Muzeum Zamkowego w Malborku, 2007, p. 11.

⁹ ARSZYŃSKI, *Idea, pamięć, troska...*, p. 50, 67.

traditional watermills and windmills as objects of cultural heritage,¹⁰ in the context of the development of various approaches to monument conservation on Polish lands. Considering the nature of this research paper, the issues of mill conservation will be presented in a synthetic way – to characterize the whole compilation of objects. The main source that is used to illustrate this process is the analysis of changes in total number of mills over the years, performed in a quantitative and spatial manner, including protected objects in open-air museums (*ex situ*) and in their original locations (*in situ*). The prerequisites of this text do not allow for a deeper analysis of problems connected with building construction, or detailed study on the technical solutions used.

The typology of objects includes those propelled with water and wind energy, destined for multiple purposes – mainly for producing flour, but also used as fulling devices, hammer mills, paper mills, sawmills, etc. As technology progressed, water turbines, steam and electric engines began to be used. However, the starting point for the analysis presented here is those mills propelled by the power of nature, with a possibility of their future technical improvement, located both in the countryside and in cities. Among those objects are buildings made of wood, bricks or stone.

The territorial range of research includes an area delimited by the current borders of Poland. By referring to historical activities, it was extended by areas which constituted parts of Poland until the Second World War. The chronological spectrum of research covers a period from the nineteenth century until the present day. The earliest point of this timeframe is related to the dynamic development of milling in the history of Europe, and the end point to the common departure from traditional forms of propulsion for production plants (wind energy and water) in favour of engines and electric motors. Moreover, the end of the nineteenth century also overlaps with the oldest records of conservation care involving mills.

The research was primarily based on the query, study and analysis of comprehensive source literature and archival sources, mainly concerning the inventory of milling facilities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Evaluations of the current preservation of selected objects were performed through on-site research, which enabled the comparison of direct observation with documentation of conservation stored in museums and monument protection offices.

The present paper is constructed of complementary parts corresponding to the adopted research objectives. The first part presents the development of mills at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, followed by the discussion (after establishing the resources) of conservation actions undertaken for the protection of this group of monuments, mainly in the twentieth century. Subsequently, the current condition of historical mills driven by water and wind energy is presented in order to reveal actions taken by museums and national monument protection services.

Characteristics of the development of milling on Polish lands

The first documented information about a watermill on Polish lands involves a facility in Zgorzelec, listed in a document dated 1071.¹¹ The first permit for the construction of a wind-

¹⁰ Compare with: GLASER-OPITZ, Zoltán, KULLA, Marián, SPIŠIAK, Peter. Vodné mlyny na Slovensku ako fenomén kultúrneho dedičstva. In: *Geografické Informácie*, 16 (1), 2012, p. 67-76; FAJER, Maria. Watermills – a Forgotten River Valley Heritage – selected examples from the Silesian voivodeship, Poland. In: *Environmental & Socio-economic Studies*, 2 (2), 2014, p. 1-9; ÇORAPÇIOĞLU, Gülferah. Conservation of the traditional water mills in the Mediterranean Region of Turkey. In: *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 6 (3), 2016, p. 287-315.

¹¹ DEMBIŃSKA, Maria. *Przetwórstwo zbożowe w Polsce średniowiecznej (X-XIV wiek)*. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1973, p. 64.

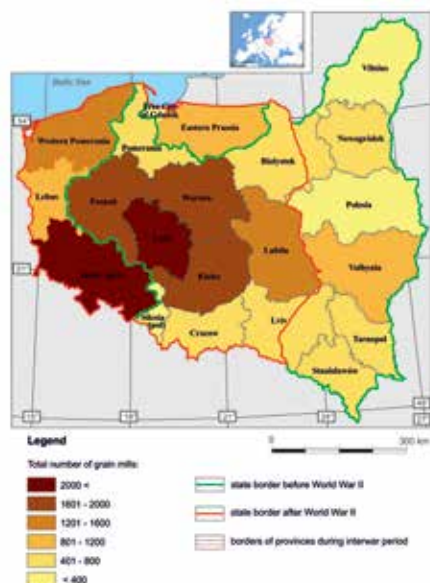


Figure 1: *The distribution of grain mills on Polish lands in the early twentieth century* (Source: own compilation based on the data presented by: W. Szulc and A. Dzik)

as in the following voivodeships: Warsaw, Poznań and Łódź. It should be mentioned as an interesting fact that at the beginning of the twentieth century, there were still isolated cases of operating horsemills and boat mills on major navigable rivers (on the Vistula, Pripyat, Pisa, Dunajec and Dniester).

On the other hand, the distribution of watermills and windmills, which are represented in almost equal proportions, features a certain noticeable spatial regionalisation. Windmills constituted the most numerous group (over 1,000 such facilities per voivodeship) in Łódź, Poznań and Warsaw. In turn, watermills were the most numerous in German Silesia and in the voivodeships of Kielce, Stanisławów and Cracow.

After the Second World War, in the new reality of a socialist country where all private property was limited to a minimum, there was no place for small milling facilities. Nonetheless, in 1954 in Poland there were still 3,280 inventoried windmills and 6,330 functional facilities using the energy of flowing water.¹⁵

After examining the collected set of objects, we can generally say, that the dominant type of watermill was the one equipped with a vertical water wheel, both of overshot and undershot subtypes. The choice of water wheel subtype was then determined by local physiographic con-

mill was in turn issued in 1271 by Prince Wiesław of Rugia for a monastery in Białe Buk. A donation act of Pomeranian dukes in favour of Cistercian nuns in Szczecin dated 1289 clearly testifies to an already existing windmill.¹² From the thirteenth century, there are 344 records of 485 watermills distributed in all regions of the former Poland.¹³ The greatest development of milling in the current area of Poland took place in the sixteenth century. Already in the middle of this century there were approx. 12,000 functioning watermills and windmills.¹⁴

At the beginning of the twentieth century, in the area of Poland reborn after the First World War, over 15,000 milling plants were inventoried. In addition, further 6,200 mills operated in areas which did not become parts of Poland until after the Second World War (fig. 1). Mills driven by water and wind constituted 90% of all facilities. The remaining (but considerably larger) ones were provided with internal combustion and steam engines. The majority of such facilities were located in German Silesia and in East Prussia, as well

¹² DEMBIŃSKA, *Przetwórstwo zbożowe w Polsce średniowiecznej...*, p. 128-129.

¹³ DEMBIŃSKA, *Przetwórstwo zbożowe w Polsce średniowiecznej...*, p. 78.

¹⁴ BARANOWSKI, Bohdan. *Polskie młynarstwo*. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1977, p. 29.

¹⁵ PAWLIK, Mieczysław. *Wiatraki północno-wschodniej Polski*. Rozprawy Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 273, Białystok: Uniwersytet Warszawski, 1984; SPOŻY, Jerzy, JAŚKIEWICZ, Jacek, LEWANDOWSKI, Stanisław, SAKOWICZ, Mieczysław, TIERESZKO, Urszula. *Sto lat energetyki wodnej na ziemiach polskich*. Warszawa: Towarzystwo Elektrowni Wodnych, 1998.

ditions,¹⁶ mainly the shape of the river valley, the slope of the watercourse, and water resources. From a second half of the nineteenth century water turbines became increasingly popular. After analysing how the energy was transmitted, transformed and used to propel devices, we can say that until the second half of nineteenth century the most popular form was the traditionally constructed turbine in which energy from the main horizontally installed shaft was transmitted to a vertical shaft equipped with additional gears. This can be clearly seen when we consider the cubature of mill buildings: the most common type were one-storey buildings, sometimes with a usable attic. Multi-storey brick industrial plants started to become popular at the end of the nineteenth century.

With regards to windmills, there was a wide variety of types in Poland, starting from the oldest and most numerous, the post mill, in which the whole construction rotated around the main pole. Mills where only the dome that holds the shaft is movable are called smock mills (if made of wood on the plan of a polygon) or tower mills (if made of bricks on the plan of a circle). The last, less popular type, called a paltrock mill, was made from wood and quite similar to a post mill, but rotatable thanks to a kind of a roller bearing installed in its base.

The historical background of the protection of mills on Polish lands Up to the end of the Second World War

The beginnings of the idea of conservation in Poland can be sought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries;¹⁷ however, it was not until the establishment of institutional services when practical actions in this regard were made possible. The first country worth mentioning among those who annexed Polish land after the partitions made near the end of the eighteenth century is Prussia, in which the office of a conservator of monuments was established as early as in 1843,¹⁸ while until the end of the 1890s it was the location of provincial monument protection offices.¹⁹ Afterwards, in 1853, Austria established a Central Commission for the Research and Preservation of Architectural Monuments.²⁰ It was not until 1906 that the Society for Protection of Monuments of the Past was established in the Russian partition, being a social body substituting, in this regard, for missing institutions.²¹ The situation changed along with the creation of the Polish state. A decree from the Regency Council about care for monuments of art and culture was issued on 31 October 1918.²² It included the definition of a monument, which covered not just works of architecture, but also urban layouts and historic greenery. The surroundings of a monument were also to be protected. A short time later, the issue of the establishment of district monument protection offices was standardised.²³ The

¹⁶ Compare with: BRYKAŁA, Dariusz. Uwarunkowania przyrodnicze lokalizacji młynów wodnych w zlewni Skrwy. In: GERMAN, Krystyna, BALON, Jarosław (eds). *Przemiany środowiska przyrodniczego Polski a jego funkcjonowanie*. Kraków: Instytut Geografii i Gospodarki Przestrzennej UJ, 2001, p. 164-171.

¹⁷ FRYCZ, Jerzy. *Restauracja i konserwacja zabytków architektury w Polsce w latach 1795-1918*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975, p. 17.

¹⁸ JOKILEHTO, Jukka. *A History of Architectural Conservation*. New York: Routledge, 1999, p. 255.

¹⁹ LEZIUS, Hermann. *Das Recht der Denkmalpflege in Preussen*. Berlin, 1908, p. 27.

²⁰ ARSZYŃSKI, Idea, pamięć, troska..., p. 97.

²¹ FRYCZ, *Restauracja i konserwacja zabytków...*, p. 190.

²² Decree of the Regency Council about care for monuments of art and culture (Journal of Laws 1918, No. 16 item 36).

²³ DETTLOFF, Paweł. *Odbudowa i restauracja zabytków architektury w Polsce w latach 1918-1939. Teoria i praktyka*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych UNIVERSITAS, 2006, p. 46.

office of the General Conservator of Monuments was established in 1930.²⁴

The nineteenth century was also a time of increased interest in the rapidly vanishing folk culture. What is important is that it was recognised as a carrier of national identity.²⁵ This was one of the reasons behind the development of museums and collections. The exhibitions in Cracow in 1887 and Lviv in 1894 were the first to present examples of original folk architecture from southern and eastern Poland.²⁶

The open-air museum in Stockholm established by Artur Hazelius in 1891 was the world's first site to present translocated traditional architecture.²⁷ In the current area of Poland, the oldest site of this type is the museum in Wdzydze Kiszewskie, founded in 1906.²⁸ This initiative was finalised due to much support from the Conservator of the West Prussia Province.²⁹ At the beginning, the exhibits were gathered and displayed in a seventeenth-century arcaded house bought from local farmer, and later the other objects were translocated to the surrounding area. Similar effectiveness was exhibited by the Conservator of the East Prussia Province, who in 1913 founded the Ostpreussische Heimatmuseum in Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad - Russia).³⁰ In 1938, it was moved to larger premises in Olsztynek (current Poland).³¹ The vast majority of buildings presented there were copies of monuments located in the field. In 1923, Adam Chętnik accomplished the first relocation of a traditional rural cottage to Nowogród (near Łomża), where the Kurpie Museum was founded shortly after.³² In the 1930s, the gathering of buildings also began in Kościuszkó Park in Katowice.³³ The design of a central museum presenting the main types of homestead from the whole area of contemporary Poland was developed during the interwar period in Warsaw. Attempts at the establishment of open-air museums also took place in Cracow and Vilnius.³⁴

More detailed considerations on conservators' interest in mills should focus first on projects implemented in the Prussian partition. This is because the Teutonic Castle in Marienburg was one of the most important places for shaping the conservation doctrine and practice of Europe at the time. Renovation works to the castle lasted the entire nineteenth century. In the 1880s they were supervised by C. Steinbrecht. It was he who, in the years 1901–1902, erected a watermill building in the inter-wall space of the High Castle. Based on written sources,

²⁴ ZIMNA-KAWECKA, Karolina. Ochrona zabytków i organizacja urzędów konserwatorskich w Polsce okresu międzywojennego (na przykładzie woj. pomorskiego) a unormowania Ustawy z dn. 23 VII 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami. In: *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie*, 27, 2010, p. 130.

²⁵ SPISS, Anna. *Muzea etnograficzne na wolnym powietrzu w Europie*. Warszawa, 1985, p. 11.

²⁶ PYTLIŃSKA-SPISS, Anna. Muzea na wolnym powietrzu w Polsce. In: *Etnografia Polska*, 33 (2), 1989, p. 197.

²⁷ CZAJKOWSKI, Jerzy. *Muzea na wolnym powietrzu w Europie*. Rzeszów-Sanok, 1984; PEDRAM, Behnam, EMAMI AMIN, Mohammad, MOZHGAN, Khakban. Role of the open-air museum in the conservation of the rural architectural heritage. In: *Conservation Science in Cultural Heritage*, 18, 2018, p. 101-120.

²⁸ SPISS, *Muzea etnograficzne...*, p. 33-34.

²⁹ PRARAT, Maciej. Architektura wiejska w granicach Prus Zachodnich jako przedmiot zainteresowań naukowych i konserwatorskich do lat 40. XX w. In: *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Zabytkoznawstwo i Konserwatorstwo*, XLV, 2014, p. 200-201.

³⁰ DETHLEFSEN, Richard. Ein Ostpreussisches Heimatmuseum in Königsberg. In: *Denkmalpflege*, 13, 1911, p. 101-104.

³¹ HISTORIA *Ostpreussisches Heimatmuseum w Królewcu 1909-1945, dzisiejszego Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego Parku Etnograficznego w Olsztyńku. Katalog wystawy*. Olsztynek, 2011.

³² JASTRZĘBSKI, Jerzy. *Skansen Kurpiowski im. Adama Chętnika w Nowogrodzie. Łomża*, 2007, p. 11.

³³ SPISS, *Muzea etnograficzne...*, p. 34.

³⁴ GRABSKI, Marek. *Ochrona budownictwa drewnianego. Małopolskie realizacje skansenowskie w końcu XIX i w XX wieku*. Kraków: Muzeum Etnograficzne im. Seweryna Udzieli w Krakowie, 2012, p. 92-142.



Figure 2: *The equipment of a mill from 1826 on exhibition in the High Castle in Malbork (photograph by M. Prarat, 2018).*

he concluded that during the medieval times there had been a functioning water-driven plant in this site. Due to the lack of any relics, the facility was designed anew. Importantly, in order to arrange the internal space, Steinbrecht purchased original equipment originating from the mills of northern Poland, including a horse mill, a mechanical mill and a shaking sieve from 1826.³⁵ Today, this collection is considered unique at a countrywide level (fig. 2). In 1913, the Castle Rebuilding Board purchased parts of a destroyed drainage mill from Krzewsk.³⁶ In the same year, an open-air museum was opened for sightseeing in Königsberg, having

been created due to the efforts of R. Dethlefsen, a conservator of the Eastern Prussia Province. Buildings presented in it included a windmill (paltrock type) from Schönfließ, which in the 1940s was moved along with other buildings to today's open-air museum in Olsztyn.³⁷

In the part of Poland which was under Russian and Austro-Hungarian rule in the nineteenth century, the situation was less favourable. Initiatives worth mentioning include the actions of Duke J. T. Lubomirski who, in 1875 in Warsaw, founded the Museum of Industry and Agriculture (later converted into the Museum of Technology and Industry). Not only was this facility intended to preserve monuments related to economic history, but it was also meant to conduct scientific activities, develop new technologies and establish a proper book collection.³⁸ Already under the name Museum of Technology and Industry, it took care of objects in the field by inventorying and protecting them. In addition, it was accompanied by the shaping of an association (consisting of the representatives of various jobs) implementing and promoting the protection of technical heritage.³⁹ In 1936, an inventory of technical and industrial monuments was initiated by the Department of Polish Architecture at the Warsaw University of Technology, which established a section of the industrial and economic building responsible for surveying inventories and photographic documentation, along with the publication of research results⁴⁰. Individual inventorying tasks were also undertaken by the previously mentioned Society for the Protection of Monuments of the Past.⁴¹

An intensification of actions related to the protection of mills took place in the second quarter of the twentieth century. However, this happened mainly on territories which remained within German boundaries. Here it is also worth recalling that the first association for the preservation of mills was established in the Netherlands in 1923. However, its actions focused

³⁵ DEUGOKEŃCKI, Wiesław, KUCZYŃSKI, Jan, POSPIESZNA, Barbara. *Młyny w Malborku i okolicy od XIII do XIX w.* Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2004, p. 91-95.

³⁶ PRARAT, Architektura wiejska..., p. 209.

³⁷ HISTORIA Ostpreussische Heimatmuseum..., p. 62, 65.

³⁸ DWUDZIESTOPIĘCIOLECIE Muzeum Przemysłu i Rolnictwa w Warszawie 1875-1900. Warsaw, 1901, p. 3.

³⁹ JASIUK, Jerzy. Problemy ochrony zabytków techniki w Polsce. In: *Ochrona Zabytków*, 18/3 (70), 1965, p. 3-12.

⁴⁰ KORZENIEWICZ, Władysław, ŚWIAŁECKI, Władysław. Młyn i tartak na Łemkowszczyźnie. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, 7 (1), 1939, p. 78-88; PAZDUR, Jan. Zagadnienia ochrony i konserwacji zabytków techniki. In: *Ochrona Zabytków* 10/2 (37), 1957, p. 114.

⁴¹ The website presenting data gathered by Society for Protection of Monuments of the Past, accessed August 4th, 2020, <http://www.tonzp.dziedzictwowizualne.pl/szukaj?q=wiatrak>.



Figure 3: *A draining windmill in the area of Żuławy. Picture from the early twentieth century (from the resources of Marienburg Archiv, Hamburg)*

more on the social desire to preserve milling traditions. Four years later, entirely different actions were undertaken by the Free City of Gdańsk, which purchased several windmills in order to protect the traditional landscape of Żuławy. At the same time, actions were taken by the West Prussia Province conservator, B. Schmid, who developed a report presenting the condition of traditional mills. In the 1930s, several more facilities were purchased due to his efforts (fig. 3). In some cases, the conservator also provided additional financing for renovations of facilities constituting private property. Such funding was granted under the condition of the high historical value of a windmill which could not be transformed.⁴² In hindsight, these actions should be considered as pioneering in Europe.

The situation was much worse in areas which became part of the newly reinstated Poland. Services for the protection of monuments, which were still in development, faced a different scale of problems, generally not noticing the value of technical monuments. However, this does not mean that no studies were performed in this regard during that time – examples include those related to rural industry (mainly watermills) in Podhale⁴³ and in the Eastern Carpathians,⁴⁴ Initiatives which are worth noting also include the open-air museum created by M. Znamierowska-Prüfferowa in Vilnius in 1934, in whose space the author placed fully technically operational mills.⁴⁵

Actions taken in the second half of the twentieth century

The end of the Second World War is associated with a change in the state borders (cf. fig. 1), as well as the political-economic system, which largely affected the preservation of the still underestimated technical monuments. Nationalisation and subdivision of large agricultural households, performed as a result of the agricultural reform of 1944, caused numerous valuable objects to become state property, and the highly arbitrary understanding of the issue of their redevelopment resulted in the destruction and deterioration of many of them. A huge proportion of historical masonry and wooden buildings, including numerous windmills and watermills, were devastated.

The national conservation services, which were undergoing reconstitution at the time, had to face a change in borders, a new administrative division and primarily the estimation of war-time losses. The listing of monuments on a larger scale did not begin in Poland until after 1959, when it resulted from a resolution of the Government Commission on Keeping Record of

⁴² PRARAT, *Architektura wiejska...*, p. 209-211.

⁴³ REYCHMAN, Jan, REYCHMAN, Stefan. *Przemysł wiejski na Podhalu*. Zakopane: Muzeum Tatrzańskie w Zakopanem, 1937.

⁴⁴ KORZENIEWICZ et al., *Młyn i tartak na Łemkowszczyźnie...*, p. 78-88.

⁴⁵ ŚWIĘCH, Jan. *Ochrona młynarstwa wiejskiego w polskich muzeach na wolnym powietrzu. Założenia i realizacja*. In: PRZYBYŁA-DUMIN, Agnieszka, GRABNY, Barbara, ROSZAK-KWIATEK, Paweł (eds.). *Młynarstwo tradycyjne – wczoraj, dziś, jutro... Problemy zachowania ginącego dziedzictwa*. Chorzów: Muzeum „Górnoląski Park Etnograficzny w Chorzowie”, 2017, p. 141.

Inanimate Monuments.⁴⁶ After several years, using a specially designed registration card – the so-called “green card” – the status of monuments in Poland was verified.⁴⁷ Importantly, from the very beginning, conservators were already interested in wooden buildings.⁴⁸ At the turn of the 1960s, the Institute of Material Culture History of the Polish Academy of Sciences worked on the “registry” of preserved technical heritage. The results of fieldwork undertaken at the time were published as the “Catalogue of Monuments of Industrial Architecture in Poland”.⁴⁹

Article 5 point 6 of the Act on the Protection of Cultural Property and Museums dated 1962 includes a clause stating that protection applies to: “objects of technology and material culture, such as old mines, smelters, workshops, buildings, constructions, devices, means of transportation, machines, tools, scientific instruments and products particularly characteristic for old and modern forms of economy, technology and science, when they are unique or related to important stages of technological progress.”⁵⁰

The Centre for Documentation of Monuments, which was involved in recording and documenting monuments, was also established around this time, in 1962.⁵¹ In 2002, this institution was merged with the Centre for Protection of Historical Landscape, resulting in the creation of the National Centre for Research and Documentation of Monuments. Starting from December 2010, this institution was converted into the Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (National Heritage Institute – NID). The Polish Monuments Conservation Workshops Company, which functioned from the 1950s until the 1990s, was another important institution, especially in the context of performed pre-planning and planning documentation, including that of numerous mills. Activities performed by this institution included the creation of a monumental five-volume document focusing on windmills in Pomerania.⁵² Currently, the inventory of and supervision over monuments in Poland is carried out by voivodeship offices for the protection of monuments.

The period after the Second World War was the time when the protection of technical and industrial heritage gained more importance in Poland. This was clearly related to the ideology of promoting workers and peasants as the most important aspect of the fabric of society.⁵³ This translated into the development of open-air museums, whose contribution to the protection of traditional milling is probably the greatest. The first open-air museum opened after the war in 1958 was the Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego (Folk Architecture Museum) in Sanok.

⁴⁶ SZALYGIN, Jerzy. Rejestr i ewidencja zabytków nieruchomości oraz ruchomych w działaniach Narodowego Instytutu Dziedzictwa. In: *Ochrona Zabytków*, 1-2, 2012, p. 119.

⁴⁷ For example: KLONOWSKI, Franciszek A. Z historii i inwentaryzacji wiatraków na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu. In: *Rocznik Olsztyński*, 1, 1958, p. 193-222; KLONOWSKI, Franciszek A. Z historii i inwentaryzacji młynów wodnych na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu. In: *Rocznik Olsztyński*, 2, 1959, p. 173-193; WESOŁOWSKA, Henryka. *Etnograficzne badania nad młynarstwem wiejskim Opolszczyzny (wiatraki)*. Opole: Instytut Śląski w Opolu, 1961, p. 29; WESOŁOWSKA, Henryka. *Etnograficzne badania nad młynarstwem wiejskim Opolszczyzny (młyny wodne)*. Opole: Instytut Śląski w Opolu, 1963, p. 41.

⁴⁸ PRARAT, Maciej. *Architektura chłopska Doliny dolnej Wisły w latach 1772-1945 i jej problematyka konserwatorska*. Toruń: Muzeum Etnograficzne im. Marii Znamierowskiej-Prüfferowej w Toruniu, 2012, p. 306.

⁴⁹ JASIUK, Problemy ochrony..., p. 10.

⁵⁰ The ACT on the protection of cultural property and museums dated 15 February 1962, Journal of Laws No. 10, item 48.

⁵¹ GUTMEJER, Karol. Na czterdziestolecie Ośrodka Dokumentacji Zabytków. In: *Ochrona Zabytków*, 55/1 (216), 2002, p. 4-6.

⁵² DOMAGAŁA, Tadeusz. *Wiatraki w województwie gdańskim*. Gdańsk, 1970-1971.

⁵³ AUGUSTYN, Agata. Dawny zakład przemysłowy jako muzeum – od idei do realizacji. Wybrane zagadnienia z ochrony dziedzictwa przemysłowego w Polsce. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 58, 2017, p. 146.

The urgent need to create this site was a result of an almost complete decline of the population of the ethnic groups of the Boykos and the Lemkos in the mountain areas of the Bieszczady and Lower Beskidy Mountains.⁵⁴ The innovative concept of an open-air museum was based around the creation of sectors with fragments of village layouts. This was also the first museum into which a mill was translocated (from Wola Komborska) – this happened in 1963.⁵⁵ Over the space of a dozen years (up to the end of 1979), a total of 26 windmills, nine watermills, eight oil mills, two water-powered sawmills, two fulling mills and one tannery were translocated to newly created open-air museums.⁵⁶ Among the various types of mill, windmills are the ones which are most frequently translocated. In 1984, in 21 open-air museums there were already 46 windmills (including those planned for translocation in the near future).⁵⁷ By 2014, in open-air museums and at *in situ* protection sites that were departments of those centres, there were 55 windmills and 16 watermills.⁵⁸ In all cases, there were noticeable problems involving proper exhibition, resulting directly from the lack of knowledge related to the operation of these production



Figure 4: Watermill from Strzygi with: a turbine (left – *in situ* in 1960s) and a overshot waterwheel (right – *ex situ* in 2014). Currently in the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń (photograph by Archive MET, sign. I-1306-90; K. Kopczyński 2014).

plants. This is why almost all of the monuments presented in museum space were not operational, and usually also lacked technological equipment.

One of the first exhibitions of the interior of a milling facility was set up in two mills (a windmill and a watermill) that were moved to the Park Etnograficzny w Toruniu (Ethnographic Park in Toruń). After the translocation of a watermill from Strzygi (fig. 4), the equipment present inside it retained its full mechanical functionality. Original machines and devices, including the arrangement of stones and the sieve, were also presented in the post mill from Wójtówka. The watermill is activated occasionally, while the windmill undergoes only maintenance rotations. The above-men-

tioned installations took place in the 1990s, when there were already over 40 windmills in more than 20 museums, only some of which operated using wind energy. Therefore, the cubage and possibly the equipment of the facility were preserved, but not its technical functionality, due to a lack of knowledge about how to operate the mill – that is, how to operate those elements whose necessity of preservation was pointed out as early as the 1930s by M. Znamierowska-Prüfferowa.

Contemporary protection of historical mills in Poland

Among the mills preserved up to the present day, there are very few facilities which are still

⁵⁴ More about the museum in: GINAŁSKI, Jerzy, OSSADNIK, Hubert, KROWIAK, Marcin. Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku po 55 latach. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 54, 2013, p. 102-110; OLBERT, Patryk. Dwa skanseny na Podkarpaciu: Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku i Muzeum Kultury Ludowej w Kolbuszowej. In: *Rocznik Kolbuszowski*, 16, 2016, p. 443.

⁵⁵ ŚWIECH, Ochrona młynarstwa..., p. 141.

⁵⁶ CZAJKOWSKI, Jerzy. Aktualny stan prac budowlanych w muzeach na wolnym powietrzu w Polsce, In: *Acta Scansenologica*, 1, 1980, p. 153-154.

⁵⁷ SZYMAŃSKI, Adam. Udział placówek muzealnych i skansenowskich w pracach nad młynarstwem wietrznym w Polsce. In: *Acta Scansenologica*, 3, 1985, p. 311.

⁵⁸ ŚWIECH, Ochrona młynarstwa..., p. 143.

functional. The best-preserved plants are the small ones that for generations belonged to single families of millers. Some of these are mills with preserved equipment but which are no longer operational. They are activated only occasionally for local needs or for tourists. They are usually subject to informal protection by private owners or local associations.

Mills whose production equipment is not completely preserved are more common. Typically, their owners have preserved only individual devices in the form of relics.⁵⁹ Their original function is generally only recognisable from their cubage, since their interiors have been given an entirely different function, such as a shop, restaurant or hotel. One popular manner of using such buildings is to take further advantage of the energy of flowing water and use them as small hydroelectric power plants.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, this function does not always favour the preservation of historical equipment or the nature of the surroundings of old mills, since these objects are considered to be purely utilitarian.



Figure 5: *Condition of the watermill building in Głębock (Dravsko Pomorskie County)* (photograph by D. Brykała, 2011).



Figure 6: *Three medieval millstones embedded into a wall of the Gothic church in Osiek Koszaliński* (photograph by D. Brykała, 2019).

The largest group consists of abandoned mills,⁶¹ sometimes in ruins (fig. 5). This class of mill is most noticeable in urban landscapes, in form of large milling complexes for which it is hard to find a buyer or change their function. Sometimes the mill itself no longer exists and a displayed millstone is the only relic indicating its former presence in the landscape.⁶² The

⁵⁹ See more: PRARAT, Maciej, JAGIELŁO, Daria. Kilka refleksji na temat badań i ochrony zabytkowych młynów w Polsce. In: PRZYBYŁA-DUMIN et al., *Młynarstwo tradycyjne – wczoraj, dziś, jutro...*, p. 221-224.

⁶⁰ LAZDĀNE, Lilita. The historical development of watermills and small-scale hydroelectric power plants landscape in Latvia. In: *Research for Rural Development*, 17, 2011, p. 200-206; BRYKAŁA, Dariusz, PODGÓRSKI, Zbigniew, SARNOWSKI, Łukasz, LAMPARSKI, Piotr, KORDOWSKI, Jarosław. Wykorzystanie energii wiatru i wody w okresie ostatnich 200 lat na obszarze województwa kujawsko-pomorskiego. In: *Prace Komisji Krajobrazu Kulturowego*, 29, 2015, p. 9-22; PUNYS, Petras, KVARACIEJUS, Algis, DUMBRAUSKAS, Antanas, ŠILINIS, Linas, POPA, Bogdan. An assessment of micro-hydropower potential at historic watermill, weir, and non-powered dam sites in selected EU countries. In: *Renewable Energy*, 133, 2019, p. 1108-1123.

⁶¹ Compare with: BARRAUD, Régis. La rivière a ménagée et le moulin à eau. Un heritage en déshérence? Trajectoires, modèles et projets de paysage. Exemple des vallées sud-armoricaines. In: *Bulletin de l'Association de géographes français*, 86 (1), 2009, p. 32-45; LU, Ning, LIU, Min, WANG, Rensheng. Reproducing the discourse on industrial heritage in China: reflections on the evolution of values, policies and practices. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 26, 2020, p. 498-518.

⁶² BARTZ, Wojciech, PRARAT, Maciej. Results of petrographic and mineralogical research of selected millstones from Pomerania – a contribution to the use of interdisciplinary methods in research on traditional milling. In: *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie – Journal of Heritage Conservation*, 61, 2020, p. 124-144.

importance and deep, symbolic meaning of millstones for local communities can be clearly seen in a fact, that some of them were even embedded into the walls of Gothic churches in Northern Poland (fig. 6).

Mills in the national register of monuments

Only some of the mills preserved until the present day are listed in the register of monuments (which results in their legal protection). Any actions taken by monument protection offices are executed based on the provisions of the act dated 23 July 2003 on the Protection of Monuments and Care for Monuments.⁶³ According to the wording of Article 6, item 1, point 1e: regardless of their degree of preservation, protection and care apply to inanimate



Figure 7: The distribution of mills listed in the register of inanimate monuments (Source: own compilation based on the NID data).

monuments being “technical facilities, and in particular mines, smelters, power plants and other industrial plants.”⁶⁴ Such a monument can be entered into the register along with its surroundings.

Currently, in the register of immovable monuments there are 576 entries⁶⁵ related to milling facilities (fig. 7). Most of them are mill buildings; however, relevant to the needs of the present paper, the list also includes several different types of monument, such as completely or partially preserved parts of mill settlements, and even a cemetery of millers. Taking into account the division by types, it has been concluded that the register includes: 254 windmills, 301 mills with different sources of propulsion (mainly water), and 21 objects closely related to milling (e.g. miller’s houses etc.). 547 objects have been

granted *in situ* protection, while *ex situ* protection applies to 29 milling facilities (in particular windmills) which have been translocated.

The highest number of facilities listed in the register of monuments are located in the Greater Poland Voivodeship (103), with the lowest in the Silesian Voivodeship (10). An analysis of the spatial distribution of objects in small territorial units indicated that the highest density of monuments related to milling is observed in the counties of Sokółka (Podlasie Voivodeship, 16 objects) and Leszno (Greater Poland Voivodeship, also 16 objects, with three more in Leszno city county).

Greater Poland is the area of Poland with the highest abundance of historical windmills: the

⁶³ The Act dated 23 July 2003 on the Protection of Monuments and Care for Monuments (Journal of Laws 2003 No. 162, item 1568, as amended).

⁶⁴ Article 6 item 1 point 1 letter e of the Act dated 23 July 2003 on the Protection of Monuments and Care for Monuments (Journal of Laws 2003 No. 162, item 1568, as amended).

⁶⁵ In here, it should be mentioned that the term “entry” is not equivalent to an “object”, since the list of inanimate monuments sometimes includes entries for objects which no longer exist (this is accompanied by a proper annotation), and some objects are referred to by more than one entry, for example because their surroundings have been added to the register.

register prepared for this voivodeship includes as many as 85 mills, which is over a third of the country's resources. On the other hand, Lower Silesia Voivodeship has the highest number of historical watermills and motor mills – 44.

Due to technological issues as well as visual assets, it is important to provide for the proper display of windmills. One example illustrating the substantial significance of this parameter is the extension of the protection of a nineteenth-century windmill located in the village of Ostrowo (Strzelno municipality) to include its surroundings. The facility was listed in the register of monuments in 2004 and seven years later the lot on which it is located was also registered.⁶⁶ A similar situation took place in the case of a smock mill in Wolin (Wolin municipality) – a mill entered into the register in 2001 and its surroundings in 2009.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, entries that take into account hydrotechnical equipment related to a watermill are still extremely rare. Commendable exceptions include the following:

- a wooden watermill in Bondyż (Adamów municipality) was added to the register of monuments along with its devices in 1983;⁶⁸
- a mill in Iłowa (same municipality) was added to the register in 1992, and a water body with two weirs were added, albeit much later, in 2002 and 2003.⁶⁹

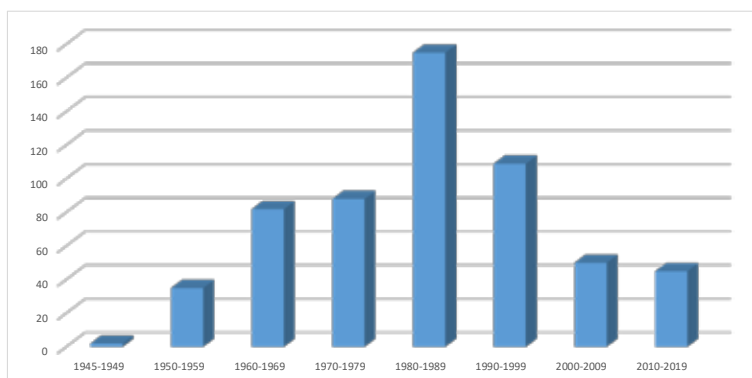


Figure 8: *The number of milling facilities entered into the register of monuments after the Second World War* (Source: own compilation based on the NID data)

When observing the statistics of registration of mills as monuments, it is clearly noticeable that the highest number of entries was recorded in the 1980s and 1990s (fig. 8). The issue of practical actions taken by officials gives quite a different perspective. In recent years, there has been a visible number of actions involving monuments which usually belong to municipalities and towns. Unfortunately, the lack of expert knowledge in this regard among official conservators and primarily contractors very frequently results in the destruction of monuments under the guise of improving their condition. This is of especial concern with windmills in which

⁶⁶ *Register of immovable monuments of Kujawsko – Pomorskie voivodeship published on website of National Heritage Institute*, accessed August 4th, 2020, https://www.nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Zabytki_w_Polsce/rejestr-zabytkow/zestawienia-zabytkow-nieruchomych/stan%20na%2030.06.2019/KUJ-rej.pdf.

⁶⁷ *Register of immovable monuments of Zachodniopomorskie voivodeship published on website of National Heritage Institute*, accessed August 4th, 2020, https://www.nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Zabytki_w_Polsce/rejestr-zabytkow/zestawienia-zabytkow-nieruchomych/stan%20na%2030.06.2019/ZPO-rej.pdf.

⁶⁸ *Register of immovable monuments of Lubelskie voivodeship published on website of National Heritage Institute*, accessed August 4th, 2020, https://www.nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Zabytki_w_Polsce/rejestr-zabytkow/zestawienia-zabytkow-nieruchomych/stan%20na%2030.06.2019/LBL-rej.pdf.

⁶⁹ *Register of immovable monuments of the Lubuskie Voivodeship published on the website of the National Heritage Institute*, accessed August 4th, 2020, https://www.nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Zabytki_w_Polsce/rejestr-zabytkow/zestawienia-zabytkow-nieruchomych/stan%20na%2030.06.2019/LBS-rej.pdf.



Figure 9: *The interior of the windmill from Leszno after conservation works* (photograph by M. Prarat, 2018)

most of historical structure is replaced without restoring its technical functionality.

One of the few exceptions presenting a reasonable approach to conservation as well as high quality of craftsmanship is the operation involving the windmill in Leszno (fig. 9), performed under the supervision of the Office of the City Conservator of Monuments. This monument was moved onto the premises of an agricultural school. Not only has the vast majority of its eighteenth-century structure been preserved, but also – due to the possibility of rotating the building and the wing shaft – the full technical functionality of the windmill has been restored. Its equipment in turn reflects technological changes in the profession of milling.

Actions for the preservation of mills undertaken by museums

In 41 locations listed among 31 Polish open-air museums (fig. 10), 71 windmills and 22 watermills are currently on exhibition.⁷⁰ Objects originating from the nineteenth century prevail among watermills (almost half of the total number), with objects built in the twentieth century prevalent among windmills (almost half of the total number). Most of them have been relocated to open-air museums, where they have undergone thorough renovation (fig. 11). A post mill relocated from Gryżyna near Kościan to the Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy (Museum of First Piasts on Lake Lednica) has the oldest construction element in Poland, dated 1585. The oldest watermill displayed in open-air museums was built in 1832 in Stare Siolkowice and relocated to the Muzeum Wsi Opolskiej (Museum of the Opole Villages) in Bierkowice.

Usually, an open-air museum displays one mill (although many museums still do not have them at all). The institution with the most mills is the Muzeum Kultury Ludowej w Kolbuszowej (Folk Culture Museum in Kolbuszowa), which houses one watermill (with an undershot waterwheel) and seven windmills (four post mills, one paltrock and two smock mills). It is followed by the Muzeum Wsi Kieleckiej (Museum of the Kielce Villages) in Tokarnia and Szwarzowice, which displays two watermills (with overshot waterwheels) and six windmills (including two post mills, one paltrock and foursmock mills). Unfortunately, not even a reconstruction of a floating mill has been preserved in any Polish open-air museums. In the past, hundreds of such mills operated on large navigable rivers,⁷¹ but today not even a trace of them is left. A chance for it presented itself when a boat mill, reconstructed in 2013, was displayed in the Museum of the Kielce Villages in Tokarnia. Unfortunately, the exhibition only lasted for four years.

The total number of mills presented in open-air museums is small, and moreover (maybe even more importantly), the quality of presentation of these monuments is very low, with problems ranging from the possibilities to their interior design.

Currently in Poland there are two places which can be considered milling museums. The first one is the Muzeum Młynarstwa i Wodnych Urządzeń Przemysłu Wiejskiego w Jaraczu (Museum of Milling and Hydrotechnical Devices of the Rural Industry in Jaracz), a branch

⁷⁰ Compare with: ŚWIEŹCH, *Ochrona młynarstwa...*, p. 143.

⁷¹ SZUROWA, Bogumiła. Młyny pływające na Nidzie i Wiśle w XVIII i XIX w Kieleckiem. In: *Kielecka Teka Skansenowska*, 2, 2002, p. 97-130; BRYKAŁA, Dariusz, PRARAT, Maciej. Reconstruction of boat mills distribution on the Drwęca river and Pomeranian part of the Vistula River in the early nineteenth century. In: *Prace Komisji Krajobrazu Kulturowego*, 40, 2018, p. 71-89.

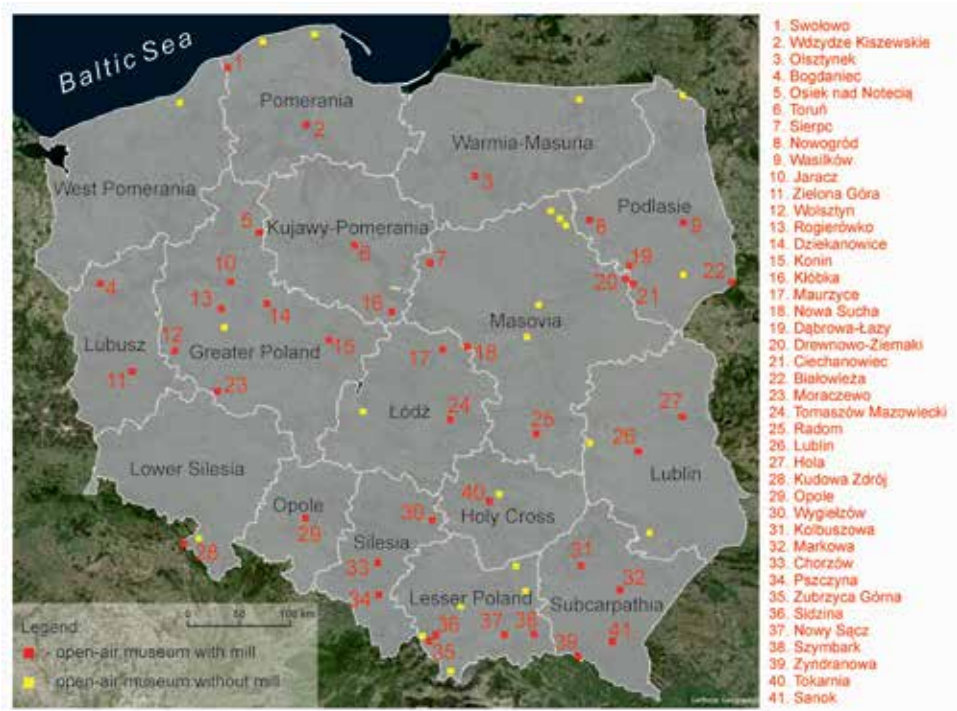


Figure 10: Open-air museums in Poland, including sites presenting mills (Source: own compilation).



Figure 11: Post mill in the Kujawsko-Dobrzyński Ethnographic Park in Kłódka, during conservation works (photograph by M. Prarat, 2009)

of the Muzeum Narodowe Rolnictwa i Przemysłu Rolno-Spożywczego w Szreniawie (National Museum of Agriculture and Agricultural and Food Industry in Szreniawa). It is located near a once-functioning watermill. Today, a hydroelectric power plant operates there, while the interiors have retained most of their equipment. On the other hand, the post mill translocated to the museum from Czacz looks unimpressive. Most of its elements have been replaced, while the mill itself is not functional. Therefore, no milling devices can be seen at this site! The situation is even worse in the private Muzeum Młynarstwa i Rolnictwa w Osiecznej (Museum of Milling and Agriculture in Osieczna), where all windmills have been immobilised, while their

interiors display exhibitions which have nothing to do with milling.

Considering the above, the historical forge located by the Oliwa Brook remains an isolated good example. This facility with a very archaic layout was active until 1947. In the 1950s, the monument was taken over by the Muzeum Techniki (Museum of Technology) in Warsaw and the forge was reactivated in 1978.⁷² It was one of few monuments driven by water which were fully functional and available for sightseeing. It was closed in 2017 for planned renovation when

⁷² MAJEWSKI, Wojciech. Zabytkowa kuźnia wodna na Potoku Jelitkowskim. In: KLIM, Roman (ed). *Materiały I sympozjum Zabytki hydrotechniki w Polsce*. Gdańsk: Gdański Oddział Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami, Centralne Muzeum Morskie, 1996, p. 84-91.

the city of Gdańsk became its owner. After the renovation is complete, this monument will be made accessible for sightseeing again.

Another monumental complex originally driven by the energy of water is the Paper Mill in Duszniki, whose oldest fragments date back to the sixteenth century. The museum dedicated to the production of paper established inside it has applied for inclusion on the UNESCO List of World Heritage Sites.⁷³

One of the most significant initiatives of recent years involving the protection of milling heritage is the creation of a museum at Hilbert's Mill in Dzierżoniów, one of the largest flour-producing plants in Silesia. The mill was modernised before the Second World War, when it was given electric propulsion. Unmodified since then, it was turned directly from a production facility into a museum exhibit.⁷⁴

It turns out that the current main problem of museums is not so much the actual process of translocating or establishing protection over technical monuments, but the establishment of effective procedures aimed at their reactivation. This problem results not just from the lack of professional mill constructors in Poland, but also from the lack of millers familiar with working in traditional facilities. For example, the smock mill translocated to the Muzeum – Kaszubski Park Etnograficzny (Museum – Kaszuby Ethnographic Park) in Wdzydze Kiszewskie from Brusy in 1994, remains fully functional.⁷⁵ However, today there is no longer anyone who can operate it. Attention should be paid to actions taken in the recent years in the Muzeum “Górnośląski Park Etnograficzny w Chorzowie” (Museum of “Upper Silesian Ethnographic Park in Chorzów”), where (although driven by electric motors) the mills keep grinding grain for educational purposes.⁷⁶ The visitors can watch the entire production process. A group of people meet here to help with operating the devices and carry outfield inventories.

Two important institutions for dissemination of knowledge about mills are the previously mentioned museums in Toruń and Jaracz. The latter has been organising regular meetings of milling enthusiasts since 2011.⁷⁷ In 2016 and 2017, another group of enthusiasts organised the Day of Mills, famous all over Europe; unfortunately, this event has since been discontinued. However, there are still attempts being made to promote the heritage connected to milling, including by establishing a national society and integrating it with international organizations such as The International Molinological Society.

Therefore, recent years have seen intense verification of the number of historical mills and related objects, and attempts are being made to maintain or restore their operability and functionality. Endeavours are also being made to promote knowledge about mills among the

⁷³ EYSYMONTT, Rafał, SACHS, Rainer, SZYMCZYK, Maciej. *Młyn papierniczy w Dusznikach-Zdroju*. Duszniki Zdrój: Muzeum Papiernictwa w Dusznikach Zdroju, 2018, p. 19-35.

⁷⁴ *Website about Hilbert's Mill*, accessed August 4th, 2020, <https://www.muzeatechniki.pl/obiekty/mlyn-hilberta/>.

⁷⁵ SADKOWSKI, Tadeusz. *Katalog tradycyjnego budownictwa w Muzeum – Kaszubskim Parku Etnograficznym we Wdzydżach*. Wdzydze Kiszewskie: Muzeum Kaszubski Park Etnograficzny we Wdzydżach Kiszewskich, 2018, p. 171-179.

⁷⁶ RÓSZAK-KWIATEK, Paweł. Młynarstwo tradycyjne ginący zawód? Sprawozdanie z wyjazdu do Wielkiej Brytanii 20.08.-28.08. 2014 r. In: *Rocznik Muzeum Górnośląski Park Etnograficzny w Chorzowie*, 2, 2014, p. 240-261.

⁷⁷ *Website of the Milling Museum in Jaracz*, accessed: August 4th, 2020, http://www.muzeum-szreniawa.pl/imuzeum/web/app.php/vortal/muzeum_mlynarstwa_w_jaracz/spotkania_milosnikow_wiatrakow_i_mlynow_wodnych.html

teachers of environmental and historic subjects⁷⁸ as well as scientists.⁷⁹

Summary

Actions taken in order to protect mills in the current territory of Poland date back to the nineteenth century and they had a pioneering nature for all of Europe. During the period after the Second World War, when the situation favoured the preservation of monuments of technology and material culture, no attention was paid to the possibility that these mills might once again perform their traditional production tasks. Ninety years after the first such implementation, this is slowly once again becoming the main purpose of preservation work performed on mills. The mere 3.4% of facilities entered into the Register of Monuments as functioning at the beginning of the twentieth century should be considered highly insufficient from the standpoint of their significance for the cultural landscape of Poland, and the level of attempted conservation work involving these objects should be considered unsatisfactory.⁸⁰ Even more so, one should point out the role of open-air museums in the need to retain the original functionality of mills.⁸¹

Regardless of conservation actions, attempts are being made to catalogue information about mills, both for watermills⁸² and windmills,⁸³ both of which are considered to be objects of cultural heritage.⁸⁴ Such actions are initiated by both researchers and the representatives of other groups interested in milling, such as hobbyists.

Acknowledgements

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⁷⁸ BIELECKA, Danuta, KOCHAŃSKA-BAYER, Anna, KORDALSKA, Aurelia, KATER, Wojciech, LIPKA, Stefan, PAJĄKOWSKI, Cezary. Młyn wodny przykładem środowiska do interdyscyplinarnej edukacji przyrodniczej. In: *Nauczanie Przedmiotów Przyrodniczych*, 3, 2001, p. 10-14.

⁷⁹ PRARAT et al., Kilka refleksji..., p. 226.

⁸⁰ Compare with: MLYNKA, Ladislav. Młyny na Slovensku, typológia a historicko-etnografická charakteristika. In: DANTEROVÁ, Izabela (ed.). *Młyny a Mlynárske Remeslo, Etnograf a Múzeum*, ročník 10, Galanta: Vlastivedné múzeum v Galante, 2006, p. 7-20.

⁸¹ BRYKAŁA, Dariusz, PRARAT, Maciej, JAGIEŁŁO, Daria. Watermills and windmills in open air museums within the Kujawsko-Pomorskie Region (in Poland) and their conservation issues. In: *TIMS 14th Symposium 2015 Transactions*, Sibiu, 2018, p. 461-474.

⁸² GOŁASKI, Janusz. *Atlas rozmieszczenia młynów wodnych w dorzeczu Warty, Brdy i części Baryczy w okresie 1790-1960. Cz. I. Środkowa Warta, Proсна i Barycz*. Poznań: Akademia Rolnicza w Poznaniu, 1980; MOSAKOWSKI, Zachariasz, BRYKAŁA, Dariusz. Types of watermills on Polish rivers – assumptions in the CeBaDoM database. In: *World Scientific News*, 131, 2019, p. 75-87.

⁸³ *Website about windmills in Poland*, accessed August 4th, 2020, <http://www.wiatraki.org.pl/>.

⁸⁴ GLASER-OPITZ, et al., Vodné mlyny na Slovensku..., p. 67-76; CHERNYH, Olga N., VOLSHANIK, Valerij V. Rol vodyanyh melnits v vossozdanii istoricheskikh landshaftov (Role of watermills in restoration historical landscapes). In: *Prirodobustrojstvo*, 4, 2017, p. 47-55 [in Russian].

activity'). The resultant spatial database of mills will be available in the Centralna Baza Danych o Młynach w Polsce (Central Database of Mills in Poland CeBaDoM, currently in preparation). Its dissemination proceeds on the platform <http://rcin.org.pl/>, under the implementation of the *Otwarte Zasoby Naukowe w Repozytorium Cyfrowym Instytutów Naukowych* (Open Scientific Resources project in the Digital Repository of Scientific Institutes OZwRCIN), financed from the European Funds and the state budget under the Program Operacyjny Polska Cyfrowa (Digital Poland Operational Programme) subaction 2.3.1 'Cyfrowe udostępnianie informacji sektora publicznego ze źródeł administracyjnych i zasobów nauki' – 'Digital sharing of public sector information from administrative sources and scientific resources' (grant number POPC.02.03.01-00-0029/17).

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Modern and Contemporary Art in the Russian Museum Context

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The article considers contemporary and modern art in Russia as reflected in museum curatorial projects. The concepts of large-scale museum exhibitions are based on certain categories that correspond to following qualities: the connection with the centuries-old tradition, myth-making, ludic aspects and internationality – openness to the perception of other cultures. The article analyses exhibition projects in the beginning of the twentieth century, in which contemporary art is demonstrated in the space of tradition, the media context, the everyday context and the context of cultural myths and symbols. The problem of determination of the aesthetic value of contemporary art is stressed in the space of the museum, and represented artworks receive a bigger expressiveness in the neighborhood of works of traditional art. Exhibition curators effectively use aesthetic and formal contrasts; sometimes classical artworks themselves suggest new ways of understanding meanings, hypothetically included in contemporary art – as seen in the projects at the Hermitage, the State Russian Museum and the State Tretyakov Gallery, where curators can unite or contrast tradition and modernity.

Keywords: contemporary art, modernism, museum, exhibition, curatorial project.

Introduction

The actualization of contemporary art in the context of a classical museum, popular in the West, has become fashionable in Russia. It is an effective practice, both from the point of view of cultural and media resonance, and from the point of view of enrichment of the context in which the artifacts of the latest trends are interpreted. Curatorial projects ensure art's eternal movement towards the museum. The idea of the "eternal return" to museums, classics, evolution, continuity of tradition, and hierarchy is immortal even in the context of the postmodern paradigm in the era of simulacra. In the words of Boris Pasternak, "What elephants do they make here out of flies?"¹ The ability to "make elephants out of flies" is a great achievement of modern mass culture. Contemporary art exhibitions at the Hermitage museum can serve as a kind of illustration of this statement. In the beginning of this curatorial tendency, in 2001, a huge *Spider* by Louise Bourgeois was shown in the Baroque space of the Great Courtyard of the Winter Palace. Later came large-scale exhibitions of Robert Mapplethorpe (*Robert Mapplethorpe and the Classical Tradition: Photographs and Mannerist Prints*, 8 December 2004 – 16 January 2005), Francis Bacon (*Francis Bacon and the Art of the Past*, 7 December 2014 – 3 August 2015)

¹ PASTERNAK, Boris. *Ochranajaja gramota*. Moscow: Sovremennik, 1989, p. 16.



Figure 1: At the exhibition *Jan Fabre: the Knight of Despair – the Warrior of Beauty*, 21 October 2016 – 9 April 2017, the State Hermitage museum. The author's photo.

and Jan Fabre (*Jan Fabre: the Knight of Despair – the Warrior of Beauty*, 21 October 2016 – 9 April 2017) in the context of classical art (Figure 1).

Russia is rapidly developing a practice of “big exhibition projects” and the programming of large-scale art exhibitions. Quite often these exhibitions include both classical and contemporary art. On 28 June 2007, in the Benois Wing of the State Russian Museum, the exhibition *Adventures of the Black Square* opened, dedicated to the creative reception of the famous *Black Square* of Kazimir Malevich. Metamorphosis of the *Black Square* in the interpretation of the masters of avant-garde and contemporary artists allowed the curators to demonstrate the evolution of artistic form, which at the time of its creation had been extremely innovative. The exhibition presented works from the collection of the State Russian Museum, the Hermitage, the Tretyakov Gallery, the Museum of Theatrical and Musical Art and private collections, giving viewers the opportunity to trace the development of the symbolic image of the black square. However, the idea of

the exhibition lay not only in ascertaining the endless transformation of symbolic figures, but also in discovering a history of interpretation of Malevich's invention – from the first copies of Nikolai Suetin and other students of Malevich to similar experiments by Vladimir Sterligov and Vassily Kandinsky, and then to variations on the theme of contemporary artists. The fact that the exhibition was opened at the Russian Museum in the context of the tradition of national art gives it additional clarity. The problem of “citation” of the art form and its association with artforms of the past is relevant at all times, and curators of the exhibition managed to convey this idea.

One year earlier, the State Hermitage Museum organized a similar exhibition, *Around the Square* (23 December 2005 – 19 March 2006), from the series *Christmas Gift*. It was prepared with the participation of the Imperial Porcelain Factory (formerly the Lomonosov porcelain factory), which exhibited a collection of porcelain painted by artists of the Russian avant-garde. In addition to the Suprematist porcelain, works of Vassily Kandinsky, as well as Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin and other prominent figures of Russian modernism, were presented. The integrity of ideas demonstrated at the exhibition and its visual impact was due not only to the famous names of artists represented but also to the opportunity to show decorative properties of avant-garde artforms. The classical tradition of applied art and the context of the Hermitage collection have contributed to this in full. However, no less significant was the symbolic component of the exhibition; in particular, the items of “propaganda porcelain” that were included. The exhibition, curated by Tamara V. Kudryavtseva and Tatiana V. Kumzerova, demonstrated how expressive means of Futurism, Cubism and Suprematism relate to decorative shapes of porcelain and how convincingly the artists' works meet their goal to express the joy of labour and the glory of the Soviet government. The plate *Earth — For Workers* by Nathan Altman, and a similar product by Maria Lebedeva, *He Who Does Not Work, Shall Not Eat*, present actual

slogans of the time, conveyed with the help of distinct art forms. The exhibition clearly shows the continuation of domestic traditions of both modernism and the classics.

The reflection of the main trends of the national cultural situation in museum projects results in the fact that the curators' concepts demonstrate not only the modern cultural paradigm, but also reflect the general museum policy, the curators' theoretical views and media context. Exhibitions of contemporary art are aimed at familiarizing the public with both modern trends in art and the context of heritage in the largest museums, as well as the determination of the cultural situation in general.² Classification and reception of the significant museum exhibition projects in the field of contemporary art deserves thorough future study.

Russian contemporary and modern art in the institutional context

In the Soviet era, the art of non-conformism largely imitated Western art. But even though the non-conformists could not be significant competitors with the West in the field of the latest trends of art reflected in postmodernism, their demonstration was banned at home. In 1964, an exhibition of unofficial artists, including Mikhail Shemyakin, opened at the State Hermitage Museum, after which the Director of the museum, Mikhail I. Artamonov, was fired. On 15 September 1974, an amateur outdoor exhibition of non-conformists acquired a venue for a large-scale performance. As this event was finished with the help of police and heavy machinery, it was called *The Bulldozer Exhibition*.

The artist Vladimir Yankilevsky, during the Khrushchev Thaw epoch, created typically modernist works in which it is easy to find quotes or paraphrases of Pablo Picasso, Paul Klee, Fernand Leger. At a time when Western modernism was already starting to lose its expression in comparison to the latest radical trends in the spirit of *anti-form*, and the works of modernists quietly took their places on the walls of museums, banks and corporations, in the Soviet Union non-figurative painting still evoked strong reactions of admiration, rejection or hatred. It is now obvious that in the Sretensky Boulevard Group – a circle of unofficial artists which included Ernst Neizvestny, Ilya Kabakov, Hult Sooster, Erik Bulatov – Vladimir Yankilevsky was probably the most “traditional” artist. He consistently continued the tradition of the pre-war avant-garde in the 1960s, when his art generated the most severe critical reception and created strong abstract works, the originality of which was due to obvious erotic overtones. However, these works, which might be now perceived as ecorative and balanced (during the retrospective exhibition of the artist in Bochum, a session of collective meditation was even held in front of them), built Yankilevsky's reputation as a non-conformist. Two of them – *Triptych No. 2. Two principles* and the pentptych *Atomic Station* were shown at a special “informal” part of the exhibition *30 Years of MOSKb* at the Manege which opened on 1 December 1962. The artists who first saw their work on the walls of the large hall did not suspect that the possibility of their participating in the exhibition had been a provocation. Well-established masters of the Union of Artists wished to discredit the left wing of the *MOSKb* by demonstrating a row of independent artists' works as *degenerate* specimens of the new art. This section of the exhibition

² ALTSHULER, Bruce. *Biennials and Beyond: Exhibitions That Made Art History 1962-2002*. New York: Phaidon, 2013; BAETSCHMANN, Oskar. *The Artist in the Modern World*. Cologne: DuMont, 1997; MACDONALD, Sharon – BASU, Paul (eds). *Exhibition experiments*. London: John Wiley & Sons, 2008; BIRYUKOVA, Marina. *The Philosophy of Curatorship*. St Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin, 2018; VANDERLINDEN, Barbara – FILIPOVIC, Elena (eds). *The Manifesta decade: debates on contemporary art exhibitions and biennials in post-wall Europe*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005; O'NEILL, Paul. *The Culture of Curating and the Curating of Culture(s)*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012; GREENBERG, Reesa – FERGUSON, Bruce – NAIRNE, Sandy. *Thinking about exhibitions*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

was not shown to the public, and the government delegation led by Khrushchev had spoken quite rudely about the artworks presented therein. Vladimir Yankilevsky, who managed to have a chat with the General Secretary, quickly realized that they spoke different languages, in the cultural sense, as he later mentioned in the book *And two figures...* Their dialogue was as follows:



Figure 2: *The monument to Peter the Great by Mikhail Shemyakin in the Peter and Paul fortress, St. Petersburg.* Photo: Anton Shestakov. ([https:// commons.wikimedia.org](https://commons.wikimedia.org))

- “– What is it? – asked Khrushchev.
– It is a pentptych *Atomic Station*.
– No, – he said, – it’s a scribble.
– No, it’s the pentptych *Atomic Station*.
– No, it’s a scribble.”³

On this cheerful note ended the dialogue between the artist and the power, and it was the beginning of a usual life of a Soviet non-conformist.

In the 1980s, the members of Timur Novikov’s circle organized the so-called *Apartment Exhibitions* in private flats to show their art. Only in the perestroika period did the artists have the opportunity to openly compare their works with the works of their Western colleagues.

What is happening now? For comparison, Mikhail Shemyakin is working on several major projects in Russia: in particular, a monument to Peter the Great which is standing in the Peter and Paul Fortress (Figure 2), and the design for a performance of *The Nutcracker* at the Mariinsky Theater. He opened his Fund and Art Center in St Petersburg with a permanent exhibition of his works. At the State Russian Museum in the Ludwig Museum in the Marble Palace, a large-scale exhibition of Vladimir Yankilevsky *Moment of Eternity* (12 July 2007 – 31 August

³ JANKILEVSKY, Vladimir. *I dve figuri...* Moscow: NLO, 2003, p. 128

2007) took place and a major exhibition *Ilya and Emilia Kabakov: "The Incident in the Museum" and Other Installations* (22 June 2004 – 29 August 2004) presented the works of Ilya Kabakov at the Hermitage. Kabakov had left Russia during the Soviet period.

In recent years, a series of competitive projects have appeared similar in scope to the largest exhibitions such as the Venice Biennale or *documenta* in Kassel. One such example is the Moscow Biennale of Contemporary Art. Many of its projects take place in museums. Contemporary Russian culture in the institutional context is analyzed, for example, by Mikhail Epstein.⁴ Russian art theoretician and curator Viktor Misiano notes that “to demonstrate Russian art at the world centers and uphold Western standards in the Russian context today is a priority direction of artistic policy”.⁵

The first Moscow Biennale of Contemporary Art took place in 2005 in the A. S. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, the Tretyakov Gallery, MMoMA (Moscow Museum of Modern Art), the Central House of Artists, the former Vladimir Lenin Museum, Vorobyevy Gory metro station and other venues. The Commissioner of the Biennale was Evgeny Zyablov and the curators were Joseph Backstein, Daniel Birnbaum, Yaroslava Bubnova, Nicolas Bourriaud, Rosa Martinez and Hans Ulrich Obrist. The theme was “Dialectics of Hope”. Associated with the main theme were theoretical works by Boris Kagarlitsky. Among the invited artists were Christian Boltanski, Bill Viola and Ilya Kabakov.

In 2017, the main exposition of the Seventh Moscow Biennale of Contemporary Art was displayed in the State Tretyakov gallery. The main venues for the parallel program were MMoMA, the Multimedia Art Museum, the Winzavod centre of contemporary art, the Darwin Museum and Moscow State University Botanical Garden, among others. It was curated by Yuko Hasegawa, Artistic Director of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, and supported by the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, showing artworks by 52 artists from 25 countries. Among the participants were Matthew Barney, Olafur Eliasson and Björk.

In the last decade, philosophical thought in the West has been trying to compensate for the lack of hierarchical criteria, a characteristic of postmodernism, and to identify ways of overcoming the postmodern paradigm, noting its exhaustion. Researchers of the beginning of the twenty-first century pay attention to the possibility of a new metaphysical context of the era, new “big ideas” and meta-narratives. Some theorists propose the replacement of postmodernism with metamodernism or post-postmodernism,⁶ based on the reincarnation of totally symbolic narratives subjected to deconstruction in postmodernism but in the context of the openness of the information society and with a possibility of continuing interpretations of certain global truths. In exhibition practice, these intentions are reflected in the emergence of curatorial projects based on global themes. The global issue of the day might, for example, become a new look at the human body as a source of creativity, but not with the purpose of achieving perfection and not with the opposite intention – of mortification and asceticism (these two intentions have competed throughout the history of mankind). A new aspect of attitude to the body implies its consideration as an art material – the possibility of creation of an original artefact through metamorphosis associated with tattoos, plastic surgery, piercings, scarification, etc. Aesthetic characteristics of the process, as in art, have ceased to play a de-

⁴ EPSTEIN, Mikhail. *After the future: The paradoxes of postmodernism and contemporary Russian culture*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995.

⁵ MISIANO, Viktor. *Piat leczji o kuratorsrve*. Moscow: Ad Marginem, 2014, p. 194.

⁶ VERMEULEN, Timotheus – VAN DEN AKKER, Robin. Notes on metamodernism. In: *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*, 2, 2010, pp. 2–14.

cisive role here. In philosophy, this topic began to attract researchers as a reason for thinking about the relationship between mind and body.⁷ In the exhibition sphere it is reflected in a series of exhibitions dedicated to the metamorphosis of the body and image: for example, the extremely popular exhibitions of contemporary mummies by Gunther von Hagens in Europe; or in Russia, the reincarnation performances of Arts Vlad Mamyshev-Monroe, a member of the New Academy of Fine. Another example from Russia is the exhibition *Tanatos Banionis. Divine Wind* at the Marble Palace of the State Russian Museum (4 September 2010 – 26 September 2010) curated by Dmitry Hankin, for which the bodies of several participating girls were covered with intricate tattoos. This trend illustrates a certain commonality between the Western and Russian art situation – the state of exhaustion of artistic form and the symbolic *end of art*, when denial of the artform comes to an absolute state, and artists can do nothing but experiment with their own or someone else's body. This tradition, starting with Viennese actionists, has been continued in Russia by Petr Pavlensky, who sewed up his mouth in front of the Kazan Cathedral in a work of performance art to support the members of Pussy Riot group on 23 July 2012.

New trends in philosophy are a logical continuation of the evolution of twentieth-century philosophical thought, a way of overcoming the postmodern paradigm. They are also relevant to contemporary Russian culture and its impact in the world.

The symbolic component, as in the Soviet era, is strong in Russian art. It is demonstrated by a series of exhibitions dedicated to symbols, allegories and symbolic figures. Here the native tradition is also close to the West, as contemporary art here would be inconceivable without an idea or concept beyond a significant symbolic and allegorical dimension.

In Western culture, for example, a consistent evolution of exhibition concepts can be traced on the subject of “nothing” – exhibitions without artworks, or with the demonstration of anti-form. The content is logically connected to the postmodernist paradigm of emptiness. On 25 February 2009, a large-scale exhibition, *Vides: Une Retrospective*, opened at the Centre Pompidou in Paris, bringing together several conceptions of emptiness, from the remake of Yves Klein's first “empty exhibition” to the project *Air Conditioning* from the group Art & Language. The participating projects demonstrated between them a variety of forms of “emptiness”.

Analogously, in Russia several projects were organized showing the same tendency. The experience of “emptiness” was reflected in the exposition prepared by the State Tretyakov Gallery for its participation in the Fourth Moscow International Biennale of Contemporary Art in 2011: a project called *Hostages of Emptiness*. The aesthetics of “empty space” and “void canon” in the Russian art of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was reflected here. The theme of “emptiness” and “nothingness”, based on either the sacred feeling of emptiness or the rejection of traditional artistic forms in contemporary art, shows the desire of many artists to move towards the “zero points” of art. The objective of the project was to show the evolution of the concept of “void” in Russian art and to find the origins of the “void canon” in literature and philosophy. The exhibition was a result of thinking about the lack of clear criteria for defining what is contemporary art, beyond tradition. The relevant example of the cultural battle between tradition and the art of today in the obvious anti-institutional and anti-museal context was demonstrated the project *Empty Zones* by Andrei Monastirsky and Collective Actions at the

⁷ JOHNSON, Mark. *The meaning of the body: Aesthetics of human understanding*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007; SHUSTERMAN, Richard. *Body Consciousness. A Philosophy of Mindfulness and Somaesthetics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008; SWEETMAN, Paul. Anchoring the (postmodern) self? Body modification, fashion and identity. In: *Body and Society*, 5, pp. 51–76, 1999.

54th Venice Biennale (4 June – 27 November 2011).

Metamorphosis of traditional myths, particularly the myths of the Soviet epoch, was shown through museum exhibitions dedicated to the Revolution of 1917. Bearing in mind an ambiguous attitude to revolution in society, one might be surprised by the large scale of the relevant projects. The centenary of the October Revolution gave the major museums the opportunity to consider this topic in original curatorial projects.

On 29 September 2017, the State Tretyakov Gallery opened the exhibition *Someone 1917*, where artworks created in 1917 by Boris Kustodiev, Mikhail Nesterov, Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin, Vasily Kandinsky, Kazimir Malevich and others were presented. Most of these works did not reflect the revolutionary events, and the exhibition was divided into thematic sections: *Myths of the people, City and citizens, Faces, Away from this reality!, Vague, The Utopia of the new world, Chagall and the Jewish question*. For this large-scale project, works were drawn from the collections of the Tretyakov Gallery and the Russian Museum, Centre Georges Pompidou, the Tate Modern Gallery, the Ludwig Museum, the Tel Aviv Museum of Art and archives of Moscow and St Petersburg.

In the New Tretyakov Gallery on Krymsky Val, the exhibition *The Wind of Revolution* (29 September 2017 – 25 March 2018) was dedicated to the sculpture in 1918–1932.

At the Russian Museum, the exhibition *Art into Life!* (17 August 2017 – 27 November 2017)



Figure 3: The exhibition *The Winter Palace and the Hermitage in 1917* at the State Hermitage Museum. Photo: Andrey Filippov. (<https://commons.wikimedia.org>)

presented propaganda porcelain of the Decorative Institute in Petrograd-Leningrad, with pictures of a new Soviet way of life after the revolution.

The exhibition *The Winter Palace and the Hermitage in 1917* (26 October 2017 – 4 February 2018) at the State Hermitage Museum presented the main events of the February Revolution, the abdication of Nicholas II and the October Revolution through the eyes of those who re-

mained in the museum in 1917 (Figure 3).

One omission is that there was no significant exhibition dedicated to the anniversary of the abolition of serfdom in 2011. This anniversary has gone unmarked.

International contemporary art in Russian museum projects

Russia is rapidly entering the international art scene. European and American contemporary art is often on display in the biggest museums of Russia in the projects organized by teams of Russian and Western curators. Early in the twenty-first century, several exhibitions at the State Hermitage Museum were organized, reflecting to varying degrees the difficult relationship between contemporary art and tradition, modern artifacts and the space of the classical museum. The following exhibitions were large projects of the new Department of the Museum – Hermitage 20/21: *America Today*, *The Choice of Charles Saatchi* (24 October 2007 – 17 January 2008) in the General Staff building of the Hermitage, presenting American art; *New Language - British Art Today* (25 October 2009 – 17 January 2010), curated by Dmitry Ozerkov, which continued cooperation between Hermitage 20/21 and the Saatchi Gallery; and *Manifesta10*, which opened on 28 June 2014 and was curated by Kasper Koenig.

An important role in contemporary exhibition projects is played by the aspect of hidden text or hidden narrative that refers to obvious cultural realities. For example, in *Manifesta 10*, on display in the rocaille boudoir of the Empress Maria Alexandrovna was a shell sculpture



made by Katharina Fritsch, entitled *Woman with Dog* (2008) – the title of which was an obvious allusion to Anton P. Chekhov's famous story *The Lady with the Dog*. The hidden text here enabled the viewer to repeat the story, facilitating a dialogue of contemporary artworks with the interior of the mid-nineteenth century, the time of the return of Rococo, hypothetically moving the object of K. Fritsch to this era (Figure 4). The creation of myths is, undoubtedly, one of the main characteristics of the contemporary artistic process. Any large exhibition project is accompanied by the creation of media myths. The exhibition project can be seen as a narrative of an artist, a curator or a critic. To understand and interpret a large exhibition, we require a certain context which may take the form of a narrative consisting of ideas and meanings of works of art. The symbolic meaning of Thomas Hirschhorn's *The Cut* (2014), presented in the General Staff Building, certainly

Figure 4: Katharina Fritsch, *Woman with Dog* (2008) at the *Manifesta 10* (2014). Photo: sergej.f. (<https://commons.wikimedia.org>)

made it a central piece of *Manifesta 10*. An impressive installation, it filled with a spirit of catastrophe; it looked like a ruined house with damaged walls, fragments of which were poured directly into the hall. Through gaping window openings, post-disaster household items were visible, among which one could see pictures hanging on the surviving walls. The viewer did not immediately realize that they were originals of famous works of twentieth-century Russian art from Kazimir Malevich to Pavel Filonov, taken from the Russian Museum. According to the art critic Elisaveta Shagina,

A cultural cut is the point that opens the movement back to basics, to the avant-garde of the early 20th century, from which modern art began. The artwork speaks about the chasm that separates us from the avant-garde, and ‘we’ here are, of course, Western artists and Russian artists. We are accustomed to be seen counterfeiting but before the face of the past, we are equal and united... Classical art and avant-garde, the collapsed utopia and a new history stare at each other with fear, but ready to start a conversation. I think for this historic cut the whole *Manifesta 10* has started.⁸

The installation *The Handkerchiefs’ Opera* by Dominique Gonzalez-Foerster in the General Staff Building also appealed to the classics of modern art. Reproductions of famous works, including those by Malevich, placed on huge “handkerchiefs”, posed a question about the justification for replicating “masterpieces”, the images of which haunt people in the most unexpected areas of consumer culture – from advertising to fashion accessories. The juxtaposition of banality and everyday life (because what could be more banal than a handkerchief!) and elite art is the main intention of this work. A bold expansion of everyday life in culture and culture in everyday life was far more effective for understanding new trends than many hours of lectures about art would have been for the Russian and Western public at the exhibition. Contemporary art presented at *Manifesta 10* suggested not only a metaphysical dialogue but a very specific physical confrontation between modernity and tradition. An especially distinct means of ‘destruction’ of the museum space was realized in Francis Alÿs’s project, *Lada Kopeika*, in the Grand Courtyard of the Winter Palace, representing a broken Soviet car at the end of its difficult journey from Belgium (the native country of the artist) to St Petersburg. This project was complemented by documentation of the journey, which was also demonstrated in the museum. Combining Russian-Soviet realities and postmodern attitudes to art, *Lada Kopeika* was a remarkable sample of interaction between Russian and European culture.

Ekaterina Degot speaks about the contradiction of the non-profit art event *Manifesta 10* and the undoubted aura of the art market which exists in the major museum which inevitably adds value to artworks exhibited there:

The Hermitage, with its intention to show ‘high art’ and precious collections, plays here a special role. The museum, the identity of which has always been based on gold (of scythians or kings), has always been special and in a certain sense, it resisted the status of typical Soviet museums with documents and ideological paintings, museum didactic and anti-fetish nature. In the Soviet culture,

⁸ SHAGINA, Elisaveta. *Manifesta 10*. Accessed 10 May 2019, <http://salonn.ru/article/898-manifesta10-ot-velikogo-doaktualnogo/>.

the Hermitage, together with other St. Petersburg palaces, was a rare area of ‘rhetoric of wealth’, which, according to a conservative logic, linked the public mind with the area of “high art”.⁹

The general public, on the contrary, sees in the curatorial project of *Manifesta 10* the messenger of valuable democratic ideas, even in the banal form of “adding value” to the art displayed within the walls of the Hermitage. Nor can one overlook the ambiguous and sometimes negative reaction of the general audience to *Manifesta 10*, despite considerable attendance at the exhibition. Among the negative aspects of *Manifesta 10*’s reception were harsh comments from Biennale spectators, the public’s unbridled desire to have fun instead understanding the artworks, and the barbaric treatment of parts of Thomas Hirschhorn’s installation. But, apparently, the interactivity of the Biennale generated by the curatorial staff made such a reaction inevitable, given the experience was not characteristic of an ordinary visit to the classical museum.

The myths of the artists and curators in the “big project” combining Russian, Western and global aspects became a meta-language or a code to help the visitor to understand the modern paradigm of art in connection with:

- Exchange of information in the field of art
- Emphasis on social and cultural experience of the viewer
- Increasing the attractiveness of the exhibition project
- Appeal to a broader audience

The creation of a new Russian national myth is impossible without the involvement of key charismatic figures – from Peter the Great to Kazimir Malevich. Mythological consciousness plays a significant role in contemporary culture. One can see how intensively modifications of traditional myths are reproduced, and how easily new media myths-for-one-day are being created. The theme of myths and mythology attracts much attention from curators of contemporary art, and *Manifesta 10* demonstrated it distinctly. *Manifesta 10* has the main features of a total artwork: a concept, qualities of performativity, imitation of reality, visual technologies and effects, and a significant media response. This is an interesting example of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the term analysed in the book *Gesamtkunstwerk Stalin* by Boris Groys, in which the era of Stalin is appraised in the context of the “total artwork”.¹⁰ The basis of the last concept was laid by Richard Wagner in the essay *The Artwork of the Future*.¹¹ Wagner uses the term *Gesamtkunstwerk* to describe the ideal state of art as a synthesis of all kinds of art in the theatre. The post-Wagnerian concept of the *total artwork* implies not only the synthesis of the arts but also the features of a single artistic and metaphysical entity which might as well be called a narrative, referring to social, political and philosophical realities, cultural traditions and media.

The idea was subsequently continued in contemporary cultural studies in relation to interactivity within contemporary art. The artist Ilya Kabakov later used the term *total installation*. In his lectures on contemporary art in Frankfurt am Main (1992), the artist said that the audience was the centre of the total installation. But the audience in modern Russia varies considerably according to individuals’ social, educational and ideological backgrounds. Obviously, an experiment of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* type is possible in modern Russian culture only in the context of a single exhibition project. Stylistic unity in the official culture, as in the Stalin era, does not exist.

⁹ DEGOT, Ekaterina. *Text, kotory pisat ne sledovalo?* Accessed 10 May 2019, <http://www.colta.ru/articles/art/3702>

¹⁰ GROYS, Boris. *Gesamtkunstwerk Stalin*. München: Carl Hanser, 1988.

¹¹ WAGNER, Richard. *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*. Leipzig: Wigand, 1850.

Conclusion

Symbols of national culture are exposed to modern revision in the context of contemporary exhibition projects. In conceptually sound curatorial projects, it is possible to determine categories linking modernity with tradition, as can be seen, for instance, in the exhibition *Gates and Doors* that was held in the Russian Museum (28 April 2011 – 20 June 2011), which combined both the principles of ludic culture and a feeling of continuous tradition. The exhibition demonstrated the possibility of a broad interpretation of gates and doors as symbols – as essential, iconic images in culture and art. The concept of the exhibition covered a significant period – from the sacralization of gate symbols in ancient art to the metamorphosis of this image in contemporary art. The art of the latest trends in this case does not diminish but adds a new emphasis to the symbolism of doors. Works by Ilya Kabakov, Oleg Kulik, Sergey Bugaev (Africa) and other contemporary artists, placed in the context of tradition, symbolized a kind of transition and the destruction of barriers between the present and the spiritual past. The possibility of such a comparison is a benefit of large-scale thematic exhibitions united by a common motive or idea. Such projects play a significant role in the modern development of tradition in Russia and, at the same time, are components of postmodern art.

Other Russian curatorial projects are relevant to Western art theory and aesthetic concepts such as the “death of art” of Arthur Danto, or the “death of the author” of Roland Barthes, though with a significant temporal distance. For example, in the project by Ekaterina Degot and Yuri Albert *What Did the Artist Mean by That?* (22 November 2013 – 12 January 2014) at the Moscow Museum of Modern Art, illustrated the actual cultural situation in which context and interpretation displace, and can even completely erase from our consciousness, an impression of an artist’s work, making it redundant and irrelevant. At the opening of the exhibition, only comments on and captions to objects were presented, not the artworks themselves. The artefacts took their places gradually until the closing day of the exhibition. If the object had “materialized” at the exhibition, the caption disappeared in turn. This exhibition is analogous to the media and ideological vacuum, where genuine visual images or real facts do not necessarily exist, only symbolic references to them or an extensive interpretation.

It is obvious that it is not an easy task for a museum curator to make a contemporary art project in the institutional context. Perhaps the boundaries of modernity and tradition set by the space of the museum, show more distinctly the contradictions of the past and the present in a holistic exhibition project. The context of the museum requires for its perception certain efforts or mental tasks that are absent from the entertainment cultural industry in a consumer society.

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From Świdnica to Bratislava: The sculpture of Christ the Saviour from the collection of the Slovak National Gallery¹

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From Świdnica to Bratislava: The sculpture of Christ the Saviour from the collection of the Slovak National Gallery

Among the works that stand out in the Baroque sculpture collection of the Slovak National Gallery (SNG) is the figure of the Saviour by Georg Leonhard Weber of Świdnica. Surveys conducted in Slovak, Czech and Polish museums, combined with field studies, have made it possible to provide hitherto unexplored artistic context of the work. They have made it possible to trace the formal origins of the Bratislava Saviour as well as its later imitations. The sculpture is carved with virtuosic precision; it develops a concept derived from ancient art and is the finest example of Weber's early oeuvre. Also, it constitutes a link between works made in his workshop over four decades. The present study demonstrates the advantages of an interdisciplinary and international analysis of museum collections. It highlights the significance of the sculpture in question to Central European cultural heritage, expanding the knowledge of museum collections in three different countries.

Keywords: Baroque sculpture in Silesia; Georg Leonhard Weber; gallery and museum collections; cultural heritage; Slovak National Gallery.

The early modern sculpture collection of the Slovak National Gallery in Bratislava has been systematically expanded to include works complementing the varied panorama of Central Europe's cultural heritage, presented at the gallery's exhibitions. One of the exhibits, purchased in 1979, is a sculpture representing Christ the Saviour.² The wooden polychrome figure is signed and dated in an inscription found on its base: "G L WEber 1702", which settles the question of both the attribution and the time in which the work originated. According to the inscription, we are dealing with a very early work by Georg Leonhard Weber (c. 1672–1739), one of the leading sculptors of the late Baroque period in Lower Silesia, who was active in Świdnica. The outstanding Bratislava sculpture has so far been only mentioned and not discussed in detail in the literature.³ The present study is to expand the current modest state of research. It places the

¹ Some preliminary research needed to write the article was financed by the Narodowe Centrum Nauki under decision No. UMO-2012/07/B/HS2/01466.

² No. P 1958. For more on the sculpture, see: KELETI, Magda. *Neskorá renesancia, manierizmus, barok v zbierkach SNG*. Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 1983, p. 218.

³ KELETI, Neskorá renesancia..., p. 218; CHMELINOVÁ, Katarína. Beitrag zur Geschichte einer Künstlerfamilie im 18. Jahrhundert in Mitteleuropa. Der Bildhauer Joseph Leonhard Weber und Trnava/Tyrnau. In: *Generationen. Interpretationen. Konfrontationen*. BALÁŽOVÁ, Barbara (ed.), Bratislava: Ústav dejín umenia Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2007, p. 154–155; KOLBIARZ, Artur. Michael Klahr Starszy, Paul Stralano and sculptures Baroque w Świdnicy. Nowe uwagi na temat edukacji artystycznej Klahra. In: *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, 27, 2018, p. 147–148.

work in a broader historical-cultural context and is an attempt to present the Bratislava sculpture against the background of Weber's entire oeuvre, his professional practice and activity on the art market.

Weber's professional activity is an excellent example of how a Silesian artist worked in circumstances of a confessional conflict between the Lutherans and the Catholics, which was an important factor influencing the art market. In that era of confessional disputes, art in the region was harnessed and used in the rivalry between the Protestants, who were a majority in the cities, and the Catholics, who were supported by the imperial authorities.⁴ Świdnica, where Weber lived and worked, occupied an important place among art centres influencing the evolution of late Baroque sculpture in Lower Silesia.⁵ In 1648, the Lutherans, who made up over 85% of the city's population, were forced to give all their churches to the Catholics,⁶ in exchange receiving the emperor's permission to build the Church of Peace. At the same time, the Catholic minority sought to strengthen its position, with the main role in the spread of Counter-Reformation being played by the Jesuits, who came to Świdnica as early as 1629.⁷ The activities of both denominations gradually led to an intensification of artistic endeavours in a process that was, however, by no means symmetrical. The confessional conflict in Świdnica was more intense than in other cities in Lower Silesia and its manifestations included the consistent use, not found elsewhere in the region, by both confessions of the services of artists only of the same faith. While in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century there were few Lutheran sculptors in the city, there was a whole array of craftsmen working on the Catholic side.⁸

The growth of fine arts in Świdnica was inspired by the already mentioned Jesuits. The main artistic project of the order was a comprehensive Baroquisation of the city Church of St Stanislaus and St Wenceslas, taken over in 1662 from the Protestants.⁹ The works, which lasted until 1735, provided jobs for both Jesuit and secular sculptors, quickly turning Świdnica into an important local art centre. The first stage in the modernisation of the church, from 1666 to 1684, was carried out by various workshops, with the Jesuits having to also use artisans from outside Świdnica.¹⁰ The situation changed in 1692 when the convent set up its own workshop, supported when necessary by secular sculptors. At this stage of the Baroquisation, the dominant role was played by Johann Riedl (1654–1736), who was in charge of the whole project. The artist

⁴ KALINOWSKI, Konstanty. *Rzeźba barokowa na Śląsku*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986, p. 19–21, 39–41, 115–117; KOZIEŁ, Andrzej. Barokowy splendor klasztorów i pałaców. In: NIEDZIELENKO, Andrzej, VLAS, Vít (eds.). *Śląsk. Perła w Koronie Czeskiej. Trzy okresy świetności w relacjach artystycznych Śląska i Czech*. Praha: Národní galerie v Praze, 2006, p. 298; KOZIEŁ, Andrzej. Wstęp. In: KOZIEŁ, Andrzej (ed.) *Malarstwo barokowe na Śląsku*. Wrocław: Via Nova, 2017, p. 7–12.

⁵ KALINOWSKI, Rzeźba barokowa..., p. 175; SACHS, Reiner, OSOSKO, Urszula. Czy rzeczywiście Konrad Rediger? In: *Rocznik Muzeum Papiernictwa*, 5, 2011, p. 11.

⁶ HANULANKA, Danuta. *Świdnica*. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1973, p. 28; SACHS, OSOSKO, Czy rzeczywiście Konrad..., p. 10.

⁷ HOFFMANN, Herman. *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*. Schweidnitz: Bergland – Verlag, 1930, p. 9; HANULANKA, Świdnica..., p. 29; GALEWSKI, Dariusz. *Jezuici wobec tradycji średniowiecznej. Barokizacja kościołów w Kłodzku, Świdnicy, Jeleniej Górze i Żaganiu*. Kraków: Universitas, 2012, p. 219.

⁸ SACHS, Reiner, Sztuka Śląska od XVI do XVIII wieku. Uwagi Krytyczne. In: BARANOWSKI, Andrzej Józef (ed.) *Sztuka pograniczy Rzeczypospolitej w okresie nowożytnym od XVI do XVIII wieku*. Warszawa: Arx Regia, 1998, p. 80–81; SACHS, OSOSKO. Czy rzeczywiście Konrad..., p. 11–17.

⁹ For more, see: GALEWSKI, Jezuici wobec tradycji..., p. 219–225, which also includes older literature on the subject.

¹⁰ KOLBIARZ, Artur. Early Baroque Sculpture in Lower Silesia and Johann Georg Bendl. In: *Umění*, 64(1), 2016, p. 51.

obtained a basic education as a carpenter and sculptor in the 1670s in Bruntál and Kutná Hora, where he worked with the local masters (Christoph Dihl, Georg Riedl and Kaspar Eigler). He completed his education in Prague and then during a two-year stay in Lyon and Paris, where he got to know the latest trends in French art. After returning to Bohemia in 1682, he joined the Society of Jesus and ten years later was made a *statuarius* and *arcularius* in the Świdnica convent, becoming the head of the local *fabrica Ecclesiae*.¹¹ His long career and fashionable models transplanted from abroad shaped the style of sculptures created in Świdnica's Catholic circles around 1700. When embarking on an enterprise that was beyond the capabilities of the Jesuit workshop, Riedl was forced to use the help of external artists, acting in such cases as an *inventor* responsible for the design and supervision of the works. In the early eighteenth century, the man who became Riedl's main collaborator was Georg Leonhard Weber, who worked on the decoration of the organ case, and on a series of monumental pillar figures.¹² Weber, who came from Franconia, was just beginning his professional career. He is recorded in the sources in Świdnica for the first time on 14 November 1698, when he married Maria Magdalena Theresia Schuch.¹³ The following year he was made citizen of the city¹⁴ and lived there until his death at the age of 67 and a half, on 30 October 1739, in Nowe Miasteczko on the northern outskirts of the region.¹⁵

Despite the fact that the significance of both sculptors to the development of Baroque sculpture in Silesia has been often stressed in the literature, neither Riedel¹⁶ nor Weber¹⁷ has had – despite several announcements – modern monographs devoted to them that would correct

¹¹ GALEWSKI, Jezuici wobec tradycji..., p. 121–122; MIGASIEWICZ, Paweł. Inspiracje francuskie w rzeźbie figuralnej Johanna Riedla. Zarys problemu. In: GALEWSKI, Dariusz, JEZIEŃSKA, Anna (eds.) *Silesia Jesuitica. Kultura i sztuka zakonu jezuitów na Śląsku i w hrabstwie kłodzkim 1580–1776*. Wrocław 2012, p. 217–225.

¹² OSTOWSKA, Danuta. Jerzy Leonard Weber. Rzeźbiarz śląski epoki baroku. In: *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, II, 1963, p. 95; KALINOWSKI, Rzeźba barokowa..., p. 180.

¹³ PATZAK, Bernhard. Die schlesische Baumeister Felix Anton Hammerschmidt und sein Bau des Grüssauer Prälatenhauses zu Schweidnitz. In: *Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge*, 50(5), 1930, p. 72; OSTOWSKA, Jerzy Leonard Weber..., p. 90.

¹⁴ BRAUN, Edmund Wilhelm. Studien zur schlesischen Barockplastik. Die künstlerische Entwicklung des Schweidnitzer Bildhauers Georg Leonhard Weber bis 1725. In: *Kunst- und Denkmalpflege in Schlesien*, vol. 2. Breslau-Lissa: Flemmings Verlag, 1939, p. 124.

¹⁵ Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Begräbnis-Buch Neustädte, no. 246a, p. 12 verso. See also: SACHS, Sztuka Śląska..., p. 80.

¹⁶ Worthy of note among the most important publications devoted to the artist are: HOFFMANN, Die Jesuiten..., p. 151–152, 314, 325; RYNEŠ, Václav, Umělci a umělečtí řemeslníci, jezuisti koadjutoři v barokní době. In: *Umění*, 6, 1958, p. 402–410; OSTOWSKA, Danuta. *Rzeźba śląska 1650–1770*. Wrocław: Muzeum Śląskie, 1969, p. 14–15, 42–45; KALINOWSKI, Rzeźba barokowa..., p. 176–179; GUMIŃSKI, Samuel. Jan Riedel i francuskie wątki w snycerze śląskiej przełomu XVII/XVIII wieku. In: WRABEC, Jan. (ed.) *Michał Klabr Starszy i jego środowisko kulturowe*. Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski. Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych, 1995, p. 133–141; MIGASIEWICZ, Paweł. Życiorys własny Johanna Riedla. Źródło historyczne do badań nad praktyką zawodową i kondycją społeczną rzeźbiarzy w dobie nowożytnej. In: *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, 21, 2012, p. 59–72; MIGASIEWICZ, Inspiracje francuskie..., passim; GALEWSKI, Jezuici wobec tradycji..., p. 121–122, 147, 153–155, 162–164, 168–169, 219–225.

¹⁷ Worthy of note among the most important publications devoted to the artist are: BRAUN, Studien zur schlesischen..., p. 118–133; OSTOWSKA, Jerzy Leonard Weber..., passim; OSTOWSKA, Rzeźba śląska..., p. 15, 47–49; KALINOWSKI, Rzeźba barokowa..., p. 179–184; SACHS, Sztuka Śląska..., p. 80–81; GALEWSKI, Jezuici wobec tradycji..., p. 127, 169, 172, 220.

the existing state of research, full of missing and contradictory information as it is.¹⁸ Although studies conducted in recent years into the art centre in Świdnica have produced a number of articles, these articles deal mainly with minor sculptors, selected questions or individual works.¹⁹ What is missing is an insightful analysis of the oeuvres of leading artists as well as a comprehensive study of the functioning of artists in Świdnica. This is an important issue, because in Weber's day there were nearly twenty sculptors active in the city.²⁰ The style of some of these artists was similar to that of works by the author of the Bratislava figure (for example, Tobias Franz Stallmayer, Johann Karl Schönheim or Carl Sebastian Plag). In addition, early sculptures by Weber himself were clearly influenced by Riedl's works. All these circumstances make it difficult to formulate unequivocal conclusions, especially with regard to the attribution of unconfirmed works. Nevertheless, the Bratislava sculpture may be analysed in the context of Weber's oeuvre and of sculpture in Świdnica in general with the proviso that the final conclusions should wait for the forthcoming publications.

The Saviour figure from the SNG collection (Fig. 1) is, as of today, the only recognised work by Weber made in wood and bearing a signature. We have no information about the circumstances in which the Bratislava sculpture originated; however, the quality of the craftsmanship and the signature carved in a visible spot on the plinth suggest that the sculpture was made as a showpiece. Perhaps in this case – unlike in the case of ordinary commissions – the sculpture was made by the master himself, with a minimum contribution of the workshop. The small size of the figure, the level of detail on the whole surface and the lack of any traces of fixing suggest that it may have been displayed in public only temporarily, for example during Easter. It may also have been made not as an element of church furniture but as an item for a private collection. In such a case it would be one of the few surviving Silesian Baroque sculptures made with such an intention.

Signing the sculpture demonstrates the strategy used by the young artist just entering the art market and trying to attract potential customers. An “advertising” function was also performed by two of his stone works from the same period: a sculpture of Jove from Bolesławiec (1701)

¹⁸ A monograph on Riedl was announced in 2012 by Paweł Migasiewicz. See: MIGASIEWICZ, *Inspiracje francuskie...*, p. 217. Ewa Grochowska's new findings concerning Weber, announced twenty years ago, are also awaiting publication. See: SACHS, *Sztuka Śląska...*, p. 81.

¹⁹ SACHS, Rainer. SOKÓŁ, Teresa, Cieplicka kolumna św. Floriana i jej twórcy. In: *Rocznik Jeleniogórski*, 32, 2000, p. 59–63; SACHS, Rainer. SOKÓŁ, Teresa. Życie i twórczość rzeźbiarza Tobiasza Franza Stallmayera (1673–1747). In: CZECHOWICZ, Bogusław (ed.) *Dziedzictwo artystyczne Świdnicy*. Wrocław-Świdnica: Polsko-Niemiecki Ośrodek Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Śląska Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, 2003. p. 148–158; SACHS, Rainer, SOKÓŁ, Teresa. Johannes Schwibs – świdnicki Karinger. In: CZECHOWICZ, Bogusław (ed.) *Dziedzictwo artystyczne Świdnicy*. Wrocław-Świdnica: Polsko-Niemiecki Ośrodek Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Śląska Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, 2003. p. 159–161; SACHS, Rainer. SOKÓŁ, Teresa. Świdnicki rzeźbiarz epoki późnego baroku – Johann Michael Monse. In: CZECHOWICZ, Bogusław (ed.) *Dziedzictwo artystyczne Świdnicy*. Wrocław-Świdnica: Polsko-Niemiecki Ośrodek Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Śląska Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, 2003. p. 163–166; GROCHOWSKA, Ewa. Pomnik maryjny w Dusznikach-Zdroju. Część 1. Zarys dziejów i problem ikonografii. In: *Rocznik Muzeum Papiernictwa*, 10, 2016, p. 81–96; MIGASIEWICZ, *Inspiracje francuskie...*, *passim*; MIGASIEWICZ, *Życiorys własny...*, *passim*.

²⁰ SACHS. OSOSKO, *Czy rzeczywiście Konrad...*, p. 11–15.



Figure 1: Georg Leonhard Weber, *The Sculpture of Christ the Saviour*, 1702, Slovak National Gallery, Bratislava.

and a Marian column in Kochanów (1702).²¹ Both had inscriptions with information about the authorship carved in visible spots. In order to make it easier for potential customers to find the author, the inscriptions give Weber's first names and last name in full and, in the case of the Bolesławiec sculpture, also name the city in which he worked.²² Interestingly, the artist stopped signing his works after 1702. Perhaps later, when commissions kept coming in – and Weber was one of the most prolific Baroque sculptors in Silesia – there was no longer a need for such obvious self-promotion. From the very beginning Weber sought to make his mark on an art

²¹ For more, see: CZECHOWICZ, Bogusław. DOBRZYŃIECKI, Arkadiusz. Kolumna maryjna w Kochanowie – nieznane dzieło Jerzego Leonarda Webera. In: DZIURLA, Henryk (ed.) *Krzyszów uświęcony łaską*. Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 1997, p. 331–336.

²² See BRAUN, Studien zur schlesischen..., p. 124.

market much larger than Świdnica. This is evidenced by a number of works from that period and made for customers from outside the city.²³ Such mercantile tactics appear to have worked: the professional success Weber enjoyed definitely eclipsed the career of any other secular sculptor active in Świdnica in the eighteenth century.

The formal origins of the Bratislava sculpture of the Saviour reveals a compilation-driven approach, typical of the period, to the creation of the artist's own inventions based on various sources. As fate would have it, Czech and Polish museums still have works from Weber's atelier, which – together with works to be found in churches – illustrate the development of his artistic concept. The work is among the few Silesian examples for which we can indicate a design study. It is in the form of a terracotta model kept in the Silesian Museum in Opava, part of a group of five *bozzetti* which found their way into the Opava museum from the collection of Engelbert Kaps (1888–1975).²⁴ Until recently the whole group – given the highlighted dynamism of the figures as well as use of thick, longitudinal drapery – was mistakenly attributed Thomas Weisfeldt (Weissfeldt),²⁵ a Norwegian master regarded as one of the leading Wrocław sculptors from the early eighteenth century, associated with the expressive manner in Silesian sculpture.

²³ In 1702, or possibly in 1717, the artist made four stone figures for the fountains in the abbot's gardens of the Cistercian Monastery in Henryków. The earlier date has been proposed by Danuta Ostowska, see: OSTOWSKA, Jerzy Leonard Weber..., p. 94–95. The later origin has been advocated by Krzysztof Eysymontt, see: EYSYMONTT, Krzysztof. Klasztorne ogrody i park nowej rezydencji w Henrykowie. In: *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 17(30), 1972, p. 212–223. Most authors accept Ostowska's dating.

In 1701 a John of Nepomuk column was erected in Wierzbna, which belonged to the Krzeszów Cistercians. An identical monument with a figure of Our Lady on top, also erected in Wierzbna, may come from the same period. A comparative analysis suggests that both works should be linked to Weber. This attribution is also supported by the patronage of the Krzeszów Cistercians, for whom the artist made the Kochanów column one year later. For the same patrons the Świdnica artist also made the stone figures of the Madonna with Child and St John of Nepomuk placed in Chelmsk Śląski. As the inscription is now blurred, it is impossible to date the work precisely, but given the formal analogies to the above-mentioned works, the Marian figure may have been an early work by Weber.

Another piece to be found in the provinces and which can be tentatively described, on the basis of comparisons, as an early work by the artist, is a wall statue of St John of Nepomuk from the church in Budzów, funded, according to the inscription, in 1705 by, among others, Caspar Ferdinand Steiner, a trade commissioner from Świdnica and a juror in Stoszowice. The thick and extraordinarily ornamental lines of the drapery and the detail of the saint's head bring to mind Weber's figures, made at the same time, for the organ case in the Church of St Stanislaus and St Wenceslas in Świdnica.

It was also probably at the beginning of Weber's career that he made the first works for patrons from outside Silesia: figural decorations for the organ case and a wall Crucifixion group in the former Bernardine Church in Kłodzko, decorated in 1704–1711 (dating after KÖGLER, Joseph. *Die Chroniken der Grafschaft Glatz*, vol. 2, [new ed.] POHL, Dieter. Modautal: Dr Dieter Pohl Verlag, 1993, p. 127). The sculptures of King David and St Cecilia repeat the composition of figures from the Świdnica organ case. The less ornate form of the cloak in the Kłodzko sculpture of David is modelled on the pillar representation of St Lawrence from Świdnica. See: KOLBIARZ, Michael Klahr Starszy..., p. 150, 156.

²⁴ No. G 60.110. I would like to thank Mr Martin Janák, curator of the old art collection at the Silesian Museum in Opava for providing me with access to the sculptures and information about their origins.

²⁵ BRAUN, Edmund Wilhelm. Studien zur schlesischen Barockplastik. Bozzetti vom Breslauer Bildhauer Thomas Weisfeldt und aus seiner Werkstatt. In: *Kunst- und Denkmalspflege in Schlesien*. vol. 2, Breslau-Lissa: Flemmings Verlag, 1939, p. 134–139; NOWAK, Romuald. Schlesische Barockbozzetti. In: KALINOWSKI, Konstanty (ed.) *Studien zur Werkstattpraxis der Barockskulptur im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1992, p. 116–119; HLADÍK, Tomáš. *Sochařská dílna období baroka ve střední Evropě. Od návrhu k provedení*. Praha: Národní Galerie v Praze, 2016, p. 51–54.



Figure 2: Georg Leonhard Weber (attrib.), *The Bozzetto for a Sculpture of Christ the Saviour*, c. 1700, Silesian Museum, Opava.



Figure 3: Georg Leonhard Weber (attrib.), *The Sculpture of Our Lady of Sorrows*, before 1739, Church of St Barbara, Želazny Most.



Figure 4: Georg Leonhard Weber (attrib.), *The Bozzetto for a Marian Sculpture*, c. 1700, Silesian Museum, Opava.

There are many arguments for attributing the whole set of the Opava sketches to Weber.²⁶ First of all, the Bratislava sculpture of the Saviour by the Świdnica artist follows the same pattern as the Opava *bozzetto* with an analogous theme (Fig. 2). The analogies concern not only the composition and the proportions. They can also be found in the level of detail: in the arrangement of softly modelled longitudinal draperies which emphasise the curved line of the figure, as well as in the idealised and athletic muscles with a characteristic high rib arc, trapezoidal greater pectoral muscles and indentation between the straight abdominal muscles, from the navel to the sternum. Without a doubt the Opava sketch must have been a preliminary study for the Bratislava figure, for the shape of the robes and the body is identical in all views, including the detailed side and back parts.

When it comes to the other Opava *bozzetti*, clear links to the figure of Our Lady of Sorrows from the main altar in the church in Želazny Most (Fig. 3)²⁷ can be found in the sketch to the Marian figure (Fig. 4).²⁸ Yet, unlike the case of the Saviour figure, it was not a direct design, but a starting point for a new concept. Both Marian sculptures have an exceptionally dynamic position of the body and exaggerated gesticulation. However, the robe in the wooden figure differs from the Opava sketch mainly in its richer form of the cloak. All Opava *bozzetti* have robes typical of works from Weber's workshop. The rich folds of the robes do not dematerialise the body. The dominant element is the fine lines of narrow and longitudinal draperies with slightly irregular edges combined with smooth body-fitting fragments of the garment.

The sketches also contain detailed solutions characteristic of Weber's works. For example, the terracotta figure of St Scholastica has a habit sleeve decorated with telescopic draperies, while its edge has a characteristic outline resembling a falling drop of a thick fluid.²⁹ Another original solution found in the Opava sculpture is a pattern made of delicate folds resembling a mesh of veins and adding variety to a broad surface of the robe covering a protruding thigh. All these solutions can be found in the figure of St Anthony decorating the top of the altar of the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne, erected in 1717 in the former Cistercian Church in Cieplice,³⁰ as well as the sculptures of Franciscan friars from the top of altar of St John of

²⁶ The Opava models were linked for the first time to Weber in: KOLBIARZ, Michael Klahr Starszy..., p. 148–149. The attribution of the Opava models to Weisfeldt stemmed largely from insufficient knowledge and incorrect characterisation of Weber's oeuvre (see: *ibid.*, p. 145–147).

²⁷ The figures from the church in Želazny Most were linked for the first time to Weber's workshop by Danuta Ostowska. OSTOWSKA, Rzeźba śląska..., p. 48–49.

²⁸ Slezské zemské muzeum v Opave. No. G 60.114.

²⁹ Slezské zemské muzeum v Opave. No. G 60.112.

³⁰ So far the altar has remained unattributed. A comparative analysis suggests that the decoration of the reredos and the structurally similar altar of Our Lady of Succour should be linked to Weber's workshop. The Świdnica artist or one of his close associates should also be linked to the decorations of the altar of the Fourteen Holy Helpers (c. 1716) and figural groups representing St Andrew and St Jude the Apostle flanking the main altar (c. 1716) in the Cieplice church. The attribution is confirmed by the circumstances in which the works originated. All were funded by the benefactor of the Cieplice church, Count Johann Anton Schaffgotsch, who used Weber's services several times. As early as 1712, the Świdnica sculptor carved for him a stone figure of St John of Nepomuk, located in Cieplice (See: OSTOWSKA, Jerzy Leonard Weber..., p. 98). In 1720 he made the sculpture of St Florian at the corner of Świdnica City Hall. Schaffgotsch was also one of the donors funding the Chapel of Blessed Ceslaus (1725–1730), a prestigious commission in which Weber was designated the chief artist to create sculpted decorations (See: OSTOWSKA, Jerzy Leonard Weber..., p. 104; KALINOWSKI, Rzeźba barokowa..., p. 183).



Figure 5: Jan de Bisschop, *The Engraving of Hermes (Belvedere Antinous)* from “*Signorum Veterum Icones*”, 1670, Amsterdam.

Nepomuk in the Church of the Assumption in Bolesławiec (c. 1723–1725).³¹

A comparison between the Bratislava figure of the Saviour with the works from Opava makes it possible to follow several aspects of the practice applied in Weber’s workshop. *Bozzetti* were a commonly used intermediary stage in sculpture making, during which a master would give a material form to his concepts before creating the final version of the work in the intended material.³² That the Opava sculptures are not preliminary ideas, the so-called *pensieri*, but designs ready to be transferred to a bigger scale is evidenced by the hollowing out at the back of all figures (with the exception of the Saviour, from the beginning designed as a sculpture to be viewed from all sides). This kind of form of the back part of the sculpture, of no significance in terracotta, is desirable for technological reasons in the case of large wooden sculptures. At the same time, it designates the material in which the figures were to be ultimately carved.

Weber was one of the few sculptors in Silesia in the Baroque period to use terracotta *bozzetti*. The ability to mould terracotta – more common in Southern and Western than in Central Europe – may have been a result of his collaboration with Riedl, who, after his apprenticeship in France, may have preferred this particular material. The question of whether Weber also made wooden models, alongside terracotta ones, must remain unanswered at this point. It is possible, as is evidenced by examples of sculptors active in the Kingdom of Bohemia at the time and making sketches in various materials as needed. This was the practice, for example, in the workshops of Matthias Bernhard

Braun³³ and Michael Klahr the Elder.³⁴

When designing the Bratislava sculpture of the Risen Christ, Weber drew inspiration from art available locally and referred to supraregional and timeless canons. The arrangement of the figure, with the leg thrust forward, slightly exaggerated counter-pose, and head leaning to one side – all making the figure shaped like an elongated letter “S” – was quite popular in early modern art. This approach has roots in ancient art and sculptures, developing the ideas of Polykleitos’ famous *Doryphoros*. The compositional style was also known in Świdnica, as is evidenced by the angelic figures decorating the main altar erected by Johann Riedl’s workshop in 1692–1694. The extraordinary elegance of the composition, grace and lightness characteris-

³¹ The altar was decorated in 1726, while in 1723–1725 Weber erected the main altar in the Bolesławiec church, a work for which he received around 600 thalers. See: WERNICKE, Ewald. *Chronik der Stadt Bunzlau von den ältesten Seiten bis zur Gegenwart*. Bunzlau: Verlag von G. Kretschmer, 1884, p. 427–428. A comparative analysis suggests that the decoration of the altar of St John of Nepomuk should be linked to Weber or to another sculptor from his circle.

³² For more on the process of making Baroque sculptures, see: KALINOWSKI, Konstanty. *Warsztat barokowego rzeźbiarza*. In: *Artium Quaestiones*, 7, 1995, p. 113–122; HLADÍK, Sochařská dílna..., p. 25–119.

³³ See: HLADÍK, Sochařská dílna..., p. 79–85.

³⁴ See: GERNAT, Jacek. *Projekty, bozzetti, modelletti, modelli i wzorniki – uwagi na temat praktyki warsztatowej rzeźbiarskiej rodziny Klahrów w XVIII–XIX w.* In: *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, 27, 2018, p. 22–29.

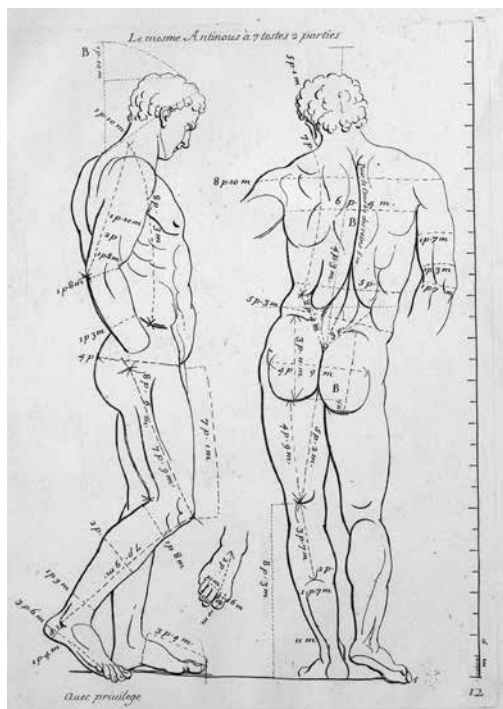


Figure 6: Gérard Audran, *The Engraving of Hermes (Belvedere Antinous)* from “*Les proportions du corps humain, mesurées sur les plus belles figures de l’Antiquité*”, 1683, Paris.



Figure 7: Georg Leonhard Weber, *Part of the Sculpture of Christ the Saviour*, 1702, Slovak National Gallery, Bratislava.

ing the Bratislava Saviour seem, however, to go beyond standard references to the Baroque art of the region. They bring to mind the achievements of Greek masters from the late classical period, primarily Praxiteles and his followers. The possible inspirations Weber may have used probably included images of the figure of *Hermes* (known in the past as the *Belvedere Antinous*) from the Museo Pio-Clementino. The sculpture was purchased in 1543 by Pope Paul III, and the Vatican Belvedere quickly became highly admired in artistic circles. In the early modern period it was popularised by prints, including Jan de Bisschop’s collection, *Signorum Veterum Icones*, published in Amsterdam in 1670 (Fig. 5). We do not know whether Weber had access to this particular work or whether he used other iconographic sources, but his Saviour is a quite faithful mirror reflection of the posture reproduced in the print, with the exception of the slightly differently inclined head. Similarities can also be seen in the outline of pectoral and abdominal muscles, high rib arc and rhomboidal indentation in the middle of the sternum – a mode present in numerous sculptures from the Świdnica artist’s workshop.

The skill in presenting a muscular body in the Bratislava figure is also higher than the average level of Silesian sculptors of the day. The highlighted parts of the body are carved with nearly academic correctness, revealing the artist’s considerable familiarity with the anatomy of the human body. In this respect Weber must have owed a lot to Riedl, who on numerous occasions demonstrated his skill in correctly representing a nude body, idealised in accordance with the requirements of French sculpture of the mid-seventeenth century. Perhaps Weber – who did not have an academic education and never went to France – honed his skills by studying anat-



Figure 8: Johann Riedel, Georg Leonhard Weber, *Part of the Sculpture of Christ from the Altar of St Ignatius Loyola*, 1699 or 1703, Church of St Stanislaus and St Wenceslaus, Świdnica.

omy textbooks available in various editions in his day. A possible source of inspiration is the French work *Les proportions du corps humain, mesurées sur les plus belles figures de l'Antiquité*, which may have been known in Świdnica.³⁵ Published in Paris in 1683, it features 30 prints by Gérard Audran, two of which present the Hermes statue from four different sides (Fig. 6).

When it comes to the details, the Bratislava sculpture of the Risen Christ shows how close Weber's early oeuvre is to Riedl's works. The form of the slightly oval face (Fig. 7), the beard and the hair surrounding it – with such details as shape of the mouth, eyelids or the way the ear is presented among the locks – displays close analogies with Riedl's ideas found in the figure of Christ from the Last Supper scene (Fig. 8) placed in the altar of St Ignatius Loyola (1699 or 1703). The thick lines of longitudinal draperies with slightly irregular edges, typical of Weber's sculptures, owe a lot to the Jesuit artist's style as well. Contrary to the prevailing opinion in the literature, Weber was already very much under the spell of Riedl's sculptures at the early stage of his activity. It was only as time went by that these links became less close, although the influence of the Jesuit artist's works can be found even in Weber's late oeuvre. The stylistic similarities

resulted most likely from the collaboration between the two artists on the furnishings of the order's church in the 1700s. Nor can we rule out the possibility that Weber – before embarking on a career on his own – worked as Riedl's helper in the monastery's *fabrica Ecclesiae*.

Weber was an artist of great invention and, despite his huge oeuvre, his workshop rarely copied earlier compositions. The exceptions include the design of the Bratislava sculpture, which was subsequently repeated several times. The first example is the free-standing sculpture from the Church of St Stanislaus in Rožtoka (Fig. 9).³⁶ However, the Rožtoka sculpture has additional elements strengthening the message of the Saviour's triumph over Death and Sin. Christ is not standing directly on the plinth, but is trampling on a skeleton and a dragon

³⁵ Drawings from this textbook were owned by Michael Klahr the Elder, a sculptor working for the Society of Jesus in Kłodzko in the 1710s and 1720s. This is important, because the Kłodzko Jesuits maintained close links with their Świdnica brothers, and Klahr was well familiar with the oeuvres of Riedl and Weber. We do not know, however, how Klahr came across the textbook. One of the possibilities is Świdnica, where the French art-oriented Riedl may have had the publication purchased. Cf.: KOLBIARZ, Michael Klahr Starszy..., p. 156.

³⁶ Originally Lutheran, the church was taken over by the Catholics in 1945, when it received its current dedication. In order to adapt it to the requirements of Roman Catholic worship, most furnishings from the nearby Catholic church were transferred there. Weber's workshop produced the main altar (without the figure of the nun), with only the figure of St Peter still remaining in the Rožtoka church. The Crucifixion group was transferred to the Diocesan Curia in Świdnica. The church still houses the Saviour carved in the Świdnica workshop and crowning the baptismal font, and the Pieta.



Figure 9: Georg Leonhard Weber (attrib.), *The Sculpture of Christ the Saviour*, before 1739, Church of St Stanislaus, Roztoka.



Figure 10: Georg Leonhard Weber (attrib.), *The Sculpture of Christ the Saviour*, before 1739, Church of St Joseph, Łagiewniki.

entwined around the globe. The figure of the Saviour itself is virtually a copy of the earlier composition, with the exception of slightly more stocky proportions and higher placement of the diagonal folds of the robe over the hips. Differences can also be found in its less developed muscles, modified lines of the drapery and a different concept of the head. Despite these divergences, the Roztoka figure was undoubtedly made in Weber's workshop. However, it was not made as a showpiece standing out by virtue of its quality in comparison with the entire oeuvre; the workmanship was on a decent level. The question of attribution is settled by formal analogies between the differently carved head and confirmed works by Weber. The round face with gently arching eyebrows, straight nose and almond-shaped eyebrows copies the modes used in the personification of *Prudentia* placed as a caryatid in the altar mensa of the Blessed Ceslaus Chapel in the Church of St Adalbert in Wrocław (c. 1725–1730).³⁷ In addition, the beard arranged in a decorative knot made up by two locks can be found in the figure of St John of Nepomuk from the main altar of the parish church in Rudna near Nowa Sól (1739).³⁸

Among the motifs added to the sculpture from the church in Roztoka, the most interesting is the image of Death. With a high level of carved detail and a theatrical pose corresponding to the figure of the triumphant Christ, it is presented as an *in transi* type, with remnants of cartilages and internal organs, and – despite visible simplifications – confirms the author's general familiarity with the anatomy of the human body. Similarities to Weber's mature works make it possible to date the sculpture from the Roztoka church to the 1720s or possibly the 1730s.

³⁷ Attribution and dating after KALINOWSKI, *Rzeźba barokowa...*, p. 182–183.

³⁸ An altar hitherto without attribution. The question of authorship is settled by archive documents. See: Archiwum Diecezjalne w Zielonej Górze, Rechnungs-Buch Rauden, no. PNS-kat 24, no pagination, entry under: "Den 15te Sept: [1739] dem Schweinitzer Bildhauer H: Leonarth Weebir, vor ein Neues Altar 115 Rthl".



Figure 11: Georg Leonhard Weber (attrib.), *The Sculpture of Christ the Saviour*, 1720s or 1730s, Museum Ziemi Lubuskiej, Zielona Góra.

It was probably commissioned from someone among the von Hochbergs, who owned the village and were patrons of the church.³⁹

Weber's workshop repeated the same composition – in a slightly modified variant – in the sculpture crowning the pulpit from the parish church in Łagiewniki (Fig. 10). Unfortunately, the secondary imposed paintings profoundly blur the sculptural modelling – especially in the head parts – making it difficult to make a definitive comparative analysis of the work. The slight simplification of the mantle modelling may mean a more substantial contribution by workshop helpers. On the other hand, some parts of the robe – especially the coattail cloak falling from the shoulder – have a drapery duct even closer to the *bozzetto* from Opava than seen in a sculpture from Bratislava. However, we cannot exclude for sure the possibility the sculpture was carved outside Weber's atelier (by an artist from Weber's circle), though this option is less likely.⁴⁰

Among the recognized Silesian Baroque sculptures there are at least three more figures that originated in Weber's studio – eventually made by artists from his circle – and constituting variants of the concept in question. What they have in common is the position of the figure, copied from the Bratislava sculpture, but they differ completely in the form of the robes. The first fig-

ure (Fig. 11) comes from the collection of the Muzeum Ziemi Lubuskiej in Zielona Góra and was transferred there in the 1970s from an undefined church in the Głogów District.⁴¹ In this case, too, we are dealing with a work made in the workshop. However, this time the simplified form of the details distinctly lowers the quality of the sculpture. The shallowly carved torso no longer brings to mind the statue of the ancient hero. Just as sketchy as the torso are the facial features. The average elaboration of the body is partly recompensed by an arrangement

³⁹ Weber had the opportunity to work for Hans Heinrich III von Hochberg on the alteration of the Roztoka Palace in 1720–1725. Evidence includes the coat of arms reset in the portal of the garden facade in the nineteenth century. Details in the armour, helmets and draperies, as well as the faces of the knights flanking the cartouche leave no doubt as the authorship of Weber and his workshop. Analogies can be found in the figures of St Florian from the workshop of the Świdnica master: in Świdnica's Market Square (1720), from the top of the chapel above the side entrance to the pilgrimage church in Grodowiec (c. 1720), from the altar of St Anne in the former Cistercian Church in Cieplice and from the main altar of the church in Szymocin (1720s or 1730s).

⁴⁰ The history of the work remains unknown. Currently, the sculpture is a part of the pulpit erected in the nineteenth century. However, we do not know whether it originally decorated the previous pulpit or whether it went to the church in Łagiewniki secondarily.

⁴¹ No. MZG-SD-I-84. I would like to thank the deputy director of the Zielona Góra museum, Dr Longin Dzieżyc, for providing me with access to the Sculpture and information about its origins. For the basic information about the sculpture, see: TOCZEWSKI, Andrzej, DZIEŻYC, Longin (eds.) *W kręgu śląskiej sztuki sakralnej. Zabytki Śląska Lubuskiego XIV-XVIII w. ze zbiorów Muzeum Ziemi Lubuskiej w Zielonej Górze*, Zielona Góra 2002, p. 54. The similarity between the Zielona Góra and Bratislava sculptures were suggested for the first time in CHMELINOVÁ, Beitrag zur Geschichte..., p. 162.



Figure 12: Georg Leonhard Weber or Sculptor from his Circle (attrib.), *The Sculpture of Christ the Saviour*, before 1739, The Church of St Stanislaus, Roztoka.

of the robe, elegantly wrapped around the hips. Despite its lower quality, the formal modes found in the sculpture make it possible to link it to Weber's workshop. The elongated face with an excessively pointed chin resembles the design known from the stone figure of St Joseph (1723)⁴² placed in front of the church in Bolesławiec, and the statue of St Jude the Apostle standing next to the main altar in the former Cistercian Church in Cieplice (c. 1716). The motif of a single lock of hair flowing over the shoulder onto the breast is a copy of an idea from the Christ figure adorning the top of the main altar in Bolesławiec (1723–1725).

The second sculpture – which differs the most from the others in terms of its form – is to be found in the parish church in Roztoka, crowning the baptismal font (Fig. 12). In the case of this figure, the dominant role is playing by the finely draped robe tightly covering the body. The arrangement of the cloak partly resembles the composition seen in the above-mentioned figures, while the folds of the underrobe emphasise the curve of the Saviour's torso. The same version of the Christ the Saviour sculpture was also used in the figure adorning the main altar in the parish church in Lutomia Dolna (Fig. 13). At the present stage of research, authorship of both these last sculptures is unclear; they show as few differences in the execution of detail as might be made by two different helpers in Weber's studio or by two unidentified artists from his circle.

The analysed works demonstrate the ease with which Weber was able to compose variants of the garments on one position of the body. In this respect, he was by no means unique in Silesia. Similar practices were followed by a leading Wrocław sculptor, Thomas Weisfeldt.⁴³ At the design stage, both artists may have used a mannequin over which they draped the robes in order to achieve their purpose.

In the context of the evolution of artistic concepts associated with the Bratislava figure of the Saviour, just as interesting are two works made outside Weber's atelier. The figure of Christ (Fig. 14), not mentioned in the literature, from the Church of St Wenceslas and St Stanislaus in Świdnica is similar in size to the Bratislava statue. It, too, is carved on all sides and intended for occasional display. It has a similar arrangement of the body as well as similar – although of lower quality – level of detail in the muscles, with a different concept for the arrangement of the robe. The form of drapery, as well as facial details, suggests that the Świdnica figure was probably made by Riedl or his workshop – or, alternatively, by an unknown artist from his

⁴² The sculpture was commissioned by Sebastian Josef Wolfgeil, Mayor of Bolesławiec. KALINOWSKI, Rzeźba barokowa..., p. 181–182.

⁴³ KOLBIARZ, Artur. Udział Thomasa Weisfeldta (Weissfeldta) w barokizacji wrocławskiej katedry. In: KACZMAREK, Romuald, GALEWSKI, Dariusz (eds.) *Katedra wrocławska na przestrzeni tysiąclecia. Studia z historii architektury i sztuki*. Wrocław 2016, p. 255–257.



Figure 13: Georg Leonhard Weber or Sculptor from his Circle (attrib.), *The Sculpture of Christ the Saviour*, 1700s or 1710s, Church of Transfiguration of Jesus, Lutomia Dolna.



Figure 14: Johann Riedel or Sculptor from his Circle (attrib.), *The Sculpture of Christ the Saviour*, c. 1700, Church of St. Stanislaus and St. Wenceslaus, Świdnica.

circle. The relatively massive folds of the cloak and flowing cascades at the bottom bring to mind the garments of the figures adorning the sounding board of the Świdnica pulpit (1698), while the facial details are closest to the figure of the Saviour from the Gethsemane group by the wall, works traditionally linked to the Jesuit artist.⁴⁴ A lack of information about the dating of the work in question makes it impossible to determine whether it was made before or after the Bratislava figure. However, the visible shortcomings (less than perfect proportions, rigid movement and mediocre reproduction of the uncovered parts of the body) make it an unlikely model for the sculpture carved by Weber. Undoubtedly, both draw on the prints depicting the Roman *Hermes*, but Weber proved more skilful in using and transforming the ancient example.

The last of the figures – of Triumphant Christ, closing the whole evolutionary series – is part of the furnishings of the Church of St Bartholomew in Radzikowice near Nysa.⁴⁵ Like the works discussed earlier, it is a free-standing sculpture. Its composition is a copy of the Bratislava concept, both in the positioning of the figure and arrangements of the robes. However, the proportions are stockier and the detail completely different – more generalised and devoid of Weber's typical realism. Stylistically, the figure is a late Baroque work and should be

⁴⁴ KALINOWSKI, *Rzeźba barokowa...*, p. 176; GALEWSKI, *Jezuici wobec tradycji...*, p. 220.

⁴⁵ So far the sculpture has only been mentioned in the literature. See: CHRZANOWSKI, Tadeusz. KORNECKI, Marian. *Katalog zabytków w Polsce*, vol. 7, Województwo opolskie, no. 9 Powiat nyski, Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1963, p. 170.

approximately dated to the second third of the eighteenth century. Its author must have had direct contact with at least one of Weber's statues of the Saviour (from Świdnica, Radzikowice or Łagiewniki), but his professional training, taking into account the most current trends in art, enabled him to transform the original. The name of the author of the Radzikowice sculpture is unknown, but he was undoubtedly an artist familiar with the art centre in Świdnica. What remains an open question is whether he was one of Weber's three sons, who were also sculptors.

In conclusion it is worth raising one more issue: the manner in which the Saviour sculpture found its way into today's Slovakia, although the current state of research makes it impossible to provide an unequivocal answer. Georg Leonhard Weber probably did not venture that far when he was active as an artist. The literature does contain information that the sculptor apparently travelled to neighbouring Brno in 1700–1704,⁴⁶ but it has proved impossible to confirm this. On the other hand, there is evidence of his presence in Świdnica in that period. However, it is impossible to exclude a shorter stay in the Moravian capital which may have been associated with the transport or making of the statue in question. Another hypothetical possibility is the agency of one of Weber's sons – Joseph Leonhard, who after leaving Silesia worked in Brno, and in 1749 settled in Trnava, where he functioned until his death in 1771.⁴⁷ Theoretically, the sculpture, a gift of his father, may have travelled with the artist to Moravia or Upper Hungary.

The Saviour figure from the SNG collection in Bratislava is an exceptional piece in Weber's oeuvre. It belongs to a limited group of extraordinary works by the Świdnica master, for example: decoration of the Blessed Ceslaus Chapel, sculptures from pillars of Świdnica's Jesuit church, figures in the main altar of a church in Śmiałowice or bust gallery from the former palace of the Krzeszów abbots in Świdnica. Signed and made with virtuosic precision in a classicising convention, it is the highlight of an early stage of Weber's career, testifying to his broad artistic horizons as well. Also, it constitutes a link between various works made in Świdnica's master workshop over nearly four decades.

The present study demonstrates the advantages of an interdisciplinary analysis of museum collections. Using research tools of art history, history and archival studies, it provides a context for the sculpture in question, highlighting its significance to the cultural heritage of Central Europe. It makes it possible to introduce corrections into the existing museum catalogues or make them more precise. Another important aspect is the international nature of the research into gallery collections, involving institutions from Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Poland. Such an approach makes it possible to find links and expand the state of research in the various countries, opening up new possibilities for both museologists and art historians. Finally, the results may become an inspiration for exhibition projects. After all, the developmental sequence

⁴⁶ NOWAK, Romuald. *Rzeźba śląska XVI-XVIII wieku. Katalog zbiorów*. Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu, 1994, p. 177.

⁴⁷ For more on Joseph Leonhard, see: CHMELINOVÁ, Beitrag zur Geschichte..., passim. Given the discrepancy in the year of birth, stemming from contradictory records, the author doubts that Joseph Leonhard of Trnava was the son of Weber of Świdnica with the same names (ibid., p. 155). Yet the Weber active in Trnava undoubtedly came from Świdnica, as is confirmed by the entry relating to his acquisition of citizen's rights. Owing to a lack of information about two sculptors named Weber active in Świdnica at the turn of the eighteenth century and having sons with the same names, what seems more likely is a mistakenly recorded age of the artist on his death leading to a discrepancy with regard to his birth date.

in the composition of the Bratislava statue of the Saviour indicated above could be a highlight of any exhibition tackling questions concerning the creation of a work of art.

Translation: Anna Kijak

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Literary heritage in museum exhibitions: Identifying its main challenges in the European context

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Literary heritage in museum exhibitions: Identifying its main challenges in the European context

Literary heritage presents a dialectic relationship between tangible and intangible elements. This complex duality presents challenges for curators, who must try to communicate this immaterial essence through the exhibition language. This article, structured on a two-phase research process, aims to identify the main challenges for literary heritage valorisation and communication in the museum context. First, interviews with specialists in literary heritage and museology from Catalonia and Russia were carried out to identify the main issues to be considered when designing a literary heritage exhibition and managing a literary heritage centre. Second, the websites of three renowned literary European museums were analysed to inspect whether and how these aspects are tackled by these museums and presented to their potential visitors. Results show that, firstly, the duality of literary heritage is vital in the designing of the exhibition; and secondly, that concepts such as human mediation, literary tourism, and promotion are important in finding new strategies to communicate and visibilise literary heritage intangible meanings.

Keywords: house museum, intangible heritage, literary heritage, museography

Introduction

In 2003, UNESCO adopted its *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*.¹ In this document, intangible cultural heritage (ICH) was defined and brought in the cultural spotlight. This document, which shifted the interest from material heritage to ethereal cultural expressions,² fully acknowledged the challenges that this change posed to heritage interpreta-

¹ UNESCO (2003). *Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage*. Paris: UNESCO. Accessed 15 January 2019, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>

² BLAKE, Janet. Museums and Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage – Facilitating Participation and Strengthening their Function in Society. In: *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 13, 2018, p. 18–37.

tion and communication. In this sense, one of the main aims of this document was to define intangible cultural heritage and to identify new ways to transmit it. Two years later, and in the same vein, a new document was adopted by UNESCO that recognized the importance of heritage to cultural expression.³ The title of this document was *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. Its aim was to give institutional recognition to the heritagization of cultural expressions that can be considered part of our ICH. In this way, UNESCO consolidated an intangible turn in heritage studies by giving importance to living cultural expressions.⁴

Considering this framework, the relationship between Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) and museums or heritage centres has become a central topic for museum studies, since it transforms the idea of the museum from a container for objects to be displayed and preserved to a people-centred space.⁵ This context permits us to talk about the concept of a museology of the intangible. This museology deals with the challenges of presenting, interpreting and transmitting ICH through a discourse shaped by tangible mediums in an exhibition context.

The present paper focuses on literary heritage, which has its origins in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when attention to the territory and landscape linked to literary authors increased.⁶ This is the case, for instance, with Shakespeare's New Place, which was already a tourist attraction during the eighteenth century and may be one of the first victims of "tourismphobia", in this case by its owner, the clergyman Francis Gastrell, who was so irritated by the tourists wanting to see it that he decided to demolish the entire house and its garden, along with all the trees that inspired the author. The original house was never rebuilt and only the foundations remain. The people of Stratford-upon-Avon, the town where Shakespeare spent his final years, were horrified and Gastrell became so unpopular he eventually had to move out of the town. Over the centuries, the will to give heritage status to literature through monuments, house museums, plaques and cultural activities such as routes has gradually grown. Likewise, literary tourism, understood as the act of visiting places related to literary depictions or linked with literary figures,⁷ became an increasingly popular trend.

In this context, museums are considered a privileged platform to transmit literary heritage because, on the one hand, one of their main goals is to build an educative discourse to transmit a message, while on the other hand, they have an active role in safekeeping and improving awareness of the meanings and intangible dimensions of heritage.⁸ In this way, literary house museums are not only built to create an atmosphere but also to generate a didactic discourse

³ UNESCO (2005). *Convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions*. Paris: UNESCO. Accessed 16 January 2019, <https://en.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/passeport-convention2005-web2.pdf>.

⁴ VALENTIN, Emanuel. Intangible Search, Searching the Intangible: The Project E.C.H.I. and the Inventarisation of Intangible Cultural Heritage. In: *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 2 (8), 2013, p. 113–120.

⁵ ALIVIZATOU, Marilena. *Intangible Heritage and the Museum: New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation*. New York: Routledge 2016.

⁶ BALEIRO, Rita, QUINTEIRO, Silvia. *Key concepts in literature and tourism studies*. Lisboa: Universidade de Lisboa, 2018.

⁷ SQUIRE, Shelagh. J. Literary tourism and sustainable tourism: Promoting "Anne of Green Gables" in Prince Edward Island. In: *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 4 (3), 1996, p. 119–134.

⁸ CARVALHO, Ana. *Intangible Heritage and Museums: New and Old Challenges?* Published in: CIDOC Icom International Committee for Documentation, 2017. CIDOC Blog. Accessed 5 January 2019, <http://network.icom.museum/cidoc/blog/ana-carvalho/L/11/>

that explains their particular heritage and accomplish their pedagogic function.⁹

Thus, to enable this dialogue between both objectives of the exhibition, the museology of literary house museums is a central issue on which to reflect. The intangibility of literature also places this research in the context of the discussion mentioned above on the challenges and best practices for transmitting ICH in museums.

In this vein, the present paper aims to explore which are the main issues to take into account when valorising intangible literary heritage in museums, where literary heritage is considered as a form of ICH.

Defining the framework: literary heritage and literary house museums

Heritage is a social process, and the process through which it is built is dependent on the society.¹⁰ The never-ending discussion about dominant values is constantly redefining the heritage of a specific society in a particular historical time.¹¹ This is the reason why heritage is a contested area, since it may strengthen cultural identities, but also lead to social and cultural conflicts.¹² This complexity also exists when considering the concept of literary heritage. In this sense, the process of building literary heritage must consider which authors deserve to be heritagized and why. This process is not always uncontroversial, and it raises issues about collective identity and values.

In the same way, the question of what constitutes literary heritage is also a complex subject. Considering its formation process, literary heritage could be understood as a literary canon, that is, a list of literary works that a particular society considers its own legacy.

Nevertheless, the intangible turn on heritage studies explicitly enables us to conceive literature as a cultural expression that influences our gaze on landscape and places. Thus, the impact caused by literature in the collective imaginary is such that it can leave an imprint on the landscape. Besides, some particular objects or places act as mediums that bring us closer to narrative accounts and literary geniuses. This way, literary heritage is not only a list of canonical or venerable literary authors, but also the influence of literature in the cultural landscape.¹³

According to this context, literary heritage transcends a mere list of literary works; following Uccella's definition,¹⁴ it materializes the intangible aspects of literary works, that is, their values and ideas, through tangible elements related to the author such as their homes, landscapes (imagined or biographical), libraries, everyday objects, books and so on. Therefore, literary heritage may evoke feelings, ideas and emotions which are generated by literary works, by recalling the world vision transmitted by them. In this sense, literary heritage may be an empirical entrance to the cultural richness of books.

From this perspective, tangible elements of literary heritage are mediums for accessing and comprehending literature. However, disclosing their meanings requires heritage interpretation, since the link between tangible and intangible can remain unperceived for non-specialist people.

Given the importance of authors in literature, literary house museums are privileged places in which to access to the atmosphere of the creative genius and near the environment where

⁹ TORRES GONZÁLEZ, Begoña. Introducción. In: *Casas museo: museología y gestión*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2013, p. 7–10.

¹⁰ MUNMANY, Mireia. *La gestió del patrimoni literari*. Tarragona: Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2017.

¹¹ PRATS, Llorenç. El concepto de patrimonio cultural. In: *Cuadernos de Antropología Social*, 11, 2000, p. 115–136.

¹² SILVERMAN, Helaine, RUGGLES, D. Fairchild. *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*. New York: Springer, 2007.

¹³ DONAIRE, José Antonio. *Turisme cultural: entre l'experiència i el ritual*. Bellcaire d'Empordà: Vitel·la, 2008.

¹⁴ UCCELLA, Francesca. *Manual de patrimonio literario*. Gijón: Trea, 2013.

the writer found inspiration for their tales. As Munmany states,¹⁵ this connection with the private life of a public literary personality is the main trait of literary house museums.

Thus, literary house museum exhibitions are usually in former private spaces and intended to create an original aura. Nevertheless, as the ICOM definition of the museum states, museums should not just be a place for the enjoyment of experts: they must also become educative spaces that communicate heritage to non-experts. This becomes a challenge in the literary house museum context that the curators of exhibitions must address. Such museums usually hold a collection of objects that belong to the author. These objects have an emotional impact on visitors, who have an emotive experience visiting the intimate atmosphere where their favourite author lived.¹⁶ But visitors who are not particularly familiar with the author need something more to have a meaningful experience. In this sense, museums need to build a message with these tangible elements. The building of this message becomes a central point in the exhibition context.¹⁷ Thus, literary house museums should enhance and make visible literary heritage by negotiating between providing an emotional and educative experience.

This way, the exhibition of a house museum is a challenging test bench for museography and different museological approaches, given the multiplicity of features that each house museum presents, as Pavoni shows in her work.¹⁸ The objects of house museums are closely interrelated, creating a scene or a context.¹⁹ This context links the tangible elements with the intangible values bonded to the house and its former inhabitants. Therefore, the exhibition is a dialectic space that struggles to transmit intangible aspects of the authors and their work through the objects placed there. That is why literary house museums demonstrate that the split between tangible and intangible cultural heritage is a mere theoretical construct.

Methodology

Intending to identify the present challenges for museography in literary house museums, we carried out qualitative research in two phases. In the first phase, we conducted interviews with literary heritage specialists. This way, we identified the main topics that literary house museums must address in their museography. In the second phase, we analysed whether the identified issues are present in the websites of renowned literary house museums. In this way, this second part of our research aimed to analyse how these topics are currently tackled in the main literary heritage centres.

The research instrument of the first phase was a semi-structured interview of 16 questions, with the objective of collecting the experts' thoughts on literary heritage, its musealization, and its management. The sample selected was subjective and based on the experience of the researchers in this area and their geographical accessibility. The data was analysed to identify: points of agreements and divergence, the challenges of literary heritage management and its musealization.

¹⁵ MUNMANY, Mireia. *La gestió del patrimoni literari*. Tarragona: Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2017.

¹⁶ PAVONI, Rosanna. Towards a definition and typology of historic house museums. In: *Museum International*, 53 (2), 2003, p. 16–21.

¹⁷ SOLA, Tomislav. *Concepto y naturaleza de la museología*. In: *Museum*, 153, 1987, p. 45–49.

¹⁸ PAVONI, Rosanna. Towards a definition and typology of historic house museums. In: *Museum International*, 53 (2), 2003, p. 16–21.

¹⁹ PÉREZ MATEO, Soledad. *Las casas museo en España: análisis de una tipología museística singular*. PhD Thesis, Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2016. Accessed 5 January 2019, <https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/365304>.

The interviewed experts were as follows:

- Experts in literary heritage:
 - Mireia Munmany, Project Manager of the Catalan Literary Heritage Network “Espais Escrits” and author of the doctoral dissertation “Gestió del patrimoni literari català femení. Conceptualització i proposta d’anàlisi” [Female Catalan literary heritage management. Conceptualization and proposal of analysis].²⁰
 - Francesca Uccella, academic expert in Italian and Catalan literary heritage, author of “*Manual de patrimonio literario* [Manual of Literary Heritage].²¹
- Presidents of literary heritage networks:
 - Galina Alexeeva, President of ICOM International Committee for Literary Museums and Head of the Academic Research Department of Gosudarstvenniy Muzei Leo N. Tolstogo “Yasnaya Polyana” [The Leo Tolstoy Museum-Estate “Yasnaya Polyana”].
 - Anna Aguiló, President of “Espais Escrits”, Catalan Literary Heritage Network, and Director of the Josep Pla Foundation.
- Museographers with experience on literary heritage exhibitions:
 - Mónica Martínez Bajo, exhibition technician at Vil·la Joana, literary museum of Jacint Verdaguer.
- Guides of literary museums:
 - Oriol Izquierdo, former president of Institute of Catalan Letters and guide at Jacint Verdaguer’s literary museum Vil·la Joana.
 - Anna Moré, guide at Jacint Verdaguer’s house museum in Folgueroles

For the second phase, we took into account the four issues identified in the interviews’ analysis, namely: the creation of literary attractions; the role of human mediation; the use of tangible and original elements in museography; and the presence of the landscape in the museum’s discourse. Using this list of topics as an instrument of analysis, we examined the websites of the following three literary house museums: Shakespeare’s Birthplace, Goethe National Museum, and Maisons Victor Hugo. With this case study approach, we studied the discourse of these heritage centres on the inspected elements. The analysis of the presence of these elements in the websites of writers’ homes is interesting for two reasons. First, it allows us to verify whether these aspects are taken into account in the discourse of three reference institutions. Second, it is relevant because the first contact visitors have with these centres is often via internet. Thus, the discourse in the literary home website can define whether visitors will consider this place appealing, and also shape their expectations about the visit.

The selected sample was based on the importance of the chosen figures in the European literary context, the existence of a consolidated literary museum, and that museum’s presence on the internet. Through these three cases, we aimed to carry out a first approach to describing the museographical treatment of three key figures from European literature in three different countries.

²⁰ MUNMANY, Mireia. *La gestió del patrimoni literari*. Tarragona: Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2017.

²¹ UCCELLA, Francesca. *Manual de patrimonio literario*. Gijón: Trea, 2013.

The complexity of literary heritage and the creation of literary tourism attractions

As mentioned, the complexity of literary heritage is based on its role as a link between tangible and intangible elements. In the centre of literary heritage is the search for ideas, knowledge, traditions and other conceptions that make us think, teach us and tell us histories. The intangible realm of the author's ideas and words becomes tangible through the book's pages. After this first materialization, literary heritage broadens itself. In this way, papers, pens, tables, houses, yards, landscapes, cities and so on become part of literary heritage in the sense that they are part of the author's biography or source of inspiration.

Literary heritage management should keep in mind this duality of both the intangibility (which, according to Uccella, consists of all those conceptions provided by the literary work, i.e. those ideas, emotions and feelings, intuitions awoken by the reading) and the tangible side of literary heritage. Here we find the library and manuscripts of the author placed first, and then their personal objects and places. The configuration of this tangible universe depends on the work of institutions, which give value to handwritings, archives, libraries, objects and properties. This heritagizing work has the aim of facilitating understanding of the author's ideas.

The tangible and intangible dimensions of literary heritage complement each other and build a literary image of an author or a territory. Its promotion, according to Munmany and Alexeeva, depends on cultural tourism and promotion policies. Izquierdo and Aguiló declare that literary tourism is still to develop, since the conception of literary heritage is new for the community. There is a lack of promotion and a lack of true specialists. In this context, the main aim for most literary organizations is that literary tourism professionals are familiarized with literary works to promote literary heritage attractions more consistently, according to Aguiló. This can also help to address the challenge of extending the target audience for the writer's homes beyond school tourism, which is the main audience in Catalan centres of this type.

Uccella highlights the work "Espaces Escrits", the Catalan Literary Heritage network, in promoting authors. In comparison with Italian networks, the Catalan one guarantees the promotion of canonical authors, while the Italian examples base their strategy on commercial projects. This is the case of the literary tourism agency "Feltrinelli Viaggi", which is an interesting project, but its relation with literary heritage becomes problematic given its primarily commercial character, in that it only creates products for recent authors and bestsellers, in pursuit of greater economic benefits.

The relationship of writers' homes with tourism companies may also be unstable, as Alexeeva explains. In the Russian context, there were, until last year, various contracts between literary museums and the Railways Company of Russia to provide transport for tourists who visited certain places associated with the works of Tolstoy, Chekhov or Pushkin. However, all these collaborations expired, and the literary institutions today must seek new sponsors and collaborators. This is an excellent example of the need to improve and facilitate collaboration between literary heritage organizations and the public administration in charge of cultural and literary tourism policies. In this sense, the need to share best practice on how to build a closer relationship between tourism and literary centres is urgent.

The last big challenge for literary heritage is how to attract visitors in a global tourism context. There is a barrier between visitors and literary heritage in the sense that many tourists do not want to visit a literary museum because they do not have any prior knowledge about the author or their books. If the tourist is not aware of a particular place, it does not exist in

their image of the destination and, therefore, cannot be a tourist attraction. Thus, to our survey question on whether it is possible to visit a literary museum without any prior knowledge about the author, there was agreement among respondents that stimulating and encouraging the reading of the featured author can be considered as one of the main objectives of literary house museums. In this sense, these places must give basic biographical information and aim to turn visitors into readers. Uccella highlighted the example of Orhan Pamuk's museum that was created to stimulate the reading of his novel *The Museum of Innocence*. However, Munmany affirms that not all literary museums are prepared for accomplishing this goal. Martinez and Izquierdo explained that the literary museum of Jacint Verdaguer, "Vil·la Joana", in Barcelona is an excellent example of how a literary museum can be useful to inspire new readers. In their opinion, its exhibition can be attractive for different types of visitors because it integrates different discourses: literature from a general perspective, literature, and the city of Barcelona, history, architecture and so on. This way, the exhibition is not only focused on Verdaguer and his books. This concept of creating a space that communicates not only biographical information, but also other topics broadens the museum's offering and may be interesting for visitors who are not familiar with the figure of the Catalan poet before their visit.

The essential role of human mediation in literary house museums

There was agreement between all specialists that guided tours are the best way to visit a literary house museum, because the guide discloses elements that help visitors to get inside the intangible world of the author. Uccella underlines the importance of undertaking the first visit with a guide, since it gives an initial account from to understand the content and message of the museum. According to Munmany and Moré, guides create a particular atmosphere, as well as give trustworthy explanations about the authors and their work.

Alexeeva also highlights that guides can adapt their explanations to visitors' background. This addresses one of the main difficulties of literary heritage: that is, explaining it to visitors with no prior knowledge of the author and their work.

Aguiló also mentions that, besides guided tours, writer's homes also carry out many cultural activities such as workshops, seminars and roundtables which expand the opportunities for visitors to learn about literature beyond the exhibitions. The role of specialists in these activities is also crucial, since their participation enhances understanding of author's masterpieces. For instance, "Literary vermouth. Josep Pla a la Fonda Estrella" is an activity at Josep Pla's house museum in Calella de Palafrugell, Catalonia. Non-specialist participants analyse texts by the Catalan author together with specialists, discovering Pla's literary world while discovering gastronomical specialties of the region and enjoying the Costa Brava landscape.

Thus, human mediation is essential when dealing with intangible literary heritage, and guides provide the necessary tools to enable visitors' transformation into heritage interpreters. Guides are the ones who promote a dialogue between the tangible and intangible nature of literary heritage, using objects and spaces as the starting point to transmit authors' biographies, the main ideas of masterpieces, historical context, and social relationships. Objects and spaces are the guiding thread that binds the tangible and intangible aspects of literary heritage.

The tangible side of literary heritage

The intangible aspects of literary heritage are its *raison d'être*, but given their immaterial nature, they are fragile and their conservation and communication is challenging. The visible side

of literary heritage – that is, objects and spaces – can assist in the preservation and interpretation of literary heritage. For this reason, tangible objects are indispensable in literary museums, since they are the base for constituting a discourse to present the intangible aspects of literary heritage.

According to the specialists, this is the reason why many centres choose to build their exhibitions in the framework of traditional museography that consists of presenting author's tangible legacy, their personal objects, houses, books and so on in their original state with some minor adaptations to museography's plan.



Figure 1: *Presentation of Verdaguer's parents' room in the house museum of Verdaguer in Folgueroles, using traditional museography and personal objects of the writer's family*

In traditional museography, spaces could be original or recreated according to the author's or their family's memoirs. The main reason to present the author's house museum in a way that preserves its material spaces and gives priority to the conservation or the material preservation of the container – that is, the house and its objects – is to show the private spaces that belonged to the author and illustrate the cultural and social features of the author's historical moment, preserving a sense of intimacy.

Even so, some exhibitions of writer's homes are also influenced by other museographic lines of thought. This is the case with the house museum of Verdaguer in Folgueroles and Foundation Josep Pla in Calella de Palafrugell, where the visitor can find elements related to didactic museography such as teaching boxes. In Foundation Josep Pla and Vil·la Joana we also find interactive modules and touching panels inspired by interactive museography. In Vil·la Joana, for instance, we find a module where visitors can use their senses beyond vision – that is, hearing and touch – to experience literature. In this way, the museography enables original experiences and interaction between the visitors and the exhibition.



Figure 2: “Touch the paper” – a module of the exhibition at Vil·la Joana where visitors can touch different types of paper and recreate this sensation when they touch the book’s pages

The use of technology is, nevertheless, not shared by all literary museums. There are some positive practices in Catalonia, but the majority of Russian and Spanish literary museums still present traditional museography. The main reason for this, according to Izquierdo, is that these institutions focus on safeguarding the author’s heritage. Furthermore, in a context where there is a lack of resources, support and collaboration from government administrations, which do not usually invest in reforming literary heritage centres, most of these institutions avoid risky approaches in conceiving their exhibitions.

The setting of writer’s homes: the landscape and literary heritage

Literary and local heritage are often closely related, since the landscape is a source of inspiration source for many literary authors. Here, the concept of landscape is not only used to allude to nature but also to urban and cultural landscapes: for example, the Saint Petersburg of Dostoevsky or the Dublin of James Joyce.

Considering this relationship between literature and the territory, the grounds of literary house museums are often inspiring as places where literary authors spent their days and found inspiration for their works. Furthermore, literary house museums may also be linked to the cultural landscape of a territory, since literary heritage presents a particular view of local heritage: costumes, traditions, holidays, thinking, religion and so on. The book is a perfect way to meet a territory and its traditions. Verdager’s poetry helps us to discover Catalan identity; Sholokhov’s novels lead us to explore Cossack culture; Cervantes’s books open to us the Spanish soul. The book conveys author’s viewpoint and personal experience framed by a particular culture and its intangible meanings.

In this sense, the landscape is a tool to interpret the literary heritage and foster its comprehension, according to Aguiló. This is why literary routes are the best way to discover a connec-

tion that exists between literary heritage and landscape. For instance, Moré explains that the surroundings of Folgueroles, where the Catalan poet Verdaguer was born, helps people not only to understand the significance of Verdaguer's poetry, but also to discover Catalan country culture. In fact, this entire village breathes with the poet's name.

In the Russian context, museologists are well aware of this importance of landscape in literary heritage preservation. In this sense, there is a policy of literary landscape protection in Russia. Many literary house museums in Russia preserve and promote the connection that exists between nature and literature with the help of the government administration. For example, one of the most famous museums is Yasnaya Polyana, House Museum of Leo Tolstoy, where the writer's houses and lands are situated. The landscapes around Yasnaya Polyana appear in the letters and diaries of Leo Tolstoy and his family and friends. The Sholokhov State Museum Preserve is another excellent example of protecting the literary, local and natural heritage. In this case, the relationship between literature and nature is extended to the preservation of traditional regional crafts.

The landscape and literature are interrelated, landscapes blend into literature, and this fusion helps to promote different places and turn them into cultural tourism attractions. Notwithstanding, it is crucial to balance the following objectives: to offer a singular experience of the place to visitors, to promote the reading of the author's masterpieces, and awake the need to share the place and come back with family and friends. To accomplish these objectives, it is necessary to find support and synergies to identify strategies and best practices that facilitate the fulfilment of the objectives of a literary house museum; that is, to preserve and share, by creating emotional and didactic experiences, the literary heritage of the writer.

How do writer's homes address these aspects in their discourse?

As mentioned in the methodology section, we will assess how the identified aspects are present in the websites of three literary house museums.

Shakespeare's birthplace

The website of Shakespeare's birthplace is in the frame of Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust. At the writing of this paper, the other four Shakespeare homes and gardens are still closed because of the Coronavirus outbreak. For this reason, most of the information on the Trust's website is focused on the only heritage centre still open: Shakespeare's birthplace.

When accessing the website, the first information one finds is an image of the façade of the building and a brief description of the relationship between the building and the intangible elements it may recall: Shakespeare's childhood and family tales, as well as Shakespeare's influence in our culture. This influence is exhibited through rare objects which are symbols of how deeply Shakespeare is rooted in our culture. In this sense, the management of Shakespeare's birthplace understands the use of objects as a way to make visible the intangible essence of literary heritage. To ease the exhibition's comprehension, the website also includes a list of five must-see items with a brief explanation that links each item with Shakespeare's life. In this way, the exhibition, even when based on original objects, tries to make explicit the link between tangible and intangible heritage. This strategy could be related to the museology of the object, because by underlining material elements of the exposition, a discourse on Shakespeare's biography or ideas can be developed.

In relation to human mediation, the website states that group visits are cancelled until November 2020 due to measures against Coronavirus. Nevertheless, the website offers numerous educational resources that can assist in constructing a previous background before the visit. In this sense, we find resources adapted to different educational levels and ages, basic information about elemental concepts on Shakespeare's life and context, podcasts, MOOCs, audiovisual resources, documents addressed to scholars and specialists, and more. In this sense, this writer's home responds to the educational mission of museums and, beyond human meditation, expands its offer to other educational strategies and mediums. Taking into account the literary tourism context, it is interesting to highlight that Shakespeare's birthplace offers sessions developed for non-native English learners. In this sense, a group of students from beyond the UK world can visit the place and enrich their visit through human mediation in a session specially adapted for them.

Although at the time of writing the other four houses of the Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust were closed, the group of heritage centres offers various perspectives on Shakespeare's literary heritage and shows that Shakespeare's legacy not only remains alive inside his birthplace, but also in the town itself. The literary landscape takes an essential role here, transforming Stratford-upon-Avon into a current literary destination. One example that illustrates this is the "Walk the 'Anne Hathaway'" activity which suggests visitors go by foot from Shakespeare's birthplace to Anne Hathaway's Cottage, passing by other centres of the Trust and visiting Stratford. This way, the town itself becomes part of the visiting experience.

To conclude, the topics identified through the interviews have a strong presence on the Shakespeare's Birthplace website, since there the visitor can expect to have an educative visit which goes beyond the exhibition itself and integrates with some of the surroundings. Significant efforts are made on the website to provide information and resources to ease the comprehension and enjoyment of the exhibition.

Goethe National Museum

Goethe National Museum belongs to Klassik Stiftung Weimar, which manages more than 20 other historical sites related to German culture. The website has a German and an English version, providing information to visitors from non-German speaking countries. The principal information is divided into three sections: the Goethe Residence, Goethe's collections, and the Building timeline. The first one offers a brief description of Goethe's relationship with the house, highlights the presence of original objects in the exhibition spaces and displays images of the most important rooms of the house. This first section also explains the importance of the residence's gardens, explaining their relationship with Goethe's botanical studies. Here again, the surroundings of the building, beyond the house walls, are remarkable and related to the intangible essence of the literary figure.

In the second section, Goethe's collections, the project of the German writer to compile and classify artworks and specimens during his life is presented. The website explains the intellectual objective of his collections, and showcases some of these original items that visitors will see in the exhibition. Finally, the third main section shows a timeline with information about the construction and reformations of the building. Thus, the three main sections of the website underline the importance of the original places and objects that the visitor will find in the exhibition. Here, it seems that visitors should expect an exhibition built around traditional museography standards, and that gives importance to the conservation of an original aura, although

objects are always related to some of the works or topics addressed by Goethe during his life.

However, the Goethe National Museum exhibition goes beyond these original spaces by including another permanent exhibition under the title “Flood of life – Storm of Deeds” which uses original objects as well as interactive and audiovisual resources to illustrate how central topics in Goethe’s works are still influencing our contemporary society.

In the same way as Shakespeare’s Birthplace, the Goethe National Museum website offers various resources to prepare for a visit or to delve into Goethe’s legacy in an educative context. Visitors to the house can avail themselves of an audio guide to enhance their autonomous exploration of the exhibition. Nevertheless, human mediation has an important presence on the website, where visitors can book group tours for the various heritage centres that belong to Klassik Stiftung Weimar. In the case of Goethe’s House, we find a daily tour to the permanent exhibition “Flood of life – Storm of Deeds”. In this sense, in Goethe’s National Museum we find similar strategies that also take into account the highlighted issues and topics identified through the interviews.

Maisons Victor Hugo

Maisons Victor Hugo manages two properties related to the French writer: the apartment he rented in Paris from 1832 to 1848 and his house in Guernsey. The rooms of both places are described on the website. The webpage is translated into English and Spanish, making it easier for international visitors to access the museums.

The Paris property presents a biographic discourse, in that its rooms illustrate three different periods of Hugo’s life through original objects and furniture. The first rooms show the atmosphere in which Hugo grew up and became a figure of Romantic Movement; the following rooms are focused on his exile, and the last ones explain his return from exile and recognition as an important figure. The exhibition uses mainly original and recreated objects to offer the visitor a journey through the temporal context in which Hugo lived. Similarly, the exhibition of the House in Guernsey has been designed following this museographic conception. In Guernsey, however, the landscape plays a more prominent role, since the garden and views are part of the immersive and symbolic atmosphere offered to visitors.

In relation to human mediation, at the time of investigation, options were limited due to COVID-19. Nevertheless, the website offered information about guided tours for adult and youth visitors, as well as for other kinds of groups. At the time, this information was only available in the French version of the website; visiting international tourists are limited to the use of mediated resources (such as the audio guide) to enhance their experience, while human mediation, a key aspect identified in the first phase of our research, is only offered to French-speaking visitors.

Considering the content of the guided visits, the Paris museum offers both thematic visits inside the house and guided tours that combine a visit to the writer’s home with a guided tour in Paris. In this way, the urban landscape becomes an important symbolic element to be interpreted in comprehending the author’s literary heritage. Thus, human mediation is the element that introduces the landscape into the narrative account of Hugo’s apartment in Paris. In this sense, this example shows that there is no unique strategy: rather the features and characteristics of the place have to be taken into account when designing the best strategies to foster a seductive didactic visitor experience.

Conclusions: new strategies to manage literary heritage

The present research has analysed which are the key elements to take into account when valourising and communicating literary heritage in a museum context. To identify these elements, we gathered the opinions of experienced professionals on literary heritage management from Catalonia and Russia.

Their opinions allowed us to approach literary heritage management in many ways. For instance, they gave a particular definition of literary heritage in which intangibility is its essence. However, particular material objects such as books, buildings and objects play a significant role in understanding the intangible literary heritage and help us towards its interpretation. Thus, when designing such exhibition spaces, this complex system of literary heritage and the dialectic between tangibility and intangibility it embodies should be taken into account to transmit the symbolic and intangible content hidden behind the exhibited objects.

Human mediation has been identified as an essential tool for assisting visitors in interpreting the exhibition. Nevertheless, human mediation is not always logistically possible, and some visitors may prefer to make an autonomous visit. In this sense, museography should also be applied to help audiences comprehend the exhibition. Most of the literary heritage centres use panels, pictures, writings, original objects and other static elements in their exhibitions. This kind of traditional museography is useful when the tangible object is the protagonist of the exhibition, but in literary house museums this museographic approach is not always capable of expressing the intangible aspects of the museum's focus. This is especially relevant when addressing the exhibition to non-specialist visitors.

The inclusions of new technologies and interactive elements in the exhibition could be an alternative to human mediation, since, used correctly, they can broaden the literary house museum's account of its subject and, in this way, open the collection to non-specialist people and permit autonomous visits.

In this process, the close relationship between literary heritage, local heritage and cultural landscapes is essential. Many literary house museums preserve local heritage and the landscapes that surround them. The inclusion of this content in the exhibition and activities presented at the writer's home could be a way to attract new visitors. Beyond this, the experts surveyed for this study also identified a number of other urgent issues to be tackled by literary heritage managers, including the lack of promotion of literary heritage and the need to generate synergy between government administration and private companies.

The responses to the interviews were used as a basis from which to inspect the websites of three renowned heritage centres: Shakespeare's Birthplace, Goethe National Museum, and Maisons Victor Hugo. The objective of this second phase was to check whether the elements identified in interviews have a role in the presentation of these museum to potential visitors. Analysis of these websites confirmed that all three international examples address these topics in the design of their museography and mediation resources. In the same way, this research shows that each museum adapts and interprets these elements according to its own particular context.

In conclusion, the communication of literary heritage in literary house museums can be enhanced in many ways, and the three present examples could be used as role models, since, as we have seen, they foster all the key elements identified. In this process, museography plays a vital role, and there is a need to reflect on museographic approaches that allow the preservation of original spaces and, at the same time, construct new ways to engage in dialogue with visitors of

varying cultural backgrounds. Didactic museography and the use of new technologies are particularly relevant museographic approaches that must be taken into account by literary heritage centres. In this sense, future lines of research may be based on analysing good museographic practices and identifying how visitors perceive the use of these museographic approaches in their visit experience.

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Protection of the Polish written and printed heritage – National Library Resource

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Protection of the Polish written and printed heritage – National Library Resource

Written and printed works are one of the most important cultural achievements of every country and nation. This often priceless heritage is protected, among other things, by libraries which are responsible for collecting, preparing, storing, protecting and sharing their collections. The article focuses on one form of protection of these resources – the Polish National Library Resource (NLR), which has a legal basis and gives examples of good practice. The analysis presented in this paper covers the normative Acts that cover only those collections which are unique and exceptionally valuable for Polish culture. It was found that perception of these special collections has changed and that nowadays there are only a small number of libraries that take part in the NLR programme.

Keywords: heritage, printing, writing, protection, Poland

Introduction

Libraries are institutions responsible for collecting, preparing, storing, protecting and sharing library resources, which may be included under the category of movable cultural heritage. According to Section 3.1 of Poland's *Act of 27 June 1997 on the libraries* "Libraries and their collections are part of the national treasure and are used to preserve national heritage".¹

According to the latest data, based on reports submitted by individual libraries (*K-03 – Libraries Report Form*)² and given by Statistics Poland, in Poland in 2018 there were 9,406 libraries.³

The aim of this article is to present the legal position and facts about a small number of Polish library collections, known as the National Library Resource (hereinafter: NLR), which was defined in Section 6 of the *Act of 27 June 1997 on the libraries*: "Library collections that have unique value and meaning for the national heritage are, in full or in part, a National Library Resource."⁴ The same section also emphasizes that the NLR is given special protection (Section 6.2) and indicates a further legislative framework: that the Minister of Art and Culture, in

¹ *Act of 27 June 1997 on the Libraries* [Ustawa z dnia 27 czerwca 1997 r. o bibliotekach], Journal of Laws 1997, No. 85, item 539, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19970850539/O/D19970539.pdf>.

² *K-03 – Libraries Report* [Sprawozdanie bibliotek K-03], accessed 7 January 2019, <http://form.stat.gov.pl/formularze/2018/passive/K-03.pdf>.

³ *Culture in 2016* [Kultura w 2016 r.], Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny 2017, p. 79.

⁴ *Act of 27 June 1997 on Libraries*.

agreement with the competent ministers, is to establish, by regulation, a list of libraries whose collections belong to the National Library Resource, define the structure of the resource and set the rules and the scope of its special protection⁵ (section 6.3). Such regulations were published in 1998, 2009, 2012, 2016 and 2017.

Libraries in Poland

In Poland there is an extensive library network which is composed of leading facilities of various types: public, scientific, pedagogical, educational and professional. The main acts governing the rules under which they function are the *Act of 27 June 1997 on the libraries*⁶ and the *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 29 October 2008 on the way to keep records of library resources*.⁷ Moreover, every type of library also has its own regulations which specifically define how it should function. In the case of public libraries, the relevant legislation is the *Act of 25 October 1991 on organizing and running cultural activity*,⁸ in the case of scientific libraries the pertinent document is the *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 12 December 2017 amending regulation on the method and procedure for the inclusion of a library among certain scientific libraries and setting their list*.⁹ In the case of pedagogical libraries, the pertinent legislation is the *Minister of National Education Regulation of 28 February 2013 on the detailed rules of functioning of the public pedagogical libraries*¹⁰ and the *Minister of National Education and Sport Regulation of 29 April 2003 on the framework statute of the public pedagogical library*.¹¹ Internal documents such as statutes, rules and regulations govern the activity of facilities are.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 29 October 2008 on the way of keeping records of the library resources* [Rozporządzenie Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 29 października 2008 r. w sprawie sposobu ewidencji materiałów bibliotecznych], Journal of Laws 2008, No. 205, item 1238, accessed 2 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20082051283>.

⁸ *The Act of 25 October 1991 on organizing and running cultural activity* [Ustawa z dnia 25 października 1991 r. o organizowaniu i prowadzeniu działalności kulturalnej], Journal of Laws 1991, No. 114, item 493, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu19911140493>.

⁹ *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 12 December 2017 amending regulation on the method and procedure of including libraries in certain scientific libraries, and setting their list* [Rozporządzenie Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 12 grudnia 2017 r. zmieniające rozporządzenie w sprawie sposobu i trybu zaliczania bibliotek do niektórych bibliotek naukowych oraz ustalenia ich wykazu], Journal of Laws 2017, item 2427, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20170002427>.

¹⁰ *Minister of National Education Regulation of 28 February 2013 on the detailed rules of functioning of the public pedagogical libraries* [Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 28 lutego 2013 r. w sprawie szczegółowych zasad działania publicznych bibliotek pedagogicznych], Journal of Laws 2013, item 369, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20130000369>.

¹¹ *Minister of National Education and Sport Regulation of 29 April 2003 on the framework statute of the public pedagogical library* [Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu z dnia 29 kwietnia 2003 r. w sprawie ramowego statutu publicznej biblioteki pedagogicznej], Journal of Laws 2003, No. 89, item 825, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20030890825>.

Year by year the number of libraries in Poland is decreasing. For comparison, data from nine different years were chosen¹² – 1998,¹³ 2009,¹⁴ 2012,¹⁵ 2013,¹⁶ 2014,¹⁷ 2015,¹⁸ 2016,¹⁹ 2017²⁰ and 2018.²¹



Figure 1: *Number of libraries in Poland.* [Source: own work]

During 21 years since the first regulation on the NLR was published, 3,094 libraries have disappeared from the Polish map, representing a decrease of around 25%. While investigating regulations from the years 1998, 2009, 2012 and 2016, we can successively compare the number of facilities with the initial number of 12,500 in 1998). In 2009 there were 77 more facilities, in 2012 there were 2,451 fewer and in 2016 there were 2,933 fewer than in 1998. Considering more recent years, in 2017 there were 3,026 fewer and in 2018 there were 3,094 fewer than in 1998.

National Library Resource

The term NLR was used for the first time in 1977 during a meeting of the management of the National Library and Jagiellonian Library (16 January). In the course of the meeting there were discussions about planning for the specialization of library resources concerning Polish national culture. After the Ossoliński National Institute joined the project, a document entitled *National library resource. General programme and organisation assumptions* was prepared. It was

¹² In the years 1998, 2009, 2012, 2016 regulations on the National Library Resource were published. The latest one, from 2017, presents no data about the number of libraries.

¹³ *Library network in Poland, library collections and reading in the nineties* [*Sieć bibliotek w Polsce, zbiory biblioteczne oraz czytelnictwo w latach dziewięćdziesiątych*], accessed 7 January 2019, http://biurosej.gov.pl/teksty_pdf_01/i-797.pdf, p. 2.

¹⁴ *Culture in 2009* [Kultura w 2009 r.], Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2010, p. 56, 84.

¹⁵ *Culture in 2012* [Kultura w 2012 r.], Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2013, p. 69.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁹ *Culture in 2016*, p. 79.

²⁰ *Culture in 2017* [Kultura w 2017 r.], Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2018, p. 38.

²¹ *Culture in 2018* [Kultura w 2018 r.], Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2019, p. 40.

approved by the Ministry of Art and Culture on 21 October 1977.²² The NLR was then given the following definition and objectives:

the aim of the National Library Resource (NLR) is to collect, comprehensively register, prepare information about and enable access to documents, created by Poles and concerning Poland, which are the basic source of information about the intellectual output of the Poles, the political history of the nation, the history of the national culture and all its domains of activity, the history of raising national awareness [and] the history of Polish contribution to world civilisation.²³

As the main reason for setting up the NLR, Leon Marszałek points to history and mentions the loss or dispersal of:

a large number of documents during national uprisings and the period of Partitions, especially after the Third Partition of Poland; major losses resulting from military actions in the First World War and a real disaster that happened to documents during the Second World War; [including] collections, from many libraries on the Polish territory and the libraries of centres of Polish life in exile, which were shaped by history.²⁴

It was assumed that the NLR should meet certain precise objectives. These were:

setting optimal conditions to collect and maintain a collection of published and hand-written documents which were created throughout the history of Poland and also the ones developed outside Poland which have content or form related to the country; maintaining complex documentation (registration, scientific publication) of these collections; creating an optimal model of information about these collections; improving and extending the process of their sharing; creating a reproductive basis of Polish source documents.²⁵

Apart from the three facilities already mentioned, the activity of the research team was originally supported by: a group of higher education libraries, the Polish Academy of Sciences, centrally located libraries, scientific associations, museums and archives, public libraries with the richest collections and a group of church libraries.²⁶ The NLR's activity was intended to be financed from the existing funds from libraries' activity²⁷.

The term NLR returned to the public sphere in 1997 when it was used in the *Act of 27 June 1997 on the libraries*. A year later, pursuant to the Act, the *Minister of Art and Culture Regulation of 24 November 1998 on setting the list of libraries whose collections belong to the National Library Resource, defining the structure of the Resource and setting the rules and the scope of its special protection*²⁸ was published. The document defines the following general rules about the structure of the Resource: it should provide optimal conditions to collect and maintain i) prints and manuscripts by Polish

²² For more about the history, creation and initial programme assumptions of the NLR, see: MARSZALEK, Leon. National Library Resource [Narodowy Zasób Biblioteczny]. In: *Library Review* [Przegląd Biblioteczny], No. 4, 1978, p. 423–432.

²³ Ibid., p. 423.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 426.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 427–428.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 430.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 431.

²⁸ *Minister of Art and Culture Regulation of 24 November 1998 on setting the list of libraries whose collections belong to the National Library Resource, defining the structure of the Resource and setting the rules and the scope of its special protection* [Rozporządzenie Ministra Kultury i Szukci z dnia 24 listopada 1998 r. w sprawie ustalenia wykazu bibliotek, których zbiory tworzą narodowy zasób biblioteczny, określenia organizacji tego zasobu oraz zasad i zakresu jego szczególnej ochrony], Journal of Laws, No. 146, item 955, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19981460955>.

authors, ii) *polonica*²⁹ stored in Polish libraries and iii) the documentation of *polonica* held in foreign collections; it should contain complete documentation of existing resources; and it should provide for the special protection and conservation of library resources. Section 5 of the regulation explains the notion of special protection, including preparation of the protection plan, protection against damage under certain conditions, and the restriction of sharing and recording on other media. A National Library Resource Council, which is referred to below, was also appointed for a four-year term.

An Appendix to the Regulation of 24 November 1998 provides a “list of libraries whose collections belong, in full or in part, to the National Library Resource” which contains the names of 55 institutions.³⁰ Almost 11 years later, pursuant to the *Minister of Art and Culture Regulation of 27 February 2009 amending the Regulation on setting the list of libraries whose collections belong to the National Library Resource, defining the structure of the Resource and setting the rules and the scope of its special protection*,³¹ Elbląg Library of Cyprian Norwid was added to the National Library

²⁹ Polonica – a document or item from Poland or Polish-related.

³⁰ These are: The Central Library of the Polish Association of the Blind in Warsaw, the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, the Main Library of AGH University of Science and Technology in Cracow, the Main Library of Warsaw University of Technology in Warsaw, the Library and Centre for Scientific and Technical Information of Wrocław University of Science and Technology in Wrocław, the Library and Recordings of the Fryderyk Chopin Institute in Warsaw, the Library of the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, the Library of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, the Library of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kórnik, the Library of the Castle Museum in Łańcut, the Library of the Museum and Institute of Zoology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, the Library of the Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature in Warsaw, the Library of the National Museum in Warsaw and its branches in Krośnice and Nieborów, the Library of the Tatra Museum in Zakopane, the Library of the Theatre Museum in Warsaw, the National Library in Warsaw, the Library of the Wojciech Kętrzyński Center for Scientific Research in Olsztyn, the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow, the Library of the Poznań Society of Friends of Learning, the Warsaw Public Library in Warsaw, the Raczyński Library in Poznań, the Sejm Library in Warsaw, the Silesian Library in Katowice, the University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin in Lublin, the Library of the University of Łódź, the University Library in Poznań, the University of Warsaw Library, the Wrocław University Library, the Library of the Maria Curie Skłodowska University in Lublin, the Library of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, the Library of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, the Library of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, the Library, Museum and Archives of the Stanisław Moniuszko Warsaw Music Society in Warsaw, the Library of the Warsaw School of Economics in Warsaw, the Library of the Stanisław Leszczyński Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, the Library of the Mathematical Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, the Central Agricultural Library in Warsaw, the Stefan Szulc Central Statistical Library in Warsaw, the Central Military Library in Warsaw, the Stanisław Konopka Main Medical Library in Warsaw, the Cieszyn Library in Cieszyn, the Stanisław Staszic Pomeranian Library in Szczecin, the Princes Czartoryski Library – National Museum in Krakow, the Department of Old Prints, Manuscripts and Cartography – National Museum in Krakow, the Zieliński Library of the Płock Scientific Society in Płock, the Nicolaus Copernicus Public Provincial Library in Toruń, the Emanuel Smolka Provincial Public Library in Opole, the Hieronim Łopaciński Provincial Public Library in Lublin, The Joseph Conrad Voivodeship and City Public Library in Gdansk, the Provincial and Municipal Library in Białystok, Provincial Public Library in Kielce, the Cyprian Kamil Norwid Provincial and Municipal Public Library in Zielona Góra and the Provincial and Municipal Public Library in Bydgoszcz.

³¹ *Minister of Art and Culture Regulation of 27 February 2009 amending the Regulation on setting the list of libraries whose collections belong to the National Library Resource, defining the structure of the Resource and setting the rules and the scope of its special protection* [Rozporządzenie Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 27 lutego 2009 r. zmieniającego rozporządzenie w sprawie ustalenia wykazu bibliotek, których zbiory tworzą Narodowy Zespół Biblioteczny, określenia organizacji tego zasobu oraz zasad i zakresu jego szczególnej ochrony], Journal of Laws 2009, No. 44, item 356, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://dziennikustaw.gov.pl/du/2009/s/44/356>.

Resource.

The *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 4 July 2012 on the National Library Resource*³² stated that to be included in the NLR, a library resource must satisfy at least one of the following four criteria: historical value, scientific value, cultural value and artistic value. The NLR was divided into seven categories, each of which was subdivided into two price ranges – more or less than the indicated basic amount: drawings (PLN 12,000), engravings (PLN 16,000), photographs (PLN 6,000), manuscripts (PLN 4,000), publications (PLN 6,000), library collections (PLN 16,000) and other library resources (PLN 16,000).

The Regulation introduced an obligation to keep electronic records of the resources that belong to the NLR, which was based on the *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 29 October 2008 on the way of keeping records of the library resources*³³ and specified the rules for drawing up a plan – to be annually updated – on protecting these electronic resources. It also set the exact dates of executing § 4–6 which covered distinguishing resources, dividing them into categories and keeping electronic records, on 31 December 2017.

However, the document, apart from the above-mentioned details, omits the list of 56 facilities whose collections were previously included in the NLR. The list of institutions at the end of the document indicates only two facilities: the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow and the National Library in Warsaw.

Pursuant to the next document – the *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 16 September 2016 amending the Regulation on the National Library Resource*,³⁴ five libraries were subsequently added to the NLR, along with the exact date of execution for each of them: Elbląg Library of Cyprian Norwid in Elbląg (until 31 December 2018), the Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Science in Cracow (until 31 December 2021), the library of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (until 31 December 2017), the Library of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław (until 31 December 2021) and the Provincial Public Library in Kielce³⁵ (until 31 December 2017).

In July 2017, pursuant to the *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 19 July 2017 amending the Regulation on National Library Resource*,³⁶ the Silesian Library in Katowice and the Michał Oczapowski Central Agricultural Library in Warsaw were added to the NLR, where the former was to be implemented until 31 December 2020 while the second one until 31 December 2022.

The part of the NLR which does not include monuments is subject to specific provisions concerning the temporary export of its resources beyond Polish borders. These are stated in the *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 16 August 2017 on the temporary licence to*

³² *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 4 July 2012 on the National Library Resource*, [Rozporządzenie Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 4 lipca 2012 r. w sprawie narodowego zasobu bibliotecznego], Journal of Laws 2012, item 797, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20120000797>.

³³ *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 29 October 2008 on the way of keeping records of the library resources*.

³⁴ *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 16 September 2016 amending Regulation on the National Library Resource*, [Rozporządzenie Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 16 września 2016 r. zmieniającego rozporządzenie w sprawie narodowego zasobu bibliotecznego], Journal of Laws 2016, item 1548, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20160001548>.

³⁵ Each of the mentioned libraries appeared on the list from 1998.

³⁶ *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 19 July 2017 amending Regulation on the National Library Resource*, [Rozporządzenie Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 19 lipca 2017 r. zmieniającego rozporządzenie w sprawie narodowego zasobu bibliotecznego] Journal of Laws 2017, item 1439, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20170001439>.

export beyond the border library resources that belong to the National Library Resource and are not monuments.³⁷ It consists of three appendixes which present sample applications³⁸ and explain how to fill them out.

The most recent document applicable to the NLR is the *Notice of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 3 October 2017 on publication of the consolidated text of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation on the National Library Resource*.³⁹ The document consolidates texts of the Regulations of 4 July 2012, 16 September 2016 and 19 July 2018 and the list consists of nine libraries mentioned in the previous texts (two in 2012, five in 2016, two in 2017).

National Library Resource Council

The Act of 27 June 1997 established a body known as the National Library Resource Council, which is composed of representatives of nine institutions: the National Library (director – chairman), the Jagiellonian Library, the Library of the Ossoliński National Institute, the National Library Council, the Minister of Art and Culture, the Minister of National Education, the Chairman of the State Committee for Scientific Research, the President of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Main Director of the State Archives. The role of the Council, which acts under rules and regulations, is to assess proposals from libraries that want to join the NLR and the system of information about the NLR, and to prepare and accept programmes of work concerning the NLR. The rules and regulations are included in the *Minister of Culture and National Heritage Disposition of 1 March 2012 on the Rules and Regulations of the National Library Resource Council*.⁴⁰ This document specifies the frequency of Council meetings, rules for the se-

³⁷ Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation of 16 August 2017 on the temporary licence to export beyond the border library resources that belong to the National Library Resource and are not monuments, [Rozporządzenie Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 16 sierpnia 2017 r. w sprawie pozwoleń na czasowy wywóz za granicę materiałów bibliotecznych wchodzących w skład narodowego zasobu bibliotecznego i niestanowiących zabytków], Journal of Laws, item 1695, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20170001695>.

³⁸ These are as follows: App. 1 – A single licence on temporary export beyond the border of library resources that belong to the National Library Resource and are not monuments within the meaning of section 3.1 of the Act of 23 July 2003 on the protection and care of monuments [Jednorazowe pozwolenie na czasowy wywóz za granicę materiału bibliotecznego wchodzącego w skład Narodowego Zasobu Bibliotecznego i niestanowiącego zabytku w rozumieniu Art. 3 pkt 1 Ustawy z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami], (Journal of Laws 2014, item 1446 as amended); App. 2 – A multiple individual licence on temporary export beyond the border of library resources that belong to the National Library Resource and are not monuments within the meaning of section 3.1 of the Act of 23 July 2003 on the protection and care of monuments [Wielokrotne pozwolenie indywidualne na czasowy wywóz za granicę materiału bibliotecznego wchodzącego w skład Narodowego Zasobu Bibliotecznego i niestanowiącego zabytku w rozumieniu Art. 3 pkt 1 Ustawy z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami], (Journal of Laws 2014, item 1446 as amended); App. 3 – A multiple general licence on temporary export beyond the border of library resources that belong to the National Library Resource and are not monuments within the meaning of section 3.1 of the Act of 23 July 2003 on the protection and care of monuments [Wielokrotne pozwolenie ogólne na czasowy wywóz za granicę materiałów bibliotecznych wchodzących w skład Narodowego Zasobu Bibliotecznego i niestanowiących zabytków w rozumieniu Art. 3 pkt 1 Ustawy z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami] (Journal of Laws 2014, item 1446 as amended).

³⁹ Notice of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage dated 3 October 2017 on publication of the consolidated text of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage Regulation on the National Library Resource [Obwieszczenie Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 3 października 2017 r. w sprawie ogłoszenia jednolitego tekstu rozporządzenia Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego w sprawie narodowego zasobu bibliotecznego], Journal of Laws, item 1948, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20170001948>.

⁴⁰ Minister of Culture and National Heritage Disposition of 1 March 2012 on the Rules and Regulations of the National Library Resource Council [Zarządzenie Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 1 marca 2012 r. w sprawie Regulaminu Rady do Spraw Narodowego Zasobu Bibliotecznego], accessed 7 January 2019, http://g.ekspert.infor.pl/p/_dane/akty_pdf/U26/2012/3/6.pdf#zoom=90.

lection of the vice-chairman, duties of the chairman, rules governing the invitation of guests, the formation of working parties, the preparation of programmes of work, the creation of minutes and reports, the tasks of the Council and the unpaid character of participation in the Council. It also covers funds, as well as the technical and administrative infrastructure. The first Council was appointed for the 1999–2003 term and was composed of the following members: Michał Jagiello – Director General of the National Library (Chairman); Teresa Malik – Deputy Director of the Jagiellonian Library (Vice-chairman); Joanna Pasztaleniec-Jarzyńska – Deputy Director of the National Library (Secretary); Dr Dobrosława Platt – Deputy Director of the Ossoliński National Institute; Professor Jan Malicki – Director of the Silesian Library and representative of the National Library Council; Dr Magdalena Ślusarska – a representative of the Ministry of Culture; Elżbieta Dudzińska – Director of the Main Library of the Warsaw University of Technology and representative of the Chairman of the State Committee for Scientific Research; Dr Andrzej Ładomirski – Director of the Wrocław University Library until 30 June 2002 and representative of the Ministry of National Education and Sport; Professor Stanisław Sierpowski – Director of the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kórnik and representative of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Dr Andrzej Biernat – General Director of the Main Directorate for the National Archives and representative of the Main Director of the State Archives. (Professor Jerzy Wislocki was a member of the Council until September 2001 when he resigned his post in the Council on retirement.)⁴¹

The Council was not appointed for the years 2004–2006. During its second term, 2007–2011, the following people were appointed to the Council: Dr Tomasz Makowski – Director General of the National Library (Chairman); Dr Andrzej Biernat; Mariusz Dworsatschek – Deputy Director of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław; Professor Jan Malicki; Professor Adam Manikowski – former Director of the National Library; Ewa Potrzebnicka – Deputy Director of the National Library; Professor Zdzisław Pietrzyk – Director of the Jagiellonian Library; Professor Kazimierz Sępień; and Grażyna Anna Piotrowicz.⁴²

In the course of the third term, 2012–2016, the Council was represented by: Dr Tomasz Makowski (Chairman); Professor Zdzisław Pietrzyk (Vice-chairman); Dr Mariusz Dworsatschek; Dr Zina Jarmoszuk – Director of the Department of State Patronage, Ministry of Culture and National Heritage; Dr Jan Kozłowski – a Minister's Counsellor in the Department of Strategy, Ministry of Science and Higher Education; Professor Jan Malicki; Beata Pawłowska – Director of the General Education Department, Ministry of National Education; Dr Ewa Perlakowska – Director of the Department of Development of the National Archive Resources, the Main Directorate for National Archives; Ewa Potrzebnicka; Dr Zofia Tylewska-Ostrowska – Director of the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences.⁴³

In its current (2016–2020) term, the Council is represented by: Dr Tomasz Makowski (the chairman); Monika Tlustowska – a Minister's Counsellor in the Department of Manuals, Curriculums and Innovation (pl. *Departament Podręczników, Programów i Innowacji*), Ministry of National Education; Dr Jan Kozłowski – a Minister's Counsellor in the Department of Innovation

⁴¹ DĄBROWSKI, Waldemar. The answer to an inquiry on the National Library Resource Council [Odpowiedź na zapytanie w sprawie Rady ds. Narodowego Zasobu Bibliotecznego], accessed 7 January 2019, <http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/IZ4.nsf/main/296C501C>.

⁴² *National Library Report for 2007* [*Sprawozdanie Biblioteki Narodowej za rok 2007*], accessed 7 January 2019, <http://www.bn.org.pl/download/document/1234173454.pdf>, p. 172–173.

⁴³ *National Library Report for 2015* [*Sprawozdanie Biblioteki Narodowej za rok 2015*], accessed 7 January 2019, <http://www.bn.org.pl/download/document/1465472741.pdf>, p. 192.

and Development, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education; Mateusz Adamkowski – Director of the Department of State Patronage, Ministry of Culture and National Heritage; Dr Henryk Niestrój – Deputy of the Main Director of the State Archives; Ewa Potrzebicka – National Library Resource Attorney of the Director General of the National Library, National Library; Professor Zdzisław Pietrzyk; Dr Mariusz Dworsatschek; PhD. Zofia Tylewska-Ostrowska; Professor Jan Malicki – Director of the Silesian Library, National Library Council.⁴⁴

Actual situation

In 2008 – 10 years after the first Regulation on the NLR was issued – Renata Piejko carried out research on the achievements with regards to the protection of special resources during these 10 years. The results of her survey, published in the magazine “Library”,⁴⁵ indicated a number of problems with which libraries deal. Out of 55 surveys sent out, 38 facilities returned them filled in. The survey contained 12 questions, including one open question, about the scope of the institution’s collection, methods used for storing and protecting it, and the sharing of resources. The answers indicated that only seven libraries had established NLR commissions, 20 libraries held NLR collections that were specifically secured, and 21 libraries had created a special programme for the protection of their resources. The author concluded that “the National Library Resource [...], requires constant work, efforts and care”.⁴⁶

Ewa Stachowska-Musiał, who attempted to sum up 10 years of NLR activity, pointed out⁴⁷ that there was no top-down coordination of activities related to the Resource in Poland, giving the UK and its “National Preservation Office” as an example of best practice. However, the research carried out by the Central Military Library in Warsaw showed that 84.4% of the investigated libraries⁴⁸ provided information about completing works related to selection of NLR collections. During completion, 78.2% took historical value as the basic criterion, while 56.2% developed a plan of protection. Libraries obtained finance for NLR works via their own resources (for as many as 91.2 % of them), from local authorities (for 5.9%) and from subsidies (for only 2.9%). Respondents highlighted problems with premises, as well as financial and personal⁴⁹ issues as the most common difficulties.

The librarians discussed the NLR issue several times during training and at conferences. We should mention, among other things, a training for directors of libraries whose collections were

⁴⁴ *The council members in the course of 2016-2020 term* [Skład Rady w kadencji 2016–2020], accessed 7 January 2019, <http://www.bn.org.pl/dla-bibliotekarzy/rada-ds.-narodowego-zasobu-bibliotecznego/sklad-rady-w-kadencji-2016-2020>.

⁴⁵ PIEJKO, Renata. Narodowy Zasób Biblioteczny – doświadczenia dziesięciu lat. In: *Biblioteka*, No. 12 (21), 2008, p. 117–127.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁴⁷ STACHOWSKA-MUSIAŁ Ewa. *National Library Resource – experiences of 10 years* [Narodowy Zasób Biblioteczny – koncepcja a realizacja]. In: *Librarian* [Bibliotekarz], No. 2, 2008, p. 2–6.

⁴⁸ These were: The Central Military Library, Provincial Library in Kielce, the Main Library of Warsaw University of Technology in Warsaw, the Main Library of AGH University of Science and Technology, the Central Agricultural Library, the Central Library of Geography and Environmental Protection, the Library of the Theatre Museum in Warsaw, the Library of the Castle Museum in Łańcut, the Princes Czartoryski Library, the Provincial and Municipal Public Library in Bydgoszcz and the Jagiellonian Library (*ibid.*, p. 6).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

part of the NLR (Cracow 2001)⁵⁰ as well as those organised by Marshall Józef Piłsudski of the Central Military Library in Warsaw under the titles *Protection of the National Library Resource: Digitalization and ... what next?* (2011)⁵¹ and *Protection of the National Library Resource in the times of peace, a crisis and a war* (2012).⁵²

In a text published in 2017,⁵³ Katarzyna Sikora presented a very important aspect of the NLR's definition and protection. She concluded that actual methods of protecting especially library resources *will increase probability of destruction of these components of cultural heritage*.⁵⁴

The most recent event discussing NLR-related issues was a conference organised by the National Library on 12 October 2017. The subjects of the speeches were related to: NLR history; the storage, protection and creation of the NLR Central Basis, and the application procedure.⁵⁵ Materials from the meeting have not yet been published.

At present, collections from nine libraries are included in the NLR. Their participation in the NLR is presented below.

- National Library (entry pursuant to the *Regulation of 2012*).

The *Statute of the National Library* indicates the facility's collections which are included in the NLR: §14. "The collections that are subject to perpetual archiving belong to the National Library Resource,"⁵⁶ while §9 explains the term of 'perpetual archiving': §9. The library perpetually archives only one copy of both Polish library resources and those that concern Poland but were created abroad.⁵⁷

- Jagiellonian Library (entry pursuant to the *Regulation of 2012*).

Clause 1(2) of the *Jagiellonian Library Rules and Regulations* states that "part of its collection belongs to the National Library Resource".⁵⁸ Furthermore § 9. defines the resource belonging to the NLR as "The collection of archived copies, which has been in existence since 1969, is subject to perpetual archiving and belongs to the National Library Resource".⁵⁹

A detailed document defining the exact resources included in the NLR is *Okólnik no. 2*,

⁵⁰ Post-training materials: SAŁACIŃSKI, Krzysztof (ed.). *Protection of the National Library Resource: materials and documents of the training for directors of libraries whose collections in full or in part belong to National Library Resource, Cracow: April 2001* [Ochrona Narodowego Zasobu Bibliotecznego: materiały i dokumenty ze szkolenia dyrektorów bibliotek, których zbiory w całości lub w części tworzą Narodowy Zespół Biblioteczny, Kraków, kwiecień 2001 r.], Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Bibliotekarzy Polskich, 2001. ISBN 8387629758.

⁵¹ Conference proceedings: CZEKAJ-WIŚNIEWSKA, Beata (ed.). *Protection of National Library Resource: digitalization and ... what next?* [Ochrona narodowego zasobu bibliotecznego: digitalizacja i... co dalej? materiały pokonferencyjne], Warsaw: Centralna Biblioteka Wojskowa im. Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego, 2011. ISBN 9788363050047.

⁵² Conference proceedings: CZEKAJ-WIŚNIEWSKA, Beata (ed.). *Protection of National Library Resource in the time of a peace, a crisis and a war* [Ochrona Narodowego Zasobu Bibliotecznego w czasie pokoju, kryzysu i wojny, materiały pokonferencyjne], Warsaw: Centralna Biblioteka Wojskowa im. Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego, 2012. ISBN 9788363050092.

⁵³ SIKORA, Katarzyna. Library Materials, Museum Exhibit, Historic Monuments. A Few Remarks about Legal Definitions and the Law Protection [Materiały biblioteczne a muzealia i zabytki. Kilka uwag o definicjach legalnych i ochronie prawnej]. In: *Toruń Bibliological Studies* [Toruńskie Studia Bibliologiczne]. No 1 (18), 2017, p. 119–134.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 132.

⁵⁵ Detailed agenda is available on the site: *We invite you to the conference "Creating National Library Resource". News – National Library* [Zapraszamy na konferencję „Tworzenie Narodowego Zasobu Bibliotecznego”. Aktualności – Biblioteka Narodowa], accessed 7 January 2019, <http://www.bn.org.pl/aktualnosci/1410-zapraszamy-na-konferencje-tworzenie-narodowego-zasobu-bibliotecznego.html>.

⁵⁶ BN Statute – National Library [Statut BN – Biblioteka Narodowa], accessed 7 January 2019, <http://www.bn.org.pl/o-bn/statut-bn>.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ *Jagiellonian Library Rules and Regulations* [Regulamin Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej], p. 3.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

published by the Director of the Jagiellonian Library on 8 November 2000. According to this document, its NLR collections consist of: the collection of manuscripts (in its entirety); the collection of old prints (in its entirety); the collection of drawings, engravings, bookplates and photographs (in its entirety); the collection of prints from the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century [up to 1945]: non-serial prints, series, periodicals and leaflets (in its entirety); Polish prints from the years 1945–1968: non-serial prints, series, periodicals, social life documents, company literature, standards and patents (in its entirety); dedicated resources of Polish prints published since 1969: non-serial prints, series, periodicals, social life documents, company literature, standards and patents; dedicated collection of valuable and rare prints “rara”; the dedicated collection of so-called “underground” documents; foreign *polonica* (Poland-related) documents published post-1945; and the collection of Polish audiovisual and electronic documents created since 1997.⁶⁰

The library has digitized the most valuable and the most damaged of the NLR-included collections as part of the projects “Jagiellonian Digital Library”⁶¹ and “Digitizing National Resource of the Jagiellonian Library [“Digitalizacja Narodowego Zasobu w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej”] (stage 1: March–November 2013 – financed by the programme of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage for 2013 entitled “Cultural Heritage, priority 6: Protection and digitization of the cultural heritage”; stage 2: March–November 2015 – financed by the programme of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage for 2015 entitled: “Cultural Heritage, priority: Protection and digitization of the cultural heritage”).

The National Library collaborates with the Jagiellonian Library on the “Patrimonium” project, which is co-financed as part of the Operational Programme Digital Poland Objective 2.3 “Digital availability and usefulness of public sector information”, Subobjective 2.3.2 “Digital access to cultural resources”. The aim of the project is to enable access to digital versions of library resources which are treated as valuable and unique Polish cultural heritage. Digitized and accessible cultural resources will come from the collections of the two biggest Polish libraries: the National Library (NL) and the Jagiellonian Library (JL), whose collections, based on the Act and secondary legislations, are included in the National Library Resource due to their unique value and importance.⁶²

- Elbląg Library of Cyprian Norwid in Elbląg (entry pursuant to the *Regulation of 2016*).

The information about the part of this library’s collections included in the NLR and the number of items therein is published both on the library’s website, which records “9,022 volumes: manuscripts, incunables (among which 14 volumes are the only copies in Poland) and old prints (sixteenth-eighteenth centuries)⁶³ and in two documents describing the functioning of

⁶⁰ *Collections included in the project – Jagiellonian Library* [Zbiory objęte projektem – Biblioteka Jagiellońska], accessed 7 January 2019, <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/text?id=info-zbiory&language=en>.

⁶¹ *Jagiellonian Digital Library* [Jagiellońska Biblioteka Cyfrowa], accessed 7 January 2019, <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra>. *Digitizing National Resource of the Jagiellonian Library – Jagiellonian Library of the Jagiellonian University* [Digitalizacja Narodowego Zasobu w BJ – Biblioteka Jagiellońska Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego], accessed 7 January 2019, <http://www.bj.uj.edu.pl/digitalizacja-narodowego-zasobu-w-bj>.

⁶² *About project – National Library* [O projekcie – Biblioteka Narodowa], accessed 7 January 2019, <http://www.bn.org.pl/patrimonium/o-projekcie/>; *Patrimonium – Jagiellonian Library of the Jagiellonian University* [Patrimonium – Biblioteka Jagiellońska Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego], accessed 7 January 2019, <http://www.bj.uj.edu.pl/Patrimonium#>.

⁶³ *Historical collections of the Elbląg Library are the most precious in Poland* [Zabytkowe zbiory Biblioteki Elbląskiej najcenniejsze w Polsce], accessed 5 January 2019, <http://www.bibliotekaelblaska.pl/news/zabytkowe-zbiory-biblioteki-elblaskiej-najcenniejsze-w-polsce.html>.

the institution: *Rules and regulations of enabling access to the collections of the Elbląg library of Cyprian Norwid in Elbląg* (§8)⁶⁴ and *Organizational rules of the Elbląg Library of Cyprian Norwid in Elbląg*.⁶⁵

Some of these items are accessible on the Elbląg Digital Library platform in the collection “Historical resources”:

“Historical resources” of the Elbląg Library is a very valuable collection of incunables, old prints, manuscripts and mainly German periodicals from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A substantial collection of Bibles (around 160 editions in different languages), Pastoral Epistles, songs, Gospels, may be used as an invaluable material for research by theologians. Furthermore, the library owns sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Latin writings of Saint Augustine of Hippo, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, and the letters of the Popes Pius II, Boniface VIII and Leo I, which are used in studies on the history of Church doctrine. A significant part of the collections is philosophical treatises of the classics of thought: Aristotle, René Descartes, Baruch Spinoza, Plato, Seneca the Younger, and the works of Euclid, which are fundamental for the modern geometry. Among the books from the eighteenth century or later, there are mainly German publications concerning theory and history of literature, lexicology, linguistics, literature (German classics, translations of Polish works into German), geography, science and history. The collections of musical documents and cartographic resources are unique in terms of source and cognition. The historic resources amount to 57,000 units.⁶⁶

- Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Science in Cracow (entry pursuant to the *Regulation of 2016*).

Based on a decision taken at the meeting of the NLR Council on 18 December 2014, drawings, illustrations and bookplates, manuscripts, parchment diplomas, incunables and old prints were included in the Resource.

- The University Library in Poznań (entry pursuant to the *Regulation of 2016*).

Manuscripts of the medieval codices, which are stored in the Manuscripts Workshop [Pracownia Rękopisów] of the Special Collections Department [Oddział Zbiorów Specjalnych], were entered into the NLR register.⁶⁷ The rules and regulations state that the reading room is the only place where they can be used.⁶⁸

- Library of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław (entry pursuant to the *Regulation of 2016*)

The Library of the Ossoliński National Institute gives information about its collections included in the NLR via its electronic catalogue of resources.⁶⁹ After choosing *Collections/provenances* [Kolekcje/prowienicje] from the list of search types [Typ wyszukiwania] and entering “naro-

⁶⁴ *Rules and regulations of enabling access to the collections of the Elbląg library of Cyprian Norwid in Elbląg* [Regulamin udostępniania zbiorów Biblioteki Elbląskiej im. Cypriana Norwida w Elblągu], accessed 5 January 2019, <http://bip.bibel.pl/regulaminy/wpis/regulamin-udostepniania-zbiorow>.

⁶⁵ *Organizational rules of the Elbląg Library of Cyprian Norwid in Elbląg* [Regulamin organizacyjny Biblioteki Elbląskiej im. Cypriana Norwida w Elblągu], accessed 5 January 2019, <http://bip.bibel.pl/regulaminy/wpis/regulamin-organizacyjny>.

⁶⁶ *Elbląg Digital Library – historical resources*, [Elbląska Biblioteka Cyfrowa – Zbiory zabytkowe], accessed 5 January 2019, <http://dlibra.bibliotekaelblaska.pl/dlibra/collectiondescription?dirids=43>.

⁶⁷ *University Library's activity report for 2016* [Sprawozdanie z działalności Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej za rok 2016], accessed 7 January 2019, http://lib.amu.edu.pl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=531&Itemid=77, p. 5.

⁶⁸ *The University Library in Poznań – rules and regulations of enabling access* [Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu – Regulamin udostępniania], accessed 5 January 2019, http://lib.amu.edu.pl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=531&Itemid=77.

⁶⁹ *Ossoliński National Institute* [Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich], accessed 13 January 2019, <http://ossolineum.pl/old/katalog/>.

dowy zasób biblioteczny” in the terms [*Terminy*] field, the user receives information about the number of resources. On 13 January 2017 there were 8,155 items so described.

- Witold Gombrowicz Provincial Public Library in Kielce (entry pursuant to the *Regulation* of 2016)

A collection of old prints and books from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which form the Kolekcja Sancygniowska [Sancygniów collection]⁷⁰ was included in the NLR.

- Silesian Library in Katowice (entry pursuant to the *Regulation* of 2017)

The institution enables access to some of its NLR collections through the Silesian Internet Library of Rare Collections,⁷¹ which is integrated with the Silesian Digital Library.⁷² The platform is supposed to contain ultimately 27,000 publications.

- Michał Oczapowski Central Agricultural Library in Warsaw (entry pursuant to the *Regulation* of 2017)

The following collections of the library were entered into the NLR register: old prints (items issued from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) – 824 volumes; *polonica* from the nineteenth century (items published between 1801 and 1900); the Warsaw collection, comprising 2,173 volumes of monographs and 681 volumes of periodicals from 96 journal titles; the Puławy collection, comprising 6,291 volumes of monographs and 2,013 vol. of periodicals from 196 journal titles.⁷³

Conclusions

In the year 1998, when the first regulation on the NLR was published, the libraries included in the Resource constituted 0.5% of all the facilities in Poland (58 ÷ 12,500), a proportion which had barely changed in 2009 – 0.5% (59 ÷ 12,577). The percentage share had decreased substantially to 0.02% (2 ÷ 10,049) by 2012, when under the new regulation only two facilities were entered onto the NLR list. In 2016, five libraries were added to the NLR, increasing the percentage of libraries included in the Resource to 0.1% (7 out of 9,567 facilities). At present, the list consists of 10 libraries. However, taking into consideration only a slight decrease in the total number of libraries, no noteworthy percentage increase was observed. We should remember that the list from 1998 included 56 units – exceptional for Polish librarianship, history, culture and science – which constituted around 0.45% of the much greater number of libraries (12,500).

It is worth noting that at the end of 2017 a special conference dedicated to the NLR was organised. We can only express our hope that new libraries will submit their applications to enter their collections into the NLR, because it is not possible to think about the National Resource without mentioning the Princes Czartoryski Library, the Kórnik Library or provincial

⁷⁰ More about the collection – see: PIASECKA, Bożena. National Library Resource in the Witold Gombrowicz Provincial Public Library in Kielce [Narodowy Zasób Biblioteczny w Wojewódzkiej Bibliotece Publicznej im. Witolda Gombrowicza w Kielcach]. In: *Świętokrzyskie Woivodeship – environment, national heritage, regional education* [Świętokrzyskie – Środowisko, Dziedzictwo Kulturowe, Edukacja Regionalna], No. 20 (24), 2012, p. 100–104, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://sbc.wbp.kielce.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=39199>.

⁷¹ *Silesian Internet Library of Rare Collections* [Śląska Internetowa Biblioteka Zbiorów Zabytkowych], accessed 8 January 2018, <http://sibzz.bs.katowice.pl/czytaj/91>.

⁷² *Silesian Digital Library* [Śląska Biblioteka Cyfrowa], accessed 8 January 2019, <https://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra>.

⁷³ *Resources of CBR included in the collections of the National Resource Library* [Zbiory CBR zaliczone do Narodowego Zasobu Bibliotecznego], accessed 8 January 2019, <https://www.cbr.gov.pl/index.php/aktual/wydarzenia/item/846-zbiory-cbr-zaliczone-do-narodowego-zasobu-bibliotecznego.html?highlight=Wyj%YXJvZG93ZWdvIiwieFzb2J1IiwibmFyb2Rvd2VnbYB6YXNvYnUiXQ==>.

and monastery libraries. One good suggestion for the protection of valuable resources is the idea of creating a National Treasures List, which is included in the *Act of 10 July 2015 amending the Act on the monument protection and care and the Act on museums*,⁷⁴ where section 14a.1 states:

the Heritage Treasures List includes movable historical objects of special value for the cultural heritage, which fall into one of the categories described in the section 64.1 based on the decision issued by the minister competent for culture and national heritage protection, ex officio or on the request of the owner of a movable historical object.⁷⁵

Due to the movable character of library resources, this section may be also apply to them.

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⁷⁴ *Act of 10 July 2015 amending the Act on the monuments protection and care and the Act on museums* [Ustawa z dnia 10 lipca 2015 r. o zmianie ustawy o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami oraz ustawy o muzeach], Journal of Laws 2016, item 1330, accessed 7 January 2019, <http://www.dziennikustaw.gov.pl/du/2016/1330/1>.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

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Between East and West: Karel Chytil as Museologist, Educator, and Art Historian

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Between East and West: Karel Chytil as Museologist, Educator, and Art Historian

Adapted version of the text presented at the colloquium organised in Prague on 12 November 2019 by the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences (CAS) on the 85th anniversary of PhDr. Karel Chytil's death. The text deals with the institutional and cultural political aspects of Chytil's career as an art historian, museologist, and lecturer.

Keywords: Chytil Karel, art history and historiography, Viennese school, historic preservation, history of museology, Czechoslovakia's artistic culture, museums of decorative arts

Had it not been for a few occasional texts, mainly obituaries and profiles in specialised encyclopedias,¹ Karel Chytil² would lack any kind of recognition. It is all the more surprising that there is still no complex monograph and, at the same time, universal critique as well as fair appreciation, considering how prominent a figure he was in the field of the Czech scientific and artistic culture at the end of the nineteenth and in the first third of the twentieth centuries. This

¹ WIRTH, Zdeněk. Karel Chytil. In: *Umění* 8, 1934. no. 1, p. 8.; Id. *Karel Chytil* (2. VII. 1934). In: *Český časopis historický* 40, 1934, pp. 662–664; BIRNBAUM, Vojtěch. Prof. Dr. Karel Chytil. In: *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností* 42, 1934, pp. 142–143; MATĚJČEK, Antonín. Karel Chytil. In: *Ročenka Krubu pro pěstování dějin umění za rok 1934*. Praha, 1935, pp. 3–15; KRÁSA, Josef. Karel Chytil. In: CHADRABA, Rudolf, KRÁSA, Josef – ŠVÁCHA, Rostislav (eds.): *Kapitoly z českého dějepisného umění* 1. Praha, 1986, pp. 172–180.

² Karel Chytil (1857–1934) was born in Prague. He graduated from grammar school and then he studied history and geography at the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague (1875–1878). He spent the academic year 1878–1879 at the Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung in Vienna (1878–1879), where he attended Moritz Thausing's lectures, which resulted in him directing his focus from history to history of art. He was the head of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, and a director there from 1895 to 1911. Between 1887 and 1903 he was a correspondent at k. k. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst und historischen Denkmale in Vienna. From 1888 to 1896 he was an art history professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague, and from 1911 a full professor and the head of the Institute of Art History at the Czech University in Prague, where he was employed until his retirement in 1927.

text, although by no means comprehensive, was instigated by outer interest,³ and allows us to remind the reader, without claiming completeness, of one of the important, or even determining, aspects of his intellectual biography, which can be symbolically expressed by the polarity *East–West*. It is focused on Chytil's sociability, not the methods of his work, i.e. it is about his social contacts, institutional position, and the aspects of his public activity. Therefore, under *East* and *West*, we should imagine two cultural-historical, or better yet, cultural political contexts which meet in his biography. A fixed border between the two is represented by year 1918, when the independent country of Czechoslovakia was established, which significantly changed the symbolic validity of *East* and *West*. However, there are documents which reveal the crossing of that time boundary, and which, at the same time, corroborate it. There is a letter from 15 May 1927, addressed to Chytil by an important German scholar, Aby Warburg (1866–1929), in which he expressed his interest in certain materials from the era of Rudolf II, which he wanted to see on his trip around Germany, during which he would pass through Prague.⁴ This way, Warburg approached the “pre-coup” Chytil, who belonged to the late era of neo-absolutism with its integrity of fine arts in the German-speaking territory, but also Chytil as the ex-director of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, and Chytil during the first stage of his life, the fame of which pervaded to the second, post-coup stage.

The focus will now be directed towards the first major stage of Chytil's career and the way *East* and *West* were thematised in that period of his life. Chytil's socio-professional status at that time, which determines the realisation of the eastern or western orientation, can be understood if we bring to mind the well-known fact that until the end of the First World War there were— from the point of view of exclusiveness and social prestige as well as economic success—only two types of environment where an art historian from Central Europe could find employment. The first of these was universities, and the second one central museum institutions and partly central institutions of state historic preservation.⁵ Drawn from the major schools of art history,⁶ these were art history graduates of the *Viennese school*, i.e. students R. Eitelberger, M. Thausing, F. Wickhoff, A. Riegl, M. Dvořák and J. Schlosser, who graduated by passing rigorous exams and by defending their doctoral theses, which was not the case for Chytil as he,

³ Adapted text of the contribution presented at the colloquium held on the occasion of the 85th anniversary of Chytil's death at the Institute of Art History CAS in Prague on 12 November 2019. The colloquium was instigated by Jana Marešová in relation to the termination of the processing of one part of Karel Chytil's estate, deposited in the Institute of Art History CAS. I owe my appearance at the colloquium to prof. PhDr. Lubomír Slavíček, CSc. Publication of the contribution was made possible by the university development project at the Faculty of Architecture at Brno University of Technology no. AD152012002.

⁴ National Museum Archive in Prague, Karel Chytil fund, inventory no. 609.

⁵ From 1887, Karel Chytil was a correspondent for Bohemia at the Vienna Central Committee, which dealt with heritage preservation. In 1903, he was appointed a conservationist of the second section of the committee for the districts of Čáslav, Chrudim, Litomyšl and Polička, and in 1909 he became a correspondent again. BRÜCKLER, Theodor, NIMETH, Ulrike (eds.): *Personenlexikon zur Österreichischen Denkmalspflege (1850–1990)*. Wien, 2001, p. 40.

⁶ The oldest department of art history in German-speaking countries was established in 1813 at the University of Göttingen, followed by Královec (1825, and from 1830 full professorship), Berlin (1844), Vienna (from 1852 extraordinary professor, from 1863 full professor), Bonn (1860), Strasbourg (1871), Leipzig (1872), Prague (1874), and Basel (1874). Other academic workplaces in German-speaking countries were generated later, for example, in Heidelberg, Freiburg im Breisgau, Nuremberg or Würzburg, etc. DILLY, Heinrich. *Kunstgeschichte als Institution. Studie zur Geschichte einer Disziplin*, Frankfurt am Main, 1979; KUMMER, Stefan. *Die Anfänge der Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Würzburg*. In: *Anfänge der geschichtlichen Forschung an der Universität Würzburg. 150 Jahre Historisches Institut. 100 Jahre Kunstgeschichtliches Institut*. Historische Studien der Universität Würzburg, Mainfränkische Hefte 109, Regensburg, 2010, pp. 9–62.

in spite of studying art history in Vienna, graduated in Prague.⁷ There were approximately 160 of them between 1872 and 1933, from Albert Ilg to Hans Gombrich. What is interesting about them is their careers either as lecturers or custodians of special libraries and art collections, which have their hierarchy. The first places to be occupied were imperial collections and picture galleries in Vienna or Berlin, and then the graduates spread to the peripheries which meant Frankfurt, Bonn and Galicia (a historical region between Central and Eastern Europe). The exceptions were private scholars like Vincenc Kramář, or members of the nobility, whose careers were not important for their financial security. This small group of prominent intellectuals, together with art history graduates from other schools, including both universities in Prague, represented the field of art history in Central Europe until the 1930s. Their public activity was proven not only by international art history congresses, because just as the community of historians divides itself in two professional groups—academics and museologists—they also searched for and found specific forms of professional activity directed inwards, towards the inside of the professionally closed community, as well as outwards, towards the public. As the end of the nineteenth century was approaching, more art history departments were emerging in German-speaking countries, as were public art museums, museums of decorative arts and galleries. A common field of both academics and museologists is *science*; in the case of science in a museum, it was fully within Wirth's intentions of the characterisation of Karel Chytil, who "built the first science-based and ordered department in the museum of decorative arts [within Czech land]."⁸

It was, thus, the museum sphere as a specific society of its partakers—art historians who were professionally shaped in museology—into which Chytil was integrated. Art museums formed important cultural and explorational centers—the task now, however, was to interconnect them, to create a network among them, which was achieved by Austrian museums of decorative arts at the turn of the twentieth century. The uniqueness of these lies in the fact that they did not limit themselves to capital cities only—we can mention Liberec, Brno or Opava, because they had close and intensive connections due to the director of the museum of decorative arts in Brno, Julius Leisching (1865–1933), who was an outstanding organiser.⁹ Those who partook in the work of museums of decorative arts, including Chytil, used to meet regularly—and we should not get confused by the seemingly banal nature of some of their events, which were distant compared to the "pure" art history. For example, Karel Chytil referred to the experience with showcases for expositional purposes at the congress in Opava in 1903. However, it is such public appearances in which the modern point of view is reflected: it is an artifact in an aggregate of a public collection—and that is mainly an issue of presentation and conservation, which were the two constituents of *museology* as it was seen back then. Its highly topical component at the time was the means of public enlightenment through the museum.¹⁰

If the word *West* is understood as the civilisation standard of that time, which had been pervading from England and France through German states to Austria, then the public care of

⁷ SCHLOSSER, Julius von. *Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte. Rückblick auf ein Säkulum deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit in Österreich*. Innsbruck, 1934, pp. 213–226.

⁸ WIRTH, Z. Karel Chytil, p. 663.

⁹ KIRSCH, Otakar. Julius Leisching a jeho podíl na organizaci muzejnictví v Předlitavsku. In: *Studia historica Brunensia* 57, 2010, no. 1, pp. 15–29.

¹⁰ The aspect of popular education was accentuated in the Czech museum environment in relation to the strong stimuli from outside, namely from Germany, c.f. ŽALUD, Augustin. Kulturní politika česká a musea. In: TOBOLKA, Zdeněk Václav: *Česká politika 5. Kulturní, zvláště školské úkoly české politiky*, Praha 1913, pp. 965–969.

artistic artifacts and their collections represents that standard. This also includes professional magazines and various means of intellectual exchange, mainly congresses of museologists, but also refers to the German *Association of Museum Workers in Defence Against Counterfeiting and Unfair Trade Practices*, established in Hamburg in October 1897, and the talks which Chytil attended at that time as well as in later years.¹¹ The arbiter of the work in museums of decorative arts in the Austrian and Czech lands was Johann II, Prince of Liechtenstein, and that is why the Austrian Museums Association gave him a plaque, which was awarded during an art competition, where Karel Chytil, as one of the judges, met with Julius Leisching, Karel Lacher and Edmund Wilhelm Braun.¹² One of Central European museum director's duties from around 1900 was co-operation with industrialists and sole traders—potential patrons of museums and curatorium members—and interconnection of museum activity with the contemporary trends in industry and craft. From this point of view, attention is drawn by Chytil's talks on topics like *On schools and industrial museums and their effects on industrial development* and *On the newest style directions in decorative arts* at the meetings of *Industrial union* in Prague on 21 April 1885¹³ and 15 June 1894.¹⁴ A natural progression from this was participation in official projects, such as an edition of representative publications about the crown lands, *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*.¹⁵ The professionalisation of museum work itself belongs among western civilisation standards, which is evidenced by Chytil's student and later librarian in the *National museum*, Antonín Dolenský (1884–1956), who after coming back from a museum course in Bavaria wrote a groundbreaking text, *Estetické požadavky moderní muzeologie*.¹⁶ Others among Chytil's students were even more interested in the questions of modern museology, namely Zdeněk Wirth and Jan Hofman. In their case, museology is connected with historic preservation and the attention here is drawn by Chytil's groundbreaking act of supporting a methodical list of sights according to German (sic) models.¹⁷ An art historian employed in a museum is a public issue, which is why we see Chytil's beginnings in a museum, his publications, exhibitions,¹⁸ lectures,¹⁹ career

¹¹ *Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung des Verbandes von Museums-Beamter zur Abwehr von Fälschungen und unlauterem Geschäftsgehabren*, Hamburg [7–8 October 1898]. Neudruck, Juni 1908; *Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung des Verbandes von Museums-Beamter zur Abwehr von Fälschungen und unlauterem Geschäftsgehabren*, Wien [24–25 September 1912].

¹² ŠOPÁK, Pavel. *Prostor pro umění. Výtvarné umění na Moravě a v českém Slezsku do roku 1918 jako téma historické muzeologie*. Opava, 2016, p. 266.

¹³ National Museum Archive in Prague, Karel Chytil fund, inventory no. 704, letters from the president of the Industrial union, J. Jeřábek to Karel Chytil from 15 April, 21 April and 24 April 1885.

¹⁴ ANONYMOUS. Výroční valná hromada jednoty ku povzbuzení průmyslu v Čechách. In: *Národní listy* 34, 1894, no. 164, 16 June, p. 3. The manuscript from the lecture was preserved in Chytil's estate, see Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, archive, Karel Chytil fund, inventory no. 77.

¹⁵ Chytil's participation in the project, in relation to the tensions between the international and national elements in art history at the end of the nineteenth century, was noted by BAKOŠ, Ján. Paths and Strategies in the Historiography of Art in Central Europe. In: *ArS* 43, 2010, no. 1, p. 91.

¹⁶ DOLENSKÝ, Antonín. Estetické požadavky moderní muzeologie. *Dílo* 11, 1913, pp. 161–179. The magazine of the Union of Creative Artists, called *Dílo*, undoubtedly focused on museums and picture galleries owing to Dolenský, who became an editor in the magazine during 1912.

¹⁷ CHYTIL, Karel. O inventáři uměleckých památek. In: *Osvěta* 24, 1894, no. 8, pp. 717–727.

¹⁸ For example, a reminder of the Retrospective exhibition held as part of the General Land Centennial Exhibition in Prague in 1981, published in *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 5, 1892, no. 5, column 296.

¹⁹ Among numerous public appearances, it is necessary to point out Chytil's lecture on Czech-Italian relations, which was given during the meeting of the Czech-Italian Association for Literature and Art at the Old Town Hall on 15 February 1914 in the presence of the Italian consul and other official guests. See ANONYMOUS. Česko-italské družstvo literární a umělecké v Praze. In: *Čas* 28, 1914, no. 57, 27 February, p. 7.

advancement²⁰, etc. in domestic magazines as well as in Austrian and German ones. On the contrary, a Prague museologist sees it as his responsibility to inform foreign countries about domestic affairs.²¹ Intellectual exchange among museums in Austria and Germany is evidenced by both short notes and longer messages in Chytil's estate written by Julius Lessing, Justus Brinckmann, Gustav Pazaurek, Karel Woermann, Josef Folnesics, Hermann von Trenkwald, Hans Seger, Jacob von Falke and some other colleagues of his. The Prague museum, and particularly its glass collection, was also familiarly described by Wilhelm von Bode.²² The civilising character of this organisational effort interconnects museums in the capitals of German and Austrian states with those in Chrudim,²³ Hradec Králové, Plzeň or České Budějovice. Until the First World War, the exchange of news, organisation of travelling exhibitions, and sending of publications to museum libraries created a unique space for the realisation of modern museum work as an integral part of modern European civilisation. And it was this context of museum work in the field of decorative arts at the turn of the twentieth century which was described by Warburg in his abovementioned letter from 1927—similarly to other occasions, he addressed Edmund Wilhelm Braun and Ernst Schwedeler-Mayer, directors of leading countries in the field of decorative arts.²⁴

By *West* I also mean research topics, and it was Chytil's teacher, Alfred Woltmann (1841–1880), who would determine the directions of Chytil's research interests²⁵—notionally as well as in actual fact—in his lecture entitled *German Art in Prague* on 25 November 1876²⁶. One topic should be pointed out—as antiquarian as it may be—the topic of Prague junkers [free artists]. This was mentioned by Woltmann in his lecture, and also in a dissertation from 1879 written by Adolf Hammerschlag (1855–1879), one of Moritz Thausing's first graduates of art history, who before going to Vienna was Woltmann's and Benndorf's student at the University of Prague, similarly to Chytil.²⁷ Therefore, Chytil could not a priori disregard this topic, although his book on Prague junkers was published much later.²⁸ Chytil's pro-western orientation can also be seen in his artistic journalism and essays, for example, when he wrote for *Lumír*, a mag-

²⁰ For example, a notice about Karel Chytil being appointed a professor was published by *Der Cicerone* magazine. Halbmonatsschrift für die Interessen des Kunstforschers & Sammlers 3, 1911, p. 109.

²¹ C.f. Chytil's commentary on the opening of the Rudolphinum with the picture gallery of Patriotic Friends of the Arts Society. CHYTIL, Karel. Das Rudolphinum in Prag. In: *Kunstchronik* 20, 1884/1885, no. 21, column 357–361.

²² National Museum Archive in Prague, Karel Chytil fund, inventory no. 369, visiting card from 10 January 1896; inventory no. 747, Wilhelm von Bode's letters from 3 January 1894 and 19 January 1907.

²³ National Museum Archive in Prague, Karel Chytil fund, inventory no. 58, appointment to the function of a corresponding member of the curatorium at the Industrial museum for Eastern Bohemia in Chrudim.

²⁴ ŠOPAK, Pavel. Aby Warburg píše Edmundu Wilhelmu Braunovi. In: *Historia artium* IV. Sborník k osmdesátým narozeninám prof. PhDr. Rudolfa Chadrabý, CSc., ed. Pavol Černý, Olomouc, 2002, pp. 405–412.

²⁵ National Museum Archive in Prague, Karel Chytil fund, inventory no. 31, student's record book, lectures and seminars of Alfred Woltmann: *Kunstgeschichtliche Übungen; Kunstgeschichtliche Denkmäler in Prag; Allgemeine Kunstgeschichte; Rubens, Rembrandt und ihre Zeit; Kunst des XIX. Jahrhunderts*. C.f. the name of Karel Chytil's lecture *Rubens and Rembrandt*. Alois Jirásek remembered Woltmann's activity in Prague very positively. He also published a testimony of Czech students' protests against Woltmann. JIRÁSEK, Alois. *Z mého paměti*. Litomyšl, 1932, pp. 12–16.

²⁶ WOLTMANN, Alfred. *Deutsche Kunst in Prag. Ein Vortrag gehalten zu Prag am 25. November 1876*, Leipzig, F. A. Seemann 1877. C.f. also THAUSSING, Moritz. Alfred Woltmann. In: *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 3, 1880, pp. 357–360; ANONYMOUS. Alfred Woltmann †. In: *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 14, 1880, no. 22, p. 117.

²⁷ ANONYMOUS. Dr. Adolf Hammerschlag. In: *Montags-Revue aus Böhmen. Wochenschrift für Politik, Volkswirtschaft und Literatur* (Prag) 1, 1879, no. 9, 2 July, p. 6.

²⁸ CHYTIL, Karel. *O junkerech pražských*. Praha: Nákladem České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění 1903.

azine connected with Jaroslav Vrchlický and Julius Zeyer.²⁹

However, it was primarily the world of museums that compensated Chytil for what he was deprived of at the very beginning, when he did not pass the habilitation colloquium³⁰ on 12 July 1883, and he became a docent [associate professor] fourteen years later. After all, his two exhibitions about Rudolf II (1904 and 1912) were rightly acclaimed in German and Austrian professional periodicals and they were undoubtedly the most successful exhibition projects which got beyond the Czech borders owing to German catalogues, which ensured proper publicity to all those exclusive exhibits.³¹

Before we get to the “post-coup” Chytil, it is also necessary to mention the *East* from the title, with particular reference to the era of the First World War, or more precisely the era until 1918. Here it is important to point out a photo of a young Karel Chytil in a Montenegrin folk costume preserved in his estate,³² and all the associations it arouses, from Montenegrin themes in the paintings of Jaroslav Čermák, Slavic themes in the works and translations of Josef Holeček and other personages of the Czech literary and artistic culture who were attracted by the Slavic south. Based on Chytil’s publications in *Dílo* magazine, it can be inferred that it is necessary to think about opinions close to the Union of Creative Artists, which was presented as an artificial corporation establishing contacts with the Slavic world. Chytil’s participation in the protection of the old Prague, which was facing the construction of new buildings in a historic environment as well as redevelopment, was situated in the anti-Viennese context by the conservative circles, as evidenced by the words of Jan Lier (1852–1917) who said that the historicism of Prague’s streets and squares is “imported from abroad, limited by perfectionism of styles.”³³ Even Chytil’s leading position in the museum of decorative arts was embroiled among national disputes, since the German press did not like that a Czech scholar was leading the museum.

He remained faithful to the museum of decorative arts until 1916³⁴. Two years later there was a completely different Chytil within the new structures of a modern state—for one thing, a university had replaced the museum of decorative arts in his life, and for another, his social activities had broadened significantly and were shaped by his membership of a political party, the National Democracy. The party was building on a principle of elitism, as it was presenting itself as the elite of the Czech right wing, and gathering affluent people mainly from financial spheres. Their leader was Karel Kramář. This fact reminds us of the second pole in the title of this text, the *East*.

Firstly, a note on the *West*: for the interwar Czechoslovakia it was represented primarily by France, the attention of which was drawn by the international congress on the history of art in Paris in 1921. František Žákavec (1878–1937), as one of the five Czechoslovak delegates, gave one of the opening speeches in which he accentuated the relationship of the Czech lands to France. At this congress, to which German, Austrian and Hungarian art historians were not

²⁹ CHYTIL, Karel. Svatí tři králové v umění výtvarném. In: *Lumír* 12, 1884, no. 3, pp. 36–41.

³⁰ National Museum Archive in Prague, Karel Chytil fund, inventory no. 44 and 45.

³¹ From reactions, for example, FRIMMEL, Theodor von. Karel Chytil—Die Kunst in Prag zur Zeit Rudolf II. In: *Blätter für Gemäldekunde* 2, 1906, no. 3, pp. 63–64.

³² The photograph was presented by Jana Marešová during her contribution at the Chytil colloquium.

³³ LIER, Jan. Prof. Dr. K. Chytil vydal..., In: *Zvon* 16, 1916, no. 51, p. 715.

³⁴ He always followed issues of museum work, which documents a paper on an exhibition of confiscated bells, see CHYTIL, Karel. O zvonech. In: *Zvon* 18, 1918, pp. 35–36.

invited, Chytil spoke about *Prague Castle under the Luxembourg dynasty*.³⁵ He presented similarly symbolic topics on various occasions after 1918. He was, for example, one of the first people to be interested in the design of the Bethlehem Chapel,³⁶ and he also published a work at the beginning of 1918 called *Česká koruna královská*, which was commented on by *Národní listy* [a national newspaper] and which stated that it will be appreciated mainly by those “for whom the Czech crown has never lost and never will lose its validity.”³⁷ It is important to realise that such texts were written when the idea of an independent state was already talked about, but its later form of a republic was not yet on the agenda. The cultural political consequences of Chytil’s texts suited National Democracy’s state-forming ambitions. It is no surprise that it was Chytil who was behind the founding of the Czechoslovak military museum, the programme of which was based on French models,³⁸ and he was also a founding member of *Společnost musea Husova* [Society of the Hus Museum] (1920),³⁹ which was preceded by his participation in a Hus exhibition held by the Czech university in 1915, and his involvement in the catalogue which was published on the occasion.⁴⁰ Attacks against Viennese centralism were a natural thing at that time and they appeared in evaluations of the pre-coup conditions and perspectives of historic preservation.⁴¹

In this sense, we see the symbolic *West* from the title in a new political situation; nevertheless, the duty of Czech art history is to observe the *Slavic east*, just as required by Chytil in his well-known lecture about art historians’ responsibilities in the new state.⁴² And it was *Slovanský výbor* [the Slavic committee] in Paris which stated in the declaration from May 1919 that “after the world war a new Slavic era begins!” (As a matter of interest, this declaration was co-signed by painter František Kupka).⁴³ Symbolically, Karel Chytil was one of the people who were instrumental in the arrival of Nikodim Pavlovič Kondakov (1844–1925) at the Czech university in Prague, and he also gave the main speech on the occasion of Kondakov’s eightieth birthday.⁴⁴ A comparison, as simple as it may be, suggests itself here. If Chytil in the pre-coup era found devoted young adherents of modern trends in museology based on the German and Austrian models, in this later period he found equally devoted followers of the European east. One of

³⁵ SIBLÍK, Emanuel. Mezinárodní sjezd dějepisců umění v Paříži. In: *Národní listy* 61, 1921, no. 267, 29 September, p. 5. On Chytil’s relationship with France see also CHYTIL, Karel. Ze studijní cesty po Francii roku 1925. In: *Ročenka Krubá pro pěstování dějin umění za rok 1926 a 1927*. Praha, 1928, pp. 91–111.

³⁶ CHYTIL, Karel. K otázce podoby kaple betlémské. In: *Zlatá Praha* 37, 1919, no. 7–8, p. 62; no. 15–16, pp. 124–126.

³⁷ ANONYMOUS. Dr. Karel Chytil—Česká koruna královská. In: *Národní listy* 58, 1918, no. 25, 30 January, p. 3.

³⁸ ANONYMOUS. Zakládání nových muzeí. In: *Národní listy* 61, 1921, no. 226, 19 August, p. 4; TSCHORN, R. Československé vojenské museum. In: *Česká revue* 16, 1923, no. 8–9, pp. 358–363. National Museum Archive in Prague, Karel Chytil fund, inventory no. 74, appointment to a member of the museum department of the Czechoslovak Military Institute of Science, 20 June 1920.

³⁹ National Museum Archive in Prague, Karel Chytil fund, inventory no. 73, appointment to a founding member from 29 April 1920.

⁴⁰ V. F. Na pětisetletou paměť mučednické smrti Husovy..., In: *Zvon* 15, 1915, no. 49, 3 September, pp. 686–687.

⁴¹ CHYTIL, Karel. Finis vídeňského c. k. Denkmalamtu. In: *Cesta* 1, 1919, pp. 794–796.

⁴² CHYTIL, Karel. O příštích úkolech dějin a historiků umění v československém státě. In: *Naše doba. Revue pro vědu, umění a život sociální* 26, 1919, pp. 48–757. A paper; see TLAMICH, Zdeněk. Úkol dějin a historiků umění v československém státě. In: *Cesta* 1, 1918–1919, p. 1028.

⁴³ Prohlášení Slovanského výboru v Paříži. In: *Národní listy* 63, 1919, no. 137, 20 May, p. 1.

⁴⁴ Oslava 80. narozenin prof. N. P. Kondakova. In: *Národní listy* 64, 1924, no. 302, 1 November, p. 5. C.f. also CHYTIL, Karel. O životě a vědecké práci Nikodema Pavloviče Kondakova. In: *Památky archeologické* 34, 1924, pp. 189–205; Id. Dr. Nikodem Pavlovič Kondakov. Nekrolog. In: *Almanach české akademie věd a umění* 36. Praha, 1926, pp. 89–205.

them, for example, was Jaroslav Nebeský (1892–1937), but he, like many others, did not earn his living at a university or in a museum. He worked as an officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he was able to use his knowledge of many Slavic languages.⁴⁵ The aforementioned Žákavec developed a different approach to the Slavic east and Czech national traditions. He differed from his contemporaries by understanding the relationship between East and West as a balance between two poles, in the imaginary intersection of which lay the contemporary *Czechoslovak art*. These aspects, of course, had their methodological consequences, as Marta Filipová pointed out in her study some time ago;⁴⁶ however, *East* does not cease to be an important cultural political symbol—a symbol of experiencing patriarchal Slavic Rus, as acclaimed by Alfons Mucha. Chytil popularised Mucha's cycle through his texts and lectures.⁴⁷ This *East* was, in the 1920s and 1930s, predominantly an illusion. We can use an effective parallel here: it is known that Karel Kramář enthused about the formation of an army which would rid Russia of communism, which was surely illusory, similar to the mythical deities in Mucha's mythological compositions which were supposed to belong to the modern world.

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⁴⁵ VANĚČEK, Jaroslav. Dr. Jaroslav Nebeský. In: *Pod Blaníkem* 16, 1936–1937, p. 144.

⁴⁶ FILIPOVÁ, Marta. Between East and West: The Vienna School and the Idea of Czechoslovak Art. In: *Journal of Art Historiography* no. 8, June 2013.

⁴⁷ ŠOPÁK, Pavel. Alfons Mucha píše Karlu Chytilovi. In: *Opuscula historiae artium* 67, 2018, no. 2, pp. 140–146.

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Vědecko-pedagogická práce na odboru Muzeologie a kulturní dědictví v Bratislavě

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Scientific and pedagogical work in the field of museology and cultural heritage at the Department of ethnology and museology in Bratislava

The article deals with museology (museum studies) and cultural heritage studies as basic tools for active and successful museum practice. It brings forward the question of importance and suitability of various museum courses and their relation to specialized university studies that work towards the improvement of daily museum practice. It analyses and evaluates not only the studies, but also scholarly and project activities of Museology department at the Comenius University in Bratislava.

Key words: Museum, museology, education, Slovakia, Comenius University in Bratislava.

Základním úkolem každého vysokoškolského pracoviště je kvalitní pěstování vědy a příprava nových odborníků. Z tohoto pohledu můžeme hodnotit výsledky odboru Muzeologie a kulturní dědictví na filozofické fakultě Univerzity Komenského za školní rok 2019/2020 velmi pozitivně. Svojí vědeckou produkci patří naše pracoviště v posledních letech mezi nejlepší na celé fakultě a řeší několik důležitých grantových projektů. Vzdělávalo řadu kvalitních studentů, v některých případech dnes už absolventů, kteří jistě najdou, nebo už našli, svoje uplatnění v praxi. S celkovým počtem studentů na odboru nejsme spokojeni, ale ten je ovlivněn současnou demografickou situací a počtem vysokých škol na Slovensku. Je viditelný poměrně značný zájem o náš navazující magisterský stupeň, kam se hlásí nejen bakaláři našeho odboru, ale i např. estetici, etnologové, uměnovědci apod., ba dokonce studenti z jiných univerzit. Nezapomínáme ani na starší generaci, všichni pedagogové odboru se zapojili do výuky v rámci tzv. Univerzity třetího věku. Studium muzeologie v Bratislavě v současnosti nabízí všechny tři stupně studia a je tak standardní „dobudovaný“ vysokoškolský studijní odbor, který personálně představoval pět interních zaměstnanců: profesor (P. Tišliar), dva docenti (I. Kačírek a J. Dolák) a dvě odborné asistentky (L. Ulašinová Bystrianska a L. Vargová). V akademickém roku 2019/2020 byly kromě jednooborového studia muzeologie otevřeny tři mezioborové kombinace: dějiny umění-muzeologie, etnologie-muzeologie a historie-muzeologie. Studium muzeo-

logie v akademickém roku 2019/2020 úspěšně absolvovali v bakalářském stupni tito studenti:¹ Michal Krištofík, Juraj Spiritza, Michaela Kláčíková, Michal Nosek, Hana Puterova a Veronika Dobříková.

V magisterském stupni pak tito studenti:² Roman Galvánek, Lucia Blahutová, Lenka Brngalová a Anna Svrčková.

Všechny čtyři studentky doktorského stupně: N. Szabóová a M. Tomašková (interní forma), L. Jagošová³ a M. Kočí (externí forma) zdárně splnily svoje zkoušky a pokračují ve svých výzkumech.

Při hodnocení závěrečných prací můžeme konstatovat v posledním roce pozvolné zvyšování kvalitativní úrovně. Právě většina zadaných témat jasně ukazuje sepjetí odboru s praxí a dobrou připravenost mladých odborníků na práci v memoriálních institucích na Slovensku.

Publikační činnost odboru Muzeologie a kulturního dědictví Katedry etnologie a muzeologie Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Komenského v Bratislavě je už tradičně bohatá, ale i tematicky rozmanitá, což se projevuje její poměrně značnou citovaností, především v evropském prostředí, ale nejen tam. Řada publikovaných prací je okamžitě aplikovatelná v muzejní praxi. Pavol Tišliar se ve své publikační činnosti pohyboval v širokém prostoru muzejního výstavnictví,⁴

¹ KRIŠTOFÍK, Michal. *Prístup k dokumentácii súčasnosti v múzejných zariadeniach v Bratislave*. Bakalářská práce. Bratislava : FiF UK, 2020; SPIRITZA, Juraj. *Koncept Múzea mestskej hromadnej dopravy v Bratislave*. Bakalářská práce. Bratislava : FiF UK, 2020; KLÁČIKOVÁ, Michaela. *Zbierkotvorná činnosť Múzea a kultúrneho centra južného Zemplína v Trebišove*. Bakalářská práce. Bratislava : FiF UK, 2020; NOSEK, Michal. *Sprievodné podujatia múzeí a skupiny historického šermu*. Bakalářská práce. Bratislava : FiF UK, 2020; PUTEROVÁ, Hana. *Historický vývoj platidiel na Slovensku*. Bakalářská práce. Bratislava : FiF UK, 2020; DOBŘÍKOVÁ, Veronika. *Kultúrne a prírodné dedičstvo Devínskej Novej Vsi. Kultúrneodukačný program pre žiakov základných a stredných škôl*. Bakalářská práce. Bratislava : FiF UK, 2020.

² GALVÁNEK, Roman. *Dóm svätého Martina a jeho historické pozadie s dôrazom na organ Vincenta Možného a malý barokový chorálový organ*. Diplomová práce. Bratislava : FiF UK, 2020; BLAHUTOVÁ, Lucia. *Interaktívne prvky v múzeu*. Diplomová práce. Bratislava : FiF UK, 2020; BRNGALOVÁ, Lenka. *Muzeológ Wojciech Gluziński*. Diplomová práce. Bratislava : FiF UK, 2020; SVRČKOVÁ, Anna. *Plagát a propagačný dizajn ako grafické artefakty a historické dokumenty v zbierkach vybraných inštitúcií na území Slovenska*. Diplomová práce. Bratislava : FiF UK, 2020.

³ JAGOŠOVÁ, Lucie. *Muzeologie jako součást kurikula univerzitní a neuniverzitní přípravy muzejních pedagogů*. In: *Studia Historica Nitriensis*, 2020, roč. 24, č. 1, s. 206-220. ISSN 1338-7219.

⁴ TIŠLIAR, Pavol – ČERNUŠÁK, Tomáš – LOSKOTOVÁ, Irena. *Výstava v archívu : teórie a praxe*. Brno : MUNI, 2019, 108 s. ISBN 978-80-210-9406-2 ; TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Výhľady a perspektívy muzeologického vzdelania na Slovensku*. In: *Nové témy a nové formy v múzejníctve 21. storočia*. : 1. vyd.. Liptovský Mikuláš : Slovenské múzeum ochrany prírody a jaskyniarstva, 2019, s. 5-11. ISBN 978-80-89933-11-2; TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Current possibilities of museology education in Slovakia*. In: *Museologica Brunensia*. - Roč. 8, č. 1 (2019), s. 13-17. ISSN (print) 1805-4722, ISSN (online) 2464-5362; TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *K rozvoju muzeológie v kontexte ďalšieho budovania prípravy absolventov na príklade bratislavskej muzeológie*. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, vol. 7, is. 2 (2019), s. 183-194. ISSN 1339-2204 eISSN 2453-9759; TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Formovanie ochrany pamiatok na Slovensku a Štátny inšpektorát archívov a knižníc na Slovensku*. In: *Stretnutie seniorov štátnej ochrany prírody na Slovensku*. - : 1. vyd. - Liptovský Mikuláš : Slovenské múzeum ochrany prírody a jaskyniarstva, 2019. s. 5-19. ISBN 978-80-89933-17-4; TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Snahy o vytvorenie spoločného archívu a múzea v kaštieli Betliar v 40. a 50. rokoch 20. storočia*. In: *Gemer-Malohont* : Roč. 15. 1. vyd. - Rimavská Sobota : Gemersko-malohontské múzeum, 2019. s. 126-139. ISBN 978-80-85134-57-5.

dějiny muzejního fenoménu a památkové péče a demografie⁵ a editováním kolektivních prací.⁶ Luboš Kačírek se projevoval ponejvíce na poli dějin muzejnictví, památkové péče a Slovenska⁷. Jan Dolák kromě teoretických aspektů muzeologie a metodických otázek řešil otázky spojené s digitalizací sbírek⁸. Lenka Vargová prováděla výzkum užívání dědictví ve zdánlivě okrajových regionech Polska a Slovenska.⁹

Vědecko-publikační činnost odboru se netýká jen pedagogů. K rozvoji dobrého jména pracoviště přispívají i aktivní studenti, a to nejen svými závěrečnými pracemi, ale i dalšími publikačními aktivitami. Týká se to především doktorandek, které se v publikačních aktivitách za-

⁵ TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Smerovanie populačnej politiky na Slovensku po vzniku Československa do roku 1945. In: *Populačná a rodinná politika na Slovensku v 20. storočí*. 1. vyd. Bratislava : Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2019. - s. 9-61. ISBN 978-80-89881-18-5; ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Najvyššie dosiahnuté vzdelanie a jeho vplyv na transformujúce sa rodinné a reprodukčné správanie žien na Slovensku*. Bratislava : Prognostický ústav, 2019, 135 s. ISBN 978-80-89524-38-9; TIŠLIAR, Pavol. K vyst'ahovalectvu a vyst'ahovaleckej politike na Slovensku v medzivojnovom období. In: *Populačné štúdie Slovenska 12*. Bratislava : Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2019, s. 25-45.

⁶ TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Studia Museologica Slovaca 4 : Ochrana pamiatok na území Slovenska v rokoch 1850 – 1951*. Bratislava : Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2020, 84 s. ISBN 978-80-89881-21-5; TIŠLIAR, Pavol (ed.). *Populačné štúdie Slovenska 12*. Bratislava : Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2019, 130 s. ISBN 978-80-89881-19-2; TIŠLIAR, Pavol (ed.). *Populačná a rodinná politika na Slovensku v 20. storočí*. Bratislava : Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2019, 220 s. ISBN 978-80-89881-18-5

⁷ JANTO, Juraj – KAČÍREK, Ľuboš – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. History and memory of hospital sites on the example of the „old“ hospital in Topoľčany. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, vol. 8, č. 1 (2020), s. 31-45. ISSN 1339-2204 eISSN 2453-9759; KAČÍREK, Ľuboš – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Slovenské múzejníctvo v medzivojnovom období, možnosti a východiská rozvoja. In: *Museologica Brunensia*. - Roč. 9, č. 1 (2020), s. 1-11. ISSN (print) 1805-4722, ISSN (online) 2464-5362; KAČÍREK, Ľuboš – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Petržalka v rokoch 1919 – 1946*. Bratislava : Mestská knižnica Petržalka, 2019, 114 s. ISBN 978-80-970194-3-3; KAČÍREK, Ľuboš. *Slovensko na pravom brehu Dunaja obsadenie Petržalky 14. augusta 1919*. Engerau - Aherbolungsgebiet Pressburgs im 19. Jahrhundert Max Reinhardt und Pressburg : 1. vyd. - Bratislava : Veda, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2019. s. 133-157. ISBN 978-3-99020-193-0; KAČÍREK, Ľuboš. Osobná pozostalosť Jozefa Gregora-Tajovského a Hany Gregorovej v Múzeu mesta Bratislavy. In: *Janko Jesenský a Jozef Gregor Tajovský : pramene, dimenzie, reflexia*. 1. vyd. Bratislava : Múzeum mesta Bratislavy, 2019. - s. 5-5. ISBN 978-80-89636-36-5

⁸ DOLÁK, Jan. Les principales dates de la vie de Zbyněk Zbyslav Stránský. In: *Zbyněk Z. Stránský et la muséologie : une anthologie*. 1. vyd. Paríž : Éditions L' Harmattan, 2019, s. 37-40. ISBN 978-2-343-17110-4; DOLÁK, Jan. Le muséologue tchèque Zbyněk Zbyslav Stránský. In: *Zbyněk Z. Stránský et la muséologie : une anthologie*. 1. vyd. - Paríž : Éditions L' Harmattan, 2019, s. 307-319. ISBN 978-2-343-17110-4; DOLÁK, Jan. Jan Jelínek. In: *A history of museology : key authors of museological theory*. 1. vyd. - Paríž : International committee for museology, 2019, s. 45-53. ISBN 978-92-9012-455-9; DOLÁK, Jan. Teheránská muzea. In: *Múzeum*. Roč. 65, č. 2 (2019), s. 54-55, ISSN 0027-5263; DOLÁK, Jan. Where is the border between a museum and a temple? In: *ICOFOM study series* : Roč. 47, č. 1-2. 1. vyd. Paríž : International Committee for museology, 2019, s. 209-212. ISSN 2309-1290; DOLÁK, Jan. The role of Z. Z. Stránský in present-day museology. In: *Museologica Brunensia*. Roč. 8, č. 2 (2019), s. 15-26. ISSN (print) 1805-4722, ISSN (online) 2464-5362; DOLÁK, Jan. Digitalizace pro veřejnost nebo pro muzejníky? In: *Revolúcia: nežná x digitálna : digitálne a sociálne médiá v múzeách 30 rokov po*. 1. vyd.. - Bratislava : Historické múzeum, 2019, s. 32-35. ISBN 978-80-8060-470-7; BRYOL, Radek – DOLÁK, Jan – DRÁPALOVÁ, Lenka – KOUDELOVÁ, Jana – LANGER, Jiří. *Muzea v přírodě v České republice teoretická a metodická východiska*. Rožnov pod Radhoštěm : Národní muzeum v přírodě, 2019, 56 s. ISBN 978-80-87210-73-4.

⁹ PORCZYNSKI, Dominik – VARGOVÁ, Lenka. Between an object and a Tale: strategies of local narratives construction in semi-peripheral museums. In: *Opuscula Musealia*, Vol. 26. Krakow, 2019; PORCZYNSKI, Dominik – VARGOVÁ, Lenka. Museum education in semi-peripheries: social, cultural and economic aspects of the globalisation of Polish and Slovak heritage institutions. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 2020, vol. 8, is. 2, 2020, s. 31-54. ISSN 1339-2204, eISSN 2453-9759.

bývaly komunikačními aspekty¹⁰ muzejní práce nebo recenzní činnosti¹¹. Už čtvrtý rok vychází ročenka *Studia Museologica Slovaca*¹², ve které kromě našich studentů publikují především mladí kolegové z Brna.

Významným kritériem při posuzování kvalit pracoviště je též kvalifikační růst. Dne 28. února 2020 přednesl Jan Dolák před vědeckou radou fakulty svoji habilitační přednášku Etické problémy v muzejní dokumentaci a prezentaci a obhájil svoji monografii Teoretická podstata muzeologie. S platností od 1. srpna 2020 byl rektorem univerzity jmenován docentem v oboru kulturologie.

Počátkem měsíce března se celá naše společnost, a to včetně vysokých škol, dostala do zcela nečekané situace. Pandemie viru Covid 19 vedla k úplnému zrušení prezenční výuky a k mnoha organizačním zásahům do chodu jak fakulty, tak i celé univerzity (uzavření internátů apod.). Náš odbor přešel na distanční výuku s pomocí moderních technologií, většinou přes platformu MS Teams, a nutno říci, že jak pedagogové, tak i studenti, s tímto způsobem výuky neměli větších problémů. V některých případech distančně probíhala i evaluace znalostí studentů. Distančně byl realizován i první termín státních závěrečných zkoušek, kdy pedagogové seděli ve své pracovně a studenti byli doma. Bohužel musela být zrušena letošní studentská vědecká konference a konference *Fenomén kultúrneho dedičstva v spoločnosti – dejiny, súčasný stav a perspektívy V*.

Náš odbor je dlouhodobě velmi úspěšný i v řešení grantových projektů. V roce 2019 byly ukončeny tyto grantové projekty VEGA a KEGA: *Populačná a rodinná politika na Slovensku v 20. a 21. storočí*. (zodpovědný řešitel prof. PhDr. Pavol Tišliar, PhD., řešeno ve spolupráci s Prognostickým ústavem SAV); *Najvyššie dosiahnuté vzdelanie a jeho vplyv na transformujúce sa rodinné a reprodukčné správanie žien na Slovensku* (zodpovědný řešitel RNDr. Branislav Šprocha, PhD. – Prognostický ústav SAV, zodpovědný řešitel na FiF UK prof. PhDr. Pavol Tišliar, PhD.) a *Interdisciplinárny prístup k ochrane kultúrneho a prírodného dedičstva* (zodpovědný řešitel prof. Ing. arch. Bohumil Kováč, PhD. – Fakulta architektury Slovenské technické univerzity v Bratislavě).

¹⁰ TIŠLIAR, Pavol – MAŽÁROVÁ, Monika – JAGOŠOVÁ, Lucie. *Baráky u Svatobořic. Pohled do dějin 1914-1950 : putovní výstava z pohledu teorie a praxe*. Brno : MUNI, 2019, 114s., ISBN 978-80-210-9507-6; TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Proč Svatobořice? In: *Baráky u Svatobořic. Pohled do dějin 1914-1950 : putovní výstava z pohledu teorie a praxe*; TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Pohled do dějin svatobořického tábora. In: *Baráky u Svatobořic. Pohled do dějin 1914-1950 : putovní výstava z pohledu teorie a praxe*. Brno: MUNI, 2019, s. 15-33 ISBN 978-80-210-9507-6; TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Koncepce putovní výstavy. In: *Baráky u Svatobořic. Pohled do dějin 1914-1950 : putovní výstava z pohledu teorie a praxe*. Brno: MUNI, 2019, s. 35-40 ISBN 978-80-210-9507-6; JAGOŠOVÁ, Lucie – KIRSCH, Otakar – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. The potential of museums in the mediation of science and technology museum presentation and education on the example of the Technical Museum in Brno. In: *European journal of contemporary education*, Roč. 8, č. 1 (2019), s. 240-253. ISSN 2304-9650, eISSN 2305-6746

¹¹ TOMÁŠKOVÁ, Marianna. Jan Dolák - Petra Šobáňová: Museum presentation. In: *Etnologické rozpravy*, roč. 27, č. 1, 2020, s. 168-169. ISSN 1335-5074

¹² TIŠLIAR, Pavol (ed.). *Studia Museologica Slovaca 3*. Bratislava : Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2019, 230s. ISBN 978-80-89881-16-1; NEUMANNOVÁ, Livia. Vznik pamiatkovej ochrany a jej vývoj od 2. polovice 19. storočia do roku 1919. In: *Studia Museologica Slovaca 4*. Bratislava : Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2020, s. 7-14. ISBN 978-80-89881-21-5; HERNÁNDO, Margaréta. Obnova pamiatok do roku 1918 na príklade Dómu sv. Alžbety. In: *Studia Museologica Slovaca 4*. Bratislava : Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2020, s. 15 -30. ISBN 978-80-89881-21-5; GARANOVÁ KRIŠŤÁKOVÁ, Mária – SPIRITZA, Juraj. Formovanie slovenskej pamiatkovej ochrany po vzniku Československa. In: *Studia Museologica Slovaca 4*. Bratislava : Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2020, s. 31- 42. ISBN 978-80-89881-21-5; MOLNÁROVÁ, Viera – ŽOVINCOVÁ, Alexandra. Pamiatky, archívy a múzeá počas 2. svetovej vojny na Slovensku. In: *Studia Museologica Slovaca 4*. Bratislava : Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2020, s. 43- 52. ISBN 978-80-89881-21-5; KLÁCIKOVÁ, Michaela – SADOVÁ, Dominika. Povojnový pamiatkový vývoj v rokoch 1945 – 1951. In: *Studia Museologica Slovaca 4*. Bratislava : Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2020, s. 53- 62. ISBN 978-80-89881-21-5.

vě). Posledně jmenovaný projekt byl realizován také ve spolupráci s Filozofickou fakultou TU v Trnavě. Na FiF UK v Bratislavě byl zástupce hlavního řešitele prof. PhDr. Pavol Tišliar, PhD. a členem řešitelského kolektivu byl i doc. Mgr. Ľuboš Kačírek, PhD. a Mgr. Juraj Janto, PhD.

Závěrem

Když před deseti lety navždy odešel zakladatel odboru doc. Ladislav Mlynka, čekalo bratislavskou muzeologii období personálních výměn, ale především stabilizace a dobudování celého pracoviště. Při ohlédnutí zpět můžeme konstatovat, že nastala etapa dynamická a celkově úspěšná. Naše pracoviště patří ve svém oboru k nejlepším ve střední Evropě. Odbor je stabilní a připravený i na personální změny, které v nejbližší době nastanou (odchod P. Tišliara a L. Ulašínové–Bystrianské z FiF UK). Další desetiletí by mělo prohloubit sepjetí pracoviště s praktickým muzejnictvím, především na Slovensku. Zatím máme minimální zkušenosti s realizací mezioborových studijních programů a zejména s uplatněním těchto absolventů v praxi. Zcela nemůžeme být spokojeni s mezinárodní reputací pracoviště, např. mimo Evropu. Chybí některé učební texty (učebnice, skripta) přednášených předmětů. Vysokoškolské pracoviště je jako zaoceánská loď, otáčí se, koriguje svůj směr, pomalu. Jsme přesvědčeni, že bratislavská muzeologie „pluje“ správným směrem.

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Anna Ziębińska-Witek: *Muzealizacja komunizmu w Polsce i Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej* [The Musealisation of Communism in Poland and Central and Eastern Europe], (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2018), 341 pp.
ISBN: 978-83-227-9149-3, photographs.

Anna Ziębińska-Witek's critical approach to the musealisation of communism

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Anna Ziębińska-Witek: Muzealizacja komunizmu w Polsce i Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej...

What do we learn about communism while studying its museums? Do the musealisations of communism make it an experience similar to the museological study of other regimes or an experience which is exceptional? How do contemporary musealisations shed light and how do they obscure sight of the experiences of communism of the inhabitants of Central and Eastern Europe? Are these experiences identical or different, from the point of view of the museums of communism in the various places of Central and Eastern Europe where communism was installed and where it is today musealised? Anna Ziębińska-Witek answers such questions in her latest work, entitled *The Musealisation of Communism in Poland and Central and Eastern Europe* [Muzealizacja komunizmu w Polsce i Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej]. After reading this work I have to express my appreciation for its author, as well as undertaking some discussion on communism, which, even if belonging to the past, has not disappeared completely and which, studied by historians, still arouses extreme emotions in both its witnesses and heirs.

Keywords: Musealisation of Communism, Poland, Central and Eastern Europe, Politics of History and Memory

Introduction

The latest book of Anna Ziębińska-Witek once again shows us that we are dealing with an author using her extensive competences in the field of museum culture studies acquired as a result of many years of research¹ to analyse the practices of museums presenting communism. With this work Ziębińska-Witek also proves herself to be an author with sound theoretical background, skilled in making pertinent systematisations of research material on account of

¹ So far, the scientific works of Anna Ziębińska-Witek have focused on issues related to the presentation of the past, including museums/musealisation relating to the Holocaust. I refer here to her two publications: *Holocaust: Issues of Presentation* (2005) a book on the representation crisis in the context of trauma as an inseparable element of the Holocaust and attempts to overcome this crisis in historiography, literature, and film, and *History in Museums: Study on the Exposition of the Holocaust* (2011) dedicated to selected Holocaust museums in Poland and abroad.

both its specifics and the related theoretical concepts and categories, which she successfully uses to describe, analyse, and interpret the data obtained in the course of her research.²

The author begins by providing a comprehensive explanation of how she understands musealisation as the ongoing institutionalisation of the past culminating in a modern museum as a reaction to curb the continuity of the past and satisfying a need to maintain the legacy of this past for posterity. In this meaning, musealisation, according to Ziębińska-Witek, is a “conceptual separation and anchorage of a specific element from its natural context, incorporating [it] into a new, artificial context of a museum and an exhibition, in a new relationship with the place and other objects”.³ The separation of a specific element from its natural environment in order to incorporate it into the artificial context of a museum is a complex process of saving, and also establishing, a legacy of the past by historicising its footprints as particularly important for the community.⁴ The saving or establishing of the legacy of the past for posterity fulfils, as the author of *Musealisation...* points out, the four objectives of contemporary museums, namely the cognitive, aesthetic, educational, and political ones.⁵ These objectives are strictly interrelated, and the aesthetic disposition of objects/historical content in a museum organises a historical, political, and axiological framework for its activities and, as such, stimulates the production of knowledge, influencing the emotions and imagination of the audience and shaping their identity.⁶ Musealisation is, therefore, as Ziębińska-Witek rightly notes, a complex social practice being the result of competing and/or mutually supportive “knowledge, power, and ideology”.⁷

² The list of investigated museums is impressive and is divided according to different models for the museums of communism proposed by Ziębińska-Witek. Among them are: (1) the “national branding” model as exemplified by the European Solidarity Centre in Gdańsk, 1956 and the Uprising Museum in Poznań; (2) the “double occupation” model as exemplified by the Terror Háza in Budapest, and the museums of occupation and liberation in Vilnius, Riga, or Tallin; (3) the “patchwork identity” model as exemplified by the History Centre Zajezdnia in Wrocław, the Dialogue Centre Przelomy in Szczecin, and the House of European History in Brussels; (4) the “martyrological and hagiographic” model as exemplified by the Chamber of *Memory* of Wujek Mine in Katowice and the Museum of Priest Jerzy Popiełuszko in Warsaw; (5) the model of “exorcisms against communism” as exemplified by the National Museum of Romanian History and the Romanian Peasant Museum in Bucharest, and The Memorial of the Victims of Communism and of the Resistance in Sighet, Romania; (6) the model of “genocide museums” as exemplified by the Vilnius Museum of Genocide Victims; (7) the model of “the everyday life of special services” as exemplified by the Stasi Museum of Germany in Berlin and Dresden, and the KGB Museum—Viru Hotell in Tallin; (8) the “nostalgic” model as exemplified by the PRL Museum, Poland—Ruda Śląska the Museum of Life under Communism, Poland—Warsaw, the DDR Museum, Germany—Berlin, and the State Agricultural Farm Museum Poland—Bolechorz; and (9) the model of “unwanted heritage”—communist monuments being sent to museums as in Ruda Śląska where there is a park of them, to Kozłówka where there is a gallery of the communist art, or their display being executed in situ as with Feliks Dzierżyński’s monument in Warsaw and the monuments of Soviet liberators in the former countries of the Eastern bloc.

³ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, Anna. *Muzealizacja komunizmu w Polsce i Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej* [Musealisation of Communism in Poland and Central and Eastern Europe], Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, p. 19.

⁴ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 19–20; SKÓRZYŃSKA, Izabela. *Widowiska przeszłości. Alternatywne polityki pamięci 1989–2009* [Performances of the Past: Alternative Politics of Memory in Poland 1989–2009]. Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2010, pp. 28–29; SZPOCIŃSKI, Andrzej. *Tworzenie przestrzeni historycznej jako odpowiedź na nostalgię* [Creating Historical Space as a Response to Nostalgia]. In: *Kultura Współczesna*, 2004/1, p. 61.

⁵ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 16; POPCZYK, Maria. *Estetyczne przestrzenie ekspozycji muzealnych* [Aesthetic Spaces of Museum Exhibitions]. Kraków: Universitas, 2008, p. 16.

⁶ SKÓRZYŃSKA, Izabela. *Muzeum historyczne: teatr – widowisko, aktor – świadek* [Historical Museum: Theatre—Performance, Actor—Witness]. In: *Historia Polski Od-nowa. Nowe narracje historii i muzealne reprezentacje przeszłości* [Polish History Re-New: New Narrations of History and Museum Representations of the Past]. Eds. R. Kostro, K. Wóycicki, M. Wysocki, Warsaw: Muzeum Historii Polski, 2014, pp. 88–89; POPCZYK, *Estetyczne przestrzenie...*, p. 16.

⁷ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 16.

In this context, deeper relations between museum expositions with the history of historians and the presence of their history in museums, especially museums of communism, which belongs to history as long as it lives in the memory of its witnesses, are of particular importance and are still heavily debated by researchers. Moreover, no one needs to be convinced that thirty years after the fall of communism, despite its abundant historiography, knowledge on communism remains incomplete, and the interpretation of this knowledge has given rise to numerous disputes and arguments. Meanwhile, museums of communism, although drawing on historiography, also follow other orders than academic knowledge. In the 1980s, according to Ziębińska-Witek, when new museology was starting to develop in the world, the museum became a part of public history.⁸ Museums established on this wave soon found a new ally in the form of modern media, which contributed to their mediatisation, and narrativisation.⁹ As a result, Ziębińska-Witek continues, museology has been assigned a new task of “developing the interests of the public and making plans for the future, taking into account the forces driving the development of societies”.¹⁰ The claim of this “sensitive” museum, along with “perceiving historical expositions as a reflection of the autoimage of a nation/group, that is how certain communities want to be perceived ‘outside’, while maintaining the museum’s authority as a carrier of certain historical knowledge”,¹¹ determined its ambiguous condition—a staging of knowledge and power, aesthetics, and politics, from which the authorities, in particular, began to draw benefits. Hence the hypothesis of the author of *Musealisation...* that contemporary museums of communism operate at “the crossroads of discourses on memory, history and legacy, are the products of the present and instruments of historical politics, and equally exhibit and hide fragments of the past; furthermore, the histories presented in these museums reinforce or legitimize the dominant social norms and political goals”.¹² The reasoning underlying this hypothesis is much wider, since museums by definition share the past in two orders of presentation—knowledge and learning (history) and feeling and experience (aesthetics and politics). In new museums, however, the latter order seems to prevail over the first one. Whereas the order of knowledge and learning applies to the use of historical content in accordance with scientific requirements, the order of aesthetics and politics involves using symbols to work out a common repertoire for telling a story about the past. Since the past is attributable to a wide audience, it appears attractive mainly to them, a fact that is thriftily exploited by politicians and entrepreneurs, who use the museum for identity and commercial purposes. In this order, the museum serves the purpose of disseminating knowledge about the past, and, as Maria Popczyk observes, constitutes “a medium for exploring the world”.¹³ Therefore, it fulfils a more general role as “a vehicle of meanings”, where, because of cognitive needs, the collecting of “a certain class of objects leads to the aesthetic enrichment of the subject functions of what

⁸ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, Anna. *Historia w muzeach. Studium ekspozycji Holocaustu* [History in Museums. Study of the Holocaust Exhibition]. Lublin: UMCS, 2011, pp. 25-32; PIOTROWSKI, Piotr. Auschwitz versus Auschwitz. In: „*Pro Memoria*”, 2004/20, pp. 14-15.

⁹ KORZENIEWSKI, Bartosz. Medializacja i mediatyzacja pamięci – nośniki pamięci i ich rola w kształtowaniu pamięci przeszłości, [Medialisation and Mediatization of Memory - Storage Media and Their Role in Shaping the Memory of the Past]. In: „*Kultura Współczesna*” 2007/ 3, p. 9.

¹⁰ MAYRAND, Pierre. The New Museology Proclaimed. In: „*Museum*”, 1985/148, p. 201 quoted by ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 29.

¹¹ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 29.

¹² ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 30.

¹³ SKÓRZYŃSKA, *Muzeum historyczne: teatr – widowisko, aktor...* p. 89; POPCZYK, *Estetyczne przestrzenie ekspozycji muzealnych...*, p. 26.

is being gathered”.¹⁴ What is more, through this aesthetic intervention, museums achieve the political goal of labelling the exposed objects in relation to the creation/selection of the form of presentation/representation. The selection relates to what, how, where, when, by whom, and to whom an object is being exposed—a selection inaugurating “a research activity aimed at creating a new type of knowledge about the past”,¹⁵ in its new, and post-introductory functions. Perceived in this way, museums straddle the borders between science and art, history and memory, knowledge and identity, writing and image, and thought, imagination, and experience; in other words, between the temple of knowledge and a spectacle of the past.¹⁶ This is why Anna Ziębińska-Witek calls “the act of creating a museum exposition” an “act of creating a new meaning, a new understanding, a new interpretation, or a new world that has never really existed”.¹⁷ And she names social actors, including institutional entities, that are responsible for such acts of creation. Among them are curators, whom she refers to as “creators of a reality that can be called ‘a negotiated reality’”, and designers, “who deal with the visual aspect” of exhibitions; there are also patrons and sponsors, including the state and its agendas responsible for historical policy.¹⁸ “Relevant government factors”, Ziębińska-Witek writes, “usually have a dominating impact on interpretation from a political point of view, and that impact tends to mystify rather than explain the relations between the past and the present, to secure rather than question the *status quo*”.¹⁹ So where are the historians? When it comes to the musealisation of communism, historians are frequently found playing a subservient role towards patrons, curators, and designers, or have no role at all, especially if they do not acquiesce to subservience.

The complexity of contemporary museum practices, combined with the complex nature of contemporaries’ approaches to communism, requires research methods and tools that are aptly selected and applied in methodological and methodical terms. Ziębińska-Witek has done just that by referring in her research on museums of communism to the analysis of visual discourse (Gillian Rose) and to a collective case study (Robert E. Stake), explaining that she was mainly interested in “the area of producing meanings by specific representations” of the past in a museum in their four dimensions: “technological, compositional, content-related, and worldview”.²⁰ The analysis of these dimensions of the presentation of communism allowed the author of *Musealisation...* to structure the argument using three orders to present the communist past: an identity-heroic order, a Tyrtæan-martyrologic order, and a nostalgic order. By analysing the four dimensions of the way in which museums of communism functioned through the three orders of the presenting of communism, Ziębińska-Witek describes in detail how the museums studied by her function, and compares the practices of the musealisation of communism in Poland with similar practices in other countries in Central and Eastern Europe,

¹⁴ POPCZYK, *Estetyczne przestrzenie ekspozycji muzealnych...*, p. 20.

¹⁵ SKÓRZYŃSKA, *Muzeum historyczne: teatr – widowisko, aktor...* p. 90; POPCZYK, *Estetyczne przestrzenie ekspozycji muzealnych...*, p. 20.

¹⁶ SKÓRZYŃSKA, *Widowiska przeszłości...*. See more: *Inscenizacje pamięci* [Staging Memory]. Eds. Skórzyńska I., Lawrence Ch., Pépin C., Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2007.

¹⁷ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 30.

¹⁸ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 30.

¹⁹ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 30.

²⁰ ROSE, Gillian. *Interpretacja materiałów wizualnych. Krytyczna metodologia badań nad wizualnością* [Interpretation of Visual Materials: Critical Methodology of Research on Visuality]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2010, pp. 174–175; STAKE, Robert, E. *Jakościowe stadium przypadku*. In: *Metody badań jakościowych*, vol 1. Eds. Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2010, pp. 623–654 quoted by ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 32.

in terms of what they exhibit and how they exhibit it, what they do not exhibit and why they do not exhibit it, and how all this affects our knowledge about the past and our identity.

Musealisation of Communism: (De)constructions

Anna Ziębińska-Witek begins her critical review of selected museums of communism from the heroic-identity order, arguing that the presence of this type of musealisation is due to the fact that

post-communist countries are in a particularly difficult situation, since, apart from ... threats characteristic of the globalisation age, they must redefine their identity, define themselves in comparison to others, establish satisfying relations with the “old” members of the European Union, and overcome complexes and a feeling of inferiority; all this makes them prone to reach out to the national model in museums.²¹

This national model the presenting of the communist past, as Ziębińska-Witek shows, just like the language used to describe it, was derived (in the case of Poland) from the romantic mythology of the struggle for independence in its relations with the insurgent ethos and readiness of Polish patriots to sacrifice their lives for their homeland. This model, in her opinion, dominated the two museum-based communism-related narratives studied by her in Poland, namely those of the Museum of the June 1956 Uprising in Poznań, and the European Solidarity Centre in Gdańsk (ESC).

The Poznań and Gdańsk museums of communism are characterised by a constant tendency, the author writes, to nationalise a revolt of the nation by writing it into the romantic framing of uprising in the Poles' struggles for independence. For me this musealisation means that the problem of workers and classes, and the problem of an alliance of workers, the intelligentsia, and the church are all put on the back burner, and the line of political divisions drawn in museums applies only to the conflict between the authorities and the nation, where the nation is represented by heroes fighting for independence. Hence, the object of musealisation in both Poznań and Gdańsk is the national community, whose energy, as Ziębińska-Witek proves by referring to Maria Janion and Jadwiga Staniszkis, began to run low along with the transformation in Poland, when a certain “historical cycle” related to the fight for independence in the name of values that were common for all Poles came to an end (Janion). These remembered values and underlying community “return” in the museums in Poznań and Gdańsk?²²

In the case of the ESC, the aim of this solution is the positive image of Poles outside, while in the Museum of the June 1956 Uprising in Poznań it is also the desire of Poznanians to incorporate the history of their “rebellious city” into the heroic-identity “imaginarium” that is common to all Poles. But here Ziębińska-Witek observes that the identity-heroic trend, although promoting Poles in their positively assessed uniqueness, additionally smothers all else that was not so unambiguously positive, including the complex relationship between the citizens and the people's state, one that was based not only on heroism and fighting against the state, but also on an ambivalent attitude toward the state. This not only concerns resistance, but also acceptance of state rule, that is, on adapting in exchange for the leading of a normal life, where a majority

²¹ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 44.

²² JANION, Maria. *Zmierzch paradygmatu* [The Twilight of the Paradigm]. In: <http://biblioteka.kijowski.pl/janion%20maria/co%20prze%BFy%B3e%9C.pdf> (access: 10.05.2017); STANISZKIS, Jadwiga. *Antropologia władzy. Między traktatem liżbońskim a kryzysem* [Anthropology of Power: Between the Lisbon Treaty and the Crisis]. Warsaw: Prószyński i S-ka, p. 186, quoted by ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 43–45.

of Poles lived according to the conditions dictated by the people's state.²³

The Polish versions of the musealisation of communism in the identity-heroic trend are accompanied by the analyses of other CEE museums, including the House of Terror (Terror Háza) in Budapest and the museums of occupation in Riga and Tallinn. What do these museums and their expositions have in common? Well, as shown by Ziębińska-Witek, this positive auto-presentation of the national community (both within the community and outside it), which usually involves blowing the heroic acts of national heroes, the opponents of communism, out of proportion while avoiding the exhibition of individuals and events from the past that do not fit into this positive national order of presentation.

Contrary to in Poland, however, as Ziębińska-Witek notes, the situation in the museums in the Baltic States and Hungary is more complicated. In these countries, communism is more closely linked to Nazism, and the fight against communists overshadows collaboration with the Germans. That is why Terror Háza in Budapest presents, primarily, the Hungarians' fight against communists, and the exposition thus excludes content that is undesirable and inconvenient for Hungarians.... The image created indicates that Hungarians were the victims of two systems rather than active perpetrators serving one or even both of these systems. This becomes clear in one part of the exhibition, where two uniforms—one of a Nazi and one a Soviet soldier—placed on a revolving platform suggest a simple replacement of one occupation for another one.²⁴

In this sense, Terror Háza's presentation is similar, as Ziębińska-Witek shows, to the musealisation of communism in Latvia and Estonia, where the museums' narratives strongly underline the dual occupation and focus mainly on the victims, in particular the victims of Soviet occupation, and the heroes fighting the occupants.²⁵ The exposition in the Riga museum (which is currently undergoing restoration) even covers the history of three occupations: the Soviet occupation between 1940 and 1941, the German occupation between 1941 and 1944, and the subsequent Soviet occupation between 1944 and 1991.²⁶ These three periods of occupation were presented, however, through the criminality of totalitarian regimes, particularly the Soviet regime, and through the heroism and sacrifice of the Latvians in their struggle for independence. Thus, in Riga, similarly to in Budapest, a thorough, critical narrative on collaboration with the Germans is left out. It is evident that the museum in Riga had to address the problem of Soviet totalitarianism, but according to the Russian minority in Latvia, the Soviet occupation was presented erroneously as being equally horrific to the German one. This determined the fate of the Museum of Occupations, which was initially private and much more independent but which lost this independence when it was put under the supervision of the Latvian parliament.

The main axis of the dispute was the use of the term "occupation" in reference to the Soviet presence in Latvia after 1944. According to those against using this term, the expression "unlawful change of regime" would be more appropriate. The change would entail a complete restructuring of the exhibition²⁷ and eventually the dispute ended with the museum being closed down. In return, one of the public buildings in Riga staged a temporary exhibition on the understanding of the occupation considering the differing experiences of the Soviet

²³ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 45 & next.

²⁴ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 72.

²⁵ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 82.

²⁶ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 82–84.

²⁷ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 85.

presence in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania compared to in other CEE countries, and particularly in Western Europe, where communism remained outside the sphere of direct experience. Nevertheless, a branch of the Museum of Occupations in Riga located in the former KGB headquarters, which also used to house a Soviet prison, is still accessible. “Double occupation” is also referred to in the National Museum of Latvian History in the section dedicated to the most recent history.²⁸ The Museum of Occupations in Tallinn, similarly to the museum in Riga, was opened through private initiative, by Olga Kistler-Ritso, an emigrant who established a foundation for this purpose.²⁹ The permanent exhibition in the Tallinn museum was prepared, as the author of *Musealisation...* claims, with the close cooperation of Estonian historians. However, this does not change the fact that the exhibition is similarly misleading to the one in Riga. It maintains the same chronological framing, relating to the aforementioned three occupations Soviet (1940–41), German (1941–44), and again Soviet (1944–91). Additionally, it includes the Holocaust, the history of which, in a manner similar as for Hungarians, casts a shadow over Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians. In Tallinn, asserts Ziębińska-Witek, the Holocaust experience is parallel, at least on the level of the symbolism used (concrete suitcases outside the entrance to the museum), to the Gulag experience.³⁰ Hence, in principle, Nazism and Communism stand in the same line of terror as regimes that deprived the Baltic States of their independence, a deprivation that eventually triggered their resistance. Yet the museum says little or nothing about submission to these regimes, not to mention the “asphyxiation” by these regimes.

By analysing and interpreting the selected identity-heroic museums of communism, Ziębińska-Witek draws our attention to the strategic goal underlying their establishment—the production of a national brand.³¹ In the museums of communism this national branding involves raising their fights and victories over communism to the level of myth, where free nations are established; furthermore, the more the authors conform to this convention of a narrative museum, the more persuasive those narratives become. The underlying source of this convention, dating back to the 1980s, was a reformation movement aimed at transforming/funding museums, and pivoted between the perspectives of the actions of specialists (historians, designers, and educators) and the audience, the emphasis being shifted to the latter, they being invited to participate in the creation (participation, performance) of the museum narrative. This entailed significant changes in museum productions, including undesirable changes, such as the creating of high-tech or narrative museums, where the former, instead of stimulating participation, in many instances limited the audience’s activities to the effective technical operation of the exposition, and the latter, instead of inducing individual interpretation, closed the past via ready-made stories.

If the musealisation of communism in the identity-heroic trend was to be considered a call for values, then the musealisation in the martyrologic-Tyrtaean trend is, as Anna Ziębińska-Witek observes, a call for justice for the martyr-victims of the regime.³² This is how the contemporary deal with the memory of defeat, doing justice to those who died as heroes or martyrs for a lost or bygone cause. The call for justice, as the author of *Musealisation...* indicates, through references to Aleida Assmann, is also associated with the sustaining of claims

²⁸ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 87.

²⁹ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 88.

³⁰ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 89–90.

³¹ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 62–63.

³² ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 61.

for recognition and the right to revenge, reflected in the pathos accompanying exhibitions in the martyrologic-Tyrtaean order.³³ Many museums of this kind, as Ziębińska-Witek illustrates, relate directly to the tradition of the Halls of Memory or prison-type museums. Most of them are autotelic and refer to “a single event ..., historical occurrence ..., person-fighter ... and martyr”.³⁴

They also fit into a group of “real death” museums, which Ziębińska-Witek addresses in detail in her works on the Holocaust. “In accordance with this concept, the most effective and convincing representations of the past combine the power of a real object, real place, and real person”.³⁵

This is how the Hall of Memory of the “Wujek” Coal Mine functions, where the story of the coal mine told in situ is linked to the dramatic events of the pacifying of the mine’s workers on the first days of martial law in Poland. The exposition in the hall thus links specific victims to the history of the mine, the regional history, and the national history, fitting the victims into the order of national martyrdom in the fight for independence. That is why, according to Ziębińska-Witek, the memory of the victims of the pacification of the “Wujek” mine has been made concrete and sacred, while the perpetrators form “an impersonal, yet ‘driving’ force, that one must temporarily submit to”.³⁶

The situation is different in the Warsaw Hall of Memory of the Victims of Communist Terror and in the Hall of Memory of Communist Terror in Tomaszów Lubelski, where “the aesthetics of the exposition is different, and the symbolic punishment of the perpetrators is a strongly accented element”.³⁷ Otherwise, both these memory halls have the same goal of staging the victimisation of the victims to sanctify them in the place where they suffered and died. A common feature of these museums, as Ziębińska-Witek writes, is their cramped claustrophobic climate, achieved by locating them in basements, dark corridors, interrogation rooms, or prison cells, and their “selective authenticity” based on the combining of artefacts with their staging and simulations. These museums present two types of victims. Some are specific individuals who we know by name and whose martyr biographies we explore, while others are generic and unbranded, elusive, as if incidental, referred to in the museum not for their own sake, but to find “the mechanisms that led to their crimes”.³⁸

Similarly to the identity-heroic trend, the martyrologic-Tyrtaean musealisation involves a complex process of the nationalising of the victims—which sometimes takes the form, as Ziębińska-Witek notes, of a “sacrificial nationalism” with a tendency towards national megalomania—typical of such presentations.³⁹

Among the Polish museums from the martyrologic-Tyrtaean order, the author of *Musealisation...* mentions the Father Jerzy Popiełuszko Museum located in the basement of Saint Stanisław Kostka Church in the Warsaw district of Żoliborz, mainly because of its uniquely hagiographic nature. The church’s being the location of the museum has a double signifi-

³³ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 113–115.

³⁴ ASSMANN, Aleida. From Canon and Archive. In: *The Collective Memory Reader*. Eds. J. K. Olick, V. Vinitzky-Seroussi, D. Levy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 50 quoted by ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 113–115.

³⁵ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 116.

³⁶ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 121.

³⁷ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 121.

³⁸ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 124–125.

³⁹ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 125–126.

cance—as the place where Father Jerzy Popieluszko celebrated mass for the homeland, and also as a materialised *sacrum*, which both draws on and gives martyrs sacred attributes.⁴⁰ In the case of the Father Jerzy Popieluszko Museum, this sacredness also comes from other sources: there is the priest, a martyr, and his catacomb museum; the sacredness of the church founded on a century-long practice of raising martyrdom to the rank of the highest sacrifice; and the exposition that culminates in the “Golgota” where, apart from other elements, there are trees (today wood) from the place where Father Popieluszko was beaten and tortured. Ziębińska-Witek refers to these trees as “inhuman witnesses of history”, alluding to the ongoing debates on witnesses to the Holocaust, in the context of the deaths of those who could give witness to it, and to the importance of an object as evidence of their existence and death.⁴¹ In addition, as aptly noticed by the author of *Musealisation...*, the grave of the priest-martyr is located near the church housing the museum dedicated to Father Jerzy Popieluszko, meaning that the museum and its exhibitions can be viewed as a place of pilgrimage. However, the “exhibition fails to mention ... that Popieluszko was not the only priest persecuted and murdered during communist times. Instead, the exhibition fills this void by highlighting the incontrovertible divine intervention and divine providence” of this event.⁴²

Everything mentioned previously, that is, sacrificial nationalism and the tendency towards a hagiographic presentation of the victims of communism, can also be found in other Central and Eastern European museums, including in Romania, where, especially after 2006, efforts were taken to work out a settlement on museum narration. These efforts are reflected in the new expositions in old museums (e.g. the Museum of Romanian History), and in newly established museums (e.g. the Museum of the Romanian Farmer), where communism is only one of many themes in the permanent exposition. There is, however, a memorial in Romania dedicated to the victims of communism. Brought into being a Romanian dissident, Ana Blandiana, with the cooperation of Romulus Rusan, the memorial is located in a former prison in Sighet. Although this museum refers to several dimensions of communism in Romania in the form of an extensive story, special emphasis is put on the Romanian anti-communist movement and its victims, including those buried in the prison cemetery whose remains could not be identified, despite archaeological studies, but who deserve commemoration, even more so because the Communists were highly successful in obliterating traces of martyrdom and evidence of their own crimes. This is why Sighet Memorial stages these “relicts” that commemorate the victims of communism with pietism. The memory of the victims has also been marked as a necropolis and monumental structure dominated by coniferous trees rising from the ashes of the murdered martyrs.⁴³

Ziębińska-Witek places the Genocide Victims Museum in Vilnius among the martyrologic-Tyrtaean museums, where, similarly to the museums of occupation in Riga and Tallinn, communism is equated with Nazism⁴⁴ and the entire exposition refers mainly to Lithuanian martyrs fighting for independence. This is the reason the visit to the Vilnius museum ends in

⁴⁰ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 131–132.

⁴¹ AGAMBEN, Giorgio. *Co zostaje z Auschwitz* [What Remains of Auschwitz]. Warszawa: Sic!, 2008, p. 33, quoted by ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 138–139.

⁴² ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 141.

⁴³ DOBRE, Claudia Florentina. Communism at the Museum: Staging Memory at the Sighet Memorial. In: *Performing the Past: Post-Communist Poland and Romania*. Poznań: Instytut Historii 2014. Eds. I. Skórzyńska, Ch. Lavrence, p. 40, quoted by ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 154. Dobre: 2014, p. 40)

⁴⁴ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 156–157.

the Execution Hall, where, walking on a plexiglass floor, the visitors can see the victims' private belongings below. For Ziębińska-Witek, the Execution Hall is a clear and deliberate reference to the "Central Sauna" in Auschwitz—Birkenau II, where boards also covered the floors.⁴⁵

Anna Ziębińska-Witek compares the martyrologic museums of communism, which place strong emphases on the martyrdom of the victims of this regime, to the few ironic narratives concerning communism. Their relation to the martyrologic-Tyrtaean trend stems from the fact that these ironic stagings/narratives/performances "reside" in historical places, such as the STASI Museum in Berlin and Dresden or the exhibition on the 23rd floor of the Viru Hotel in Tallinn. All these places once housed the KGB and STASI, which, either directly or indirectly, caused many people great suffering, depriving them of their freedom and sometimes their life. Here, however, it is not about the victims, but about the perpetrators, not about the solemnity of martyrdom, but about condemning those that caused it. Ziębińska-Witek thus refers to these museums as expositions of "the everyday life of the intelligence agency". This life is presented *au rebours*, as a machine of repression, which, however almighty it was in the communist context, and however much suffering it caused to so many helpless victims, still failed abysmally in its fight against the people.⁴⁶

Referring to the identity-heroic and martyrologic-Tyrtaean trends in the musealisation of communism, Ziębińska-Witek writes about the enormous emotional toll the exposition takes, especially in the case of the latter trend, and also accentuates the emotive experiences of the audience. And these are special experiences, connected with the exposition of both heroism and suffering, the moral argumenta of the victims that today make it possible to take symbolic revenge on the torturers. Whether there is room for history and for distance from and a critical analysis of the experience of communism in the politics of aesthetics remains an open question since communism, and here I move to the last part of the book by Ziębińska-Witek, is also quite abundantly represented in the form of nostalgic exhibitions and museums.

In reference to nostalgia as a framework for presenting communism, the author discusses an array of exhibition practices for which the sentimentalisation and carnivalisation of communism act as a common denominator. Carnivalisation, for example, is represented by the protagonist's practices, as described by Ziębińska-Witek, as a fight of sorts against communist monuments, which, in the course of cleansing public space of the hated symbols, took shape, most notably in the early 1990s, via street festivities, when citizens, humiliated by the authorities, often spontaneously meted out symbolic punishment to the statues of their torturers. However, the further away from 1989 one moves, the more these practices incorporated politics (decommunisation), and the less spontaneous they thus became, dampening the spirit of joyfully exorcising revolutionary leaders and their historical accomplices. Along with decommunisation came complications, depending on what the monument symbolised. The monument of Russian soldiers, for example, hid the ashes of the fallen soldiers; the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw is not only an inexorable element of the urban fabric, but also a testimony of enslavement, and its presence, according to many, should act as a warning for posterity.⁴⁷

The nostalgic trend of communism musealisation is also, as Ziębińska-Witek writes, a matter of a forgone generational experience. This function, according to the author, is fulfilled

⁴⁵ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 159–161.

⁴⁶ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 84.

⁴⁷ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 183–225.

by two private museums of the People's Republic of Poland, one in Warsaw and one in Ruda Śląska, and by the Museum of the GDR and Trabant in Berlin. Interestingly, the founding of these museums was driven not so much by the everydayness of communism, but by the nostalgia for that everydayness. Hence, the expositions in these museums were designed to reflect how people still/already remember communism rather than reflecting on what it was really like. This approach results in two possible interpretation tactics. One refers to the witnesses of history who can still critically refer to these museum reservoirs of memories, and the other one refers to their successors, for whom this nostalgic communism can be a potential source of entertainment.⁴⁸

In this context, the two other museums described by the author of *Musealisation ...* present a completely different light. The Berlin Wall Museum, where the cognitive dimension of a dispersed exposition seems to continuously win with an attractive form of presentation, is clearly imbued with nostalgia for communism. In the Museum of the State Agricultural Farm in Bolegorzyn (Drawsko County), nostalgia applies not so much to life in a socialist country as to the security that State Agricultural Farms provided to Polish farm workers in communist Poland, which farmers lost, many irrecoverably, when political change swept through the transformation.

According to Ziębińska-Witek, the establishment of the Museum of the State Agricultural Farm was a local and bottom-up driven initiative, carried out under the countrywide slogan "Let's save [exhibits] from oblivion—time passes so quickly!"⁴⁹. Hence, the museum became both a place for the gathering of post-state agriculture farm mementoes, not only from the region but also from all over the country, and a museum of objects. The objects (artefacts) are organised in three thematic blocks that refer to the past life in state agricultural farms, the past life in the People's Republic of Poland, and to the past life of the inhabitants of Drawsko, that is, local Germans. Who, then, is this museum for? In an attempt to answer this question, Ziębińska-Witek refers to Bożena Kulicz, the initiator of the museum, who mentioned both the absence of a common history and memory amongst the inhabitants of the former state agricultural farms and, furthermore, the absence of a continued memory in posterity; a majority of those from the more degraded areas emigrated from these lands in the transformation period. The museum was meant to fill this gap by calling for recognition of the past by the inhabitants of communist agri-towns, marginalised after 1989 as part of a common foundation myth. If there was a place for heroes who fought communism and for martyrs of communism, there should also be a place for common people, also including for those who, in a sense, were beneficiaries of this communism.⁵⁰

Conclusions

When one year ago I was preparing a short review of Anna Ziębińska-Witek's book for *The Polish Review*⁵¹, I could not share with readers all the conclusions particularly important from the point of view of the inhabitants of Central and Eastern Europe, who are facing not only the heritage, but also the burden of communism. This was not only because Ziębińska-Witek

⁴⁸ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 183–225.

⁴⁹ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, p. 192.

⁵⁰ ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, *Muzealizacja komunizmu...*, pp. 174–175.

⁵¹ SKÓRZYŃSKA, Izabela. Muzealizacja komunizmu w Polsce i Europie Środkowo - Wschodniej [Musealization of Communism in Poland and Central and Eastern Europe], by Anna Ziębińska-Witek, In: „*The Polish Review*” 2020/4, pp.107-109.

has created a piece of work so rich in references to varied empirical material and so dense in interpretational terms that it was neither easy to deal with them nor, all the more, to disregard them, but also because we have still not had enough time to deal with communism, which to this day deeply influences our cultural, social, and political life and our sense of security. In this context, musealisations of communism serve, of course, at least to some extent, to consign it to the past. This is the reason why we historicise but also carnivalise, exorcise, sentimentalise, and so on, communism in museums, and this is the reason why we sacralise its victims and stigmatise its perpetrators. However, these are not practices from the realm of knowledge and cognition but rather of politics and aesthetics. This process which, then, is supposed to help us deal with communism—its musealisation—still maintains unbearable currency for its community of memory.

It would be unfair of me not to mention that Ziębińska-Witek also identifies the musealisation of communism as a potentially positive reservoir of historical knowledge and a source thanks to which we can “update” the community in terms of values. The notion that the author particularly draws our attention to, however, is the relationship between objects and their meaning in museums of communism. This relationship, she contends, remains in flux, as do the relationships between history and memory, politics and aesthetics, communism and its staging, and, going further, between the intention of the authors and the expectations of the audience, about whom, despite being the most important element in this equation, unfortunately, we still know relatively little. This is why the discussion on what communism has done with us and what its musealisations do with us still remains important, open, and inspirational.

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