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Avant-garde art display recreations historised: Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź as a referential case?[1]

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Avant-garde art display recreations historised: Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź as a referential case?
Museums can no longer pretend to be mere containers of art or other cultural treasures; their fascinating legacy for posterity is definitely not just the respective collection, but also its idiosyncratic articulation and ulterior resignification. This essay surveys sifting trends in the re-staging of modern museographies; but instead of using New York's MoMA as the obvious paradigm, pride of place is given here to the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź (Poland). Its original Neoplastic Hall survived only from June 1948 until October 1950; but it was reconstructed ten years later, prefiguring other museographical remakes of avant-garde art displays. Thereafter, it also became, in many ways, a typical example characterising postmodern museological trends. All in all, it could perhaps be discussed nowadays in the light of critical museology as a referential case in the history of heritagised museographies.

Keywords: museographical reconstructions, museum history, critical heritage studies

It seems a long-established axiom for museologists to vindicate that the subject of our studies is not just the museum, but also the ways in which cultural heritage is musealised. Thus historic display strategies could be precious museographical testimonies, which deserve to be reconsidered, not just to say with arrogant assurance that "they were wrong and we can get it right" but to illustrate how any specific installation has a major effect on what one sees.[2] In this spirit, museums should develop self-awareness, and museum professionals have become concerned that they must conserve, study, exhibit, and interpret certain idiosyncratic arrangements and iconic mementoes of past ways of seeing, which can also be a valuable cultural legacy. This challenges the procedures of some fanatics of modernity, who used to build canonical *white cube* presentations spitefully covering or even destroying outmoded interior architecture, yet a tolerant reassessment should be accorded to good-hearted modern museographical remodels of avant-garde art displays.

Indeed, they could be considered test cases for succeeding museological shifts: such is the role attributed in this essay to the changing uses of the Neoplastic Hall at the Art Museum

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[2] ALPERS, Svetlana. The Museum as a Way of Seeing. In: *The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington-London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991, p. 31.

Pict. 1. *Permanent display of the International Collection of Modern Art of the "a.r." group at the J. and K. Bartoszewicz Municipal Museum of History and Art, [in] International Collection of Modern Art / Collection Internationale D'Art Nouveau. Catalogue no. 2, (Łódź: The J. and K. Bartoszewicz Municipal Museum of History and Art, 1932)*, Archive of the Muzeum Sztuki, Łódź

in Łódź, an institution nowadays emblematic of the latest museum policies in many ways. As it is distributed in a triad of buildings, it has appropriately been compared with the Tates in Great Britain and other institutional flagships of ambitious urban revitalisation projects, geographically distributed in separated cultural districts, where the museum is respectively housed in remarkable historic buildings which are all themselves considered architectural landmarks.[3] Yet a distinctive feature which makes it a very special case is the consideration given to a double historical legacy of modernity: the collection of avant-garde art and its museographical layout. The Neoplastic Hall and its art contents are now recognised as two differentiated cultural assets which can be viewed separately but interpreted as a single treasure. This is the outcome of a long process, evolving in tune with changing criteria worldwide.

The International Collection of New Art, set up in Łódź by avant-garde artist Wladyslaw Strzemiński and his fellows of the "a.r. group", was a grass-roots project, based on unconditional donations by kindred artists, which was crystallised in the opening in February 1931 of a modern art section with crowded rooms at the Municipal Museum of History and Art (Fig. 1). However, after World War II this modern collection was transferred to Poznański palace, where Strzemiński created a purposely designed museographical installation, the famous Neoplastic Hall with white, yellow, red, and blue walls, inaugurated in June 1948 (Fig. 2). But it would only survive for two years, until October 1950, its experimental museography seemingly outshone

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[3] JAGODZIŃSKA, Katarzyna. *Museums and Centers of Contemporary Art in Central Europe after 1989*, Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2020.

Pict. 3. *Władysław Strzemiński, Neoplastic Room.* Reconstruction by Bolesław Utkin; exhibition view of 1960-1966, Archives of the Muzeum Sztuki, Łódź

Pict. 2. *Władysław Strzemiński, Neoplastic Room,* exhibition view of 1948-1950, Archive of the Muzeum Sztuki, Łódź

by the international paradigms of modern museums gaining momentum in the Cold War.[4]

Nevertheless, the room was reconstructed in 1960 with painstaking fidelity to the original by a disciple of Strzemiński, Bolesław Utkin, in collaboration with the museum director, Marian Minich (Fig. 3). All in all, this could be linked to the taste for the recreation of monuments in postwar Europe. The frantic reconstructions of Dresden or Warsaw city centres were the epitome of architectonic "clonations", often including the integral restitution, both outside and indoors, of churches, theatres, and some civic buildings.[5] Bombed façades of many museums and art centres were also scrupulously returned to their pre-war situation, but more often than not everything inside would be freely adapted to the latest developments in museum architecture. That was not to be the case here, and somehow the meticulous interior reconstitution at the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź of Strzemiński's Neoplastic display, which had been knocked down ten years before, revealed a very special effort. Soon, other facsimile replicas of memorable modernist shows followed the trend, some being reproduced in permanent galleries and others in temporary exhibitions.[6] Obviously, their motivation was not primarily

[4] But not the whole architectural structure was destroyed - only polychromy: window and skylight frames, lamps' covers, furniture remained. Cf. SUCHAN, Jaroslaw. The Avant-Garde Museum. In: Agnieszka Pindera & Jaroslaw Suchan (eds.). The Avant-Garde Museum. Łodź: Walther König & Muzeum Sztuki, 2020, pp. 18-45.

[5] HERNÁNDEZ MARTÍNEZ, Ascensión. *La clonazione architettonica.* Milan: Jaca Book, 2010.

[6] In particular the *Kabinett der Abstrakten*, created by El Lissitzky on the second floor of Hannover Landesmuseum, followed by László Moholy-Nagy's *Raum der Gegenwart* to conclude the art historical itinerary arranged by director Alexander Dorner. This famous cabinet of abstract artworks had been dismantled by the Nazis in 1937 and remade from scratch in 1968 at the heart of the then renamed Niedersächsischen Landesmuseum in room 45 of the ground floor: a displacement further stressed by its transfer in 1979 to the new building of the Sprengel Museum, where renewed replicas were re-elaborated in 1983 and 2017. Cfr TEJEDA MARTÍN, Isabel. La copia y la reconstrucción: un recurso visual en las exposiciones de arte moderno desde los años 60 del siglo XX. In: *Arte, Individuo y Sociedad,* 24(2), 2012, pp. 21–226; ANDA, Carolin, BIALEK, Yvonne, DURKA, Cornelia, KARPISEK, Alexande, POHLMANN, Natascha, SACK, Philipp (eds). *Aura-Politiken. El Lissitzkys Kabinett der Abstrakten zwischen Musealisierung und Teilhabe.* Braunschweig: DFG-Graduiertenkolleg, 2017.

architectural conservation; they intended to pay homage to some experimental arrangement of avant-garde art, very often entailing place transfers. Such dislocations, ironically enough, were enforced while the apostles of *nouvelle muséologie* were vindicating musealisations *in situ* of all sorts of communal heritage! If historic displays are also a cultural legacy, shouldn't they be restored in their original locations?

This subsequently became a hot issue in heritage studies, as critical discourses questioned henceforth the supposed convenience of replicating, even in the original emplacement, some pearls of modern architecture expressly conceived as *machines à exposer,* since their exhibition contexts are forever lost.[7] On a more positive note, museologist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett associated mimetic installations of the past with subjective metonymies "whether in the form of period rooms, ethnographic villages, recreated environments, reenacted rituals, or photo-murals [...] even when they seem to do nothing more than relocate an entire house and its contents, brick by brick, board by board, chair by chair".[8] Likewise, in times of growing aesthetic "historicism" in art and architecture, some scholars insisted on distinguishing it from proper "historism" in spaces where modernity was worshipped.[9]

A self-conscious exercise in reconstruction could henceforth be recognised as a museum highlight, whose value would be based in its reflexive discourse, not in the accuracy of the reproduction. Hence, rigorous experts in architecture instead welcomed temporary shows displaying didactic re-enactments of historic displays, including Strzemiński's Neoplastic room, restaged by the Instituto Valenciano de Arte Moderno on the occasion of an exhibition in 1994.[10] Another bone of contention emerged in Germany apropos the legacy of the Folkwang Museum originally inaugurated as early as 1902 in Hagen by modern art collector Karl Ernst Osthaus, whose inheritors sold both the collection and the denomination of that private museum to the municipality of Essen; thus, in Hagen there was just an empty building after World War II, which became again an art museum, nostalgically aimed at recovering its former lustre. That ambition led to the restoration in the 1990s of the original *art nouveau* interior designed by Henry van de Velde, vindicated as the heart of the institution, which was rebaptised Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum; but, of course, the collection did not match the original contents, generating a tricky *musealisierung* dilemma.[11] This was playfully solved by the then director, Michael Fehr, who argued:

> this museum building is not bound by the fundamental principle governing 'normal' museums, namely, to present exhibits in a neutral and academically legitimate manner. It calls rather for 'responsive or reflective hanging' or, to put it

[7] This was a point raised in the polemics regarding the German Pavilion designed by Mies van der Rohe for the 1929 International Exposition in Barcelona, re-erected *in situ* and opened in 1986 as an isolated tourist attraction in its own right. Furthermore, some sceptics raised the objection that visitors could be confused and might believe this was an exact replica, instead of being told the differences between the original and its copy. Cf. MONTANER, Josep Maria. El pavelló Mies a Barcelona: una reconstrucció polèmica. In: *Temes de Disseny*, 2, 1988, pp. 47–54.

[8] KIRSHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, Barbara. Objects of Ethnography. In: *Exhibiting Cultures. The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington-London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991, p. 388.

[9] POINSOT, Jean-Marc. Large exhibitions. A sketch of a typology. In: *Thinking about Exhibitions*. London-New York: Routledge, 1996, p. 64, note 9.

[10] LAYUNO ROSAS, María Ángeles. Exponerse o ser expuesto (La problemática expositiva de las vanguardias históricas). In: *Espacio, Tiempo, Forma*, 7(10), 1997, p. 351, fig. 12.

[11] CRANE, Susan A. Memory, Distortion and History in the Museum. In: *History and Theory*, 36(4), 1997, pp. 44–63.

another way, for the development of a *Gemeinschaftskunstwerk*.[12]

Switching from primeval modernity to contemporary revisionism, that space was thus offered to related installations by living artists to establish creative historical connections with Osthaus's avant-garde impulse. While modernity exalted novelties, in many ways postmodernity would be time and again obsessively coming to terms with the past. The "museification of museums" became indeed a universal quandary discussed by many theoreticians, sometimes with inspired metaphors: "Like the strata on an archaeological site, the museum today displays the various layers of its own history. At the core is the collection, surrounded by the vestiges of former modes of display as well as the architecture's own history".[13] Similarly, James Sheehan, prestigious historian of German museums, argued that "among the significant artifacts that museums contain are the intellectual, institutional, and architectural traces of their own history, residues of their own past".[14] Unlayering former structures and revealing their politics of representation in a reflexive museum was indeed the plan launched in 2003 at the Haus der Kunst in Munich by its director, Chris Dercon, with the label *kritischer Rückbau*—critical reconstruction.[15]

Yet the lure of the past in other cases was not always condensed in original architectural samples; instead, a fashionable trend of postmodern nostalgia inspired reinvented *vintage* museographies. Museum curators turned interior decorators were refurbishing galleries of old masters in cluttered displays of pictures hung on colourful clothed walls or even recreating palatial decorations with copies, irrespective of the true historical precedents in the respective institution.[16] On the other hand, a parallel museographical quest for historical glamour was then the conversion of former factories, silos, and warehouses into museums, particularly for centres of modern/contemporary art, whose architectural styles and urban location could be loaded with political symbolism, especially in former communist countries. In Poland, for example, the Warsaw Museum of Modern Art, established in 2005, found its first headquarters in a residential building across the street from the Palace of Culture and Science, with a new purpose-built edifice being thereafter erected nearby, on Parade Square. Meanwhile, in Łódź a huge nineteenth-century textile factory in the old suburbs of this industrial town became the

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[12] FEHR, Michael. A Museum and its Memory. The Art of Recovering History. In: *Museums and Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000, pp. 50–51.

[13] SCHUBERT, Karsten. *The Curator's Egg. The Evolution of the Museum Concept from the French Revolution to the Present Day*. London: One-Off Books, 2000, p. 132.

[14] SHEEHAN, James J. *Museums in the German Art World from the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 189. As a practical substantiation of the latter point, the Nationalgalerie in Berlin, whose building underwent an ambitious campaign of works for its 125th anniversary, reopened in 2001 with a small room—Saal 1.04—discreetly left unchanged, keeping its original mosaic floor, marble columns, and dark green stucco wall. Today, a Raffael statue made in 1877 by Ernst Julius Hähnel still stands in the middle, as a memento of the former hall for sculptures; a bust by Alexander Zschockke portraying Ludwig Justi pays homage to the museum director who set up the displays in 1910–14; while other documents in showcases and framed photos recall further details of the history of the institution. Thus, this little "time capsule" is not only a memorial of the former building but also a condensed institutional autobiography, as an illuminated sign at the entrance explicitly declares: "Geschichte der Nationalgalerie".

[15] RECTANUS, Mark W. *Museums Inside Out. Artist Collaborations and New Exhibitions Ecologies*. Minneapolis-London: University of Minnesota Press, 2020, p. 57.

[16] "In substituting replica for reality," wrote Victoria Newhouse about a notorious case, "context replaces content." NEWHOUSE, Victoria. *Art and the Power of Placement*. New York: Monacelli Press, 2005, p. 102. See also GÓMEZ MARTÍNEZ, J. *Museografía al filo del milenio. Tendencias y recurrencias*. Gijón: Trea, 2016, pp. 231–237.

new heart of the city: a cultural and leisure complex called Manufaktura, where in 2008 the former spinning mill houses became a new branch of Muzeum Sztuki, called ms², specialising in modern and contemporary art. But it was decided to keep the reconstructed Neoplastic Room in ms¹ in the building for which it had been originally designed. The idea was to use Strzemiński's impulse as a catalyst for reinterpretations and reflections by contemporary artists, which has been the aim of the *Open Composition* programme carried out there since 2010 (Fig. 4).

Pict. 4. *Exhibition view: The Neoplastic Room. Open Composition, 2013*, photo P. Tomczyk, Archive of the Muzeum Sztuki, Łódź.

Site-specific installations of contemporary art in museums were then gaining momentum, in a second wave of "institutional critique" in which instead of external attacks against the art system launched by individual artists one would find questioning art-interventions commissioned by museums. The examples and specialised bibliography on this topic would surpass the intended length of this paper, but the most relevant point here is to consider that, under the spell of what Stefania Zuliani has called the "museum effect" in contemporary art, modernist displays became one of the favourite fronts open for artists' revisionism.[17] In fact, it was an artist, Brian O'Doherty, who had divulgated the critical concept of the *white cube*—although this and other similar expressions like "white box" were already in use before—to denigrate the ideology of an enclosed space that, in reality, had never existed, not even in New York's MoMA.[18] And

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[17] ZULIANI, Stefania. Alexander Dorner, The Way Beyond Museum. In: *Piano b. Arti e culture visive*, 1(1), 2016, pp. 321–340. See also BAWIN, Julie. *L'artiste commissaire. Entre posture critique, jeu créatif et valeur ajoutée*. Paris: Éditions des Archives Contemporaines, 2014.
[18] KLONK, Charlotte. *Spaces of Experience: Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000*. New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2009, p. 218.

other contemporary artists were in charge of the rather symbolical re-enactments in influential art galleries of historic avant-garde displays like Malevich's *Last Futurist Exhibition* emulated in Máribor in 2008, or László Moholy-Nagy's *Raum der Gegenwart*, El Lissitzky's *Abstraktes Kabinett*, and Lina Bo Bardi's display for the MASP re-staged in Einhoven in 2010/11.[19] However, such museographical "re-readings" by artists could not have been possible without the personal support of curators and their respective institutions, eager to showcase visual quotations—not detailed reconstructions—so as to induce reflective comparisons between modern artists' experimentalism and postmodern museological concerns. In many ways, this sort of

Pict. 5. *Exhibition view: Atlas of Modernity. The 20th and 21st Century Art Collection, 2014*, photo P. Tomczyk, Archive of the Muzeum Sztuki, Łódź

comparative reassessment has been given pride of place in Łódź with the changing displays of the modern collection at ms^2 and the postmodern memorial of the Neoplastic Room at ms^1 (Fig. 5).

What should now be the way forward? Different paths can be chosen, as at a crossroads. If the history of exhibitions and museums has become a cardinal feature for art historians, it must also be of interest for museums themselves and their articulation; but the best option is no longer to rebuild more deceiving replicas of missed museographies. [20] Gustavo Araoz, President of ICOMOS, has argued that former architectural conservation policies should be replaced by some tolerance of changes allowing continuity of use, which can then be

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[19] HANSEN, Tone. *(Re)Staging the Art Museum.* Berlin, Revolver Publishing, 2011, p. 47. BISHOP, Claire. *Radical Museology, or, What's "Contemporary" in Museums of Contemporary Art?* London: Koening Books, 2014, p. 33.

[20] A most controversial case of this dilemma in later times has come about at the Museu de Arte de Sao Paulo, designed by Lina Bo Bardi in 1968. Her stunning modernist parade displaying its permanent collection in a forest of more than 100 glass and concrete easels had been discarded in a 1996 refurbishment, yet it has been more or less back in place again since 2015. An information panel installed at the entrance by Bradesco, the bank company sponsoring this recreation, describes it as "rescate preciso de uma peça icónica"—precise rescue of an iconic piece—even though the work done, following professional restoration recommendations to make the new intervention recognisable, is in fact just an approximate recreation. LORENTE, J. Pedro. O auge das reconstruções de expografias e de museografías históricas após a crise do cubo branco moderno. In: *Museografia e Interdisciplinaridade*, 5(10), 2016, pp. 34–42.

acknowledged as a new paradigm in critical heritage studies.[21] A second option is to avoid architectural reconstructions, using mock-ups, dioramas, photo montages, or other didactic materials. Faithful to this strategy, the Museum of American Art in Berlin, inaugurated in 2004, didactically presents small-scale reproductions of historic exhibition displays of American modernity, mainly referring to the shows curated by Alfred Barr or Dorothy Miller for the MoMA in New York. More abstruse can be the erudite homage staged at the Moderna Museet in Stockholm, in a space reserved for the collection bequeathed by its most famous director, Pontus Hultén, whose memory is honoured there by placing these artworks in a storing/display system that recalls the mechanical devices implemented by him when he was director of the Museum of Modern Art at the Pompidou Centre in Paris.[22] Such a stage-set led the way to further dramaturgical re-enactments, by means of theatrical props and digital technologies.[23] A middle way, between the two extremes, was marked in 2012 by the extension of the Barnes Foundation from the founders' home in the suburbs of Merion to a new building in the centre of Philadelphia, after bitter judiciary conflicts. Although Albert Barnes had bequeathed his house and collection stating in his will that all his modern paintings should remain in the exact same place, this has been freely interpreted as a reference not to the edifice, but to the arrangements of pictures, which are hung again in roughly similar ensembles, recreated according to the collector's taste and ideas, which are described to visitors as forming part of Barnes' cultural legacy.[24]

Similarly, the art museum in Łódź is now paying homage to Wladyslaw Strzemiński's multifaceted museographical legacy, which is not only the collection of avant-garde art he gathered or the rebuilt architecture of the Neoplastic Room, but also his other experiments in curatorship. The imaginative efforts of that modern visionary are reinterpreted from our present perspective in temporary shows and educational initiatives. It seems obvious that such curatorial legacies should also deserve to be self-referentially highlighted in museums and exhibitions. Paraphrasing Marshall McLuhan's famous dictum, we could state that for critical museologists the medium is now part of the message to be reflexively considered. Indeed, museums across the world are now proudly informing their visitors about, for example, the historic interest of their old dioramas, dating sometimes back to the early twentieth century. Some institutions are still pursuing the ambitious idea of replicating historic exhibitions. However, this is an almost impossible task, because even if we could reunite the same contents in the same space, conserved and scrupulously unaltered, our present professional standards of

[21] ARAOZ, Gustavo F. Preserving Heritage Places under a New Paradigm. In: *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 1(1), 2011, pp. 55–60. Cf. also WITCOMB, Andrea & BUCKLEY, Kristal. Engaging with the Future of 'Critical Heritage Studies': Looking Back in Order to Look Forward. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(6), 2013, pp. 562–578.

[22] BURCH, Stuart. Past Presents and Present Futures: Rethinking Sweden's Moderna Museet. In: *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism*, 9(2), 2012, pp. 97–111.

[23] SOMPAIRAC, Arnaud. *Scénographie d'exposition: six perspectives critiques*. Genève: MétisPresses, 2016.

[24] LAWRENCE, Amanda R. Preservation through Replication: The Barnes Foundation. In: *Future Anterior*, 12(1), pp. 1–15.

public appreciation and safety have totally changed.[25] That should be the ultimate scientific goal in museums, unlike some popular versions of historic re-enactments which encourage empathy and celebrative engagement distorting history and discouraging critical thinking.[26]

It would perhaps be a logical corollary to complement original museographic heritage with added interpretations, which should be problematised explanations, rather like the way a "critical edition" of a reconstructed text comes with variants and remarks in the footnotes. This can be done with small budgets, as in the precedent set in 2018 by the National Museum of Modern Art at the Pompidou Centre in Paris for the celebrations of the bicentenary of its ancestor, the Musée du Luxembourg, hanging some works from the collection on walls covered with black and white photos of former museum displays, so as to make people aware of the different exposition criteria now and then. Taking a step further, the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź is carefully exhibiting the actual artworks separated from the evocations of former displays, in order to make clear that our way of putting treasures of modern art on view is based on present professional principles. Museums recalling idiosyncratic presentations from other times today are not necessarily intending to glorify the past; their goal is to develop curatorial self-awareness.[27] Indeed, the Neoplastic Hall is a room devoted not to the museum's modern collection but to the museum's own history, which can be considered yet another inkling of the momentous advance of self-reflective stances in museums and museology.[28] Thus the museum exhibits itself, not intending to cultivate nostalgia for the past, but simply as a public commemoration, in the literal sense of collective remembrance: a public memory particularly appropriate in the case of institutions with the pedigree and the importance of Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź. If the history of exhibitions and museums has become a cardinal feature in critical heritage studies, it must logically be a matter of interest for museums themselves.

For more photo documentation of exhibitions and events please visit the website of the Muzeum Sztuki resources: https://zasoby.msl.org.pl

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[25] This was a lesson learned in the first decade of the new millennium at the Tate Modern and other museums where the tantalising challenge of re-doing legendary art shows has been revealed as unattainable, although highly regarded for educational gains in critical self-reflection, as Helen Rees Leahy declared, in an essay suggestively entitled "Making an Exhibition of Ourselves". In it she ponders to what extent an exhibition of an exhibition is a (re)production, or an exhibitionist display of institutional capacity for self-critique. REES LEAHY, Helen. Making an Exhibition of Ourselves. In: *Museums and Biographies. Stories, Objects, Identities*, Woodbridge, Newcastle University-The Boydell Press, 2012, p. 150.

[26] WATSON, Sheila, Emotions in the History Museum. In: *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theory*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2015, p. 290 & 296.

[27] By self-referentially retrieving former displays, museums are thus offering us a reflection of themselves as narratives under permanent (re)construction. Confronted with historic museographies, visitors are sometimes provoked to espouse critical reviews from a new perspective. Sheila Watson put as an example the Museum of Political History in St Petersburg, founded in 1957 to glorify the Great October Socialist Revolution, exalted in painted murals and displays many which have been safeguarded, but radically reinterpreted with ironic comments. Cf. WATSON, Sheila, Emotions in the…, p. 292.

[28] What is ultimately exhibited is not the Neoplastic Hall, as it is clearly explained at the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź, making the public aware that what they see is a historic reconstruction which has experienced many changes in its use. Since May 2020, in the wake of the Covid-19 lockdown, the website of Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź offe a *Virtual walk around the Neoplastic Room*: a digital recreation coordinated by Aleksandra Żabowska. https://msl.org.pl/virtual-walk-around-the-neoplastic-room/

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Cultural heritage of Poland in the urban space of Vienna

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Cultural heritage of Poland in the urban space of Vienna
The aim of the research was to define the cultural heritage of Poland as represented in the urban space of Vienna by Polonica. Structures commemorating Poles or events they took part in, as well as places related to Poland and Polish people such as Nazi death camps, or geographical objects, were included. Polonica were grouped and analysed in terms of the time of creation, location in the city space, founders, inscriptions and building materials (if they came from Poland). On the basis of the results and discussion, it was found that, as a group of objects, Polonica represent the cultural heritage of Poland from various periods. These objects show both the history of the people and events commemorated, as well as events in the history of Poland over the last 400 years. Moreover, it was argued that some Polonica constitute the cultural heritage of both Poland and Austria. Some objects may be perceived and interpreted differently, which may be related to international political disputes.

Keywords: Polonica, cultural heritage, history of Poland, Vienna

Cultural heritage outside the country

The first definition of cultural heritage was proposed in the International Venice Charter in 1964. For a long time, the only determinants for classifying an object as a cultural heritage site were its historical and artistic values. Over time, however, other parameters were also added, such as cultural value, identity and the object's ability to interact with memory.[1] Thanks to these changes, what can be considered cultural heritage is what those living today want to pass on from the past to future generations.[2] Such a broad definition of heritage also includes objects commemorating events or people from the past, such as monuments and plaques. These objects, in their form, do not have to be considered heritage, because this is determined by the content for which they are the carrier.[3] According to Dabezies, heritage is the result of a greater interest in one object than in others.[4] Inheritance is a metacultural process dependent on external events that turn an object into heritage.[5] Heritage objects always have strong cultural references. Therefore, cultural heritage can include both a cathedral and a traditional dance.[6] The inheritance perspective is a growing field of research on the processes of creating cultural and natural heritage.[7] By contrast, according to Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), heritage sites must have a rich history, be of great significance to the nation and be valued by experts.[8] Smith criticises this approach by arguing that heritage is not an object, place or event, but is a cultural process involving remembering and understanding.[9] Researchers are increasingly treating heritage not in AHD terms but as a discourse,[10] debate[11] or process.[12]

Objects located outside the borders of a given country are an important type of its cultural heritage. In this case, for the observer, their origin is more important than the artistic value of these objects.[13] Poland has, among other assets, rich cultural heritage resources, also known

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[1] VECCO, Marilena. A definition of cultural heritage: From the tangible to the intangible. In: *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 11(3), 2010, pp. 321–324.

[2] GRAHAM, Brian, ASHWORTH, Gregory, TUNBRIDGE, John. *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy*. London: Arnold, 2000.

[3] FAIRCLOUGH, Graham. New heritage frontiers. In: PALMER, Robert (ed.). *Heritage and Beyond*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2009, pp. 29–41.

[4] DABEZIES, Juan Martin. Heritagization of nature and its influence on local ecological knowledge in Uruguay. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24(8), 2018, pp. 828–842.

[5] KIRSHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, Bárbara. El patrimonio inmaterial como producción metacultural. In: *Museum International*, 221(222), 2004, pp. 52–65.

[6] DABEZIES, Heritagization of nature…

[7] BENDIX, Regina. Heritage between Economy and Politics. An Assessment from the Perspective of Cultural Anthropology. In: SMITH, Laurajane, AKAWA, Natsuko (eds.). *Intangible Heritage*. London: Routledge, 2009, pp. 253–269; SMITH, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge, 2006.

[8] SMITH, Uses of Heritage…

[9] SMITH, Laurajane. El „espejo patrimonial": illusion narcisista o reflexiones multiples? In: *Antípoda: Revista de Antropología y Arqueología,* 2011, pp. 39–63.

[10] BYRNE, Denis. Deep Nation: Australia's Acquisition of an Indigenous past. In: *Aboriginal History*, 20, 1996, pp. 82–107; HALL, Stuart. Whose Heritage? Un-settling "The Heritage", Re-imaging the Post-Nation. In: *Third Text*, 13(49), 1999, pp. 3–13; WATERTON, Emma. *Towards a Critical Heritage: Discourse, Policy and Power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

[11] TUNBRIDGE, John, ASHWORTH, Gregory. *Dissonant Heritage*. Chichester: Wiley, 1996; GRAHAM, ASHWORTH, TUNBRIDGE, A Geography of Heritage…

[12] HARVEY, David C. Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), 2001, pp. 319–338; GRANT, Hilary. Heritage down the chute: the demolition of Saskatchewan's grain elevators. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24(6), 2018, pp. 573–584.

[13] PIASTA, Marek. Polskie dziedzictwo kulturowe na Łotwie – niewykorzystany potencjał turystyczny. In: *Turystyka Kulturowa*, 8, 2011, pp. 30–49.

as Polonica, outside its borders. Polonica are written documents, works of art, national or historical memorials, as well as places of Polish origin or thematically related to Poland, which are located abroad. The Polish word "polonik" comes from the Latin *polonicum* or *polonica*.[14] The Polish language uses analogous terms for the cultural heritage of other countries: *Judaica* – Jewish, *Bohemica* – Czech, *Hispanica* – Spanish, *Rossica* – Russian etc.

Polonica, in the sense of works of art of Polish origin, are widely presented in academic literature. Among other things, the paintings of Polish artists in Ukrainian museums have been discussed. Goch describes the history of the inventory of museums in Kharkiv, Kiev, Uman and Chernivtsi, where paintings of, among others, Aleksander Kokular, Henryk Siemiradzki, Jan Ścieliński, Augusta Kochanowska and Artur Kolnik have been found.[15] The works of Siemiradzki or Ciągliński are also on view in St Petersburg in Russia.[16] Books, ephemera and archives from foreign collections and libraries are an important group of Polonica. One representative example of these resources is the Stanford University Library in California. In her article, Krupa discusses not only the collections, but also the process of searching and developing Polish materials, and the profiles of Polish academics associated with the university.[17] A large collection of Polonica is also located in the Bavarian State Library in Munich.[18] The collections of the Slavic Institute in Bratislava and the history of its establishment are presented by Skovierova.[19] As part of joint Polish-Swedish research, a number of hitherto unknown Polonica have been inventoried at the Swedish National Archives. The main subject of research at that time was the "Skoklostersamlingen. Polska brev och handlingar" collection.[20]

Understood as objects commemorating Poles abroad, Polonica have been discussed, inter alia, by Piasta on the basis of the example of palaces, churches and monuments in Latvia.[21] In his text, the author shows the great potential of the Polish cultural heritage in this region. Piasta proposes the creation of a cultural route promoting the Polish heritage. Piasta and Kamel (2013) presented Polonica also in Estonia. The authors emphasised, inter alia, the activities of the Estonian Polish community, actively caring for the commemoration of places and events related to Poles.[22] Skrodzka, on the other hand, focused on presenting the Polonica found in

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[14] *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN*, vol. 8, Warszawa, 1966, p. 837.

[15] GOCH, Marcin. Zapomniane malarskie polonika w zbiorach muzeów Ukrainy. In: WALCZAK, Wojciech, ŁOPATECKI, Karol, eds. *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, t. IX*. Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2017, pp. 383–394.

[16] KONSTANTYNÓW, Dariusz, ed. *Petersburg i Polska: zbiór esejów*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2016; GÓRENOWICZ, Maria. Akademickie prace Jana Ciąglińskiego (1858–1913). In: *Art of Eastern Europe*, 4, 2016, pp. 401–409.

[17] KRUPA, Barbara, NAFPAKTITIS, Margarita. Polonika w Bibliotece Uniwersytetu Stanforda w Kalifornii: unikalne kolekcje, trudności w gromadzeniu i udostępnianiu. In: *Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi, Polonika w zbiorach obcych*, spec. vol., 2017, pp. 557–566.

[18] KUNZ, Norbert. Polonica der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek – Bestände und digitale Dienstleistungen. In: *Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi, Polonika w zbiorach obcych*, spec. vol., 2017, pp. 345–356.

[19] ŠKOVIEROVA, Angela. Polonica in the library of the Slavic Institute in Bratislava. In: *Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi, Polonika w zbiorach obcych*, spec. vol., 2017, pp. 381–386.

[20] NOWICKA-JEZOWA, Alina, TEODOROWICZ-HELLMAN, Ewa, eds. *Polonica in the Swedish National Archives: The Skokloster Collection and Other Materials*. Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet Slaviska Institutionen, 2007.

[21] PIASTA, Polskie dziedzictwo kulturowe na Łotwie…

[22] PIASTA, Marek, KAMEL, Marta. Polskie dziedzictwo kulturowe w Estonii – potencjał turystyczny. In: *Turystyka Kulturowa*, 6, 2013, pp. 46–64.

one building, i.e. in the Notre-Dame de Bonsecours church in Nancy.[23]

Numerous cases of the cultural heritage of other nations on the territory of Poland have also been documented – among others, Judaica,[24] American monuments,[25] works of Italian artists, including in Krakow, Zamość and Warsaw[26] and in the Świętokrzyska Land,[27] memorabilia of the Napoleonic era,[28] the heritage of Dutch settlers,[29] and German cemeteries in western Poland.[30] A large book on Hungarian mementoes[31] and Ukrainian memorial sites located in Poland has been published.[32] The heritage of Polish border areas has been discussed in an international context. Among others, the cultural heritage of the Nysa-Jesenice borderland in terms of historical cemeteries and remembrance sites on the Polish and Czech side,[33] Polish, Czech and German mementoes of the Silesian Wars[34] and the Polish-German heritage of Pomerania[35] have been presented.

The National Institute of Polish Cultural Heritage Abroad, POLONIKA, is responsible for the dissemination of knowledge about Polonica among people interested in the cultural heritage of Poland. Using the Arts&Culture.google.com tool, this institution presents virtual exhibitions of Polonica. The first of them is "Polish Cathedrals" showing Polish churches in America, including the oldest, St Stanisław Kostka's church in Chicago, dating back to 1877. Another exhibition is entitled "Poles in Liepaja: A Polish chapter in the history of the Latvian city".[36] The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has made the "Atlas of Polish Presence Abroad" available on the Internet. The publication contains maps, descriptions and collected information presenting traces of the presence of Polish emigration in the world. The project is the result of the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which has gathered knowledge and information

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[23] SKRODZKA, Agnieszka. Polonika w kościele Notre-Dame de Bonsecours w Nancy. In: ROLSKA, Irena (ed.). *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku. T. 14, Twórca i dzieło*, Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II, 2019, pp. 149–174.

[24] MAŁKOWSKA-BIENIEK, Ewa. Polskie judaika jako magnes turystyczny. In: *Turystyka Kulturowa*, 4, 2009, pp. 29–62.

[25] PARAFIANOWICZ, Halina. Woodrow Wilson and Poland: Between Myth and Reality. Some Reflections. In: *Białostockie Teki Historyczne*, 16, 2018, pp. 129–145.

[26] TYGIELSKI, Wojciech. Włosi. In: KOPCZYŃSKI, Michał, TYGIELSKI, Wojciech (eds.). *Pod wspólnym niebem. Narody dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Warszawa: Muzeum Historii Polski, 2010, pp. 183–200.

[27] DŁUGOSZ, Dominika. Śladami Włochów w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku. Region świętokrzyski. In: *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach*, 23, 2007, pp. 167–192.

[28] ROJEK, Katarzyna. Znaczenie pamiątek i rekonstrukcji historycznych epoki napoleońskiej w Polsce dla rozwoju turystyki kulturowej (historyczno-biograficznej). In: *Turystyka Kulturowa,* 5, 2009, pp. 4–27.

[29] WENDERSKI, Michał. "Dutch" settlements in Poland. How different were they actually? In: *Werkwinkel*, 10(1), 2015, pp. 51–64.

[30] STACHOWIAK, Andrzej. Niemieckie cmentarze na Ziemiach Zachodnich jako miejsca niepamięci. In: *Prace Etnograficzne*, 43(2), 2015, pp. 123–140.

[31] KOVACS, István, MITROVITS, Miklós. *Węgierskie pamiątki w Polsce*. Budapest: Antall József Tudásközpont, 2019.

[32] KRAJEWSKI, Kazimierz. Ukraińskie miejsca pamięci narodowej na terenie Polski. In: *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, 7-8, 2010, pp. 118–137.

[33] KOŁODZIEJCZYK, Krzysztof Piotr. Historyczne cmentarze i miejsca pamięci pogranicza nysko-jesenickiego jako walor krajoznawczy. In: *Turystyka Kulturowa*, 4, 2015, pp. 41–73.

[34] CHYLIŃSKA, Dagmara, KOSMALA, Gerard. Krajobraz po bitwie. Niewykorzystany potencjał turystyczny pól bitew na przykładzie wojen śląskich. In: WIDAWSKI, Krzysztof (ed.). *Turystyka kulturowa na Dolnym Śląsku - wybrane aspekty, Tom 2*. Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 2011, pp. 33–70.

[35] KUS, Eugeniusz, MAKOWSKA, Beata. Wspólne dziedzictwo na Pomorzu. In: *Ochrona Zabytków*, 2, 2007, pp. 17–19.

[36] KUC, Monika. Polonika w świecie na Google Arts & Culture. In: *Rzeczpospolita*, 24.06.2020, accessed October 13, 2020, https://www.rp.pl/Spoleczenstwo/200629692-Polonika-w-swiecie-na-Google-Arts--Culture.html.

about the Polish community and its activities outside Poland. Thirty-three countries were discussed in the study, including Austria.[37] The Ministry of Culture and National Heritage of the Republic of Poland has created an internet portal which collects information about objects of Polish cultural heritage abroad. In the case of the Viennese Polonica, the pictures of Jan Henryk de Rosen in the church on the Kahlenberg, the non-existent Lanckoroński Palace, the destroyed sculpture by Szańkowski and the monuments in the Arsenal made by Godebski have been discussed.[38]

The issue of Polish mementoes in Vienna has already been discussed in the literature, but the question of objects located in the city space has never been discussed. Kluczycki was the first to deal with this subject, in 1835.[39] He raised the issue of the legendary cathedral builders who had come from Polish lands, discussed the figures related to the Battle of Vienna, and the collections of Polish documents, books and weapons gathered in the imperial capital. Contemporary studies devoted to the Polonica in Vienna deal with the issue of book collections,[40] war archives,[41] building plans,[42] paleontological collections[43] and the historical activity of Poles.[44]

Purpose and methods

The main aim of the research was to define the cultural heritage of Poland in the urban space of Vienna. The goal was achieved through the inventory of the Polonica located in the Austrian capital. The article also considers whether the objects representing a given country in another country are the cultural heritage of both countries.

The inventory of Polonica was narrowed down to the objects located in the space of Vienna commemorating Poles or events in which they participated. Commemorations of places, i.e. Polish geographical objects (rivers, cities, Nazi death camps) were also included. It was assumed that the inventoried objects are available to visitors outside museums and galleries, and therefore the rich set of Polish works of art was omitted. The inventory of street names commemorating Poles was also abandoned, since it had already been covered in the extensive article by Cwanek-Florek, to which reference was made in this text.[45]

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[37] *Atlas polskiej obecności za granicą.* Warszawa: Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, 2014, accessed October 11, 2020, https://issuu.com/msz.gov.pl/docs/atlas_polskiej_obecnosci_za_granica.

[38] *Portal Polonika.* Warszawa: Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego, accessed October 11, 2020, http://www.polonika.gov.pl/pages/pl/idea-projektu.php

[39] KLUCZYCKI, Jakub F. *Pamiątki polskie w Wiedniu i jego okolicach. Jako też inne wiadomości tyczące się Polaków, szczególniej mieszkańców Galicji*, Kraków: by the author, 1835.

[40] WARCHOL-SCHLOTTMANN, Małgorzata. Biblioteki polskie w Wiedniu. Od Ossolińskiego po dzień obecny. In: *Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach*, 2527, 2007, pp. 103–114.

[41] ROMAN, Wanda Krystyna. Aby pamięć nie zginęła? Polskie Archiwum Wojenne (1915–1921) i jego zbiory. In: *Archeion*, 120, 2019, pp. 185–202.

[42] OPYRCHAŁ, Leszek. Rękopiśmienne plany Kamieńca Podolskiego w zbiorach Austriackiej Biblioteki Narodowej w Wiedniu. In: *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy,* 16(67)/4(254), 2015, pp. 131–140.

[43] PAWŁAK, Wojciech, CZEPIŃSKI, Łukasz, MAJCHRZYK, Aleksander, DUK, Katarzyna. Przegląd skamieniałości kręgowców i flory z terenów dzisiejszej Polski zgromadzonych w Muzeum Historii Naturalnej w Wiedniu. In: *Przegląd Geologiczny*, 67(1), 2019, pp. 48–55.

[44] TABORSKI, Roman. *Wśród wiedeńskich poloników*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1974.

[45] CWANEK-FLOREK, Ewa. Wiedeńczyka o wiele więcej łączy z mieszkańcem Krakowa czy Budapesztu, aniżeli z mieszkańcem Berlina. Recepcja relacji polsko-austriackich z perspektywy „polskich" ulic w Wiedniu. In: KISZTELIŃSKA-WĘGRZYŃSKA, Agnieszka, KUCZYŃSKI, Krzysztof (eds.). *Austria i relacje polsko-austriackie w XX i XXI wieku. Polityka - kultura – gospodarka.* Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2014, pp. 261–279.
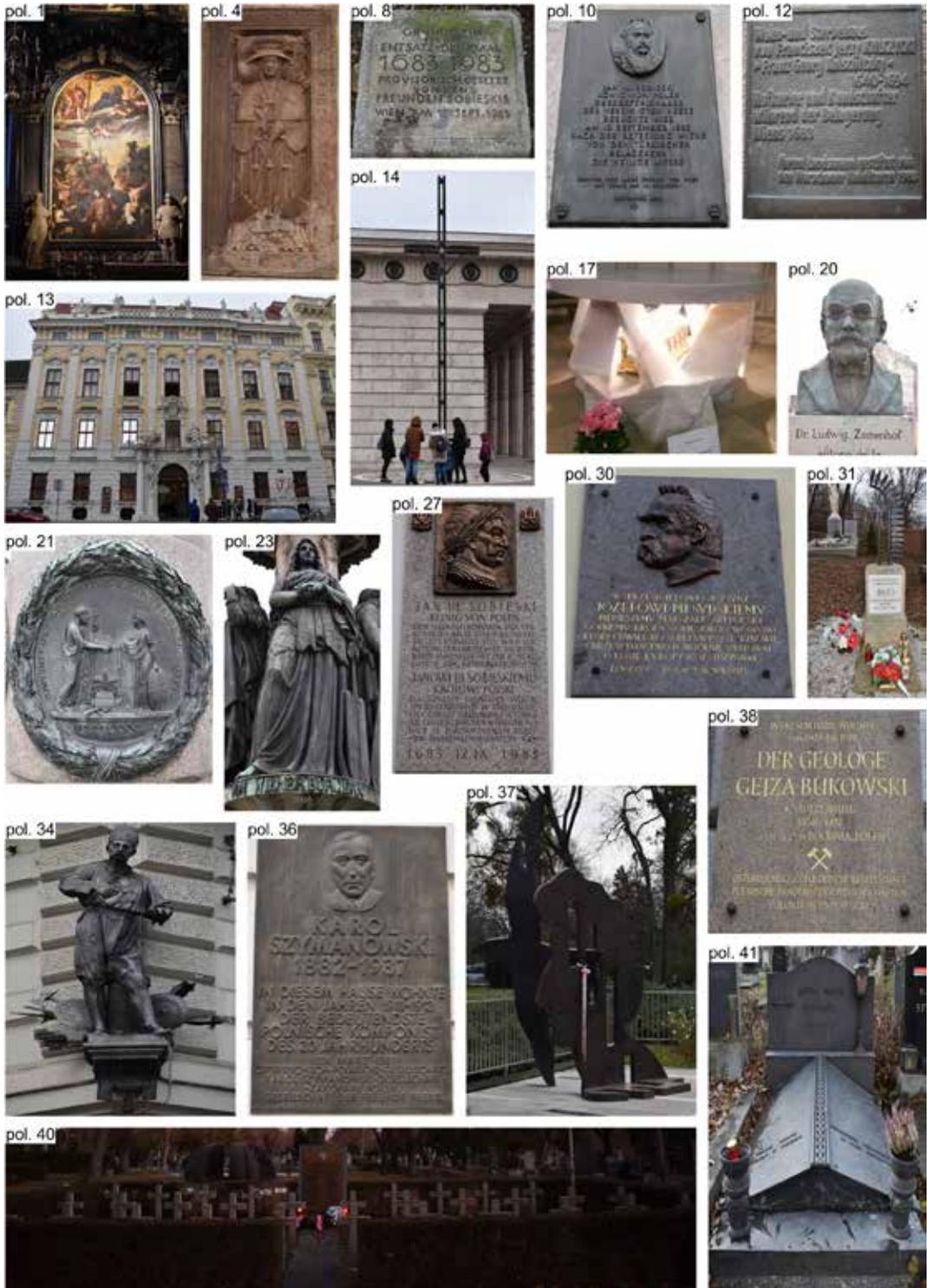
Fig. 1. *Selected photos of Polonica.* Object numbering is in line with table 1.

Tab. 1. *Brief characteristics of inventoried objects*

no.	object name	location in the district	profession of commemorated or role/reason for which commemorated	time of object construction	object description	type of commemoration
1	Dębnik marble in the main altar of St Stephen's cathedral	1. Innere Stadt	geographical object	before 1795	none	object element
2	the urn with the soil and ashes of prisoners from Auschwitz and Mauthausen	1. Innere Stadt	the Holocaust	after 1918	Latin inscriptions	grave
3	the painting and relics of John Paul II	1. Innere Stadt	clergyman	after 1918	none	object
4	the tombstone of Bishop Aleksander Mazowiecki	1. Innere Stadt	clergyman	before 1795	Latin inscriptions	grave
5	the statue of John III Sobieski in the miniature of the destroyed altara	1. Innere Stadt	battle	after 1918	German inscriptions	altar element
6	Tomasz Sołtyk's tomb in the cathedral catacombs	1. Innere Stadt	politician	before 1795	Latin inscriptions	grave
7	Andrzej Poniatowski's tomb in the cathedral catacombs	1. Innere Stadt	soldier	before 1795	Latin inscriptions	grave
8	the cornerstone for the construction of the John III Sobieski monument	1. Innere Stadt	battle	after 1918	German inscriptions	commemorative plaque
9	the bust of Franciszek Jan Smolka in the parliament building	1. Innere Stadt	politician	1795–1918	German inscriptions	monument
10	the plaque commemorating John III Sobieski in the Augustinian church	1. Innere Stadt	battle	after 1918	German inscriptions	commemorative plaque
11	Stanisław Potocki's epitaph in Franziskaner-kirche	1. Innere Stadt	battle	before 1795	Latin inscriptions	grave
12	the plaque commemorating Franciszek Jerzy Kulczycki	1. Innere Stadt	battle	after 1918	German inscriptions	commemorative plaque
13	Palais Kinski	1. Innere Stadt	soldier	before 1795	none	object
14	Papal cross	1. Innere Stadt	clergyman	after 1918	German inscriptions	monument
15	Altar of St Stanisław Kostka in St Anna's church	1. Innere Stadt	clergyman	before 1795	none	object
16	the plaque in the place of Stanisław Kostka's house	1. Innere Stadt	clergyman	before 1795	Latin inscriptions	object

17	the tomb of Clement Maria Hofbauer in the Maria am Gestade church	1. Innere Stadt	clergyman	1795–1918	German inscriptions	grave
18	the painting of Maximilian Maria Kolbe in Minoritenkirche	1. Innere Stadt	clergyman	after 1918	none	object
19	the plaque commemorating Frederic Chopin	1. Innere Stadt	artist	after 1918	German inscriptions	commemorative plaque
20	the bust of Ludwik Zamenhof	1. Innere Stadt	academic	after 1918	Esperanto inscriptions	monument
21	the medallions commemorating the granting of a charter to the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria	1. Innere Stadt	geographical object	1795–1918	Latin inscriptions	monument element
22	the national emblem of Poland in the finial of The Albertina façade	1. Innere Stadt	geographical object	1795–1918	none	object element
23	the Austria Fountain	1. Innere Stadt	geographical object	1795–1918	none	monument element
24	the plaque commemorating Nazi concentration camps	1. Innere Stadt	the Holocaust	after 1918	German inscriptions	commemorative plaque element
25	the Monument at Judenplatz to the Victims of Concentration Camps	1. Innere Stadt	the Holocaust	after 1918	Latin and German inscriptions	monument element
26	Buffet Trześniewski	1. Innere Stadt	other	1795–1918	German inscriptions	object
27	St. Joseph's church on the Kahlenberg	19. Döbling	battle	before 1795	Polish and German inscriptions	object with a commemorative plaque
28	the plaque commemorating the visit of John Paul II	19. Döbling	clergyman	after 1918	Polish and German inscriptions	commemorative plaque
29	the plaque commemorating Józef Pilsudski	19. Döbling	politician	after 1918	Polish inscriptions	commemorative plaque
30	the foundation of the John III Sobieski monument	19. Döbling	battle	after 1918	Polish, German and English inscriptions	commemorative plaque
31	the monument to the soldiers who died in the defence of Vienna, at the place of their burial	19. Döbling	battle	before 1795	Polish and German inscriptions	monument
32	the tomb of Resurrectionist priests	19. Döbling	clergyman	1795–1918	Latin inscriptions	grave
33	the tomb of Jarosław Mądroszkiewicz	19. Döbling	artist	after 1918	Polish and German inscriptions	grave
34	the monument to Franciszek Jerzy Kulczycki	4. Wieden	battle	1795–1918	German inscriptions	monument

35	the plaque commemorating Stanisław Wyspiański	2. Leopoldstadt	artist	1795–1918	German inscriptions	commemorative plaque
36	the plaque commemorating Karol Szymanowski	4. Wieden	artist	after 1918	German inscriptions	commemorative plaque
37	the monument to Frederic Chopin	3. Landstraße	artist	after 1918	German inscriptions	monument
38	the plaque commemorating Gejza Bukowski	3. Landstraße	academic	after 1918	German inscriptions	commemorative plaque
39	the sculpture of the personification of Krakow in the hall of the ÖBB management office	2. Leopoldstadt	geographical object	1795–1918	none	monument
40	the section of Polish soldiers who died in the years 1939–45 at the Central Cemetery	11. Simmering	soldier	after 1918	Polish and German inscriptions	grave
41	the tomb of Artur Maria Swinarski	11. Simmering	artist	after 1918	Polish and German inscriptions	grave
42	the Polish House (Scientific Station of the Polish Academy of Sciences)	3. Landstraße	other	1795–1918	Polish and German inscriptions	object

The research was carried out in three stages:

1. A query of journals and tourist materials was carried out in order to indicate a group of objects that constitute or may constitute Polonica. An invaluable source of information was the Viennese periodical "Polonika", edited by Mr Sławomir Iwanowski.[46]

2. Objects in the field were inventoried. All the objects were described using an inventory sheet prepared for this purpose. Photographic documentation (fig. 1) was also made and the exact geographic coordinates of the locations were obtained.

3. Polonica were discussed taking into account the profession of the commemorated person or the role or reason for which they are commemorated, the location of objects in the urban space of Vienna, the time of construction of the objects, the inscription and the founders. The materials from which Polonica are made was also discussed, if they came from Poland.

All of the Polonica, and their most important characteristics, are presented in table 1. In the text, the objects in the table were referred to using their sequential number, preceded by the abbreviation "pol." (for example, "pol. 23" refers to the object "Austria Fountain").

Characteristics of Polonica

Taking into account the profession of the commemorated person, Polonica were divided into the following groups: soldiers, politicians, clergymen, artists and academics. On the other hand, objects commemorating events or places were divided into the following groups: commemoration of the Holocaust, geographical objects and others. Because of the historical importance of the Battle of Vienna, people associated with this event were included in a

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[46] The periodical "Polonika" is published in Vienna by Österreichisch-Polnischer Verein für Kulturfreunde „Galizien". The periodical is available in the electronic version at http://polonika.at/

separate group (9 objects).

The Battle of Vienna was fought on September 12, 1683 between the Polish-Imperial army commanded by the Polish King John III Sobieski and the army of the Ottoman Empire. The functioning of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century was based on conquest. The Turks occupied parts of Hungary, Podolia and the Mediterranean island of Crete. The arrival of the Empire's troops at Vienna forced the Habsburgs to seek help in Poland. After losing the Battle of Vienna, the Ottoman Empire did not go on the offensive again. This battle was one of the most important European battles in determining the later fate of the continent. The key part of the battle was the charge of the hussars – cavalrymen equipped with wings made of bird feathers. This formation was made famous in Polish literature and painting – it is a model of soldierly heroism.[47] In the urban space of Vienna, both the commander-in-chief John III Sobieski and soldiers of lower rank are commemorated.

The main object on the Kahlenberg commemorating the battle is the church of St Joseph (tab. 1, pol. 27) standing in the place of the former temple where a Holy Mass, which John III Sobieski attended, was celebrated before the battle. In this church there is a chamber dedicated to Sobieski, and, on the outer wall, a plaque commemorating him. In 2013, the foundation of the monument which is to present the king on horseback was erected next to the church (pol. 30).[48] The third object commemorating John III Sobieski is the plaque on the eastern façade of the Augustinian church in the centre of Vienna (pol. 10). It commemorates the king's participation in the thanksgiving Mass celebrated in this church on the day after the battle. The other two commemorations of the king are not related to his direct presence in these places. The cornerstone for the construction of the Sobieski Monument (pol. 8) was laid in Shmerlingplatz, in the vicinity of the parliament, on the 300th anniversary of the battle. On the other hand, in the most important temple of Vienna, i.e. St Stephen's cathedral, there was an altar with a statue of the king, which was destroyed during World War II. Currently, there is a miniature of the altar in the cathedral (pol. 5). A monument dedicated to the Polish soldiers who died in the Battle of Vienna is located under the Kahlenberg Peak, in the place where they were buried (pol. 31). An important figure of the Battle of Vienna who has been commemorated is Franciszek Jerzy Kulczycki (Kolschitzky). He was a soldier of John III Sobieski's army who voluntarily made his way through the Ottoman camp in order to call in reinforcements for the besieged city. According to legend, as a reward for his courage Kulczycki chose sacks of coffee, which was not yet known in the west. According to the facts, after the war, he founded one of the first coffee shops in Vienna.[49] On the house where he lived there is now a plaque commemorating his services (pol. 12). Another place of Kulczycki's commemoration is the tenement house in the street bearing his name, where his monument is located (pol. 34). This place is not related to his presence, and the sculpture was donated in the nineteenth century by the owner of the local café. The last Polonica related to the Battle of Vienna is the burial place of the heart of Stanisław Potocki (pol. 11), the staroste of Halych and Kolomyia, the captain and colonel of cavalry killed in the battle.

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[47] DAVIES, Norman. *God's Playground, a History of Poland: The Origins to 1795*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, p. 487.

[48] ZIEMLEWSKA, Anna. Podstawa pomnika Jana III Sobieskiego na Kahlenbergu, accessed August 10, 2021, https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/sobiesciana/podstawa_pomnika_jana_iii_sobieskiego_na_kahlenbergu_sobiesciana.html.

[49] HOMOLA-SKĄPSKA, Irena. Krakowskie cukiernie i kawiarnie w XIX wieku. In: *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio F, Historia*, 51, 1996, pp. 43–61.

Three Polonica commemorating soldiers were inventoried. In the Central Cemetery, there are the quarters of Polish soldiers, prisoners of war, who died in the years 1939–45 (pol. 40). The prisoners of war were captured by Third Reich troops during the September Campaign of 1939, which started the Second World War. They were transported from Polish territory to prisoner-of-war camps in Austria and died in military hospitals. In the catacombs of St Stephen's cathedral, the Austrian army general Andrzej Poniatowski is buried (pol. 7). He was the brother of the Polish king Stanislaw August Poniatowski and the father of Józef Antoni Poniatowski, who was born in Palais Kinski (pol. 13). Józef Antoni was a Polish general and commander-in-chief of the Polish Army of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Marshal of France. He was one of the leading figures in Polish history at the turn of the nineteenth century.[50]

Polish politicians are commemorated by three items of Polonica. In the building of the Austrian Parliament, there is a bust of Franciszek Jan Smolka (pol. 9), who was for many years a deputy of the Austrian Council of State and for many years the president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Council of State. Poles got to the Austrian parliament as deputies or officials from Galicia. This was a region in the southern part of Poland that was annexed by the Austrians during the First Partition of Poland in 1772.[51] In the meeting room, there is also a plaque commemorating Polish MPs, but it is not available to tourists, and so was not included in the list. In the cathedral catacombs, there is the tomb of Tomasz Sołtyk, the voivode of Łęczyca (pol. 6). This renowned politician, active in the second half of the eighteenth century, spent the last years of his life in Vienna. The last Polonicum commemorating a politician, donated by the representatives of the Viennese Polish community, is a plaque commemorating Marshal Józef Piłsudski, a leading figure in the process of the regaining of independence by Poland (pol. 29). Piłsudski was the founder of the Legions. These were Polish military units fighting under Austrian command in the First World War. In 1918, he undertook to reconstruct state structures after Poland regained its independence.[52] The plaque was placed on the wall of the church on the Kahlenberg, on the anniversary of Piłsudski's death. Its location has nothing to do with the presence of the marshal in Vienna.

Among the commemorations of Polish clergymen in Vienna (9 objects), the Polonica devoted to Pope John Paul II and St Stanisław Kostka stand out. Karol Wojtyla was born in Wadowice (former Second Republic of Poland existing in the interwar period) in 1920. In 1978, he was elected Pope of the Roman Catholic Church and took the name John Paul II.[53] Stanislaw Kostka was the first blessed Jesuit in the history of the church. His cult began immediately after his death.[54] Three Polonica commemorate John Paul II, namely the Papal Cross at Heldenplatz (pol. 14), a plaque on the church in the Kahlenberg (pol. 28) and the painting and relics of John Paul II in St Stephen's cathedral (pol. 3), made of stone from a quarry in Zakrzówek (Krakow, Poland). All of the objects refer to the presence of the Pope in these places. Another two Polonica commemorate Saint Stanisław Kostka. These are a baroque altar of the saint in St Anne's church (pol. 15), and the house of Stanisław Kostka, in which there is a chapel

[50] BIAŁOKUR, Marek. Defender of the Poniatowski family's honor. A story about Józef Antoni Poniatowski. In: *Annales Collegii Nobilium Opolienses*, 8, 2019, pp. 59–91.

[51] DAVIES, Norman. *God's Playground, a History of Poland, Vol. 2: 1795 to the Present*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

[52] SCHWONEK, Matthew R. "Bidding up" the national cause: Józef Piłsudski and the Central Powers' Kingdom of Poland. In: *First World War Studies*, 11(1), 2020, pp. 1–20.

[53] SZULC, Tad. *Pope John Paul II: The Biography*. New York: Scribner, 1995.

[54] COLERIDGE, Henry James. *The story of St. Stanislaus Kostka of the Society of Jesus*. London: Burns & Oates, 1893.

with an altar in place of the bed where Stanisław had his revelation, which is rarely made available to the faithful. On the outer wall of the building, in the window tympanum, there is a decorative inscription carrying information about the object (pol. 16). Another object is the tombstone of Bishop Aleksander Mazowiecki, the Duke of Masovia, the Tridentine bishop, and the parish priest of St Stephen in Vienna, built into the wall of the cathedral (pol. 4). In the southern nave of the Minorite church, there is a painting showing St Maximilian Maria Kolbe and concentration camp prisoners (pol. 18). St Maximilian Maria Kolbe was the founder of the Militia Immaculatae, also referred to in English as the Knights of the Immaculata, and Radio Niepokalanów, one of the first Catholic broadcasting stations in the world. He died at KL Auschwitz.[55] Kolbe never visited Vienna. Another commemorated clergyman is Clement Maria Hofbauer. His tomb-reliquary is in the Maria am Gestade church (pol. 17). Hofbauer was an Austrian who worked for 21 years in Warsaw, the capital of Poland, for the poorest.[56] In the cemetery near the Kahlenberg, there is a tomb of Resurrectionist priests (pol. 32) who have looked after the church in the Kahlenberg since 1906.

In the group of six Polonica commemorating artists, two are devoted to the most outstanding Polish romantic composer, Frederic Chopin. He was one of the most famous pianists of the second half of the nineteenth century. He spent the last years of his life in France. He was buried in the Père-Lachaise necropolis in Paris.[57] On the wall of the tenement house in Kohlmarkt Street, which stands on the site of Chopin's house, there is a memorial plaque (pol. 19). Another object commemorating Chopin is a monument in Schweizergarten (pol. 37), the location of which has nothing to do with Chopin's activity in Vienna. Another Polonicum commemorates the stay of the playwright Stanisław Wyspiański, the author of the famous play "The Wedding", at the Hotel Nordbahn (pol. 35). Apart from literature, Wyspiański was also interested in painting, graphic art and architecture. He was one of the main artists of the Young Poland period (late nineteenth century and early twentieth century).[58] The plaque on the building near St Charles Borromeo's church commemorates Karol Szymanowski, one of the greatest Polish composers, who lived there in the years 1911–1913 (pol. 36). Szymanowski became famous for skilfully weaving folk themes into his compositions.[59] In the Central Cemetery, there is an open book-shaped grave in which the writer Artur Maria Swinarski is buried (pol. 41). The last Polonicum near the Kahlenberg is the grave of the composer Jarosław Mądroszkiewicz (pol. 33), who worked at the Vienna State Opera, among other places.

Among the inventoried Polonica, two are devoted to academics. The first is a bust of Ludwik Zamenhof (pol. 20), the creator of the Esperanto language, whose museum is located in Vienna. The location of the object is not directly related to Zamenhof's activity in the Austrian capital. Another Polonicum commemorates Gejza Bukowski, a geologist and palaeontologist. It is a plaque placed on the house in which he lived (pol. 38).

The three objects commemorating the Holocaust directly refer to the Polish towns and villages where Nazi concentration and extermination camps were located. The most famous of them is the Monument to the Victims of Concentration Camps at Judenplatz, where many

[55] STONE, Elaine Murray. *Maximilian Kolbe, Saint of Auschwitz*. New York: Paulist Press, 1997.

[56] MAGNIER, John. Blessed Clement Mary Hofbauer. In: HERBERMANN, Charles, ed. *The Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. 4*. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908, pp. 44–45.

[57] ZAMOYSKI, Adam. *Chopin: Prince of the Romantics*. London: Harper Collins, 2010.

[58] KOMAROMI, Ann. Wyspianski's Wesele: Poised on the Border. In: *Theatre Journal*, 54(2), 2002, pp. 187–202.

[59] SAMSON, Jim. *The Music of Szymanowski*, London: Kahn & Averill, 1980. SZYMANOWSKI, Karol. Zagadnienie „ludowości" w stosunku do muzyki współczesnej. In: *Muzyka*, 10, 1925, pp. 8–13.

Polish towns and villages are mentioned (pol. 25). In the building at 15 Neutorgasse there is a plaque commemorating Jews who died at Auschwitz (pol. 24) among other places. In St Stephen's cathedral, in the Chapel of St Barbara, there is an urn with the soil and ashes of prisoners from Auschwitz (pol. 2).

There are 5 Polonica in the group of geographical objects. The Austria Fountain located near the Palais Kinski shows four figures, personifications of the major rivers that were within the boundaries of the Habsburg Monarchy, i.e. the Polish Vistula, Danube, Po and Elbe (pol. 23). In the main hall of the ÖBB management office in Nordbahnstrasse, there are four statues depicting female figures, personifications of four cities, Polish Krakow, Brno, Olomouc, and Prague, to which there used to be railway connections from this station (pol. 39). Above the front façade of the Albertina gallery, there is a richly ornamented golden cresting, with a coat of arms with the Polish Eagle and the Lithuanian Pahonia (pol. 22). The Albertina gallery itself was founded by Prince Albert Casimir of Saxony, Duke of Teschen, a son of the Polish king Augustus III of Saxony.[60] On one of the four granite pedestals at Josefplatz, within the Hofburg, surrounding the statue of Joseph II, there are 2 medallions made of bronze related to Poland, commemorating the granting of a charter to the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (pol. 21).[61] A very important monument of St Stephen's cathedral is the main altar, the black elements of which are made of Polish Dębnik marble (pol. 1).

Buffet Trześniewski (pol. 26) and the Polish House (pol. 42) were included in the group of other Polonica. The buffet was established by the Krakow chef Franciszek Trześniewski in 1902. It is a permanent element on the culinary map of Vienna. The Polish House was purchased by the Polish People's School Society at the beginning of the twentieth century. Later, the Polish House foundation operated there and now it is the seat of the Scientific Station of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Vienna.

Location of the Polonica in the urban space

Some of the Polonica are grouped in three locations, and the rest are scattered throughout the urban space of Vienna. There are 26 objects in the Innere Stadt district, the first district, in which the vast majority of Viennese monuments are located. As many as seven of them are in St Stephen's cathedral (pol. 1–7), e.g. the figure of John III Sobieski, the painting and relics of John Paul II, and ashes from concentration camps. Objects 8–26 are scattered within the first district mostly west of the cathedral, and only two eastwards. The second place where the Polonica are grouped (7 objects) is the Kahlenberg hill, in district 19, Döbling. On its top, there is St Joseph's church (pol. 27) and plaques commemorating John Paul II (pol. 28) and Józef Piłsudski (pol. 29), as well as the foundation of the John III Sobieski monument (pol. 30). On the southern slope of the Kahlenberg, there is a cemetery where Polish soldiers who died in the Battle of Vienna were originally buried. Among several graves from the eighteenth to twenty-first centuries, there is a monument dedicated to Polish soldiers (pol. 31) and the graves of Resurrectionist priests and of J. Mądroszkiewicz (pol. 32, 33). The third place where there is more than one Polonicum is the Central Cemetery in district 11, Simmering. There is the grave of the writer Swinarski (pol. 41) and the section of Polish soldiers who died in Vienna during World War II (pol. 40). The other seven Polonica are scattered in districts 2,

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[60] BENEDIK, Christian, SCHRÖDER, Klaus Albrecht. *Die Gründung der Albertina - Herzog Albert und seine Zeit*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2014.
[61] UNTERREINER, Katrin, GREDLER, Willfried. *The Hofburg*. Vienna: Pichler Verlag, 2009.

Leopoldstadt (2 objects), 3, Landstraße (3 objects) and 4, Vienna (2 objects). All the Viennese Polonica are located on the right bank of the Danube. Only the objects on the Kahlenberg and in the Central Cemetery are located outside the city centre of Vienna, which is defined by the so-called Gürtel Straße.

Time of creation

Out of all 42 analysed objects, 10 were created before 1795 (before the Third Partition of Poland), 11 in the years 1795–1918 in the co-called Galician period, when the south-eastern part of Poland was under the rule of the Austrian Empire, and 21 in the period after 1918, i.e. after Poland regained its independence. In the first period, in Vienna, mainly the person of King John III Sobieski and his soldiers, as well as St Stanisław Kostka were commemorated. The burial grounds of Polish magnates, clergymen and soldiers who fought in the Battle of Vienna also date back to that time. In the Galician period, the Viennese MP Jan Smolka and the playwright Stanisław Wyspiański were commemorated. All commemorations of Polish geographical features come from that period. Their foundation emphasised that The Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria belonged to the Austrian empire. In the Galician period, the famous Buffet Trześniewski and the Polish House also started their activity. After the collapse of the empire in 1918, mainly Polish artists and academics were commemorated in Vienna. In the second half of the twentieth century, the victims of World War II and the person of John Paul II were commemorated. On the 300th anniversary of the Battle of Vienna, other objects commemorating King John III Sobieski were unveiled.

Inscriptions and Founders

Twenty-four Polonica have inscriptions in German or in two/three languages. The bust of Zamenhof (pol. 20), donated by the Esperanto Museum in Vienna, is described only in Esperanto. A plaque dedicated to Piłsudski (pol. 29) has the text only in Polish. It was originally installed by the efforts of the Polish community in Vienna, in the 1930s, when his person was commemorated in many places in Poland. The Polonica described in Latin, which were created in the period until 1795, are graves (pol. 4, 6, 7, 11) and the house of Stanisław Kostka (pol. 16) and dating from the period 1795–1918 are the tomb of Resurrectionist priests (pol. 32) and the medallions on the statue of Joseph II (pol. 21). The only object with a Latin inscription which was created after 1918 is an urn with ashes from Auchwitz (pol. 2). The use of Latin to describe Polonica stems from the Christian tradition of writing epitaphs. Apart from Piłsudski's plaque (pol. 29), eight more objects have descriptions in Polish. Seven of them also have a text in German (pol. 27, 28, 31, 33, 40, 41, 42), and one additionally in English (pol. 30). Objects with bilingual descriptions, even if they were created before 1918, were provided with plaques that still exist today in the second half of the twentieth century. All Polonica related to the Battle of Vienna have a description in German and possibly additionally in Polish (pol. 27, 30, 31) and English (pol. 30). Among the Polonica commemorating Polish artists, only the graves of Swinarski (pol. 41) and Mądroszkiewicz (pol. 33) have Polish and German inscriptions, and the rest only German.

Out of the eight Polonica without an in-situ description, there are four commemorations of geographical objects (pol. 1, 22, 23, 39), three commemorating clergymen located inside churches (pol. 3, 15, 18), and the palace (pol. 13), where Józef Poniatowski was born. The audioguide, which is made available to visitors, provides information about the Polish origin

of the marble in the main altar of the cathedral (pol. 1). It is incomprehensible that there is no plaque commemorating the birthplace of Poniatowski, who is venerated in Poland as a national hero, and whose family also rendered great services to the Austrian Empire.

The plaques in Polish were placed by the Polish community or Polish organisations. Also, some plaques with descriptions only in German (pol. 8, 10, 12, 35, 36, 38, 42) were donated by institutions from Poland. Among the Polonica which are not graves, the other 18 objects are those donated by Austrian organisations.

Building material and state of preservation

Eighteen Polonica are made of stone. The most numerous group is of igneous rocks, which eight Polonica are made of (pol. 10, 14, 21, 28, 30, 32, 38, 42). Another numerous group are sedimentary rocks, which seven Polonica are made of (pol. 1, 4, 8, 20, 29, 31, 33). The fewest Polonica are made of metamorphic rocks – only three (pol. 31, 33, 42).

Three rocks from deposits located in Poland were identified. The plaque commemorating Pope John Paul II (pol. 28) on the front wall of the church on the Kahlenberg is made of Karkonosze (the Sudetes) granite, while the nearby Józef Piłsudzki plaque (pol. 29) is made of black limestone, the so-called "Dębnik marble". The foundation of the John III Sobieski monument (pol. 30) is made of Strzegom granite (the Sudetes). The main altar in the cathedral is also made of "Dębnik marble" (pol. 1). This stone was mined in Dębnik near Krakow from at least the fifteenth century as decorative stone, used mainly in sacred architecture. This stone was exported to many European countries.[62]

The state of preservation of all Polonica is good. The only object that is not well-kept is the cornerstone of the Sobieski monument (pol. 8). This object is in no way visible in its surroundings for it is located on a lawn. Despite the fact that the monument has not been built, the cornerstone has not been removed. However, the construction of a monument in this place should not be expected since the construction of the Sobieski monument in the Kahlenberg Hill (pol. 30) was suspended.

The common message of Polonica and Polish streets

Among the inventoried Polonica, there are nine commemorations of people related to the Battle of Vienna, nine commemorations of clergymen, six of artists, three of soldiers and politicians, and two of academics. In addition, three objects commemorate the victims of the Holocaust who were murdered in German death camps in Poland. Five Polonica commemorate Polish geographical objects. Two objects are connected with over a hundred years of activity of Poles in Vienna. In the case of commemorating Poles in the names of Viennese streets, four of them commemorate musicians and academics, three politicians, two patrons of art and writers, and one an architect and a soldier. King John III Sobieski and Prince Albert Casimir of Saxony, Duke of Teschen, were commemorated both in the name of a street and a square.[63] Only King John III Sobieski and Franciszek Jerzy Kulczycki were commemorated both by Polonica and by the naming of a street. The Austrians have always been the initiators of Polish street names in Vienna. Therefore, in this way, mainly people who had rendered great services to Vienna were commemorated. On the other hand, among the Polonica there are commemorations of people (John Paul II, Frederic Chopin, Stanisław Kostka) and events (the Holocaust) known

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[62] GRADZIŃSKI, Ryszard. *Przewodnik po okolicach Krakowa*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa geologiczne, 1972, pp. 82–83.
[63] CWANEK-FLOREK, Wiedeńczyka o wiele więcej łączy..., p. 263.

also outside Poland and Austria.

All the Polonica commemorating people (31 objects), except for the painting of Maximilian Maria Kolbe, are associated with their presence in Vienna. Only six of them are in places where their presence has not been confirmed. It is different in the case of the streets named after Poles. Eight out of 19 streets are related to the presence of the commemorated person in this particular place. Another eight streets are located in places not related to the activity of the commemorated people. Three people commemorated, namely the astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus, the chemist and Nobel Prize laureate Maria Skłodowska-Curie and politician Rosa Luxemburg, had never been to Vienna.[64]

The location of Polonica confirms the significance of the commemorated people, objects and events. As many as 26 objects are located in the first district of Vienna, of which seven are in St Stephen's cathedral. Within the immediate suburbs, districts 3–9, there are another seven Polonica. In the case of Polish-named streets, there are none in the first district, and only six in the immediate suburbs.[65] The location of Polonica is another confirmation of the great role of the commemorated people in the history of Vienna and the Empire.

Half of the Polonica were established in Vienna during the Austrian Empire, 11 by 1795 and 10 during the partition of Poland until 1918. The commemoration of Poles in street names is spread over time in a very similar way. Until 1918, nine streets were named after Poles, and then 10.[66] The presence of Poles in Vienna until the fall of the First Republic of Poland in 1795 resulted from the strong political ties between the Central European countries and the great importance of Vienna among European metropolises.[67] The commemorating of Poles during the partitions was the result of their high political activity in the capital of the Empire. The end of the nineteenth century in Vienna was even called the "Polish rule in Austria".[68] However, as Cwanek-Florek emphasises, in terms of street names, compared to the commemoration of representatives of other nations of the former Habsburg Monarchy, representatives of Bohemia and Hungary decisively outnumber Poles.[69] In the context of Bohemians and Hungarians, such research has not been conducted so far.

Viennese Polonica as a representation of Poland's cultural heritage – discussion of the results

Polonica in Vienna often commemorate figures unknown to the Polish and Austrian community, and in most cases are also not historic monuments or natural attractions. Despite this, they can be recognised as cultural heritage objects outside Poland. This apparent contradiction stems from a broad definition of cultural heritage.[70] According to Fairclough,

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[64] CWANEK-FLOREK, Wiedeńczyka o wiele więcej łączy..., p. 267.

[65] CWANEK-FLOREK, Wiedeńczyka o wiele więcej łączy..., pp. 266–267.

[66] CWANEK-FLOREK, Wiedeńczyka o wiele więcej łączy..., p. 263.

[67] FORST-BATTAGLIA, Jakub. *Polnisches Wien*. Wien-München: Herold, 1983; TABORSKI, Roman. *Polacy w Wiedniu*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1992; PESENDORFER, Franz, FISCHER, Gero. *Wiener Impressionen. Auf den Spuren polnischer Geschichte in Wien*. Wien: Edition Volkshochschule, 2002; CWANEK-FLOREK, Ewa. *Polnische Berühmtheiten im Spiegel der* öffentlichen *Erinnerung in Wien. Die Rezeption polnischer Spuren in der Donaumetropole*. Marburg: Tectum Wissenschaftsverlag, 2006.

[68] SELIGER, Maren, UCAKAR, Karl. *Wien, Politische Geschichte 1740–1934*. Wien-München: Jugend und Volk, 1985, p. 357.

[69] CWANEK-FLOREK, Wiedeńczyka o wiele więcej łączy..., p. 277.

[70] HEWISON, Robert. *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*. London: Methuen, 1987; HOWARD, Peter. *Heritage. Management, Interpretation, Identity*. London-New York: Continuum, 2003.

ever since the importance of interpretation in understanding heritage began to be emphasised, it has become a "process".[71] Showing the entire group of the Polonica in Vienna as cultural heritage gives the recipient of the message the opportunity to learn about the history of Poles in Vienna and a part of the history of Poland in general. Therefore, intangible heritage also becomes the subject of communication.[72] On the other hand, in the traditional approach to heritage, most of the commemorations of Poles' activity in Vienna, which are not recognised as valuable and important historic monuments, would not deserve the name of representatives of cultural heritage.[73]

According to the Authorized Heritage Discourse, the Gothic tombstone of Bishop Aleksander Mazowiecki, the Baroque main altar of St Stephen's Cathedral, the Baroque Palais Kinski, the Baroque Altar of St Stanisław Kostka in St Anna's Church and the Classicist St Joseph's Church on the Kahlenberg should be regarded as examples of cultural heritage. These objects are typical examples of Gothic, Baroque and Classicist art and are part of the historical fabric of Vienna. From the point of view of art history and monument care, these objects should be protected and promoted as cultural heritage of the epochs they represent.[74] However, given the narrative, tradition and history of their creation, these objects are also the cultural heritage of Poland beyond its borders.

According to Ashworth and Tunbridge, cultural heritage is what the living want to pass on from the past to future generations.[75] Therefore, it cannot be unequivocally stated that the commemoration of the Battle of Vienna will constitute a value that future generations will want to care for.[76] Therefore, the greatest chance for exposing the Polonica to tourists is to treat them as a group of objects that represent Poland's cultural heritage in Vienna. This approach is part of the concept of promoting the national heritage abroad.[77]

People who are not familiar with the history of Poland and its heritage may get to know them thanks to the commemoration of the people known outside Poland, among others Frederic Chopin or John Paul II. These figures, in connection with the Polonica that commemorate them, may even be used in activities promoting Poland in Vienna.[78] The Viennese Polonica refer to the seventeenth-century history of Poland, the period of partitions, the times of World War I and II, and the history of the twentieth century. Visiting the Polonica in the urban space of Vienna, you may, therefore, learn about the most important events in the history of Poland in the last 400 years, which, apart from the message about contemporary culture and the economy, determines the image of the state.[79] Thanks to the descriptions in German, this

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[71] FAIRCLOUGH, New heritage frontiers… p. 31.

[72] MATIĆ, Miloš. Conceptualization of "Culture" within heritology as a paradigm. In: *Anthropology*, 11(1), 2011, pp. 117–142.

[73] The problem of traditional and interpretative understanding of cultural heritage is widely discussed by BANASZKIEWICZ, Magdalena, OWSIANOWSKA, Sabina. Trudne dziedzictwo a turystyka. O dysonansie dziedzictwa kulturowego. In: *Turystyka Kulturowa*, 11, 2015, pp. 6–24.

[74] SMITH, Uses of Heritage…

[75] GRAHAM, ASHWORTH, TUNBRIDGE, A Geography of Heritage…, p. 6.

[76] LOWENTHAL, David. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998; ASHWORTH, Gregory. Holocaust tourism: The experience of Kraków-Kazimierz. In: *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education*, 11(4), 2002, pp. 363–367.

[77] PIASTA, Polskie dziedzictwo kulturowe na Łotwie…

[78] TOMCZAK, Agnieszka. Polish national branding in comparison to selected of Central and Eastern Europe. In: *Journal of Modern Science*, 29(2), 2016, pp. 153–174.

[79] LUSIŃSKA, Anna, KALINOWSKA-ŻELEŹNIK, Anna. Promocja Polski i kultury polskiej za granicą w programie Ministerstwa Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego. In: *Media Biznes Kultura*, 1(2), 2017, pp. 77–91.

individual guide to the history of Poland is available not only to Polish tourists and the Polish community, but also to Austrians. This is confirmed by the 18 Polonica which are not graves, which were created on the initiative of Austria, compared to 16 objects created on the initiative of Polish institutions or the Polish community in Austria. The dominance of the German language in the inscriptions on the Polonica shows that the founders of the objects, both Polish and Austrian, wanted to reach the Viennese with their message. The two most recent objects (the foundation of the Sobieski Monument on the Kahlenberg and the Holocaust Monument on Judenplatz) also have descriptions in English, which proves that they were meant to be open to foreign tourists in the twenty-first century.[80]

For the Viennese, apart from commemorating Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Germans etc., Polonica are part of the cultural heritage of the city built by citizens of many countries. Owing to the location of many of them within district 1, visiting Polonica also makes it possible to learn about the history of Vienna. Numerous Polonica are located within the most valuable historic monuments of Vienna, such as St Stephen's cathedral, the Albertina gallery, the Minoritenkirche or the Hofburg. In this perspective, Polonica become an element of common heritage.[81] However, common heritage may become the subject of a political dispute, an example of which is the construction of the John III Sobieski monument on the Kahlenberg, which has been suspended.[82] This situation proves that cultural heritage may be perceived very differently by those interested in it.[83] The monument itself becomes a tool for the interpretation of history.[84] A common problem in Central Europe is the removal of Soviet monuments from public space, which is met with harsh reactions from representatives of the Russian Federation and Russian society.[85]

Polonica commemorating the Holocaust and World War II soldiers recall Poland's difficult and painful history, often referred to as martyrdom. According to Uzzell, commemorations of wars should engage with the heritage that causes pain.[86] This approach challenges the idea of heritage as solace and delight.[87] The polonica in Vienna are not "uncomfortable heritage" because they only commemorate a difficult history. These polonica are not in the locations

[80] ZAHEDPISHEH, Nahid, ABU BAKAR, Zulqarnain B., SAFFARI, Narges. English for Tourism and Hospitality Purposes (ETP). In: *English Language Teaching*, 10, 2017, pp. 86–94.

[81] ASHWORTH, Gregory, GRAHAM, Brian, TUNBRIDGE, John. *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*. London-Ann Arbor: Pluto Press, 2007; TUNBRIDGE, John. Problems in selling heritage for tourism: A cautionary tale, with insight from European's (pen)insular margins. In: KAMINSKI, Jaime, BENSON, Angela, ARNOLD, David (eds.). *Contemporary Issues in Cultural Heritage Tourism*. London-New York: Routledge, 2013, pp. 59–70.

[82] DOWELL, Stuart. King Sobieski monument erected in Kraków after Vienna says it's too controversial. In: *The First News*, 19.11.2019. accessed December 17, 2020, https://www.thefirstnews.com/article/king-sobieski-monument-erected-in-krakow-after-vienna-says-its-too-controversial-8780

[83] MACDONALD, Sharon. *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond*. London: Routledge, 2009.

[84] ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, Anna. Musealisation of communism, or how to create national identity in historical museums. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 8(4), 2020, pp. 59–72.

[85] SMITH, David J. "Woe from Stones" Commemoration, Identity Politics and Estonia's "War of Monuments". In: *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 39(4), 2008, pp. 419–430; HARRISON, Rodney. *Heritage: critical approaches*. New York: Routledge, 2013; CZEPCZYŃSKI, Mariusz, SOOVALI-SEPPING, Helen. From sacrum to profanum: reinterpretation of communist places of power in Baltic cities. In: *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 47(2), 2016, pp. 239–255.

[86] UZZELL, David. *Heritage Interpretation – Volume 1: The Natural and Built Environment*. London: Belhaven, 1989; UZZELL, David. *Heritage Interpretation – Volume 2: The Visitor Experience*. London: Belhaven, 1989.

[87] ASHWORTH, Gregory. Editorial: On Icons and ICONS. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12(5), 2006, pp. 392–393.

where the commemorated events took place.[88] From the point of view of Poland's raison d'état, these polonica should be used to promote an unadulterated history that makes it clear who was the perpetrator and who was the victim.

The main recipients of the message of Polonica are tourists, who should be able to visit these objects in an organised manner. The issue of the interest of domestic tourists in Polonica has already been discussed by Piasta on the example of Latvia.[89] He stated that the best way to interest Poles in visiting these objects is to create a thematic route. Also Walkowski calls for the creation of a museum route for Greek mementoes in Spain and Portugal.[90] On the other hand, Czech mementoes in Polish Wrocław were presented to tourists in the form of a smartphone application, which makes it possible to get to know the history of the objects and visit them while following the proposed route.[91] For representatives of the Polish community in Austria, visiting Polonica can be a way to maintain ties with their homeland, especially in the context of teaching children and young people about Poland. The role of Polonica in the life and education of the Polish community has been described, using, among other examples, those of Hungary[92] and the states of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.[93] A good direction for the promotion of the Viennese Polonica would seem to be the creation of a virtual trail which, after being made available via an Internet application, could be used by individual tourists. From the point of view of tourists from Poland, it is necessary to enrich the content of guidebooks on Vienna, which currently indicate only objects related to the Battle of Vienna as Polish sites.

The growing popularity of geotourism in the twenty-first century also increases the possibilities of presenting cultural heritage through the prism of natural heritage.[94] This possibility is also provided by presenting Polonica as objects made of rocks (18 objects). Four Polonica were made of material brought from Poland, which emphasises their natural and cultural provenance. Such presentation of Polonica results in their becoming objects of cultural tourism and geotourism.[95] The cultural aspect adds value to the natural one.[96]

Conclusions

The cultural heritage of Poland is present in Vienna in museums and galleries and in the city space. Viennese Polonica commemorate both famous Poles who stayed only in the Austrian

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[88] PENDLEBURY, John, WANG, Yi-Wen, LAW, Andrew. Re-using "uncomfortable heritage": the case of the 1933 building, Shanghai. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24(3), 2018, pp. 211–229.

[89] PIASTA, Polskie dziedzictwo kulturowe na Łotwie…

[90] WALKOWSKI, Bartłomiej. Pozostałości kultury materialnej starożytnych Greków na Półwyspie Iberyjskim. Propozycja szlaku muzealnego. In: *Turystyka Kulturowa*, 1, 2019, pp. 44–65.

[91] WYSOCKI, Tomasz. Powstała aplikacja dla miłośników historii: Odkryj Czeskie ślady we Wrocławiu. accessed November 4, 2020, https://visitwroclaw.eu/powstala-aplikacja-dla-milosnikow-historii-odkryj-czeskie-slady-we -wroclawiu.

[92] STEFAŃCZYK, Wiesław Tomasz. Mniejszość polska na Węgrzech. Stan i potrzeby badań. In: *Konteksty Kultury*, 10(4), 2013, pp. 479–488.

[93] KOŁODZIEJ, Daniela. Nauczanie historii Polski kandydatów pochodzenia polskiego ze Wschodu na studia w Polsce. In: *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Kształcenie Polonistyczne Cudzoziemców*, 7-8, 1996, pp. 177–183.

[94] GORDON, John E. Geotourism and cultural heritage. In: DOWLING, Ross, NEWSOME, David (eds.). *Handbook of Geotourism*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2018, pp. 61–75.

[95] BELTRAN-YANES, Esther, DONIZ-PAEZ, Javier, ESQUIVEL-SIGUT, Isabel. Chinyero Volcanic Landscape Trail (Canary Islands, Spain): A Geotourism Proposal to Identify Natural and Cultural Heritage in Volcanic Areas. In: *Geosciences*, 10(11), 2020, 453.

[96] DABEZIES, Heritagization of nature…

capital and those that rendered great services to the city. Some of those commemorated are also known outside Austria and Poland.

Viennese Polonica are an excellent tool for disseminating the history and cultural heritage of Poland in Vienna. Polonica can also become objects of geotourism, combining both cultural and natural heritage. The popularisation of Viennese Polonica requires organised activities aimed at offering tourists a thematic route or an application for smartphones. The activities carried out so far by Polish institutions to promote Poland's heritage abroad are insufficient and do not use the potential of the Polonica located in the urban space of Vienna.

Objects commemorating people or events located in the city space are part of the cultural heritage of the country in which they are located and the homeland of the commemorated person. These objects are part of the common cultural heritage and may serve to strengthen ties between countries or deepen political disputes, depending on the interpretation of the message.

Acknowledgments

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The Role of the Kolbuszowa Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Studies of Traditional Wooden Architecture of the Rzeszowiacy Ethnographic Group

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The Role of the Kolbuszowa Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Studies of Traditional Wooden Architecture of the Rzeszowiacy Ethnographic Group
The "Rzeszowiacy" ethnographic group inhabits the central and northern part of the Podkarpackie Province, which is located in the south-eastern corner of Poland. At the beginning of the 1970s, as the result of an initiative drawing attention to the need for documentation of the rapidly disappearing traditional Rzeszowiacy vernacular wooden architecture (and that of the neighboring ethnographic group, the Lasowiacy), the Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Kolbuszowa was created. This paper presents a short overview of the open-air museum's establishment and describes in detail its role in the study and protection of the wooden architectural heritage of the Rzeszowiacy ethnographic group, based on the museum's research, carried out over fifty years, and its collection of buildings.

Keywords: wooden vernacular architecture, Rzeszowiacy ethnographic group, open-air museum

Introduction

The idea of establishing open-air museums was born as a result of rapid social and cultural changes across Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century. The recognition of folk culture as an essential conveyor of tradition was motivated by the period's progressive industrialisation and increased interest in the past and the national identity of individual ethnic groups.[1] The first ethnographic park was established in Stockholm in 1891 by Artur Hazelius,[2]

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[1] SPISS, Anna. Muzea etnograficzne na wolnym powietrzu w Europie. In: *Biblioteka Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków. Studia i Materiały*, 2, 1985, p. 11.

[2] RENTZHOG, Sten. Open Air Museums—the History and Future of a Visionary Idea. In: *European Journal of Archaeology*, 11(2–3), 2008, p. 313.

while the first institution of this type in what is now Poland was established in 1906 in Wdzydze Kiszewskie by the Gulgowski family.[3]

Open-air museums established in the first half of the twentieth century in Poland were primarily characterised by the application of a so-called "park layout". Initially, only the most representative buildings were collected and exhibited in a loose compositional layout and framed by loosely arranged greenery.[4] The exhibition of entire settlement layouts with farm buildings started to appear later.[5] This tendency slowly began to change during the interwar period, when open-air museums began to exhibit "average" buildings that were relocated there, which were seen as typical for a given ethnographic group within a given timeframe.[6] The development of open-air museum institutions in Poland was particularly observable in the second half of the twentieth century. The open-air museums opened during this period were divided into sectors that presented individual ethnographic groups from a given region of Poland. When organising the composition of the relevant buildings, care was taken to fragmentarily reconstruct the spatial structure and terrain conditions similar to the natural and cultural environment of the exhibited ethnographic group.[7] This type of exhibition is currently presented by most open-air museums that now exist in Poland.[8] The concept of creating open-air museums was also affected by changes in the approach to conservation towards the end of the 1960s, when it became popular to protect the cultural landscape understood as the human environment.[9] Since then, numerous new spatial layouts that holistically reconstruct the historical space of rural settlements have been introduced into open-air museums in Poland.

The open-air museum in Kolbuszowa was established at the start of the 1970s as a result of an initiative which stressed the necessity to document and protect the rapidly disappearing traditional vernacular folk architecture of the central and northern parts of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship (or Podkarpackie Province, also known as Subcarpathian Voivodeship), an area that is in Poland's south-eastern corner.[10] At the same time, the open-air museum was to present the most valuable specimens of vernacular architecture in museum conditions, collected from territories inhabited by the Lasowiacy and Rzeszowiacy ethnographic groups.

Since its establishment, the open-air museum in Kolbuszowa—apart from collecting exhibits showing the material heritage of ethnographic groups from the central and northern part of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship, primarily comprised of vernacular folk architecture—began sophisticated field work associated with studying and documenting the traditional wooden architecture of this territory. This paper presents a short overview of the open-air museum's

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[3] SPISS, Muzea etnograficzne…, pp. 33–34.

[4] PRARAT, Maciej. Koncepcja Olęderskiego Parku Etnograficznego w Wielkiej Nieszawce. Głos w dyskusji o roli skansenów w ochronie zabytków architektury drewnianej. In: *Ochrona Zabytków*, 1–4, 2013, p. 239.

[5] SPISS, Muzea etnograficzne…, pp. 59–61.

[6] Ibid. p. 61.

[7] GINALSKI, Jerzy, OSSADNIK, Hubert. 50 lat Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku w świetle archiwaliów. In:*Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku*, 37, 2008, p.13.

[8] ŚWIĘCH, Jan, TUBAJA, Roman. Historia idei muzealnictwa na wolnym powietrzu w Polsce. In: *Biuletyn Stowarzyszenia Muzeów na Wolnym Powietrzu w Polsce*, 9, 2006, p. 61.

[9] SZMYGIN, Bogusław. *Kształtowanie koncepcji zabytku i doktryny konserwatorskiej w Polsce w XX wieku*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Lubelskiej, 2000, p. 201.

[10] In the period of the establishment of the Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Kolbuszowa, the areas in question were administratively a part of the erstwhile Rzeszowskie Voivodeship, which was divided into several smaller administrative units in 1975. In 1999, the area that had belonged to the Rzeszowskie Voivodeship was once again merged into a single administrative unit, which was renamed to the Podkarpackie Voivodeship.

establishment and characterises the wooden architectural heritage of the Rzeszowiacy ethnographic group based on the current collection and research carried out over the fifty years of the existence of the Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Kolbuszowa.

Origins of the Kolbuszowa Open-Air Museum

Multi-directional efforts to establish an open-air museum that would protect the traditional vernacular wooden architecture of the Lasowiacy and Rzeszowiacy had been made already since the end of the 1960s. An intensification of this activity took place in the period between October 1970 and the beginning of 1972. It was significant that a community museum that collected the legacy of the folk culture of the Lasowiacy had existed in Kolbuszowa since 1959, established with the support of a group of regionalists with particular activity shown by Doctor Kazimierz Skowroński.[11]

The idea to establish the open-air museum in Kolbuszowa was actively supported by a group of ethnographers and conservators interested in the conservation of folk architecture. These included Jerzy Tur (the Voivodeship Conservator of Historical Monuments up to 1967 and an employee of the District Museum in Rzeszów since 1968), Inga Sapetowa, the Voivodeship Conservator of Historical Monuments from 1967, Barbara Tondos from the Historical Monuments Documentation Office in Rzeszów, and Andrzej Karczmarzewski and Teresa Szetela-Zauchowa from the Ethnographic Department of the District Museum in Rzeszów.

The land for the open-air museum was initially chosen at the start of October 1970. It was a site with an area of around 30 ha, located on the outskirts of Kolbuszowa. The site was crossed by a small creek that flowed around the remains of a pond overgrown with trees and bushes that belonged to the State Fishing Farm and had been unused for years. Most of the area comprised flat farmland and wasteland covered with patches of heather that stretched towards the buildings of the nearby village of Domatkowa, visible in the distance, and it was divided in places by patches of pine and birch trees. During the first visit to the site, a team of project stakeholders that included K. Ruszel, J. Tur, T. Szetela-Zauchowa, A. Karczmarzewski, and Doctor K. Skowroński proposed to divide its entirety into three main sectors in accordance with the character of the territories inhabited by the ethnographic groups the museum was to represent. And so, the fields and wasteland were assigned for the buildings of the Lasowiacy and the slightly elevated and clearly separated section to the south of the pond was assigned for the buildings of the Rzeszowiacy, while the remaining area was to provide necessary infrastructure.[12] This established the open-air museum's general development and arrangement plan, which has survived unchanged to this day.

The aforementioned initial activity associated with the organisation of the open-air museum in Kolbuszowa caused the authorities to issue an official decision about the planned establishment

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[11] The idea behind the establishment of the Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Kolbuszowa was to protect the material heritage of the Lasowiacy and the Rzeszowiacy and to study their tangible and intangible culture, customs, language, etc.

[12] RUSZEL, Krzysztof. Zanim powstał skansen—czyli kształtowanie się koncepcji oraz starania o utworzenie w latach 1970–1972. In: Jacek Bardan, Katarzyna Dypa (eds.). *Biuletyn Jubileuszowy Muzeum Kultury Ludowej w Kolbuszowej*. Kolbuszowa: Wydawnictwo Mitel, 2009, p. 18.

of a new ethnographic park in what was then the Rzeszowskie Voivodeship.[13] The first stage was the nationalisation of the previous community museum on 1 January 1971 and its renaming to the Regional Museum of Kolbuszowa. Among the tasks given to the institution, the most important ones included the preparation of a proposal of general concept, and performing work associated with establishing an open-air museum presenting the folk architecture of the Lasowiacy and Rzeszowiacy. In February 1972, the design of the open-air museum in Kolbuszowa was presented to Stanisław Brzostowski (director of the Board of Museums and Monuments Protection of the Ministry of Culture and Art) and to Professor Józef Burszta (the Head of the Department of Ethnography at the A. Mickiewicz University in Poznań). After the nationalisation of the Regional Museum devoted to Lasowiacy in Kolbuszowa, duties for establishing the open-air museum were taken over by Maciej Skowroński, who was assigned to direct the new institution in 1972.[14]

In the late autumn of 1970 and the winter of 1971, field research began along with reconnaissance for buildings suitable for relocation to the open-air museum. At the time, the reconnaissance covered the northern area of the Vistula and San river forks, associated with the Lasowiacy ethnographic group, and the lands south of this area associated with the Rzeszowiacy ethnographic group. The results of site visits were not exceedingly optimistic. A considerable portion of the historical vernacular architecture that had been recorded already during ethnographic studies in the 1960s had been demolished or considerably remodelled. The scholars also often arrived precisely at the moment when historical cottages or outbuildings were being demolished. One such instance was the demolition of an old village inn in Racławice near Nisko.[15] The search for complete farms (group of outbuildings belonging to one farm) proved fruitless and resulted in the depressing vision of it becoming necessary to reconstruct them, i.e. pair together buildings that had belonged to different owners/farms, or in some cases had been located in different or faraway villages.

The first building purchased for the Kolbuszowa open-air museum was a wagon shed from Grzęska, from the Przeworsk District. Its owner had pressured the museum to collect the building as he had built an impressive new outbuilding near the wagon shed. The building was dismantled in July 1971 by a team of employees of the District Museum in Rzeszów that included a carpenter, two drivers, and a warehouseman.[16] The disassembled material was stored for a considerable period of time in a space used by "Polskie Pracownie Konserwacji Zabytków"[17] in Jarosław and was then transported to Kolbuszowa, where it unfortunately

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[13] The Open-Air museum in Kolbuszowa was established as the second ethnographic park in the contemporaneous Rzeszowskie Voivodeship (the present-day Podkarpackie Voivodeship). The first was the Open-Air Museum in Sanok, which was established after the Second World War. It displays collections belonging to the Pogorzans (Walddeutsche), Dolinianie, Lemkos, and Boykos. It is also the largest ethnographic museum in Poland in terms of the number of buildings.

14 SKOWROŃSKI, Maciej. Tak się zaczęło… —czyli o początkach i pierwszych latach Muzeum w Kolbuszowej. In: Jacek Bardan, Katarzyna Dypa (eds.). *Biuletyn Jubileuszowy Muzeum Kultury Ludowej w Kolbuszowej*. Kolbuszowa: Wydawnictwo Mitel, 2009, p. 14.

[15] RUSZEL, Zanim powstał skansen…, p. 20.

[16] LEW, Stefan. Wędrówka—czyli rzecz o pierwszym zabytku w Parku Etnograficznym. In: Jacek Bardan, Katarzyna Dypa (eds.). *Biuletyn Jubileuszowy Muzeum Kultury Ludowej w Kolbuszowe*j. Kolbuszowa: Mitel, 2009, p. 25.

[17] "Polskie Pracownie Konserwacji Zabytków" (equivalent to: "Monuments Conservation Workshops in Poland")—a state enterprise established by the order of the Minister of Culture and Art on August 25, 1950 in order to conduct research on monuments, to document them and to carry out restoration and conservation works on immovable and movable monuments, as well as to conduct archaeological research.

burned down as a result of an accidental fire.[18] Thus, the Kolbuszowa open-air museum was left without the first building purchased with the intent to establish it.

In the first half of 1971, a building survey of a historical windmill located in Trzęsówka was concluded. It later became one of the first buildings to be relocated to the Kolbuszowa open-air museum. Additionally in 1971, an inspection and assessment of a watermill and an adjacent miller's house in Żolynia was performed. They were slated for transfer to the open-air museum in Kolbuszowa. Unfortunately, only the mill was relocated to the museum and the miller's house remained at its original site for reasons that are difficult to establish nowadays. Another building from Żolynia that was disassembled by the team from the Regional Museum in Kolbuszowa in July 1973 was a historical house from 1815, which had stood on a dangerous turn along the road from Łańcut to Leżajsk and was thus often called "zawalidroga" (equivalent to "road hog" in Polish).[19]

Studies and building surveys of cottages and outbuildings prepared by students of the Cracow University of Technology proved to be a great aid in identifying the condition of folk architecture during the initial period of the open-air museum's establishment. They were performed during a research trip that took place towards the end of June and the beginning of July 1971 on the initiative of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology. The students were tasked to identify wooden buildings for detailed building surveys and conduct ethnographic interviews.[20] This initiative became the commencement of extensive study of the vernacular architecture of the Rzeszowiacy and Lasowiacy, which is being successfully carried out by the Open-Air Folk Culture Museum in Kolbuszowa to this day.

The Rzeszowiacy ethnographic group

The Rzeszowiacy inhabit the southern area of the Sandomierz Basin, which is located in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship that occupies the south-eastern edge of Poland. Their settlements are located primarily along a wide strip of fertile loess land located on both sides of the central and lower section of the River Wislok and are grouped around three cities: Rzeszów, Łańcut and Przeworsk.[21] It should be noted that some scholars extend the area inhabited by the Rzeszowiacy westwards to the town of Ropczyce, and eastwards to the area of Jarosław.[22]

Good climate conditions and placement at the foot of the Sandomierz Basin, which had been covered by dense and very old forests, proved conducive to settlement. Over time, the forests were largely cleared and their place was taken by fertile loess soil used for agriculture. The area's geopolitical location also proved essential to its rapid development and the emergence of the local culture.[23] The land occupied by the Rzeszowiacy was crossed by important medieval transport and trade routes. The most significant of these included those that led eastwards (from Silesia via Cracow, Rzeszów, and Lviv to the Black Sea) and those that led southwards

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[18] RUSZEL, Zanim powstał skansen…, p. 21.

[19] SKOWROŃSKI, Tak się zaczęło…, p. 14.

[20] RUSZEL, Zanim powstał skansen…, p. 22.

[21] DRAGAN, Wojciech. Budownictwo drewniane w dorzeczu środkowego Wisloka. In: Katarzyna Barańska, Jolanta Dragan (eds.). *Folklor Rzeszowiakó—obraz przemian według badań terenowych 2014–2016*. Kolbuszowa: Zakład Poligraficzny Zdzisława Gajek, 2018, p. 241.

[22] KOTULA, Franciszek. Strój rzeszowski. In: *Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych*, 3(5): *Małopolska*. z.13, 1951, p. 11.

[23] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 241.

(from Sandomierz through the Carpathian basins to Slovakia and Hungary).[24] Citing Dragan,[25] mentions of the historical routes were found in oral accounts obtained during field research in the land around Rzeszów that were conducted by the Folk Culture Museum in Kolbuszowa: "Kosina began at Klin, the Cracow-Lviv route crossed there, before road number four was built in the Austrian times. The Sieniawa route ran behind the tracks between Kosina and Głuchów."[26]

Etymology of the name Rzeszowiacy

The cultural distinctiveness of the Rzeszowiacy developed over the course of a centuries-long process of historical and social transformations. The territory they inhabited at least since the early Middle Ages was a contested borderland between Poland and Red Ruthenia. It was thus settled by Slavic people who came here both from the west and the east.[27] This was facilitated by the active resettlement policy practiced by both states, offering settlers years of tax exemptions and other privileges.[28]

According to Dragan,[29] the first to observe the cultural distinctiveness of the area's population was J.S. Bystroń, who called it the Rzeszowiacy in an ethnographical division compiled in 1925. The name was based on the city of Rzeszów—the centre of the area.[30] According to Bystroń, it was a secondary ethnographic group (as opposed to a primary, tribal group), counted among the eastern borderland groups of Poland: "And another group is set aside, namely the Rzeszowiacy. Here we are also dealing with a borderland that, despite being a direct eastwards extension of Lesser Poland, has developed separately. By the name Rzeszowiacy […] we distinguish the native, long-since settled Polish population of the western Ruthenian Voivodeship."[31]

According to Dragan, the name Rzeszowiacy was coined for classification purposes from an ethnographic perspective and not out of a sense of group distinctiveness or identity of the population of the microregion.[32] K. Ruszel noted that the character of J.S. Bystron's phrase (analogous to the naming of other ethnographic groups on the basis of large urban centres, such as the Sandomierzanie, Lubliniacy, Krakowiacy) allows us to assume that the name Rzeszowiacy, used to describe the ethnographic group prevalent in the area, could have been in use in the 1920s, i.e. during the period when Bystroń recorded the classification.[33]

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[24] KARCZMARZEWSKI, Andrzej. Rzeszowiacy. Charakterystyka regionu. In: Alicja Haszczak (ed.). *Tańce rzeszowskie.* Rzeszów: PHU Mitel, 2012, p. 10.

[25] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 241.

[26] Kosina, TT, MKL-AE 651/6. (This abbreviation denotes the following: Kosina—place name; TT—initials of the person giving the account in a field interview [the "informant"]; MKL-AE 651/6 —stock number/interview documentation signature as listed in the archives of the Folk Culture Museum in Kolbuszowa. The marking system is used in this form throughout the following part of the text. The first part—the name of the location—is the place where the field interview took place or the place where a specific structure was located).

[27] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 238.

[28] ZUBRZYCKI, Denys. *Granice między Ruskimi polskim narodem w Galicyi.* Lwów, 1848, p.4.; KOTULA, Franciszek. *Geneza regionów etnograficznych woj. Rzeszowskiego.* Mielec, 1968, p. 8.

[29] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 238.

[30] BYSTROŃ, Jan Stanisław. Nazwy i przezwiska polskich grup plemiennych i lokalnych. In: *Prace i Materiały Antropologiczno- Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne*, 4(3), 1925, p. 101.

[31] BYSTROŃ, Jan Stanisław. *Ugrupowania etniczne ludu polskiego (Les groupes ethnographiques polonais).* Kraków: Orbis, 1925, p.17.

[32] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 240.

[33] RUSZEL, Krzysztof. Z badań nad kulturą ludową Rzeszowiaków. In: *Prace i Materiały z Badań Etnograficznych*, 5, 1985, p. 9.

The term "Rzeszowiacy" proposed by Bystroń is still in popular use today.[34] However, it should be highlighted that despite its limited territorial scope, and relatively similar natural conditions and a comparable socio-economic situation and history, this group does not form a cultural monolith. Cultural variation within the entire group of the Rzeszowiacy was postulated by, among others, A. Saloni (late nineteenth and early twentieth century)[35] or F. Kotula (twentieth century),[36] proposing its division into three subregions: Rzeszów, Łańcut, and Przeworsk.

The Rzeszowiacy are also not a group that is fully ethnically homogenous, as noted by D. Zubrzycki[37] and F. Kotula.[38] Numerous scholars have claimed that the Rzeszowiacy as an ethnographic group developed from a mixture of settled Polish and Ruthenian populations as well as German colonists. This is corroborated by the presence of German settlers in the area who are called Głuchoniemcy (also Walddeutsche).[39] They had a significant and crucial impact on the material culture of the Rzeszowiacy, especially their agriculture and architecture (particularly the Rzeszowiacy from the Łańcut and Przeworsk groups).[40] The beginnings of this colonisation reach back to the first half of the fourteenth century, when Red Ruthenia was permanently incorporated into the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland by Casimir the Great. German settlement of the land around Rzeszów was initiated by Władysław, governor of Red Ruthenia and prince of Opole, who brought settlers from Silesia, Lusatia, and Saxony to the area. The newcomers were to aid in rebuilding the damage wrought upon the territory during previous military operations. However, it should be mentioned here that this colonisation was not always explicitly associated with Germans. Kotula argued that, despite being germanised, they were Silesians or west Slavic settlers.[41]

The settlers who came from the west and who then inhabited previously sparsely populated land brought with them notions of an organised development system and a new legal order. Historical texts from the middle of the seventeenth century include the following accounts:

> Next is Łańcut […] and Rzeszów […]; the area is usually abundant with milk and linen fabric, as all of its villages are inhabited by descendants of the German tribe […] brought here from Saxony, with children and wives, out into these parts. They take great care in the husbandry of cattle and cultivation of linen and, during market, take their goods for exchange to nearby cities, primarily to Rzeszów and Jarosław.[42]

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[34] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 240.

[35] SALONI, Aleksander. Lud rzeszowski. In: *Materyały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne*, 10, 1908, pp. 273–568; SALONI, Aleksander. Lud wiejski w okolicy Przeworska. In: *Wisła: Miesięcznik geograficzno-etnograficzny*, 11, 1897, pp. 738–759; 12, 1898, pp. 47–64; 719–748; SALONI, Aleksander. Lud łańcucki. Materyały etnograficzne. In: *Materyały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne*, 6, 1903. pp. 187–204.

[36] KOTULA, *Geneza regionów…*, p. 8.

[37] ZUBRZYCKI, *Granice między…*, p. 4.

[38] KOTULA, *Geneza regionów…*, p. 8.; ZUBRZYCKI, *Granice między…*, p. 8.

[39] KARCZMARZEWSKI, Rzeszowiacy…, p. 10.

[40] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 239.

[41] KOTULA, *Geneza regionów…*, p. 9.; TEJCHMA, Józef. *Dawniej. O ludziach i czasach w Markowej*. Markowa, 2008, pp. 18–19; KARCZMARZEWSKI, Rzeszowiacy…, p. 10.

[42] STAROWOLSKI, Szymon. *Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego w Kolonii u Henryka Krithiusa roku 1632*. (Translation: Piskadlo Andrzej). Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2000, p. 79.

In the new conditions of the territory in question, multiple ethnicities coexisted together and so did their traditions and cultural patterns. Over the many centuries of coexistence, differences slowly disappeared and German as a language ceased to be used. This process was not uniform, as evidenced by the dominance of the settlers' original language for several centuries after their arrival to the area around Rzeszów. As argued by Dragan,[43] one example of this could be the village of Markowa, where—despite the disappearance of differences between the German and Polish population—all documents had been exclusively developed in German up to the seventeenth century[44] and the language of the settlers' former fatherland could be heard there as late as in the nineteenth century. This is attested to by an account from the nineteenth century that reported that Markowa's peasants had been mixing German phrases with Polish ones, and during holidays sang songs "in an incomprehensible language, perhaps broken German".[45]

Here it should also be added that the character of the area was affected by the late-medieval settlement of Wallachian shepherds.[46] Citing Dragan,[47] the studies performed by the Folk Culture Museum in Kolbuszowa did not yield convincing data as to their contribution to village organisation or architecture in the area in question. However, it is known from the literature that villages founded on the basis of Wallachian law were sited in areas with gaps in settlement, where settled agriculture was thus initiated.[48] These villages had chain-type layouts and were founded where villages based on German town law and thus featuring a łan-type (plot arrangement-based) field system had proved unsuccessful. In the area in question, the only village to have a confirmed foundation based on Wallachian law is Hadle Szklarskie.[49] Citing Persowski, it can also be observed that Wallachian law was used in the village of Markowa (here it functioned either earlier to or in parallel with the Magdeburg law).[50]

Studies on the wooden architecture legacy of the Rzeszowiacy

One of the main indicators of any ethnographic group's distinctiveness, apart from attire, customs and speech, is architecture. The specimens of the architecture of the Rzeszowiacy exhibited at the Kolbuszowa Open-Air Folk Culture Museum are the only collection of historical buildings of this type to be featured in museum conditions in Poland. At the same time, this collection can be considered a summary of long-term studies by the Folk Culture Museum in Kolbuszowa on the architectural traditions of the Rzeszowiacy.

Field studies have been carried out for many years in villages around Rzeszów, Łańcut, and Przeworsk (villages located in the Rzeszów, Łańcut, and Przeworsk districts), excluding the

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[43] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 239.

[44] *Księga sądowa wsi Markowa,* Archive of the CPAHU in Lviv, 1591–1777, fond 85, description 1, volume 1, manuscript. Copy stored at the archives of Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Markowej in Markowa.

[45] *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i krajów słowiańskich.* 1880–1914. Vol. 6. (ed. Franciszek Chlebowski; Władysław Walewski). Warszawa: Nakładem Filipa Sulimierskiego i Władysława Walewskiego, 1885, p. 126.

[46] KOTULA, *Geneza regionów…*, p. 8.; LEW, Stefan. *Budownictwo ludowe dorzecza Sanu w XIX i XX wieku.* Rzeszów: Mitel, 2003, p. 27.

[47] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 240.

[48] JAWOR, Grzegorz. *Osady prawa wołoskiego i ich mieszkańcy na Rusi Czerwonej w późnym średniowieczu.* Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2000, p. 167.

[49] *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie w skutek fundacyi śp. Alexandra hr. Stadnickiego,* vol. 7, Lwów 1878, p. 22.

[50] PERSOWSKI, Franciszek. Księga sądowa wsi Markowej w powiecie przeworskim. In: *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych.*, 1, 1931, p. 47.

villages located the closest to Rzeszów, which are currently largely incorporated into the city's administrative limits.[51]

Significant pieces of information concerning architecture were procured via direct interviews. Many of the interviewees had been born prior to or during the Second World War and thus were able to observe and personally experience the relevant transformations in all fields of life, including architecture. The information they provided also included their personal opinions about this process.[52] In most cases, the information concerning architecture was mentioned in the context of the changes that had allowed the respondents to improve their housing and existential conditions over the post-war years.

Unfortunately, the scant amount and laconicism of the accounts that directly referred to architecture, farms and houses resulted in the necessity to reference earlier field studies and the pre-existing literature.

As noted by Dragan,[53] despite settlement continuity in the area in question, two distinctive time periods with considerable differences in architecture can be observed. And so, up to the 1950s and 60s, buildings were built and finished largely traditionally (Jawornik Polski, Wólka Podleśna, Zabajka).[54] Afterwards, from the 1960s (and lasting mostly until the 1990s—the start of profound social changes in Poland) many informants juxtaposed traditional architecture with masonry buildings that they saw as better and more modern, and it was considered to change the face of rural areas:

> This started later, the beginnings, the 1960s, were when villages developed greatly. This was home-made brick, and there Widełka and Przewrotne, they were being built up. He could not afford brick at a brick plant and it was difficult to buy it. […] There were many masons and they could not keep up.[55]

(Przewrotne, Niżatyce).[56]

However, key changes in architecture took place after the political transformation of the 1990s and in the first years of the twenty-first century (Łapajówka),[57] when the traditional way of life of the inhabitants of villages changed almost overnight.

Traditional wooden architecture of the Rzeszowiacy—an overview
Village types

The areas of the central basin of the River Wisłok turned out to be an attractive place for settlers. A dense network of towns and villages had developed here already by the Middle Ages. The stabilised geopolitical situations of the inhabitants and the pre-determined settlement network caused these areas to be "ignored" during the nineteenth-century Josephine

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[51] These villages were thoroughly studied in the years 1979–1982 by employees of the Rzeszów Ethnographic Museum and the material collected at the time was documented and published in the fifth volume of "Prace i Materiały z Badań Etnograficznych", Rzeszów, 1985.

[52] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 237.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Jawornik Polski, JC, MKL-AE 617/3; Wólka Podleśna, LM, MKL-AE 557/4; Zabajka, FA, MKL-AE 556/11.

[55] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 238.

[56] Przewrotne, SF SW, MKL-AE *558/5;* Niżatyce, Z-KL, MKL-AE 611/3.

[57] One informant reported that current travels are mostly focused on guest employment, with many migrants investing their earnings in building themselves a house (Łapajówka, DH, MKL-AE 620/1).

colonisation, which at the time exerted a considerable impact on rural development in the less-populated nearby areas.[58] The effects of being omitted from this immense and organised settlement campaign, which introduced significant change to the culture landscape, were the rather slow changes shown by the Rzeszowiacy, changes that were based on long-lasting cultural continuity instead of sudden settlement-type modifications.[59]

Two types of village layouts were the most common among the Rzeszowiacy: niwa-type and łan-and-chain-type villages. As noted by Dragan,[60] the types of rural development were divided by the River Wisłok, its central run to be precise, as niwa-type villages predominated to the north of it, and łan-type predominated to its south. It should be highlighted that niwa-type villages were original, while the founding of łan-type villages started to appear after foundings based on German town laws had been introduced.[61] The southernmost areas, located in the foothills, largely featured hamlet-type villages.[62] The farmers who settled in mountainous areas built their farms in forest meadows or clearings, sited far apart from each other due to the terrain.

Farm types

The area under analysis was dominated by a farm type composed of multiple buildings (multiple-building farms). However, the number and placement of buildings, and thus the size of the farm itself, depended on the owner's wealth. Farms distinctive to averagely wealthy households were the most common and were usually composed of two buildings: a cottage and a stable under one roof, and a barn, which was typically placed parallel to the cottage.[63] If the terrain allowed it, such farms also featured a cellar, typically located near the cottage.[64] The most impressive farms, unsurprisingly, belonged to well-to-do peasants, who were called "kmiecie". Customarily, such farms consisted of a cottage, one or sometimes two barns, a stable, a cellar, and a wagon shed.[65] They also often featured separate pig and chicken pens, and in the case of a need to store considerable amounts of hay or straw—hay barracks.[66] Meanwhile, the poorest residents of a village owned single-building farms, where the cottage and animal pens were all under one roof and the attic typically acted as a barn.[67]

As observed by Dragan,[68] farms were built on relatively narrow, long plots. The cottages were built from the side of the main road and faced it with their gables, the outbuildings were behind them, while on the back of the plot, with their fronts facing the fields or the threshing road, the barns were located. "The cottages typically stood with their narrow side facing the road,

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[58] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 241.

[59] LEPUCKI, Henryk. Działalność kolonizacyjna Marii Teresy i Józefa II w Galicji 1772–1790. In: Franciszek Bujak (ed.). *Badania z Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, nr 29. Wydano z Zasiłku Zwrotnego Ministerstwa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego. Lwów, 1938.

[60] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 241.

[61] RUSZEL, Z badań nad kulturą…, p. 15.; STYŚ, Wincenty, *Drogi postępu gospodarczego wsi. Studium szczegółowe na przykładzie zbiorowości próbnej wsi Husów*. Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1947; RUSZEL, Krzysztof. *Leksykon kultury ludowej w Rzeszowskiem*. Rzeszów: Muzeum Okręgowe Oddział Rzeszów, 2004, p. 454.

[62] KARCZMARZEWSKI, Andrzej. Budownictwo ludowe okolic Rzeszowa. In: Krzysztof Ruszel (ed.). *Prace i Materiały z Badań Etnograficznych Vol. 5*. Rzeszów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Rzeszowie, 1985, p. 58.

[63] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 242.

[64] KARCZMARZEWSKI, Rzeszowiacy…, p. 13.; Nowa Wieś, PT, MKL-AE 554/7

[65] KARCZMARZEWSKI, Budownictwo…, p. 57.; Krzemienica, BJ BJ, MKL-AE-647/1.

[66] RUSZEL, *Leksykon kultury*…, p. 454.

[67] KARCZMARZEWSKI, Budownictwo…, p. 58.

[68] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 242.

although my neighbour had it the other way around. The barn was behind it, perpendicular. The farm also had a well, which was sometimes shared with a neighbour." (Nowa Wieś)[69]

Based on many years of field work conducted by the Kolbuszowa Folk Culture Museum, it was possible to note significant differences between each subregion inhabited by the Rzeszowiacy in terms of farm layout and type.[70] And so, in Rzeszowskie, the most common farms were of the multiple-building type, where buildings were placed at considerable distances from each other.[71] In Łańcuckie, and also partially in Przeworskie, a type of farms with a so-called ring (or market)[72] became popular. Their plan was based on siting the cottage and stable parallel to each other, while the space between them was enclosed (partitioned off) with a fence and a wicket.[73] In some farms, the third side was enclosed by pigsties. The interior of the farm (the ring) was used to store manure prior to carting it off into the fields. The remaining buildings—the barn, the granary, wagon shed, and others—were outside the ring. This was also often associated with raising production levels and the need to store the harvest, which would be impossible in a small, internally closed farm.[74]

Apart from the abovementioned farm types, the areas inhabited by the Rzeszowiacy also featured another type of farm, found mainly in the village of Markowa. It is a distinctive form of enclosed farm, called the ""*obora*"", and which shows traces of Wallachian[75] architectural tradition while also displaying similarity to Lemko or Hutsul pastoral settlements.[76]

Building types and structural systems

Similarly to many villages in other areas of Poland, the primary building material used in the land around Rzeszów up to the middle of the twentieth century was wood. It was used to build both houses and all other farm buildings.[77] This is confirmed by the literature and previous

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[69] Nowa Wieś, PS, MKL-AE 562/3.

[70] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 243.

[71] KARCZMARZEWSKI, Budownictwo…, p. 58. ; KARCZMARZEWSKI, Rzeszowiacy…, p. 12.

[72] KOTULA, Franciszek. Typy wiejskich drewnianych budynków na podgórzu w województwie rzeszowskim. In: *Ochrona Zabytków*, 11, 1–2 (40–41), 1958, p. 55.; TEJCHMA, *Dawniej*…, p. 25.; TŁOCZEK, Ignacy. *Chałupy polskie*. Warszawa: Arkady, 1958, p. 14.

[73] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 243.

[74] E.g. the plan of a farm from Markowa (Szylary) at the Open-Air Folk Museum in Kolbuszowa, or the plan of a well-to-do peasant's farm at the Markowa Village Museum in Markowa.

[75] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 243.

[76] The literature ascribes a significant impact on the formation of these Carpathian highlander groups to Wallachians: BLIN-OLBERT, Danuta. Budownictwo u Lemków. In: Krzysztof Staszewski (ed.). *Dawna architektura drewniana województwa podkarpackiego*. Rzeszów: Stowarzyszenie Pro Carpathia, 2016, p. 54; TEJCHMA, *Dawniej*…, p. 25.

[77] Gać, ZS, MKL-AE 614/4; Gać, ZS, MKL-AE 614/3; Grzęska, MS, MKL-AE 618/4; Lapajówka, DH, MKL-AE 620/1; Borek Stary, NN, MKL-AE 652/1; Łąka, KJ, MKL-AE 554/3; Łukawiec, KB, MKL-AE 554/5; Niżatyce, PE, MKL-AE 611/ l; Niżatyce, PJ, MKL-AE 611/2; Niżatyce, Z-KL, MKL-AE 611/3; Trzebownisko, NN, MKL-AE 562/1; Nowa Wieś, MA, MKL-AE 554/6; Nowa Wieś, PT, MKL-AE 554/7; Przewrotne, BA, MKL-AE 562/5; Przewrotne, DA, MKL-AE 562/6; Chmielnik, MJ, MKL-AE 652/4; Łańcut, TA, MKL-AE 649/5; Sonina, DE, MKL-AE 652/6; Wysoka, MH, MKL-AE 646/7; Dębów, NN, MKL-AE 619/ l; Gać, PJ, MKL-AE 614/1; Gać, ZJ, MKL-AE 614/2; Handzlówka, PA, MKL-AE 648/3; Borek Stary, NN, MKL-AE 652/3; Jawornik Polski, CJ JJ, MKL-AE 617/3; Handzlówka, PK, MKL-AE 650/8; Gorliczyna, ŻZ, MKL-AE 618/2; Nowa Wieś, PS, MKL-AE 562/3; Nowa Wieś, SA, MKL-AE 559/1; Siennów, SS, MKL-AE 612/7; Wólka Podleśna, LM, MKL-AE 557/4;Wólka Podleśna, RJ, MKL-AE 562/8; Wólka Podleśna, WM*,* MKL-AE 557/6; Zabajka, FA, MKL-AE 556/11; Zabajka, PG, MKL-AE 556/13; Zabajka, PA, MKL-AE 556/14; Żuklin, FS, MKL-AE 611111. (*Archival documents* from the archives of the Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Kolbuszowa and after: DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, pp. 243–245).

studies and earlier reconnaissance.[78] Pine and fir wood was used the most often (Medynia Głogowska, Przewrotne, Wólka Podleśna),[79] while the wood of deciduous trees was used much more rarely, effectively only to make structural details (Nowosielce).[80] As noted by Dragan,[81] the material was procured either in one's own forest or purchased from a local landowner or his tenants,[82] or alternatively from a Jewish merchant (Nowosielce, Chmielnik).[83] Timber was properly procured from trees cut "up to the juices", namely only in winter, when a tree starts "to produce juices" (Medynia Głogowska).[84]

The findings of field studies performed by the Kolbuszowa Folk Culture Museum indicate that since the 1920s, wealthier peasants from the Rzeszów area began owning the first masonry or mixed-structure timber and masonry houses (Nowa Wieś, Gać, Wólka Podleśna, Husów).[85] The new material, brick, was fired at local brickmaking plants (Wysoka, Gać).[86] According to Dragan,[87] there were sporadic instances of houses built out of rammed earth mixed with chopped plant matter (Chmielnik) during this period.[88] This technology, arising from a lack of other building materials, allowed for the effective reconstruction of a portion of buildings that burned down during the Second World War.

According to field study findings, the Rzeszowiacy sited their initially wooden buildings directly on stones or oak stubs—so-called sheafs—and later, since around the middle of the nineteenth century, also on brick foundations (Wólka Podleśna).[89] The manner of building the structure of the walls of the buildings differed between subregions.[90] In Rzeszowskie, the log structure was the most common (Siennów),[91] while the oldest buildings had saddlenotch (*na oblap*) corners, while through dovetail joints with end projections (called *kaniuchy*) became more common in a later period[92] (Wólka Podleśna).[93] In the final stage of this building tradition, the corners were smoothed, with the end projections sawn off (Wólka Podleśna),[94] making the corners flush with the walls. As highlighted by Dragan,[95] such log walls were later often covered with wooden siding (Łapajówka, Łukawiec).[96] In Łańcuckie and Przeworskie, the buildings were commonly erected with combination log- and timber-framing (*Umgebindehäuser*, also called Upper Lusatian houses), or timber-framing structural systems, which are characterised by

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[78] KARCZMARZEWSKI, Budownictwo…, p. 64.

[79] Medynia Głogowska, PM, MKL-AE 646/3; Przewrotne, BA, MKL-AE 562/5; Wólka Podleśna, LM, MKL-AE 557/4.

[80] Nowosielce, DS, MKL-AE 619/4.

[81] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 244.

[82] Medynia Głogowska, PM, MKL-AE 646/3.

[83] Nowosielce, DS, MKL-AE 619/4; Chmielnik, NH, MKL-AE 648/1.

[84] Medynia Głogowska, PM, MKL-AE 646/3.

[85] Nowa Wieś, PS, MKL-AE 562/3; Gać, ZS, MKL-AE 614/4; Wólka Podleśna, LM, MKL-AE 557/3; Husów, LK, MKL-AE 653/2.

[86] Wysoka, BJ ZL HL, MKL-AE 646/8; Gać, ZS, MKL-AE 614/4.

[87] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 244.

[88] Chmielnik, PZ, MKL-AE 648/2.

[89] Wólka Podleśna, WM, MKL-AE 557/6.

[90] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 245.

[91] Siennów, SS, MKL-AE 612/7; Siennów, SS GJ, MKL-AE 612/7.

[92] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 245.

[93] Wólka Podleśna, WM, MKL-AE 557/6.

[94] Wólka Podleśna, LM, MKL-AE 557/4.

[95] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 245.

[96] Łapajówka, DH, MKL-AE 620/1; Łukawiec, KB, MKL-AE 554/5.

the roof's load-bearing structure being supported by external columns (Siennów, Chmielnik, Gać).[97] According to Dragan,[98] this is the most characteristic feature of the area's architecture, which defines its distinctiveness.

The specificity of the Umgebindehaus-type structure is that notched log walls are built for the residential and farming sections separately (as if they were two independent buildings), while both are covered with a roof that rests on an independent timber frame, based on columns standing outside of the walls. The columns are connected by doubled purlins (beams), placed longitudinally and transversely, that act as supports for rafters. The beams are bound with the columns via scissor braces (*piętnary*). All of the elements of the column structure are joined using oaken dowels.[99] The Umgebindenhaus-type structural system, highly original and architecturally attractive, was not found in any of the adjacent regions. The skill to erect such buildings was most probably brought to the area along with German settlers, who came to the area from Saxony at the behest of Casimir the Great in the fifteenth century.[100] As noted by F. Kotula, in the 1940s and in the beginning of the 1950s this architecture was exclusively replaced by log buildings, while older column-based buildings were either dismantled or remodelled.[101]

Citing K. Moszyński, aside from association with a specific region, the manner of erecting the buildings was also affected by ethnic elements. Moszyński argued that among residents of Polish origin, the log cabin structure predominated, while among those of Ruthenian origin, the significance of the log cabin structure was similar to that of a post-and-plank structure.[102]

Dragan reported that roof trusses were built in the same manner in every subregion, mostly as rafter-based or rafter-and-collar-beam trusses. In Rzeszowskie, they were placed on the uppermost beams of the wall, the wall plates (called *płatwie*), while in Przeworskie and Łańcuckie they were supported by structural columns. The roofs were mostly rafter-and-collar-beam trusses, and were built either as hipped or gable roofs and covered with thatch placed either in a stepped fashion or flatly[103] (Przewrotne, Siennów, Krzeczowice, Niżatyce, Nowa Wieś, Sonina, Gać, Dębów, Wysoka, Siennów, Kosina).[104]

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[97] PODGÓRSKI, Antoni Maria. *Dwa szczególne znamiona budownictwa w Rzeszowskiem*. Rzeszów, 1857, p. 11; KOTU-LA, Franciszek. Słupowe chałupy w Rzeszowskiem. In: *Ochrona Zabytków*, 6/ (23), 1953, pp. 213–215.; KOTULA, Typy wiejskich…, pp. 40–42.; Siennów, SS GJ, MKL-AE 612/7; Chmielnik MJ, MKL-AE 652/4; Gać, ZS, MKL-AE 614/3; Gać, PJ, MKL-AE 614/ l; Gać, ZJ, MKL-AE 614/2.

[98] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 245.

[99] TEJCHMA, *Dawniej*…, p. 49.

[100] KOTULA, Słupowe…, p. 216.

[101] Ibid., p. 211.

[102] MOSZYŃSKI, Kazimierz. *Kultura ludowa Słowian. Part I: Kultura Materialna*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Graf_ika, 2018, p. 510.

[103] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 246.

[104] Przewrotne, DA, MKL-AE 562/6; Przewrotne, BA, MKL-AE 562/5; Siennów, SS, MKL-AE 612/7; Krzeczowice, BA, MKL-AE 612/2: the informant stated that the type of bundle used in thatching mattered, as the sheaf bundle required a greater amount of thatching material than the flat bundle; Niżatyce, PJ, MKL-AE 611/2; Niżatyce, Z-KL, MKL-AE 611/3; Nowa Wieś, PT, MKL-AE 554/7; Sonina, RE, MKL-AE 648/5; Gać, ZS, MKL-AE 614/4; Nowa Wieś, PS, MKL-AE 562/3; Dębów, NN, MKL-AE 619/ l; Wysoka, MH, MKL-AE 646/7; "The roofs were covered with sheaf bundles of rye straw": Siennów, SS, MKL-AE 612/7; "[...] before that there were straw bundles, flat ones for thatching": Kosina, TT, MKL-AE 651/6; Kosina, UM, MKL-AE 651/7. (*Field notes* from the collections of the Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Kolbuszowa and after: DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, pp. 246–247).

Fireproof cement (Nowa Wieś, Łapajówka, Nienadówka, Kosina)[105] or ceramic (Przewrotne, Łańcut, Nowa Wieś, Białobrzegi, Łapajówka, Kosina)[106] roof tiles had already begun to replace thatching prior to the Second World War. As highlighted by Dragan, who cited field studies as his source,[107] tiles were often first used as roofing for outbuildings, mostly stables, while houses were covered later. "The house was covered with thatch. But the outbuilding was roofed with tiles" (Nowa Wieś).[108]

The Rzeszowiacy often painted the exteriors of their cottages, yet over time unpainted cottages began to predominate.[109] The main method of "painting" was based on whitewashing the cottages with lime with an admixture of paint called *siwka* (Nowa Wieś Zaczerska).[110] Initially, only the strips of clay used to caulk the gaps between logs were painted,[111] but over time the strips around doors and windows began to be painted as well, forming wide, white surrounds,[112] and ultimately entire walls were washed with lime (Gać, Wysoka).[113] According to Dragan,[114] it was mainly the housing sections of cottages that were whitewashed, with the farming sections left without a finish. The decoration (whitewashing) itself often had customary significance, as it was a sign that the house was inhabited by a girl available for marriage (Łąka).[115]

It should be noted that the farming buildings built in peasants' farms (mostly those owned by well-to-do farmers) of the Rzeszowiacy included treadmill wagon sheds and a special type of barn—*maneże* (*manège*). Both of these architectural types were either very rare or nonexistent in adjacent areas.[116] The wagon sheds were used to store horse-drawn wagons and agricultural equipment, while the *maneże* were large, sometimes even monumental single-space buildings used to house treadmills that allowed people and horses to work regardless of weather. Periodically, they could also have been used as sheds to store wagons, sleds, or agricultural tools and machinery.[117]

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[105] "And when my brother grew up, we already had the casts for making roof tiles, so we roofed the entire house": Nowa Wieś, PT, MKL-AE 554/7; Łapajówka, DH, MKL-AE 620/l; Nienadówka, MP, MKL-AE 646/3. "The roof tiles were made in Terliczka and Jasionka, and before that there was a roof tile workshop in Zaczernie. Henryk Bieniek, who lives in the last house before Zaczernie, ran a roof tile workshop in Nowa Wieś": Nowa Wieś, PS, MKL-AE 562/3; "[…] later it was done with cement roof tiles made on-site—one fellow in Kosino had a metal form, he rammed them, smoothed them and dried them": Kosina, TT, MKL-AE 651/6. (*Field notes* from the collections of the Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Kolbuszowa).

[106] Przewrotne, BA, MKL-AE 562/5; Łańcut, TA, MKL-AE 649/5; Gać, ZS, MKL-AE 614/4; Nowa Wieś, PS, MKL-AE 562/3; the informants had a house covered with roof tiles from a tile workshop in Korinaktów Poludniowy that had operated before the First World War and had been owned by the Lubomirski family: Łańcut, ŚJ ŚL, MKL-AE 649/7; Łapajówka, DH, MKL-AE 620/l; "[...] red roof tiles were being fired in Rzeszów": Kosina, UM, MKL-AE 651/7; "[…] later the ceramic tiles were from Dobrzechów": Kosina, TT, MKL-AE 651/6. (*Field notes* from the collections of the Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Kolbuszowa).

[107] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 247.

[108] Nowa Wieś, PT, MKL-AE 554/7.

[109] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 248.

[110] Nowa Wieś, SA, MKL-AE 559/1.

[111] TEJCHMA, *Dawniej…*, pp. 43, 45, 48.

[112] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 247.

[113] Gać, ZS, MKL-AE 614/4; Wysoka, MH, MKL-AE *64617*.

[114] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 247.

[115] A trace of this custom has survived in a ritual wedding song that was sung on the way to church: "The house of my girl, the house of my beloved, has painted windows, and painted walls": Łąka, KJ, MKL-AE 554/3.

[116] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 249.

[117] TEJCHMA, *Dawniej…*, p. 33.

Among other interesting farming building types one can also note granaries (*sołki*) built outside of the general area of the farm, which were used to store grain seeds. Where the terrain allowed, granaries were built atop masonry cellars built out of brick or stones[118] (Nowa Wieś).[119]

The interior plans of the cottages built by the Rzeszowiacy were closely tied with the wealth of the cottage's owners.[120] The most complicated two-bay layout that offered the greatest arrangement potential was present in farms of well-to-do peasants. The farms of those of average wealth usually featured one-and-a-half-bay layouts, while those of the poorest had single-bay layouts. The latter layout was also present in small cottages built as a part of the farms of well-to-do peasants. These buildings were used by farmhands who worked on the farm of the wealthier owner.

A typical cottage built by the Rzeszowiacy was divided into a housing section and an ancillary section, which were separated from each other by a pass-through hallway. There were cases of single-space housing sections, but they were typically comprised of two spaces[121]—a larger space called *izba* (chamber) or *kuchnia* (kitchen), which housed a large furnace, and a second, smaller one, called either an *alkierz* (bedroom) or *pokój* (room) (Łapajówka, Krzemienica).[122] Single-chamber cottages often had partitioned hallways, with the resulting space used as a kitchen. The ancillary section typically consisted of a storage space called the *komora*. Older or poorer cottages often had the ancillary section divided into two spaces, one for storage and another for a stable.[123] There were also sporadic cases where a house and an outbuilding were built under one roof.[124]

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[118] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 249.

[119] Nowa Wieś, MA, MKL-AE 554/6.

[120] TŁOCZEK, *Chałupy*…, p. 14.; KARCZMARZEWSKI, Rzeszowiacy…, p. 13.

[121] Borek Stary, NN, MKL-AE 652/ I; Zabajka, PA, MKL-AE 556/14; Zabajka, PG, MKL-AE 556/13; Wólka Podleśna, RJ, MKL-AE 562/8; Przewrotne, BA, MKL-AE 562/5; Przewrotne, DA, MKL-AE 562/6; Łukawiec, KB, MKL-AE 554/5; Nowa Wieś, MA, MKL-AE 554/6.

[122] Łapajówka, DH, MKL-AE 62011; "[...] one half of the house comprised two rooms. The second house was the kumora (chamber). Between them was a hallway, which could not be passed through, with a small kitchen sectioned off from it. In the kitchen-room there stood a furnace, which passed into the second room, and a bread furnace": Krzemienica, JB, MKL-AE 647/1. (After DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 249).

[123] One informant said: "We had typical Galician poverty here. Most families had many children. Most houses were wooden, with one living space. We had hard earthen floors. A child in every corner and four on the furnace. There were houses where there was one living space and on the other side of the hallway there was a barn with a cow. In the poorest houses the cows were taken into the living spaces so they would not freeze" (Jawornik Polski, JC, MKL-AE 617/3), while another stated: "there was one room, inside were two beds, and a kitchen this big, out of brick. […] But it wasn't just us, many slept like that. On the floor of the cottage there was clay, there was the kumora, where we had some grain. The same building had a stable, we got into it through the hallway. Through this hallway cows entered one room and we entered another. All this was in a single cottage, only the doors to the stable were closed" (Nowa Wieś, MA, MKL-AE 554/6) (after DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 250).

[124] One informer argued: "The house is connected with a farm building. They were built so because one wall was free, from both sides. Between the house and the farm buildings—the shed and barn—was a threshing floor, where you left the wagon, the cart stands there" (Kosina, UM, MKL-AE 651/7), while another reported: "In the past the house was lived in by both people and animals. You will not find any of this now, but when you went left you enter the room for animals while the family lived to the right. You went into a hallway, on one side was the komora, one half of it was usually for a horse, and on the other side there was one room" (Nowa Wieś, PS, MKL-AE 562/3) (*Field notes* from the collections of the Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Kolbuszowa, and after DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 251).

Architectural structures in the cultural landscape of the Rzeszowiacy

Other elements that were distinctive of the cultural landscape of the Rzeszowiacy included wooden structures erected by wealthy landowners, such as palaces, manors or grange buildings. Unfortunately, information about these types of buildings collected during field studies is very limited.[125] The reason for this is the fact that most such buildings had already been destroyed during the first half of the twentieth century.

Undoubtedly, the most impressive timber buildings in the area inhabited by the Rzeszowiacy were the structures that formed church and parish complexes, which, similarly to the estates of landowners, stood out not only through their monumental architecture, but also the size of the sites they occupied. Here it should be mentioned that late-Gothic wooden churches had been slowly replaced by masonry ones, which towered above their surroundings even more, since the middle of the nineteenth century. Despite this tendency, the land inhabited by the Rzeszowiacy still sports numerous historical wooden churches (e.g. in Krzemienica, Nowosielce, Handzlówka, Zaczernie or Siedleczka).[126]

Among other building types commonly encountered in the area, just as in other parts of Poland, there are inns, taverns, and all sorts of public buildings like fire-stations, community houses, parish houses (Przewrotne, Chmielnik, Gać, Gorliczyna, Głogów Małopolski, Hyżne, Siedleczka, Urzejowice),[127] as well as buildings associated with crafts and rural industries, such as: smithies, oil making workshops, grain mills, and windmills (Białobrzegi, Chmielnik, Krzemienica, Pogwizdów, Łańcut, Sonina, Wola Mała, Gać, Kosina, Niżatyce, Łąka, Nowa Wieś Zaczerska, Jasionka).[128] As noted by Dragan, the last of these types of architectural structures (rural industry and crafts buildings) did not differ significantly from those erected in other areas of Poland, as their structural systems were defined primarily by ages-old functional principles.[129]

Shrines and roadside crosses with wooden depictions of saints that enjoyed particular recognition in the area complemented the landscape of every village of Rzeszowiacy. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the place of wooden shrines was slowly being taken by masonry ones, often with a new form, e.g. that of a small house, a lantern, a tower or column[130] (Sonina, Nowa Wieś, Lipnik, Łapajówka, Przeworsk–Gorliczyna, Tajęcina, Krzeczowice).[131]

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[125] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 254.

[126] Ibid.

[127] Przewrotne, DA, MKL-AE 562/6; Chmielnik, MJ, MKL-AE 652/4; Gać, ZS, MKL-AE 614/4; Gać, ZS, MKL-AE 614/3; Gorliczyna, ZZ, MKL-AE 618/2; Głogów Młp., ŁW, MKL-AE 556/2; Hyżne, OA, MKL-AE 653/5;Siedleczka, GH, MKL-AE 613/2; Siedleczka, WJ, MKL-AE 613/6; Urzejowice, KR, MKL-AE 620/4.

[128] Białobrzegi, HZ, MKL-AE 649/ l; Chmielnik, NH, MKL-AE 648/ l; Krzemienica, BP BZ, MKL-AE 647/2; Białobrzegi, ŚJ, MKL-AE 649/4; Pogwizdów, BJ, MKL-AE 646/4; Łańcut, TA, MKL-AE 649/5; Sonina, RE, MKL-AE 648/ 5; Łańcut, ŚJ ŚL,MKL-AE 647/7; Wola Mała, SR, MKL-AE 647/7; Gać, PJ,MKL-AE 614/ l; Kosina, TT, MKL-AE 651/6; Niżatyce, PE, MKL-AE 611/l; Łąka, KJ, MKL-AE 554/3, Nowa Wieś, SA, MKL-AE 559/ l; Chmielnik, PZ, MKL-AE 648/2; Białobrzegi, ŚJ, MKL-AE 649/4;Łańcut, ŚJ ŚL,MKL-AE 647/7; Jasionka, SB, MKL-AE 562/7. (*Field notes* from the collections of the Folk Culture Open-Air Museum in Kolbuszowa, and after DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, pp. 249–253).

[129] DRAGAN, Budownictwo drewniane…, p. 256.

[130] Ibid., p. 257.

[131] Sonina, MA, MKL-AE 648/4; Nowa Wieś, PS, MKL-AE 562/3; Lipnik, KD, MKL-AE 615/1; Łapajówka, WH, MKL-AE 620/2; Gorliczyna, ST, MKL-AE 618/1; Tajęcina, KW KB, MKL-AE 559/3; Krzeczowice, BA, MKL-AE 612/2.

Traditional wooden folk architecture of the Rzeszowiacy in the collection of the Kolbuszowa Open-Air Folk Culture Museum

The Kolbuszowa Open-Air Folk Culture Museum presents the material culture of the Lasowiacy and Rzeszowiacy ethnographic groups, which used to inhabit the northern parts of the present-day Podkarpackie Voivodeship. Over eighty large and small specimens of wooden architecture are exhibited on an almost 30 ha site. These specimens include cottages, animal buildings (stables, barns, pigsties and chicken pens), sheds, granaries, a *maneż*, a hay barrack, rural industry buildings such as a watermill, several windmills, smithies, oil making and potter's workshops, as well as public buildings—a school, an inn, a tavern, and a fire station, in addition to the impressive Church of St Mark the Evangelist. The oldest buildings include, among others, a manor from Brzeziny from 1753, a manorial granary from Bidziny from 1784, a cottage from Markowa from 1804, and a church from Mielec-Rzochów built in 1843.

The buildings have been presented in their natural relationships and in an environment similar to the one that used to accompany them. The individual buildings are paired into farms following the layout of the settlement in which were originally built, while the farms repeat the spatial layouts of traditional rural developments of the Lasowiacy and Rzeszowiacy from the turn of the twentieth century. The buildings are sited in the natural landscape of house gardens, orchards, bee farms and fields, meadows, pastures, and ponds. The area is surrounded by a forest that brings to mind past thickets and the Sandomierz Forest that used to cover the area.

The sector of the Open-Air Museum dedicated to the architecture of the Rzeszowiacy presents the following buildings:

—A manor from Sędziszów Małopolski from the middle of the nineteenth century—a specimen of a building that references a noble manor; given to the open-air museum by the Municipality of Sędziszów Małopolski in 1992 (building no. 3 on the museum map)

—A house from Żołynia from 1815—an example of a residential building typical of the small towns around Rzeszów (building no. 5 on the museum map)

—A watermill from Żołynia Dolna near Łańcut from 1897 (building no. 40 on the museum map)

—A farm from Budziwoj (no. 37 on the museum map). The farm includes:

- A cottage from Budziwoj (1867), a specimen of a monumental cottage of a well-to-do peasant,
- A barn from Budziwoj (middle of the nineteenth century),
- A cellar from Budziwoj (a reconstruction from 1986),
- A granary from Ropczyce (turn of the nineteenth century).

—A farm from Markowa (Kielarów), which has a building layout distinctive of villages from around Rzeszów. The cottage, stables and pigsties form a closed rectangle. The entrance to the enclosure has the form of a wicket in a high fence made from wooden boards. Behind is a rectangular square with a deep manure pit in the centre. This square was called a '"obora" (no. 35 on the museum map). The farm includes:

- A cottage from Markowa (1804)—the oldest cottage in the museum,
- A stable from Markowa (the end of the nineteenth century),
- A well with a crane.

—A post mill from Markowa from 1935 (building no. 52 on the museum map)

—A farm from Markowa (Szylarów) which is a very good example of the distinctive manner of building in the village of Markowa, where the Umgebindenhaus-type structural system was

used—the walls were erected using a log structure and were independent of the roof, while the roof truss was supported by massive columns that stood beside the walls and did not exert any load on them (building no. 33 on the museum map). The farm includes:

- A cottage from Markowa (turn of the nineteenth century),
- A stable from Markowa (beginning of the twentieth century),
- A shed from Markowa (nineteenth century),
- A granary from Markowa (nineteenth century),
- A treadmill *maneż* (reconstruction of a building from the nineteenth century).

—A fire-station from Słociny from 1877 (building no. 34 on the museum map)

—A shrine from Rakszawa from the end of the nineteenth century—a house-type shrine (no. 69 on the museum map)

—A farm from Brzóza Stadnicka (no. 32 on the museum map). The farm includes:

- A cottage from Brzóza Stadnicka (second half of the nineteenth century),
- A farm building from Brzóza Stadnicka (second half of the nineteenth century),
- A shed from Rzeszów (second half of the nineteenth century)
- An oilmaking workshop from Brzyska Wola (turn of the nineteenth century).

—An inn and tavern from Hadle Kańczuckie from the end of the nineteenth century (building no. 24 on the museum map)

—A smithy from Białobrzegi from 1881 (building no. 51 on the museum map).

Final remarks

Since its establishment, the Kolbuszowa Open-Air Folk Culture Museum has performed far-reaching actions in terms of academically documenting the rapidly disappearing traditional wooden architecture of the central and northern part of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship—the area inhabited by the Lasowiacy and Rzeszowiacy ethnographic groups. At the same time, as a museum institution, it has contributed to saving numerous valuable buildings that have been relocated to the Ethnographic Park. Thanks to this initiative, it was possible to preserve the architectural heritage of these lands, which, in a period of globalisation and drastic social changes observed on the cusp of the third millennium, are a testament to the wealth of material culture of south-eastern Poland.

The Rzeszowiacy ethnographic group to which this paper is devoted occupies a special place on the map of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship. These people inhabit areas with an extraordinarily complicated and interesting history, marked by the influence of both settlers from the east and of German origin. The architectural traditions and structural solutions developed in these areas have no equal and are considered highly unique. These include the previously mentioned method of erecting buildings in the Umgebindehaus-type structure, which the village of Markowa is especially famous for. This method was created as a result of the mixing of influences and traditions from different parts of Europe, resulting in a system that is specific solely to this region.

The academic research conducted by the Kolbuszowa Open-Air Folk Culture Museum has become a basis for a more comprehensive outlook on the essence of the cultural heritage of the individual ethnographic groups that inhabit the territory of Poland. It is in these small achievements of individual communities that the holistic image of national culture lies, along with its spiritual and material specificity. Recognising these small contributions and their

significance in the shaping of a complete image of national tradition has thus become a turning point in Polish museology.

Of course, the actions taken by the Kolbuszowa Open-Air Folk Culture Museum were crucial in identifying and protecting the architectural heritage of the Rzeszowiacy people. Today, they are still proud of their local architectural tradition, whose achievements have been preserved not only in archival documentation, but most importantly in the form of specific works of architecture displayed at the Ethnographic Park. The Rzeszowiacy can thus be certain that the buildings erected by their ancestors shall bring joy to generations to come.

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Heritage of (non-)existing cities
– on the Polish examples of medieval Świecie and Renaissance Krasiczyn

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Heritage of (non-)existing cities – on the Polish examples of medieval Świecie and Renaissance Krasiczyn
This article analyses the urban heritage protection and spatial development policies of two model historical urban centres in Poland, whose spatial layout has been erased: medieval Świecie nad Wisłą (the Pomeranian region) and Renaissance Krasiczyn (the Subcarpathian region). Their urban layouts had a significant compositional factor (a town and castle complex in axial plan). The second element important in terms of landscape protection and spatial planning is their history: at the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth century they had to be relocated. The analysis covers the spatial form during the period of their founding, the reasons for transformation, their present-day state of preservation, and the current spatial conservation and development policy. General conservation conclusions have also been formulated.

Keywords: Świecie, Krasiczyn, urban layout, heritage, protection, revitalisation, Poland

1. Introduction and aim of the study

The conservation of historic cities, which has a tradition that spans over a century, despite the evolution of its paradigms, has long been associated with planning. Such is the situation both in Poland and throughout Europe, where scientists and practitioners try to work out the best mechanisms for the heritage protection process.[1]

Polish heritage preservation law, aside from the heritage site registry itself, has empowered the local spatial development plan as a form of heritage protection which includes both buildings and, perhaps most importantly, areas. The Polish tradition of studying historic urban centres with the aim of formulating spatial and conservation policy dates back to the pre-war period, while the research projects of the 1950s and 1970s were an internationally recognised and shared model. In practice, the achievement of set goals fared much worse. The codification of the precepts of conserving and evaluating cities, when viewed internationally, dates back to the 1930s, when the two Athens Charters concerning heritage protection and urban planning were drafted.[2] At present, historic cities are treated as an important component of the value of broadly understood material and intangible heritage and their protection is seen as a part of managing said heritage, as demonstrated by the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape of 2011 (hereafter referred to as the HUL Recommendation).[3]

The policy concerning the protection of urban heritage and the spatial development of urban centres, as a holistic vision, appears less complicated at first glance in the case of small or medium-sized cities and towns. However, it is these centres that, as a result of excessive, unplanned measures or neglect, are significantly altered and often lose the legibility of historical values arising from the traditional conveyors of these values: the compositional and spatial layout, panoramas, visual axes, building lines, and their character.[4]

The aim of this study is to prove the existence of a universality of conservation issues related to the preservation and highlighting of historic urban layouts in Poland. The question as to what type of conservation policy should be adopted—a conservative or revitalisation-

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[1] HOSAGRAHAR, Jyoti. A History of Heritage Conservation in City Planning. In: *The Routledge Handbook of Planning History*, ed. HEIN, Carola, New York: Routledge, 2017, pp. 441–454; JANSSEN, Joks, LUITEN, Eric, RENES, Hans, ROUWENDAL, Jan. Heritage planning and spatial development in the Netherlands: changing policies and perspectives. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20(1), 2014, pp. 1–21; RODWELL, Dennis. Managing Historic Cities. In: *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, 12(2), 2006, pp. 41–61; KUŚNIERZ-KRUPA, Dominika, KOBYLARCZYK, Justyna, LISIŃSKA-KUŚNIERZ, Malgorzata, KRUPA, Michał, KUŚNIERZ, Kazimierz. Typology of medieval urban layouts in historic Lesser Poland and their protection. In: *Planning Perspectives*, 36(4), 2021, pp. 847–857; DWORZECKI, Jacek, NOWICKA, Izabela, URBANEK, Andrzej, KWIATKOWSKI, Adam. Protection of *national heritage in the light of the applicable law and the actions provided in this area by police in Poland*. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 8(4), 2020, pp. 177–198.
[2] Karta Ateńska, Konferencja w Atenach 21–30 X 1931. In: SZMYGIN, Bogusław (ed.). *Vademecum Konserwatora Zabytków*. Warsaw: Polski Komitet Narodowy ICOMOS, 2015, pp. 27–30.
[3] Zalecenia UNESCO w sprawie historycznego krajobrazu miejskiego, Paris, 2011. In: Vademecum…, pp. 183–189.
[4] KUŚNIERZ-KRUPA, Dominika. *XIV-wieczne układy urbanistyczne w Małopolsce i na Podkarpaciu. Stan zachowania, ochrona i rewaloryzacja*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Krakowskiej (further: WPK), 2019, pp. 10–50; KOBYLARCZYK, Justyna, KUŚNIERZ-KRUPA, Dominika. *Jakość środowiska mieszkaniowego a dziedzictwo kulturowe na przykładzie wybranych miast województwa podkarpackiego*. Kraków: WPK, 2018, pp. 5–80; MALIK, Rafał. Średniowieczne lokacje miejskie nad Dunajcem. Czchów. Ze studiów nad budową i kształtem miasta lokacyjnego. In: *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie*. Warszawa: Zarząd Główny Stowarzyszenia Konserwatorów Zabytków, 2008, pp. 67–73; MALIK, Rafał, *Skała*. Uwagi na temat budowy miasta średniowiecznego w świetle najnowszych badań nad wielkością i kształtem działki lokacyjnej. In: *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie*, 36, 2013, pp. 46–53; KUŚNIERZ-KRUPA, Dominika. Issue of protecting historic urban layouts of small towns in south-eastern Poland—on selected examples. In: *IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering*. IOP Publishing, 471, 2019, pp. 1–10.
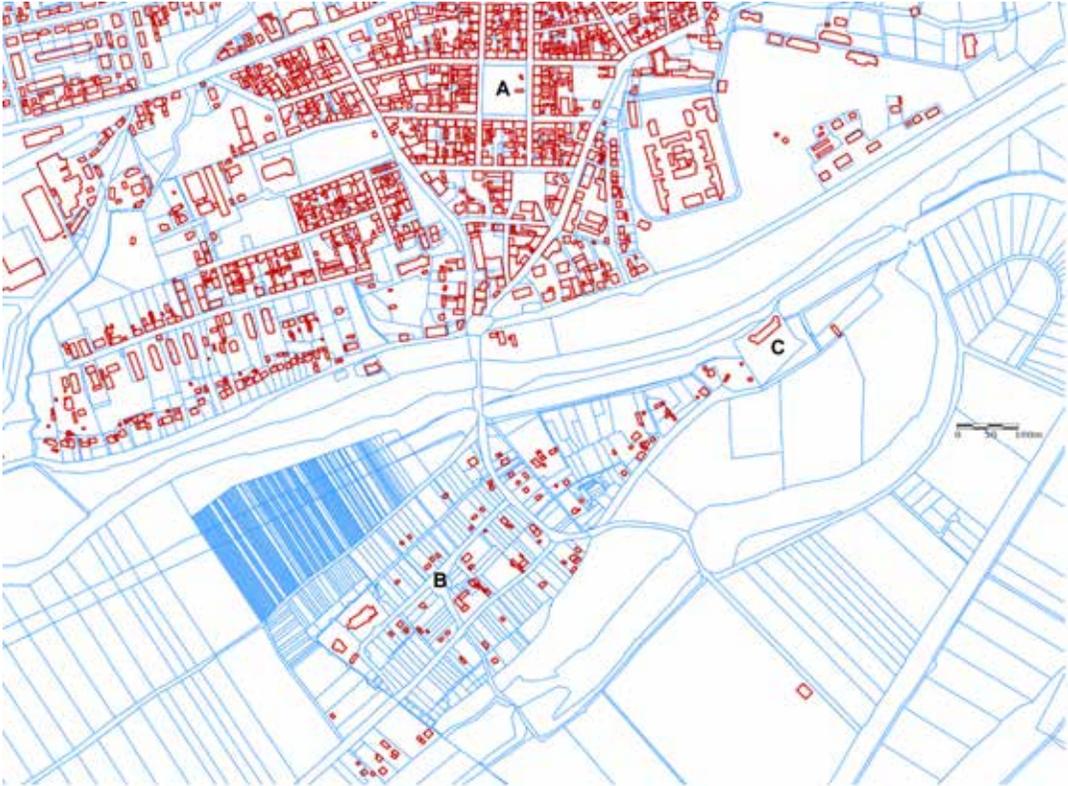
Fig. 1. *Świecie (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship). Map of a part of the old and new town with the land cadastre.*
Legend: A – new town, B – old town, C – ruins of the Teutonic castle (source: https://mapy.geoportal.
gov.pl/imap/Imgp_2.html?gpmap=gp1, 21.02.2020)

Fig. 2. *Krasiczyn (Sub-carpathian Voivodeship). Map of the historical urban layout of the residence and the town, with the land cadastre.*
Legend: A – residence, B – area of the historic town, C – contemporary town centre (source: https://mapy.geoportal. gov.pl/imap/Imgp_2. html?gpmap=gp0, 06.03.2020)

oriented one—is essential from the point of view of heritage protection.

To this end, we chose two seemingly very different urban centres: the right-bank, medieval part of Świecie on the Vistula (in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, Fig. 1) and Krasiczyn, a former urban-residential centre, which is now a rural commune (in the Voivodeship

Podkarpackie, Fig. 2). Both towns, despite their different foundation periods—Świecie in the Middle Ages and Krasiczyn in the Renaissance—were laid out on a similar principle, i.e. the connection between the compositional city and the residence. Both historical cities have disappeared. However, the residences—the ruin of the castle in Świecie and the palace in Krasiczyn—remain, as well as the challenges related to the need for an appropriate policy, including conservation protection of the area containing these urban layouts of centres that do not exist today.

2. Research method

The two centres in question, located in areas quite distant from one another, were selected for study due to being examples of urban layouts that originally featured a high compositional factor from the period of the Middle Ages and the early modern period, which linked a town and a castle in their geometricised, axial plans. This factor is the key citygenic element under analysis from the perspective of heritage protection. The second element—highly interesting in terms of heritage and landscape protection, as well as spatial planning—is the peculiar history of both towns, which ceased to develop in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, and had to be relocated due to topographic factors. The results of this procedure were different for both centres—as relocated, Świecie nad Wisłą became a new, dynamically developing city, with a historical section that began to deteriorate and agrarianise while maintaining its castle ruins and parish church (partially rebuilt after the damage wrought during the Second World War). The relocation of Krasiczyn did not significantly improve its situation, as the new town had a rural character and the castle, still occupied by its owners, remained an important administrative centre. The historical layout itself was partially erased.

We therefore analysed and evaluated the circulatory and spatial forms of both towns during the period of their founding, the historical and topographic causes of their transformation, their current state of preservation, and their applicable spatial development and heritage protection policies. On this basis, we made an attempt at formulating general conservation guidelines for the protection and revitalisation of historical urban layouts.

3. History and overview of the medieval urban layout of Świecie nad Wisłą

The territory where Świecie nad Wisłą was founded is located at the site where the Wda River flows into the Vistula River. On its northern side is a moraine elevation, while the strip between the two rivers forms a flood plain. Between the eleventh and the twelfth century, a gord was erected here, probably on the elevation. In 1198, a church was consecrated here, and the first written mention of the town's name was recorded—Zwece.[5]

In 1309, the territory, along with all of Vistula Pomerania, was annexed by the Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem—the Teutonic Knights. During this period, a crafting and trading settlement developed around the gord complex. The primary factors associated with the emergence of the town included a rise in its administrative (in 1320 Świecie became the seat of a Komturei—a commandery) and military (border centre) significance, in addition to its favourable location, which was economically important (near a major waterway—the Vistula—and close to a range of land routes). The site of the founding, on a flood plain, was also favourable in terms of defensibility.

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[5] CZAJA, Roman (elab.). *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, v. 1, *Prusy Królewskie i Warmia*, b. 6, *Świecie*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012, p. 7.
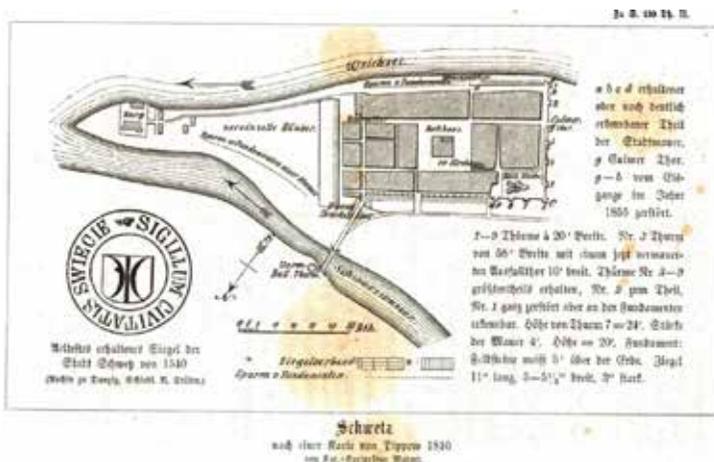
Fig. 3. *Świecie, old town layout by Pippow 1810* (source: Richard Wegner, Ein Pommersches Herzogthum und eine Deutsche Ordens-Komthurei: Kulturgeschichte des Schwetzer Kreises. Bd. 1, Tl. 2; Kulturgeschichte des Schwetzer Kreises, p. 130).

In 1338 a town charter was issued, probably for the settlement on the elevation. The decision to erect a massive masonry castle between the rivers, which was made around the same time, caused the first relocation of the town to the left bank of the Wda, where it was intended to form a defensive complex together with the castle.[6]

In 1375, Świecie nad Wisłą already functioned at its new site. It was founded in cruda radice and given a regular, grid-based plan, modelled after the plans of Silesian cities (Fig. 3, 4).[7] The plan had a rectangular layout with a length of 350 m and a width of 125 m, with its longer side oriented along the north-east–north-west axis. Its area was around 6 ha and was divided into

Fig. 4. *Świecie, cadastral plan of 1886-1946* (source: Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich: Świecie (Vol. I Prusy Królewskie i Warmia, book 6), historical elaboration by Roman Czaja, Cartographic elaboration: Radosław Golba, Zenon Kozieł, Agnieszka Pilarska; cooperation: Dariusz Chwiałkowski, Agnieszka Noryśkiewicz, Toruń 2012, fig. 1).

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[6] Atlas…, p. 7.
[7] For more on Silesian cities, see: EYSYMONTT, Rafał. *Kod genetyczny miasta. Średniowieczne miasta lokacyjne Dolnego Śląska na tle urbanistyki Europejskiej*. Wrocław: Via Nova, 2009, pp. 55–61, 617–632.

around 140 plots inscribed into 12 urban blocks. The central block formed a market square measuring 90 x 99 m. The north-western corner block was assigned for the town's parish church. The town was surrounded by defensive walls with rows of towers and three main gates, including the Kulm Gate from the north-west and the Castle Gate along the same axis from the north-east. The Bridge Gate was placed on the northern side. The main circulation arterial consisted of two parallel streets that ran along the axis of the plan. These were the southern arterial, named after its gates—Chelmińska and Zamkowa—and the northern arterial, whose westward section was named Kościelna Street, and its eastward section Kupiecka Street. The most important perpendicular street was Mostowa, which led to the northernmost gate. A town hall and butchers' and bakers' benches were sited on the market square. Two suburbs emerged as early as in the Middle Ages: a wharf with granary buildings from the south, and an outer ward from the east, between the castle and the town.[8]

In terms of composition, the layout can be inscribed onto a grid of modules with a side ratio of 5:7, where the base unit is a square with sides the length of 11 rods (calculated based on a foot that is equivalent in length to 0.3 m) or a 5:8 module grid, when the base unit is assumed to be a square the length of 1 sznur (calculated based on a foot that is equivalent in length to 0.288 m)—however, in this case, the north-western corner would be outside of the grid.[9]

The parish church was built in a multi-stage process which started in the second half of the fourteenth century and lasted to the middle of the seventeenth century. Ultimately, the church was given the form of a basilica with a tower from the west.[10]

A castle of the Teutonic Order was built along the extension of the town's main axes, on the north-eastern side. It was erected on a square-shaped plan, following a regular type with corner towers. The main tower, to the north-east, features pronounced machicolations.[11] Together with the church from the west, it was one of the two main landmarks of Świecie's skyline until as late as the nineteenth century. The market square also featured a town hall, which probably operated up to the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, there is no information about its form or appearance.[12]

During the Middle Ages, the town was a local market for crafts, yet it did not achieve considerable regional significance. In the first half of the fifteenth century it was inhabited by around 500–600 people. As per the provisions of the second peace treaty of Toruń in 1466, Świecie found itself within the borders of the Kingdom of Poland. Craftsmanship and agriculture continued to play a major role during this period, as did trade, but to a much lesser extent.[13]

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[8] ARSZYŃSKI, Marian. *Sztuka regionu świeckiego*. In: JASIŃSKI, Kazimierz (ed.). *Dzieje Świecia nad Wisłą i jego regionu*, vol. 2. Warsaw-Poznań-Toruń: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1980, pp. 249–252. See also: KALINOWSKI, Wojciech, Rozwój miast w Polsce. In: ZIN, Wiktor (ed.). *Zabytki urbanistyki i architektury w Polsce. Odbudowa i konserwacja*, vol. 1. Warsaw: Arkady, 1986, p. 24.

[9] The geometric and metrological analysis was performed by SZCZERBIŃSKI, Sławomir. See: SZCZERBIŃSKI, Sławomir, *Urbanistyka miasta sprzężonego z zamkiem w Państwie Krzyżackim w Prusach na przykładzie Świecia i Reszla*, Master's thesis written under the supervision of Dr. Marian ARSZYŃSKI, Institute of Monument Studies and Conservation of the NCU in Toruń, 1982, manuscript stored in the archives of the Department of Art Conservation of the NCU, sign. 124, pp. 102–107.

[10] ARSZYŃSKI, Sztuka…, p. 260.

[11] More about the castle can be found in: SPŁAWSKA-KORCZAK, Maria, *Zamek krzyżacki w Świeciu. Próba rekonstrukcji zamku wysokiego w średniowieczu*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2014.

[12] ARSZYŃSKI, Sztuka…, p. 252.

[13] Atlas…, p. 8

During the Modern period, a timber church of St. Michael stood in the city's northern section, on the elevation. It was taken over by monks from the Order of St. Bernard in 1640. Around the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Order built a new masonry temple along with a monastic complex. The suburbs included a baths building and a malt house. The castle grounds also included a mill and a brewery that was built in the first half of the seventeenth century.[14]
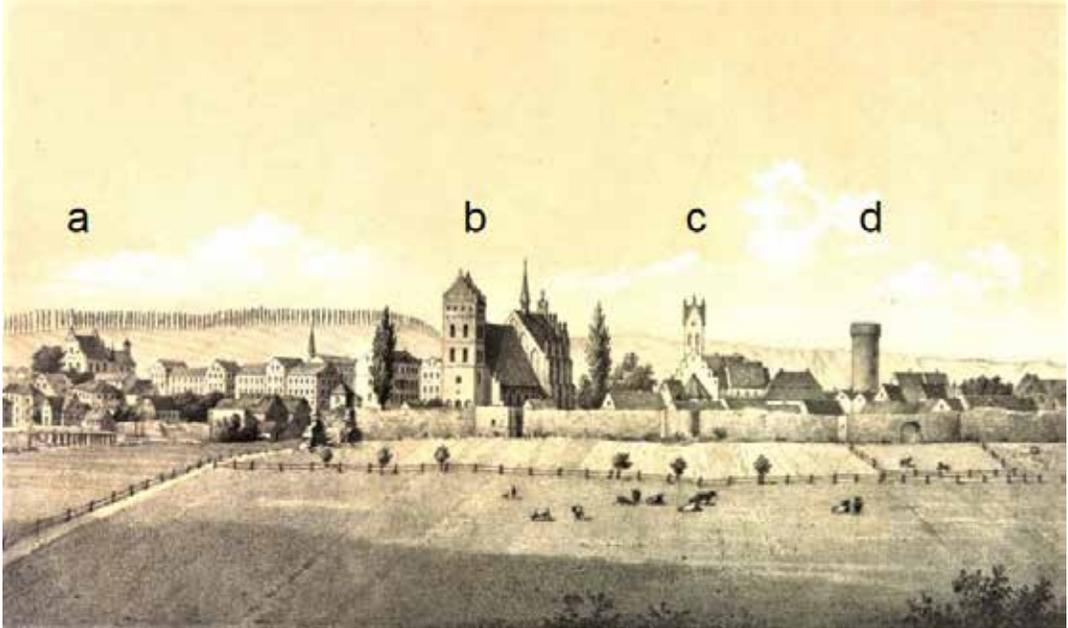
Fig. 5. *Świecie, panroama from the west.* Legend: a – church and monastery of the Order of St. Bernard; b – parish church, c – Evangelical church d – Teutonic castle (source: R. Wegner, op. cit.)

In the Middle Ages and during the early modern period, the town was sacked multiple times by attacking armies. It was even burned to the ground during the Swedish invasion. The Northern War did not spare it either. However, it suffered its most severe damage from flooding, which has been a regular occurrence since the fifteenth century.[15]

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the town's population was just over 1000. After the first partition of Poland, it was incorporated into the Kingdom of Prussia, becoming the seat of a Landkreis in 1815. One of the few new construction initiatives at the time was the erection of an Evangelical church in 1795. It was sited at the north-western corner of the market square, which was done intentionally. In the middle of the nineteenth century, a tower was added to it from the side of the frontage, which allowed it to compete with the parish church as a landmark (Fig. 5).[16]

In 1830, there were 139 houses and 117 smaller buildings in Świecie. Only 35 of these were masonry buildings. By then the town's burghers had already demanded that the town be relocated to the safe, higher ground on the northern side of the river, which was already being gradually settled. Ultimately, the decision to do so was made in 1857, after a series of disastrous

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[14] Ibidem, pp. 8–9.

[15] Ibidem, p. 8.

[16] BIRECKI, Piotr. *Ewangelickie budownictwo kościelne w Prusach Zachodnich.* Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikolaja Kopernika, 2014, p. 105.

floods, particularly those of 1854 and 1855.[17] In the 1820s, a new Bydgoszcz–Gdańsk route was delineated through the area. Work began on relocating the town's administrative centre to the area of the former suburb—a post office, telegraph station, and courthouse were built there in the first half of the nineteenth century. The new layout was aligned with the previously mentioned road and a set of forking trails that led to the bridge across the Wda (Fig. 1). It also incorporated earlier development. Streets led perpendicularly outwards from a rectangular market square (called the Large Market Square). A second square, the so-called Little Market Square, was demarcated to the south-east from the main square. This layout abutted the earlier monastery and its garden. A monumental asylum complex was built on its grounds during the Prussian period.[18] An Evangelical and a Catholic cemetery were demarcated to the west of the new urban layout. The land further west was assigned to a sugar mill and other industrial buildings. The new part of the town became the site of a court building (which was extended), school buildings, an Evangelical church, a synagogue, a power plant, and a county hospital. The improved living conditions offered by Świecie's new site led to an increase in its population, which reached 8,000 in 1910. By the 1880s, the area of the Old Town had only 200 inhabitants, and the seat of the town's administration was relocated from the old town hall to a building near the Large Market Square in 1879.[19] The demolition of the former town hall and other buildings began, sparing the parish church, the parsonage, and the Evangelical church. The walls of the dismantled buildings were being used as a source of building material for the houses in the new section. The authorities prohibited erecting new buildings and renovating existing ones in the old town area. The residents were given financial aid to support them in moving to new places of residence, under the condition that they demolish their old dwellings.[20]

In 1920, the town once again found itself inside the borders of the Polish Republic, becoming a part of the Pomeranian Voivodeship. It retained the status of a medium-sized city, which developed northwards and westwards (for instance in the form of the Chmielniki villa district). The 1945 wartime operations of the Second World War inflicted significant damage to the town's medieval section—particularly the parish church, which was located on the front line. In the 1960s, the construction of the Paper and Cellulose Plant (to the west of the new town) led to another dynamisation of Świecie's spatial development and the increase of its population (at present the city has 25.7 thousand inhabitants).[21] Workers' housing block complexes were built, along with single-family developments. Individual houses were also built on plots along the main streets of the old town and Zamkowa Street, which leads eastward to the castle ruins. The areas located to the south of the old layout, which extends to the flood embankments of the Vistula River, became the site of allotment gardens. Similar gardens were planned in areas extending to the east of the castle.

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[17] KÖTZ, Gustav. *Die Verlegung der Stadt Schwetz aus der Weichselniederung auf die Höhen am linken Schwarzwasserufer (1830–1885)*. Schwetz: Büchners Buch – und Steindruckerei, 1905. See also: BORZYSZKOWSKI, Józef, MIOTKA Marian (elab.). Przeniesienie miasta Świecia z doliny Wisły na wzgórze na lewym brzegu Czarnej Wody. In: BORZYSZKOWSKI, Józef (ed.). *Świecie. Księga jubileuszu 800-lecia*. Świecie-Gdańsk: Urząd Miejski w Świeciu, Instytut Kaszubski, 1998, pp. 158–181.

[18] The "Prussian period" in the history of the Polish lands covers the years 1772–1918, which were spent under Prussian rule, as a result of the partitions of Poland (Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth) by the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Habsburg Monarchy.

[19] Atlas…, pp. 7–8.

[20] KÖTZ, Die Verlegung…, p. 29, 42, 55, [from:] SZCZERBIŃSKI, Urbanistyka miasta…, p. 146.

[21] Atlas…, p. 8.

Fig. 6. *Świecie (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship)*. Satellite image of the medieval town and castle ruins (source: https://mapy.geoportal.gov.pl/imap/Imgp_2.html?gpmap=gp1 , 21.02.2020).

4. Extant state and the applicable policy concerning spatial development and the preservation of Świecie's old medieval town layout

The now historical urban area, the castle ward, and the adjacent areas have a park, and a recreational and agricultural character, with loosely spaced single-storey housing and agricultural buildings (Fig. 6, 7). It is connected with the new part of Świecie in the same way as it was in the past—by a bridge across the Wda River and Mostowa Street. The layout of the medieval plan, undistorted by nineteenth-century development, has survived in its essential circulatory divisions, as demarcated by three asphalt streets that form the rectangular outline of the former plan: in the north and west by Farna Street, in the south by Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża Street (hereafter referred to as PCK Street), and Mostowa Street from the east. The remaining circulation routes survived either fully or partially in the form of dirt roads. An irregular square with a petrol station is currently located at the site of the former market square (Fig. 8). There is no preserved historical development and there are no plot divisions in the areas previously occupied by internal urban blocks. Land division, in the form of rectangular, elongated plots oriented with their shorter sides flush to the streets are a reference to (and are partially derived

Fig. 7. *Świecie, view of the town's panorama from the southwest.* Legend: a – contemporary town, b – Old Town, parish church, c – Teutonic castle tower (phot. by M. Prarat, 2020).

Fig. 8. *Świecie, view of the former market square with a gas station as seen from Farna Street* (phot. by M. Prarat, 2020).

Fig. 9. *Świecie, view of the parish church and its yard from Farna Street.* Westward view (phot. by M. Prarat, 2020).

Fig. 10. *Świecie, view of the church from Farna Street, from its section along the surviving town walls* (phot. by M. Prarat, 2020).

from) the historical divisions visible on an 1886 cadastral plan (Fig.1, 4).[22]

Of the town's historical architecture, only the parish church of St. Nicholas survived. Partially rebuilt (Fig. 9), it stands on a square outlined by a masonry fence and the relics of the town walls along their northern section between the end

[22] Cf. cadastral map, available at: Geoportal 2, https://mapy.geoportal.gov.pl/imap/Imgp_2.html?gpmap=gp1, and the 1886 cadastral map from Atlas…, Fig. 1.

of the churchyard and, from the west, up to PCK Street (Fig. 10). From the south, the castle ruins can be reached via Zamkowa Street, which has an asphalt surface, while from the north they are approached by a paved alley promenade along the Wda. The northern wing of the castle and some of its curtain walls along other sections have survived. From the south, the castle is abutted by sports and recreation grounds with a sports pitch.

The entire formerly urbanised area is irregularly overgrown with various types of greenery: low-growing plants, bushes, and trees that obscure houses, farm buildings, and allotment gardens from the side of the streets. Some of the plots are undeveloped. There are fields and meadows around the former town and the castle grounds, behind the line of allotment complexes. The panorama of the former town still features the two medieval brick landmarks: the massing of the temple and the castle ruins with their thirty-four-metre-tall tower topped with machicolations and crenels (Fig. 7).

The church, the town walls, and the remains of six towers and a fragment of the Kulm Gate, along with the ruins of the castle and their immediate vicinity, are registered heritage sites. The spatial development conditions and directions study of 2012 extends the protective zone: full, area-based conservation and archaeological protection around the castle, the former block of the western town along with the churchyard and the surviving defensive wall sections, and another conservation zone which protects the vicinity of heritage sites in terms of maintaining its essential elements, along with archaeological protection.[23] The area covered with allotment gardens to the south and east of the layout was designated as an exposition zone.[24]

The area of the church, the former market square, and the castle were assigned for adaptive reuse as residential and service areas meant to reinforce commercial service potential; the remaining areas of allotment gardens were assigned for individual recreation with a prohibition on development; while the area to the south of the castle was allocated for urban greenery (landscaped and non-landscaped) with recreational and ecological functions, with a prohibition on transformation and changes in use. A ban on erecting new residential developments and industrial, storage, and service buildings has been imposed on the entire area, with the exception of functions associated with tourism, recreation, and sports, in addition to the area with applicable land development plans (the strip along the Wda) and their detailed provisions. One of the postulates indicates the protection of the exposition of the Old Town's relics.[25] The area to the south and east of the castle, along with its ruins, was also placed under Natura 2000 habitat protection.[26]

The area's greenery requires landscaping as it has become overgrown and obscures historical visual axes. From a panoramic perspective, the entire complex presents landscape value, yet without the values of an urban landscape. In the 1970s, selective archaeological digs and studies were performed in the area of the medieval town within the perimeter of its walls (the western

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[23] Rejestr zabytków woj. kujawsko-pomorskiego (Heritage site registry of the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), accessed 31 December 2019, pp. 81–82, https://www.nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Zabytki_w_Polsce/rejestr-zabytkow/zestawienia-zabytkow-nieruchomych/; Studium uwarunkowań i kierunków zagospodarowania przestrzennego gminy Świecie 2012 (Spatial development conditions and directions study for the municipality of Świecie), Appendix 4 [city plan]: Kierunki zagospodarowania—plan, Appendix 5 [city plan]: Kierunki zagospodarowania przestrzennego – plan, accessed 15 May 2019, http://bip.swiecie.eu/?app=uchwaly&nid=8734&y=2012.

[24] Appendix 4 of Studium…

[25] Appendix 5 of Studium…; Studium…, part 2 (text): Appendix 2: Kierunki zagospodarowania, p. 14, 20.

[26] "Specjalny Obszar Ochrony Zamek Świecie" (Świecie Castle special protection zone) encompassing a winter habitat for bats, see: Studium…, part 1 (text): Uwarunkowania zagospodarowania przestrzennego, p. 70; Appendix 5 of Studium…

wall near the gate and in the south-western corner, in the eastern corner near the end of Farna Street, and near the end of PCK Street), as well as at the site of the market square and the castle. However, only the sections from the north-western and western sides were exposed. No attempt was made to highlight and preserve the plan of the historical market square. Tourist traffic, which typically ignores the south-western direction with the church, is largely focused around the castle ruins and its observation tower. The ruin became the target of revitalisation and land development measures aimed at tourism, together with the divisive reconstruction of wings that have not survived in their original form. Their designs were not based on architectural research.[27] The measures aimed at the castle and undertaken by the town's authorities were not linked with any research within the former urban centre, and efforts were not made to draft a shared conservation and development programme that could highlight the exceptional values of the entire former Teutonic complex and make them more legible.

5. History and overview of Krasiczyn's early modern urban layout

Krasiczyn was founded on a plain, on the right bank of the San River, as an early modern urban and residential complex. It was founded by the Krasicki family. Construction on the complex was initiated by the family's progenitor, Jakub of Siecin, who became the owner of extensive landed estates in the land of Przemyśl through his marriage to Barbara Orzechowska.[28] At the time, the Krasicki family latifundium encompassed 14 villages.[29] Jakub of Siecin took on the family name Krasicki, derived from the locality of Krasice, which was a part of the dowry of his wife, Barbara.[30] The construction of the residential complex was continued by his son, Stanisław Krasicki, while his grandson, Marcin, remodelled it after a Mannerist fashion. The latter's contributions to Krasiczyn were particularly significant.[31] His activity in the years 1598–1631 allowed the complex to flourish the most. Marcin Krasicki held many government posts, and was devoted to the king and enjoyed his favour. He occupied the posts of, among others, the starost of Przemyśl, the voivod of Podole, the castellan of Lviv, and senator.[32] He was also known as a patron of the arts and an outstanding man of his time, with multiple talents. He contributed to the extension of the Krasicki family estate, which in the 1630s encompassed sixty villages and three towns: Krasiczyn, Krzywcza, and Dubiecko.[33]

As we go back to Krasiczyn—the greatest of the three towns founded by the Krasicki family—it should be noted that its plan was influenced by Renaissance theory and practices. Krasiczyn's urban layout is an example of a town-and-residence complex with compositional linkages. This linkage takes on the form of a compositional axis demarcated between the residence and the town. This axis, which is also a circulation artery, links the city's central

[27] This gap has been partially filled by the latest architectural studies. See: GRZELIŃSKA, Nina, Piwnice zamku krzyżackiego w Świeciu—technika budowy i przekształcenia w świetle badań architektonicznych oraz problematyka konserwatorska, Master's thesis written at the Heritage Protection course, specialisation in conservation, under the supervision of Dr. PRARAT, Maciej, Toruń, 2019, manuscript stored in the archives of the Department of Art Conservation, NCU.

[28] HORWAT, Jerzy. Zarys genealogii rodu Krasickich do 1717 r. In: *Przemyskie zapiski historyczne*. Przemyśl: Oddział Przemyski Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego, 3: 1985, pp. 61–64.

[29] KSIĄŻEK, Mieczysław, *Zagadnienia genezy rozplanowania i typologii miast prywatnych XVI i XVII wieku w Południowej Małopolsce*, CUT monograph no.70, Kraków: Politechnika Krakowska, 1988, p. 55.

[30] HORWAT, Zarys genealogii…, pp. 61–64.

[31] GUERQUIN, Bohdan. *Zamki w Polsce*, Warszawa: Arkady, 1974, pp. 167–170.

[32] HORWAT, Zarys genealogii…, p. 75.

[33] KSIĄŻEK, Zagadnienia genezy…, pp. 55–56.

Fig. 11. *Krasiczyn on the First Military Survey—Map of Galicia and Lodomeria 1779-1783*, (source: www. mapire.eu, 20.02.2020)
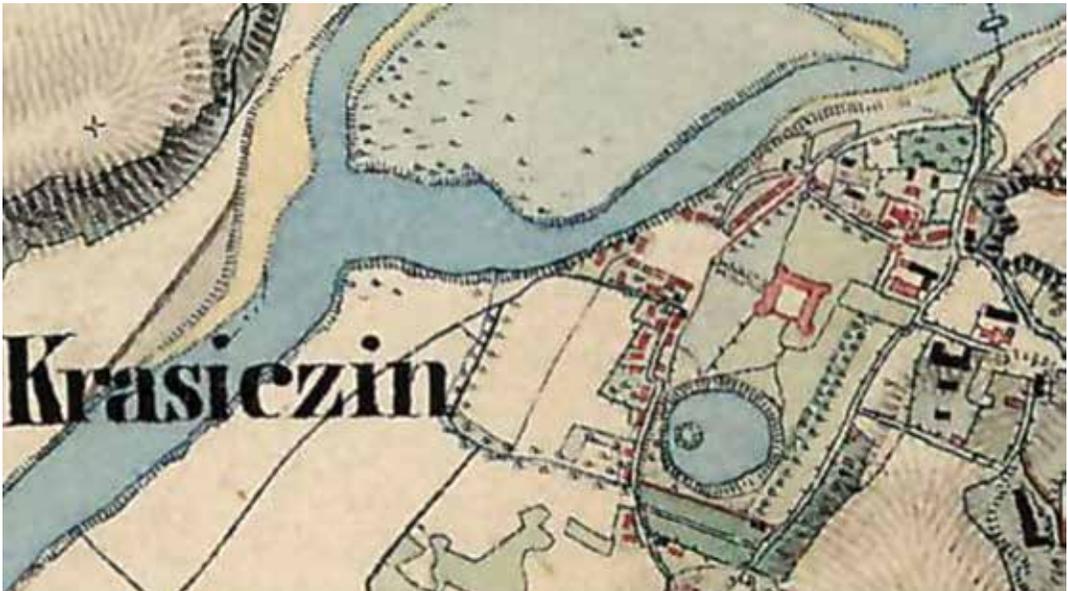
Fig. 12. *Krasiczyn on the Second Military Survey—Map of Galicia and Bukovina from 1861-1864*, (source: www.mapire.eu, 20.02.2020)

square, which opens up towards the residence, with the main entrance to the Krasicki family home. Of note is the fact that in Krasiczyn's urban layout one can point to only two of the three basic elements of Renaissance town-and-residence layouts: the town and the residence. The complex was not given a defensive perimeter in the form of fortifications, which is why, when the typology of Renaissance town-and-residence layouts is concerned, it should be labelled
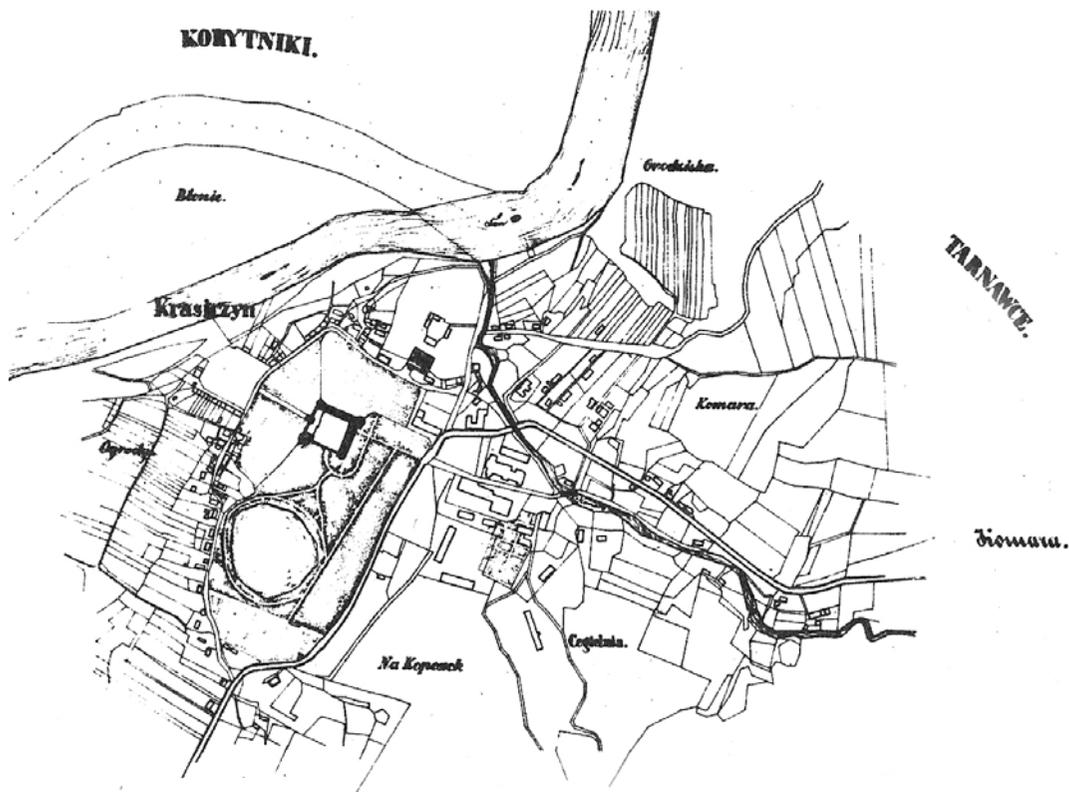
Fig. 13. *Krasiczyn, plan cadastral plan from 1852* (copy from the collection of the archives of the Chair of the History of Architecture, Urban Planning and the Arts of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology).
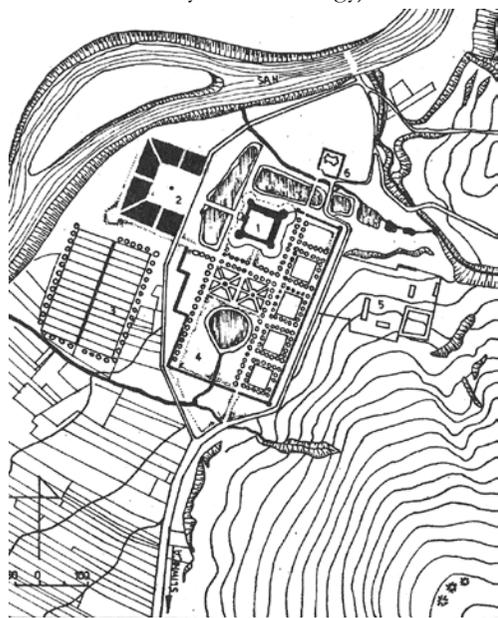
Fig. 14. *Krasiczyn, reconstruction of the early modern urban and residential complex by M. Książek.*
Legend: 1- residence, 2- urban layout, 3 – town gardens, 4 – Italian garden, 5- grange, 6- church. (collection of the Chair of the History of Architecture, Urban Planning and the Arts of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology).

as a layout with compositional linkages, albeit an incomplete one.[34] (Fig. 11, 12, 13, 14)

Although this paper focuses primarily on the town as one of the complex's two elements, it would be inappropriate not to briefly discuss the residence, which is considered to be one of the most beautiful magnate mansions in Poland (Fig. 15, 16). The Krasicki residence takes the form of a castle laid out on a quadrangular plan, with moats and four cylindrical artillery towers (modelled after the German Bastei) at its corners: the Divine, the Papal, the Royal, and the Noble tower, respec-

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[34] Ibidem, pp. 159–160.

Fig. 15. *Krasiczyn, view of the residence, as seen in the 1960s* (photograph from the collection of the Chair of the History of Architecture, Urban Planning and the Arts of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology).

Fig. 16. *Krasiczyn, view of the residence from the west, as seen in the present* (photograph from the collection of the Chair of the History of Architecture, Urban Planning and the Arts of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology, N. Stojak 03.2020).

tively. Residential spaces were placed in two buildings, which were initially single-aisle structures, and which were placed adjacent to the walls and enclosed the complex's courtyard from the east and the north. One could enter the residence through a gate in the western curtain wall, which was crowned with a clock tower.[35] Of note is the fact that the residence was built in multiple stages. The first stage involved the construction of a defensive fort by Jakub Krasicki around the middle of the sixteenth century, the second was the erection of a masonry Bastei-type castle around 1580, while the third involved the extension of the structure in the spirit of Mannerism by Marcin Krasicki. Subsequent remodelling projects carried out throughout the eighteenth cen-

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[35] GUERQUIN, Zamki…, p. 169.

tury and at the start of the nineteenth century primarily focused on the residential structures or general maintenance, e.g. reconstruction after a fire, which took place in 1852.[36]

The residence, as an outstanding work of Polish early modern period civil engineering, has been attracting the attention of architectural and urban planning history scholars for years. The town fared differently, as it never developed into a more significant centre. The reasons for this state of affairs include its location near the San river, on a flood plain, which was the cause of its ultimate downfall. Despite this, it should be noted that it was one of the main elements of the previously mentioned town-and-residence layout, with indisputable Renaissance-era cultural values (Fig. 17, 18).

The town of Krasiczyn was founded in 1620 by Marcin Krasicki.[37] The notion of expanding his family latifundium and extending the residence had probably carried over to the idea of building a seat for his family—the intended role of the urban centre demarcated to the west of the castle.

Fig. 17. *Krasiczyn, view of the site of the former market square from the south, as seen in the 1960s.* (photograph from the collection of the Chair of the History of Architecture, Urban Planning and the Arts of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology, K. Kuśnierz).

Here it should be noted that the residence was initially oriented along the north-south axis. It was only during the Mannerist remodelling of the residence and—most probably—the need to form the town-and-residence layout, that the main axis of the complex was reoriented to the east-west direction. This was highlighted by the clock tower with a gate, which was crossed by the compositional axis leading to the town, with one of its frontages open towards the residence. This led to the formation of an urban layout distinctive to the Renaissance, with characteristics of compositional linkages (Fig. 11).

The town of Krasiczyn itself constituted a rather small centre, and its location determined its relatively poor spatial development opportunities. A square-shaped market square, measuring

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[36] FRAZIK, Tomasz, Józef. Terenowe badania architektoniczne zamku w Krasiczynie w roku 1966. In: *Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego za rok 1966*. Rzeszów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Rzeszowie, 1968, pp. 223–230; FRAZIK, Tomasz, Józef. Z badań nad najstarszymi dziejami zamku w Krasiczynie. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*. 2(31), 1969, pp. 249–254; FRAZIK, Tomasz, Józef. *Zamek w Krasiczynie*. Series: *Zeszyt Naukowy. Architektura*, Kraków: WPK, 12, 1968, p. 252; GUERQUIN, Zamki…, p. 169.

[37] KUŚNIERZ, Kazimierz. *Miejskie ośrodki gospodarcze wielkich latyfundiów południowej Polski w XVI oraz XVII wieku*. CUT monograph no. 83. Kraków: Politechnika Krakowska, 1989, p. 41.

Fig. 18. *Krasiczyn (Subcarpathian Voivodeship).* Satellite image of the historic urban layout of the residence and the town (source: https://mapy.geoportal.gov.pl/imap/Imgp_2.html?gpmap=gp0, 06.03.2020).

95 x 95 m, was demarcated at its centre. It was surrounded by a single strip of urban blocks with a depth of around 36 m. Based on this, following M. Książek, we can assume that the programme of this complex was minimal and the number of its settlers low.[38] A total of six streets exited the market square. Four were delineated at the centre of frontages, which was a measure typical of the Renaissance. They included the street that formed the compositional and circulatory linkage with the castle. The north-western and south-western corners of the market square were the starting points of two additional streets (Fig. 14). This measure can be attributed to Renaissance models, namely to the circulation systems of ideal cities. Urban blocks, divided into settlement lots, initially featured timber buildings with forward-facing gables. Fully or partially brick buildings began to appear around the market square over time. Depending on size, the houses near the market were composed of between one to four rooms, alcoves, and chambers. They were typically also abutted by stable spaces.[39]

It is assumed that Krasiczyn was designed by Galeazzo Appiani, an Italian architect who lived and worked in Przemyśl.

The residents of Krasiczyn, mostly Poles, worked primarily to satisfy the needs of the castle and the latifundium. They were mostly craftsmen and farmers, while trade played a secondary role, as proven by there being no information about any markets or fairs. The centre, apart

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[38] KSIĄŻEK, Zagadnienia genezy…, p. 116.

[39] MOTYLEWICZ, Jerzy. *Miasta Ziemi Przemyskiej i Sanockiej w drugiej połowie XVII i XVIII wieku.* Przemyśl-Rzeszów: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Nauk. w Przemyślu, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Rzeszowie, 1993, p. 215.

Fig. 19. *Krasiczyn, view of the site of the old market square from the southeast, as seen in the present.* (photograph from the collection of the Chair of the History of Architecture, Urban Planning and the Arts of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology. N. Stojak 03.2020).

from housing craftsmen and petty traders, was also inhabited by castle officials.[40]

The town-and-residence layout discussed above was supplemented by urban gardens planted to the south of the town, an Italian garden with plant beds near the residence, a grange, and a church (Fig.14). The centre also included a town hall (probably located in a house near the market square), a hospital, and a brewery.[41]

Krasiczyn remained in the hands of the Krasicki family until 1689, and changed hands numerous times afterwards,[42] as its owners were unable to appropriately manage the complex and develop it. The exception here was Ludwika Potocka nee Mniszech, the wife of crown hetman Józef Potocki, who lived in Krasiczyn for over thirty years and tried to improve the economic condition of the then-significantly neglected latifundium. She renovated the castle, built a church and supported the town's inhabitants by granting them additional privileges.[43]

Ultimately, the town and the residence deteriorated, which caused Krasiczyn to lose its town rights, first in 1896 and then ultimately in 1934.[44] Krasiczyn is currently a village in Przemyśl county and is the seat of a rural municipality.

6. Extant state and the applicable policy of Krasiczyn's spatial development and protection

As mentioned previously, the town of Krasiczyn, as an element of an urban layout with the characteristics of compositional linkages, does not currently exist (Fig. 18, 19). However, its traces are still visible in the field. The area of the former market square is currently an undeveloped space overgrown with grass (Fig.18, 20). The space is neglected and has no defined form of use, not even a recreational one, which enables field studies, including archaeological research. The historical landmark of this area—the residence—still acts as the highlight of

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[40] GOSZTYŁA, Marek, LICHOŁAI, Rafał. Nieistniejąca zabudowa przyrynkowa w Krasiczynie. In: *Journal of Civil Engineering, Environment and Architecture*, 64(34), 2017, pp. 151–158; FRAZIK, Tomasz, Józef. Z zagadnień rozwoju przestrzennego miasta Krasiczyna. In: *Teka Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury*. Kraków: Oddział PAN w Krakowie, v. 11, 1977, pp. 33–42; MOTYLEWICZ, Miasta Ziemi…, pp. 98–150; MOTYLEWICZ, Jerzy. Krasiczyn w drugiej połowie XVIII w. Zarys wybranych problemów z dziejów miasta. In: *Przemyskie Zapiski Historyczne…*, pp. 99–111; WOLSKI, Krzysztof. Krasiczyn—rys dziejów zamku i latyfundium krasiczyńskiego. In: *Rocznik Przemyski*, 9(2), 1962, pp. 301–336.

[41] MOTYLEWICZ, Krasiczyn w drugiej połowie XVIII…, pp. 99–111.

[42] KAJZER, Leszek, KOŁODZIEJSKI, Stanisław, SALM, Jan. *Leksykon zamków w Polsce*, Warszawa: Arkady, 2001, pp. 246–247; PROKSA, Michał, *Studia nad zamkami i dworami ziemi przemyskiej od połowy XIV do początków XVIII wieku*. Przemyśl: Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu, 2001, pp. 272–273.

[43] MOTYLEWICZ, Krasiczyn w drugiej połowie XVIII…, p. 103.

[44] SPÓRNA, Tomasz, DYMITROW, Mirek, KRZYSZTOFIK, Robert. Miasta zdegradowane i restytuowane w liczbach. In: DYMITROW, Mirek, KRZYSZTOFIK, Robert (eds.). *Miasta zdegradowane i restytuowane w Polsce. Geneza, rozwój, problemy*. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 2015, p. 390.

Fig. 20. *Krasiczyn, view of the residence from the old site of the market square, as seen in the present.* (photograph from the collection of the Chair of the History of Architecture, Urban Planning and the Arts of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology. N. Stojak 03.2020).

Krasiczyn's cultural landscape. However, it is surrounded by anonymous and disorderly contemporary architecture (Fig. 21a and b), without any sort of urban and landscape composition, causing the entire locality to lose its cultural values. Disorderly greenery, which obscures important visual axes oriented towards and away from the complex, is also a significant problem.

The circulation layout and plot border divisions demarcate the historical plan of the market square, with a single strip of development, divided into front-facing settlement plots. This applies particularly to the former south frontage and partially to the northern one. These plots are developed in only a handful of cases, which provides potential for the revitalisation of the layout.

The residence is, of course, an exceptional work of Mannerism and is protected as a registered heritage site of the Subcarpathian Voivodeship (entry A-321 from 26.06.1968). The heritage site registry entry stipulates the protection of the castle, the Swiss house, the workhorse stables (internal building), the park, and the southern park gate.[45] We can see that the registry entry does not cover the former urban complex. The residential complex is also under a second form of statutory protection. It was proclaimed a Monument to History in 2018. The protected area includes the residence, the park, the Swiss house, the workhorse stables, and the lodge, which is why it can be assumed it is identical to the scope of the heritage site registry entry.[46]

The municipality of Krasiczyn does not have a local spatial development plan in place, which, as a statutory form of conservation,[47] could provide opportunities to protect the space of a

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[45] Rejestr zabytków województwa podkarpackiego (Heritage site registry of the Subcarpathian Voivodeship), accessed 1 February 2020, http://bip.wuozprzemysl.pl/index.php?id=230.

[46] Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 20 kwietnia 2018 r. w sprawie uznania za pomnik historii "Krasiczyn—zespół zamkowo-parkowy", (Ordinance of the President of the Republic of Poland of 20 April 2018 on acknowledging "Krasiczyn—park and palace complex" as a monument of history) https://nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Zabytki_w_Polsce/Pomniki_historii/2018/Krasiczyn.pdf, accessed 1 February 2020.

[47] Obwieszczenie Marszałka Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 3 października 2018 r. w sprawie ogłoszenia jednolitego tekstu ustawy o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami, Dz. U. 2018, poz. 2067, Rozdział 2, Art.7. (Notice of the Marshall of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of the 3rd of October 2018 concerning the proclamation of the codified text of the act on the protection and preservation of historical monuments, Dz. U. 2018, pos. 2067, Chapter 2, Art.7).

Fig. 21. a. & b. *Krasiczyn, view of the town's new centre* (photograph from the collection of the Chair of the History of Architecture, Urban Planning and the Arts of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology. N. Stojak 03.2020).

given city or town. The municipality does have an applicable spatial development conditions and directions study. This document defines the entire historical town-and-residence layout as being under "full conservation" and as located in a "heritage site protection zone".[48]

In summary, at present, the early modern town-and-residence layout of Krasiczyn can be considered erased, and its elements, featuring different cultural values, as disjointed. Undoubtedly, there is no contemporary conservation vision that could restore the memory of the complex to the local community, even if only by signalling it.

7. Contemporary paradigms concerning cultural value protection and urban revitalisation

This paper was based on basic research performed from the perspective of conservation and urban planning, based on traditional research methods used in the technical sciences and artistic studies. Prior to the formulation of conclusions, it should be stated that the contemporary protection of historic cities today is no longer the domain of the axiology of conservators or urbanists. It has departed from the traditional perspective of conservation, planning, and space, and now involves the monitoring and management of social processes, wherein conservation tasks are merely an element of governance policy. Changes in identifying and evaluating elements of the urban structure appear to be following the direction of identifying intangible heritage while accounting for various stakeholder groups.

Here it would be appropriate to remind ourselves of the message of the "Warsaw Recommendation" of 1976 concerning the protection of heritage complexes,[49] which indicated that, thanks to various types of value, they provide society with the living presence of the past, constituting a source of national identity. As well as cultural values, social and economic considerations—including the defining of spatial development plans together with property

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[48] Studium uwarunkowań i kierunków zagospodarowania przestrzennego gminy Krasiczyn (Spatial development conditions and directions study for the municipality of Krasiczyn), accessed 2 February 2020, http://www.krasiczyn.pl/bip/gospodarka-nieruchomosciami/planowanie-przestrzenne/599-studium-uwarunkowan-i-kierunkow-zagospodarowania-przestrzennego-gminy-krasiczyn; KUŚNIERZ-KRUPA, XIV-wieczne układy…, pp. 10–85.

[49] Zalecenia dotyczące ochrony zespołów zabytkowych i tradycyjnych i ich roli w życiu współczesnym (Rekomendacja Warszawska) (Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas), UNESCO, Warszawa-Nairobi 1976. In: *Vademecum*…, pp. 61–68.

owners and users—have also become factors that justify protection.[50]

The first international document that focused strictly on the protection of historical cities was the Washington Charter (1987), which defined new elements that conveyed the values of historic cities.[51] It stipulated that the historical character of cities is based on values that are derived from traditional, authentic elements associated with spatial composition (a plan defined by streets and plot divisions, size, scale, and development structure). Intangible (spiritual) conveyors were also acknowledged. The document also used poorly defined terms like the "interdependency" between development, greenery, and open space, between the historical and contemporary areas and the cultural environment, or the "functions" the city had in the past.[52] Other documents that either amended or sanctioned changes in historic city protection doctrines include the UNESCO Vienna Memorandum (2005), which included a proposal to introduce a new heritage category: the historic urban landscape, in which strategic actions would be undertaken with the cooperation of representatives of all stakeholder groups.[53] The HUL Recommendation of 2011 is an extension of this approach.[54] The titular landscape is the material and intangible heritage of the city and is a form of socio-cultural and economic capital. It is also, according to Professor Bogusław Szmygin's interpretation, a form of holistic urban governance, wherein one not only protects values, but governs current socio-cultural and economic processes, ensuring sustainable development. Traditional conservation strategies are merely one of the elements of this strategy. It can of course lead to the emergence of threats to the authenticity of the material substance of heritage sites, particularly in the context of accepting the participation of all stakeholder groups, but it can also provide opportunities for a more complete diagnosis of the values of cities by using academic methods, e.g. social or economic methods, etc. The document highlights that important economic initiatives in value management include, among others, services and tourism.[55]

This is of particular significance to smaller centres, where it is possible to include these values in a comprehensive manner. In so-called small cities and towns, urban values and those of the cultural landscape are interlinked, and their preservation requires particular public support. The aforementioned approach can, however, pose a threat to the authenticity of surviving urban structures and other heritage elements, as it allows them to be sacrificed in the name of sustainable development.[56]

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[50] The subject of doctrinal changes in protecting historic towns was discussed by LUBOCKA-HOFFMANN, Maria. Doktryna konserwatorska a odbudowa miast. In: *Studia Elbląskie*, 9, 2008, pp. 241–249.

[51] Międzynarodowa karta ochrony miast historycznych (Charter For The Conservation Of Historic Towns And Urban Areas), ICOMOS, Toledo-Waszyngton 1987. In: *Vademecum…*, pp. 91–93.

[52] Ibidem, *Zasady i cele*. See also: LUBOCKA-HOFFMANN, Doktryna…, pp. 241–249.

[53] Memorandum Wiedeńskie dotyczące "Dziedzictwa Światowego i Współczesnej Architektury—Zarządzania Historycznym Krajobrazem Miejskim" (Vienna Memorandum on "World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture -Managing the Historic Urban Landscape"), UNESCO, Vienna 2005, transl. K. PIOTROWSKA-NOSEK, "Ochrona Zabytków", 2005, pp. 103–106.

[54] LUBOCKA-HOFFMANN, Doktryna…, pp. 241–249; SZMYGIN, Bogusław. Rekomendacja o Historycznym Krajobrazie Miejskim—wdrożenie zmiany paradygmatu w ochronie miast historycznych. In: *Architektura i Budownictwo*, 12, 2013, pp. 117–126; Zalecenie UNESCO w sprawie historycznego krajobrazu miejskiego, Paris 2011. In: Vademecum…, pp. 183–189.

[55] SZMYGIN, Rekomendacja…, pp. 119–124; Zalecenie UNESCO…, art. 8 and n.

[56] Ibidem, pp. 120–123; Zalecenie UNESCO…, art. 8 and n.

8. Forms of protecting historic cities in Poland

The Polish heritage conservation system, when so-called immovable monuments (i.e. historic urban or rural layouts) are concerned, features four main forms of protection. These are the heritage registry, monument to history, the cultural park, and the provisions of local spatial development plans.[57]

The decision to enact the first type of protection is made at the discretion of the voivodeship conservator of historical monuments and its consequences include obtaining their approval for any and all work and procedures undertaken within the area. The monument of history designation is a special form of protection for already-registered heritage sites or sites that form cultural parks of exceptional value. Conferring the status of a monument of history is done via an Ordinance issued by the President of Poland. It is assumed that such buildings can be presented to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee with an application to have them placed on the World Heritage Sites List.[58] Cultural parks are established through Municipal Council resolutions upon approval by the voivodeship conservator of historical monuments. This form of protection is conferred upon areas with exceptional landscapes and which possess heritage sites associated with local building or settlement tradition. This is why this form of protection can be used both for an entire urban or rural layout or a part of it (e.g. the best-preserved part), but also for more extensive areas. The resolution stipulates the park's clear boundaries and the mode of protection, including prohibitions and constraints concerning spatial measures and the permissible form in which heritage structures can be used. The municipality is obligated to draft a local spatial development plan for it.[59]

The fourth form of protection is the provision of local spatial development plans through consultation with the conservation office. They are formulated not only for heritage sites listed in the registry, but also for those in records kept by voivodeship conservators and municipalities, called monument records.[60] Local spatial development plan provisions or land development permits must be compliant with a mandatory municipal heritage preservation programme and the spatial development conditions and directions study.[61]

The aforementioned conservation zones delineated in local plans or studies include: a strict conservation zone; a zone of protecting the heritage site in terms of maintaining essential elements; and cultural landscape protection zones and archaeological protection zones.[62]

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[57] In the case of the last form, when there is no local spatial development plan in place, protection can be exercised through the provisions of public project permits, land development permits, road construction permits, railway construction permits, or public airport siting permits. See: *Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami* (Heritage protection and preservation act of the 23rd of July 2003, Dz.U. No. 162, pos. 1568 as amended), art. 7.

[58] Among the 105 monuments of history, 22 are typical heritage sites associated with urban planning. See: *Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003…*, art. 9, section 1–7, art. 15, section 1–4; Lista obiektów uznanych przez Prezydenta RP za Pomniki Historii (List of sites acknowledged by the President of Poland as Monuments of History, https://www.nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Zabytki_w_Polsce/Pomniki_historii/, accessed 4 February 2020.

[59] *Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003…*, art. 16–17.

[60] Ibidem, art. 18–24.

[61] Ibidem, art. 19, section 1–3, 20; *Ustawa z dnia 27 marca 2003 r. o planowaniu i zagospodarowaniu przestrzennym* (Spatial planning and development act of 27 March 2003, Dz.U. No. 80 pos. 717 as amended).

[62] See: WELC-JĘDRZEJEWSKA, Jolanta, et al. (elab.). *Problematyka ochrony dziedzictwa kulturowego i zabytków w studiach uwarunkowań i kierunków zagospodarowania przestrzennego gmin oraz w miejscowych planach zagospodarowania przestrzennego, poradnik dla planistów i samorządów lokalnych*. Warsaw: Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (further: NID), 2011, pp. 25–30; WITWICKI, Michał. Strefy ochrony konserwatorskiej (cechy obszarów chronionych, wyznaczenie granic ochrony, podstawowe wytyczne konserwatorskie). In: *Ochrona Zabytków*, 38(3–4), 1985, pp. 151–156.

Detailed provisions concerning protection within each zone are drafted by the voivodeship conservator and municipalities must adapt their spatial policies accordingly.

9. Critical analysis of conservation problems and conclusions as to the protection of the cultural values of historic towns in Świecie and Krasiczyn

In the case of Świecie nad Wisłą, the area of the historic town layout linked with the castle has remained undeveloped, which could aid in conducting wide-ranging archaeological and architectural research. Its findings could allow us to determine the original plot layout and its development, the character and spatial layout of residential buildings during the Middle Ages (and in later times), as well as the precise outline of the remaining defensive wall sections. Although the surviving structures were placed under protection (including archaeological protection), in the town's spatial development concept the area in question remains outside of the local authorities' primary field of interest despite the identification of immense cultural and natural values in documents concerning spatial management and tourist information. The focus remains fixed on the castle ruin with its observation tower as the major tourist attraction, with the measures that are taken being haphazard and deleterious to the heritage site as even the most basic archaeological and architectural research has not been performed and the reconstruction design does not account for the preservation of valuable artefacts. The use of the entire territory of the ward has also not been accounted for. Here, appropriate measures should include conducting studies of the historic town's cultural landscape and any identified values should be analysed and inspected for potential use in pursuing a policy of sustainable development.

Historical studies should be accompanied by an academic, theoretical reconstruction of the town. Utilising the lack of development and the recreational and landscape forms of use stipulated in planning guidelines (oriented towards tourist traffic which currently concentrates around the castle ruins), an attempt could be made to highlight the compositional values of the medieval urban layout and partially even those of its spatial elements (the town hall) as an archaeological park, by "extending" the wall line or marking it with greenery. The entire area would have to be given the status of a cultural park, along with a rational programme of "use" and development—the Xanten Archaeological Park could serve as an inspiration here. This way, the castle could once again be linked with the town, in a manner typical for the functioning of a Teutonic town. It would be the only case of a Teutonic town with an elongated, axial layout in the Kuyavian–Pomeranian Voivodeship, slightly resembling the layout of Malbork (the capital of the former Monastic state of the Teutonic Knights, a town linked with a castle that was placed on the UNESCO World Heritage Sites List in 1997). It would constitute not only an object of academic interest, but also a tourist destination, contributing to the proper interpretation of the HUL Recommendation and to the economic development of contemporary Świecie.

Similarly to medieval Świecie, the former layout of early modern Krasiczyn, with features of compositional town-and-residence linkages, has largely remained undeveloped. This is an opportunity for implementing a carefully planned conservation strategy in this area. The conservation measures should be backed by multi-directional academic studies, ranging from archival queries to analyses of the local spatial development plan. Ongoing archaeological studies that could allow an interdisciplinary team to formulate a programme and then a design of the revitalisation of the town's urban layout appear to be a necessary element. This conduct

can provide an opportunity to place Krasiczyn under proper conservation in the future as it is currently focused solely on a fragment of the former layout, i.e. the residence. The fact that municipal authorities fail to utilise and appreciate the cultural potential of the entire complex is strange, as it can provide the municipality with urban, tourism-related, and economic development opportunities. This lack of appreciation manifests itself primarily in the form of the absence of the most fundamental planning document—the local spatial development plan. The lack of this document brings us to another important aspect. Experience has shown that the provisions of a municipality's spatial development conditions and directions study do not guarantee that land development permits (and similar documents) will share these provisions, which can result in a complete lack of heritage protection, provided that the area (or building) is not under a different statutory form of protection—with this situation applying to the historical town of Krasiczyn.

One should hope that conservation services, along with municipal authorities, will conduct their policy (on conservation, but chiefly planning) so that an actual conservation of the entire urban and residential layout of Krasiczyn will be enacted. It is also important for the framework of local law that is to crystallise in the future to foster development opportunities for the revitalisation and perhaps even recreation of the area's highly valuable urban layout that was erased over the years.

The detailed comments concerning the two analysed centres are also a point for a general discussion concerning the protection of historic cities, which, due to various events and neglect, have either lost or are in the process of losing their cultural values. The first factor that places their heritage under threat is simple ignorance of these values among the local community, government, and officials. There are no interdisciplinary urban, heritage, and landscape studies being performed and thus their potential findings cannot be applied in spatial planning. This postulate also appears in all international heritage protection documents. Oftentimes, administrators are convinced that if urban and historical studies for their cities were performed in the 1950s or 1970s, then they can be used to solve current problems. Meanwhile, these—often excellent—academic studies were based on different historical, design, and planning assumptions in the context of a different socio-political reality of the Polish state (for instance, they often focused on medieval or early modern town centres while ignoring layers from the period of the industrial revolution, which left its mark on Poland in the 1870s).

Furthermore, the paradigms of urban heritage protection have changed as well, leading to the necessary incorporation of representatives of the social sciences into research teams. The policy of municipal authorities concerning the revitalisation of the centres they administer should account for social expectations and stimulate residents' interest in the city's values. They are typically conveyed by its material elements, including those rarely appreciated by residents (e.g. building lines or circulation layouts), but also attributes of traditional functions. These studies should first identify these conveyors and authorities should be obligated to disseminate this knowledge. Heritage conservation cannot be performed without stakeholder engagement and applying proper spatial policy in compliance with the precepts of sustainable development.

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Studium uwarunkowań i kierunków zagospodarowania przestrzennego gminy Krasiczyn (Spatial development conditions and directions study for the municipality of Krasiczyn), accessed 2 February 2020, http://www.krasiczyn.pl/bip/gospodarka-nieruchomosciami/ planowanie-przestrzenne/599-studium-uwarunkowan-i-kierunkow-zagospodarowania- przestrzennego-gminy-krasiczyn.

Spatial Distribution Model for Targeting the Support for Cultural Institutions' Development: A Case Study of Slovakia

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Spatial Distribution Model for Targeting the Support for Cultural Institutions' Development: A Case Study of Slovakia
Culture is one of the main tools for developing regions and reducing regional disparities. It is a significant job creator; it participates in social cohesion representing a catalyst for economic growth. In practice, when boosting the potential of cultural and creative industries, we encounter an insufficiently developed approach to evaluating the initial conditions for the allocation of financial resources for its development. This paper's objective is to identify, map, and analyse spatial concentration of cultural institutions in Slovakia. The intention of the analysis was the identification of regions and districts with the potential for full use of cultural capital as a tool for sustainable regional development as well as the setting of cultural policy. The cluster analysis pointed out significant differences in the representation of cultural institutions in individual regions and districts of Slovakia. The regions with the most desirable results (e.g., Bratislava, Trnava, or Nitra) have some common characteristics linked to the local context, such as historical development, good infrastructure, concentration of educational institutions. The results also confirmed the assumption that within the regions, cultural institutions will be concentrated in larger district cities, specifically in the case of Bratislava even inside the city. From the cluster analysis it is possible to observe a "belt of districts" of Southern, Central, and Eastern Slovakia, which do not have sufficient cultural infrastructure. Since the process of shaping the supportive policy for cultural industries is now ongoing in Slovakia, we consider mapping the situation as one of the key elements in the policy-making process.

Keywords: spatial differentiation, cultural institutions, cluster analysis, regional development, Slovakia

1. Introduction

In recent years, not only in Slovakia, but throughout the European Union, there has been a revival of interest in culture. The multidisciplinarity of cultural research is the object of reflection of culturology, ethnology, cultural anthropology, and sociology, but also cultural geography. In the context of current social changes, it seems necessary to link the theoretical explanations of these scientific disciplines with practice, especially in the field of applied

practice of cultural policy.

Culture is one of the main tools for developing regions and reducing regional disparities. It is a creator of new jobs; it participates in social cohesion and is thus a catalyst for economic growth. In practice, an inclusive approach to culture is increasingly being used. Its economisation is a consequence of the requirement to use the full potential of culture in creating capital. With this approach, the question of the negative consequences of commoditising culture comes to the fore. Discovering the potential of cultural products and services in the last twenty years has attracted the attention of politicians and economists. The potential of the cultural and creative industries even seemed to be so great that, unlike other industries, it also withstood the consequences of the crisis, or even grew during the crisis. However, the share of these sectors in GDP or employment is still very low compared to other industries.

The presented article focuses on the use of cultural potential in the context of regional development. The aim is to map the spatial concentration of cultural institutions in individual regions and districts of the Slovak Republic. Cultural institutions, as the basic units for the use of cultural potential, contribute to local and regional development. We perceive their mapping as important from the point of view of the correct setting of cultural policy and culture development strategy for the next financing period of 2020–2027.

2. Literature Review

The literature deals with the issue of the relation between culture and regional development in terms of two aspects, which we used in further analysis. The first is the definition of culture itself, categorisation of cultural potential, and examination of its impact in the context of regional development. This relation began to be the subject of research in the 1990s, with cultural capital being the aspect or manifestation of culture that contributes to local and regional development. Cultural capital as an asset is created by the transformation of cultural potential, so we focus on the analysis of the relationships between its elements. The second aspect, on which we place the greatest emphasis, is the study of the spatial concentration of culture, specifically in the form of the concentration of cultural industries. Most theories examining spatial concentration are based on endogenous concepts of development, i.e., they analyse the mobilisation and use of the so-called internal resources as a key factor for growth.

1.1 Culture, cultural potential, and regional development

Culture can be defined as a set of opinions, beliefs, habits, and values that are shared by a certain group of people. Tylor sees culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." It is the activity of people and the products of this activity which have certain moral, intellectual, and artistic aspects. Slušná defines culture in three ways. In a narrow sense, it is defined as a sector of art, which includes mainly classical music, literature, and theatre, but also popular mass art. In a broader sense, it is also defined as everyday manifestations of culture with a formal and symbolic character, such as rituals, symbols, practices, clothing, and eating, but also the culture of politics. In the broadest sense, she understands culture in all its manifestations, norms, values, and beliefs. These are, in particular, typical and characteristic of a particular community or society.

Man was not born with culture, but acquired it through a process of adaptation.

Culture is a product of man as a member of a community, not as an individual. It is the result of collective experience, but each culture is unique. The culture is continuous, but not immutable. It must be constantly improved. Thus, one of the most important features of culture is cultivation. Culture shapes and cultivates the behaviour and thoughts of the individual in a particular society and social situation. It is always born in a group and is the legacy of generations. Cultures are very different, but their development is related to their ability to adapt to the material world. Culture can be perceived through both its manifestations and characteristics. Manifestations of culture can be symbolic (ideas, values, customs, norms), material (artifacts, works of art, clothing), but also normative (morality, ethical and social norms).

Culture is the collective program of the human mind. Collective values thus shape individual regions. Culture is an important factor in local and regional development. Ilmonen emphasises that if the region wants to ensure sustainable growth in the long term, it must be based not only on economic theories but also social sciences, especially cultural studies, in planning and securing it. The trend of exploring culture in the context of regional development began in the 1990s. The OECD's Culture and Local Development document has already emphasised the need to strengthen regional and local cultural capital as a basis for a region's development. Regional development is also closely related to quality of life. Cultural capital was first defined as one of the three basic forms of capital in Bordieu's work (1986).

Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.) and in the institutionalised state… According to Janto, the cultural capital of a locality can be most easily characterised as local tangible and intangible cultural phenomena that have a certain social value and significance, and can be used in renewal or development.

Fig. 1. *Diagram of cultural potential*
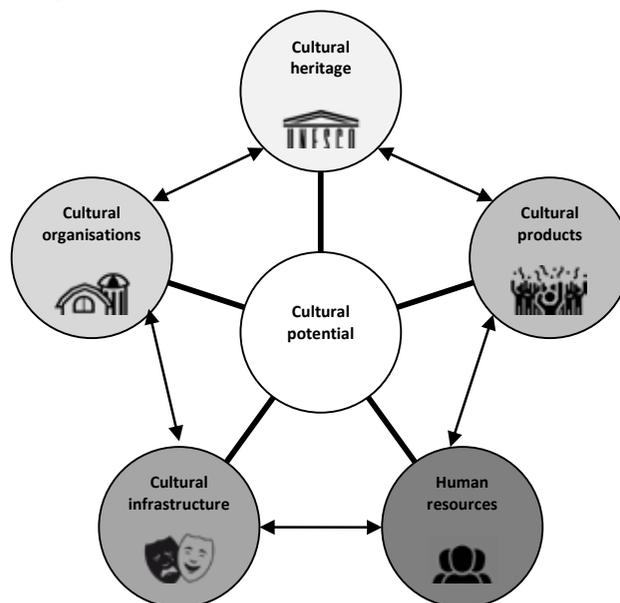
Culture influences the quality of life primarily through its subjective perception. In his analysis of quality of life, Murgaš approaches cultural capital holistically, understanding it as an integral part of human capital, which he describes as one of the key endogenous factors influencing quality of life. Cultural capital is created by the correct use of cultural potential. Cultural potential is the sum of cultural values—cultural phenomena and their individual components—and cultural elements that can be used; the whole complex of cultural heritage, non-institutional as well as organised production of institutions providing cultural services. In the publication of Lenovský et al., the cultural potential consists of five components, namely cultural heritage, cultural and social organisations and other institutions, cultural events and cultural products, cultural infrastructure, and finally human resources in the cultural sector. The individual components interact with each other (Fig. 1).

Klein et al.[1] carried out a study emphasising that one of the factors influencing the socio-economic dynamics of a place or region is cultural vitality. Cultural vitality can be understood as a set of characteristics of the place—the presence of organisations active in cultural industries and the cultural activity itself, its administration, financial and organisational resources, as well as cultural identity. However, awareness of one's own cultural identity does not arise in a social group or in an individual for no reason. This identity has primarily a communicative role, both externally (between cultures) and inwardly (within a particular culture).[2] Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, and Herranz[3] drew up a definition of cultural vitality based on its three dimensions: cultural viability as the existence of opportunities to engage in cultural activities, the very involvement of cultural activities, and finally the promotion of those cultural activities. The third dimension is also a space for cultural policy-making.

In our paper we focus on cultural institutions such as the so-called cultural actors. We start from the classification of Lenovský et al. Cultural institutions are involved in the development of cultural life at the regional and local levels. The cultural institutions that enter into the analysis in our paper have a clear formal structure, a defined competence framework in which they carry out their activities, and professional staff. Cultural institutions are also a tool for implementing the state cultural policy. However, the changing conditions in the field of financing cultural activities and the emergence of the dual principle in the practice of cultural institutions after 1989 also meant that in addition to non-profit and financially subsidised institutions, private institutions also appeared in the culture and arts market, thus increasing competition in this market.[4] Cultural institutions are also preservers and presenters of cultural heritage. This forms the complete basis of the country's cultural potential. Cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, can therefore be a significant cultural asset of a municipality or city. And as a cultural asset, it also means a competitive advantage. Thus, culture can be an important factor in regional and local development. However, if the cultural potential is to be fully realised, the role of cultural institutions will also be to ensure an innovative approach to mediating cultural values to the public.[5] An innovative

[1] KLEIN, Juan Luis et al. Cultural Initiatives and Local Development: A Basis for Inclusive Neighborhood Revitalization. In: *Urban Planning*, 4(1), 2019, pp. 78–90. 10.17645/up.v4i1.1658.2012.

[2] MISTRÍK, Erich et al. *Kultúra a multikultúrna výchova*. Bratislava: Iris, 1999.

[3] JACKSON, Maria, KABWASA-GREEN, F., & HERRANZ, J. R. *Cultural Vitality in Communities: Interpretation and Indicators*. Washington DC: The Urban Institute, 2006.

[4] PRAVDOVÁ, Hana. *Manažment a marketing v kultúrnych inštitúciách*. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2015, p. 5.

[5] MINISTERSTVO KULTÚRY SR. *Stratégia rozvoja kultúry Slovenskej republiky na roky 2014–2020*, 2014, accessed November 2nd, 2020, http://www.strategiakultury.sk/sites/default/files/STRATEGIAROZVOJA_KULTURY_SR_NA_ROKY_2014-2020.pdf

approach also requires sufficient funding for cultural institutions.

1.2 Spatial concentration of cultural industries and regional development

As Gažová says, culture is not just an object among other objects. One of its features is the crossing of geographical and social boundaries.[6] And it is the imaginary geographical boundaries that we will address in the next section. Most theories that examine the impact of culture and cultural industries or the creative industry on regional growth are based on endogenous concepts of development.[7] This means that the development of cities and regions is determined by the use of internal resources. This is the basic economic premise. The basis of empirical research of cultural industries is, in addition to the quantification of economic indicators, also the determination of spatial concentration.[8] Determining spatial concentration is also the most widely used method of research, which detects, for example, clustering, the concentration of the creative class, or individual components of the Creativity Index.[9]

Geographical analysis of the distribution of these sectors enables better creation of conditions for their development and functioning and more efficient allocation of public resources. Theories are based not only on cultural geography, which examines the spatial differentiation of different cultures and their manifestations, and thus actually analyses the influence and behaviour of culture from an anthropological and sociological point of view,[10] but also on the so-called geography of cultural industries.[11] As the Slovak scientist Žigrai says, cultural geography examines the laws and causes of the spatial expansion and arrangement of individual cultural and spiritual values created by man in time and space, as well as the relationships between them and the surrounding natural and social environment.[12] Geography of cultural and creative industries not only offers a view of the spatial distribution of industries, but can monitor and explain the form, growth, and development of actors in the industry, as well as the creation of clusters.[13] Cultural industries tend to concentrate in a certain place, i.e., to form clusters. As early as 1919, Alfred Marshall researched industrial districts in England, but the basic definition of clusters was given by Porter,[14] who defined them as "geographical concentrations of interconnected firms and institutions in a particular field".

In the literature, we generally encounter two main approaches to the geographical concentration of the cultural or creative industries; both are based on the factor of concentration. The first approach is based on the locality. Locality is the basic starting point of the theory of concentration.

[6] GAŽOVÁ, Viera. Kulturológia v službách kreovania nových konceptov. Od kulturologickej estetiky ku kultúrnej výchove. In: *Acta Culturologia. Zborník z vedeckej konferencie s medzinárodnou účasťou venovanej kulturologičke Anne Fischerovej.* Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2014.

[7] BUČEK, Milan, REHÁK, Štefan, & HUDEC, Oto. *Kreatívna ekonomika—národohospodárske a regionálne podmienky a stimuly.* Bratislava: Ekonóm, 2014.

[8] Ibid.; SCOTT, Allen. J. *On Hollywood: The place, the industry.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

[9] KLOUDOVÁ, Jitka. Kreativní ekonomika a její měření. In: *Ekonomický časopis*, 57(3), 2009, pp. 24–262.

[10] MURGAŠ, Can Easterlin's paradox…, pp. 3–14.

[11] FLEW, Terry. Towards a Cultural Economic Geography of Creative Industries and Urban Development: Introduction to the Special Issue on Creative Industries and Urban Development. In: *The Information Society*, 26, 2010, pp. 85–91.

[12] ŽIGRAI, František. Prínos kultúrnej geografie pri štúdiu vzťahu medzi krajinou, človekom a kultúrou. In: *Krajina-človek-kultúra.* Banská Bystrica, 1999, pp. 11–115.

[13] GONG, Huiwen & HASSINK, Robert. What drives the geographies of creative industries? From literature review to research agenda. In: *Papers in Innovation Studies 2016/9.* Lund University: CIRCLE—Centre for Innovation Research, 2016.

[14] PORTER, Michael. *The Competitive Advantage of Nations.* New York: The Free Press, 1990, p. 857

According to this approach, cultural industries are concentrated in a certain location and thus enjoy some advantages such as access to customers or specialised service providers.[15] The second approach focuses on urban areas. According to this approach, cultural industries are more concentrated in cities.[16] In this approach, the quality of place exceeds the availability of place.

While in other industries, factors directly affecting production and distribution themselves play a role in concentration, in cultural industries, factors influencing actors, especially people working in cultural industries, carry more weight.[17] This creates new approaches that take into account various factors affecting the comfort and specificity of the place. These include, for example, cultural infrastructure, the quality of public services, the availability of university education, opportunities for cultural, sporting, and leisure activities, diversity, tolerance of diversity, openness, social cohesion, natural and cultural heritage, or local governments.[18] Several authors emphasise the image of the place, its style, branding, openness, diversity, and tolerance.[19] The basis of cultural infrastructure is the so-called cultural environment—its existence, as well as the participation of the population in cultural life.[20]

The concentration of cultural industries is not only the result of natural development, but also of targeted policy. In the Visegrad region, the policy to support the development of clusters began to be implemented only in 2005.[21] This region, and thus also Slovakia, was gradually undergoing a change from a centrally planned economy, where no economic benefit was attributed to culture. Today, cultural clusters make up about 20% of all creative clusters (as their core) in the V4 region.[22] Interestingly, however, in Poland and Hungary, cultural clusters are not concentrated in metropolises, as is the case in Slovakia and the Czech Republic. The study by Bialic-Davendra et al. also found that these clusters are strongly supported by public institutions and the non-profit sector. Thus, it can be stated that cultural clusters are still primarily non-commercial in nature. This is in contrast to the work of creative clusters and centres, whose role is, among other things, to ensure their viability and cover operating costs (which was, for example, one of the conditions in the grant call for building creative centres in Slovakia in 2019). However, cultural clusters also show a very low level of activity compared to creative clusters.

Clusters are one of the tools of regional development. At the same time, vital cultural infrastructure is a necessary precondition for creating an environment that will be attractive to

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[15] BRANZANTI, Caterina. Creative clusters and district economies: Towards a taxonomy to interpret the phenomenon. In: *European Planning Studies*, 23(7), 2015, pp. 1401–1418.

[16] FLORIDA, Richard. *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books, 2002; FLORIDA, Richard. Cities and the Creative Class. New York: Routledge, 2005; LAZZERETTI, Luciana, DOMENECH, Rafael Boix, & CAPONE, Francesco. Do creative industries cluster? Mapping creative local production systems in Italy and Spain. In*: Industry and Innovation*, 15(5), 2008, pp. 549–567.

[17] FLORIDA, *The Rise of...*

[18] SELADA, Catarina. Creative Clusters in Low Density Urban Areas: A Case Study Approach, SA Conference Papers ERSA 2010, European Regional Science Association, 2011, accessed October 24th, 2020, http://urbact.eu/sites/default/files/import/Projects/Creative_Clusters/documents_media/Paper_ERSA_VF_01.pdf

[19] PAREJA-EASTAWAY, Montserrat. The Barcelona Metropolitan Region: From Non-Existence to Fame. In: *Built Environment*, 35, 2009, pp. 212–219. DOI: 10.2148/benv.35.2.212; CUADRADO-ROWA, Juan. *The location of service industries. Service industries and regions*. Berlin: Springer, 2013.

[20] CURRID, Elizabeth & WILLIAMS, Sarah. The Geography of Buzz: Art, Culture and the Social Milieu in Los Angeles and New York. In: *Journal of Economic Geography*, 10(3), 2010, pp. 1–29. DOI: 1093/jeg/lbp032

[21] BIALIC-DAVENDRA, Magdalena, et al. Creative Clusters in Visegrad Countries: Factors Conditioning Cluster Establishment and Development. In: *Bulletin of Geography*, Socio-economic Series 32, 2016, pp. 33–47. 10.1515/bog-2016-0013.

[22] Ibid.

the creative class, while its operation in a place or region again contributes to its revitalisation and growth. The individual components—culture, cultural industries, and finally the creative industries—thus interact with each other and multiply the development potential of the place or region. Local authorities and public institutions have an irreplaceable role to play in supporting the development of cultural industries. While Drda-Kühn and Wiegard,[23] in their research on the relationship between culture, cultural tourism, and regional development, confirmed the importance of public institutions in ensuring cooperation between the various actors, Granger[24] points out the exact opposite in his study. In Leicester, the United Kingdom, local authorities have failed.

3. Methods

Although in most analyses the sectoral approach and orientation to measure the spatial concentration of creativity prevails, rather than measuring culture, for example in the form of the Creativity Index,[25] today the theory of creative places is highly questioned.[26] In our analysis, therefore, we draw attention to cultural institutions such as the so-called cultural actors. Cultural institutions participate in the development of cultural life at the regional and local level and thus also contribute to the development of the region. The aim of the presented paper is to determine the spatial concentration of cultural institutions in Slovakia through available statistical data. The intention is to create an overview in which regions and districts' cultural institutions are more represented, and where the allocation of (additional) funds can be considered. The intention was to create a model of spatial concentration, on the basis of which we can support the economic potential of culture, namely specific cultural institutions in a given region or district. The initial assumption of our analysis is that the concentration of cultural institutions will occur in urban areas, especially in larger cities, because they always have a better cultural infrastructure.[27] In our analysis, we also assume the connection between culture and the creative industry, especially the concentration of creative capital. We assume that the distribution of cultural institutions has an impact on the concentration of the creative class, which, together with culture itself, is also a factor in regional and local development.[28] The result of the analysis is the identification of regions and districts with the potential for better allocation of funds as well as the setting of cultural policy. In the analysis of the spatial distribution of cultural facilities in regions and districts, we will assume that where the creative class is concentrated, the creative industry will be concentrated, and thus there will be more cultural facilities.[29]

[23] DRDA-KUHN, Karin & WIEGARD, Dietmar. From culture to cultural economic power: Rural regional development in small German communities. In: *Creative Industries Journal*, 3(1), 2010, pp. 89–96.

[24] GRANGER, Rachel. *Creative Splintering and the Rise of Municipal Creative Economies*. Leicester: Leicester Castle Business School, 2019.

[25] KLOUDOVÁ, Kreativní ekonomika...

[26] MOULAERT, Frank, DEMUYNCH, Hilde, & NUSSBAUMER, Jacques. Urban renaissance: From physical beautification to social empowerment. In: *City*, 8(2), 2004, pp. 229–235; KRATKE, Stefan. Creative Cities and the Rise of the Dealer Class: A Critique of Richard Florida's Approach to Urban Theory. In: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34(4), 2010, pp. 835–853.

[27] FLORIDA, *The Rise of...*; BIALIC-DAVENDRA et al., Creative Clusters...

[28] FLORIDA, *The Rise of...*

[29] Ibid; MURGAŠ, František & ŠEVČÍKOVÁ, Marta. Geografický prístup k meraniu kreatívneho kapitálu Prípadová štúdia: Index kreatívneho kapitálu Slovenska. *Creative and Knowledge Society*, 1, 2011, pp. 37–56.

To examine the distribution of cultural institutions, we used cluster analysis to decompose a set of objects into several relatively homogeneous subsets (clusters) so that objects belonging to the same cluster are as similar as possible, while objects from different clusters should be as different as possible. In our case, we divided the districts and regions of Slovakia into clusters according to selected available macroeconomic indicators. According to the methodology of cultural potential, we divided cultural institutions into several groups (Tab.1):

Tab. 1. *Cultural Institutions*

• Museal institution (museum, nature museum, memorial room etc.)
• Gallery institution
• Library, institution of Literal Culture
• Theatre
• Cultural and educational centre
• Cinema

Data from the Data Cube system[30] of the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic were used in the analysis. We chose hierarchical cluster analysis, specifically hierarchical agglomeration clustering. The hierarchical system of clusters is characterised by the fact that it creates such a decomposition of the original set of objects, in which each of the partial decompositions is a refinement of the next (so-called agglomerative clustering) or the previous (so-called divisional clustering) decomposition. In addition, agglomerative clustering is a bottom-up approach. Thus, in this approach, the individual clusters are iteratively joined into larger units. The "k-means" method was also tested, which requires the determination of the number of clusters. However, this method only confirmed the optimal results of hierarchical clustering. The set of input data consisted of six monitored variables in eight regions of the Slovak Republic and 79 districts in

$$\sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^{n} (x_i - y_i)^2}$$

2018. For the cluster analysis, we chose the Euclidean distance, which is given as:

Ward's minimal variance method was used. In this method, the similarity of objects or clusters is measured as the sum of squares between objects from two clusters, summed over all attributes of the given objects. The uniqueness of this method lies in minimising the amount of variance across all newly formed clusters. This minimises the increase in the amount of square deviation of objects from their centroids. The amount of the square deviation can then be written as:

$$E = \sum_{K}^{t=1} \sum_{x1eC1} \|x_i - m_i\|^2$$

[30] DataCube. *Kultúra*, 2020, accessed November 13th, 2020, http://datacube.statistics.sk/;#!/folder/sk/1000467

4. Results

The result of the first cluster analysis, where we examined 8 regions, is the creation of four clusters:

- Cluster 1: Bratislava Region (BA);
- Cluster 2: Banská Bystrica Region (BB); Prešov Region (PO); Žilina Region (ZA);
- Cluster 3: Košice Region (KE);
- Cluster 4: Trnava Region (TT), Trenčín Region (TN), Nitra Region (NR).

These clusters do not represent the order of regions; the grouping only corresponds to the regions that are most similar in all indicators. We consider a higher number of cultural institutions of individual categories from Table 1 to be a more favorable result. The most favourable result was achieved by Clusters 4 (Nitra Region, Trenčín Region, Trnava Region) and 3 (Košice Region). The second most favourable result was achieved by Cluster 2, i.e., the Banská Bystrica Region, the Prešov Region and the Žilina Region. We also found inconsistent results in individual groups—especially in the area of the number of theatres and cinemas. The Bratislava region absolutely dominates in the number of libraries, which is undoubtedly influenced by the number of educational institutions in this region. The Nitra region dominates in the number of museums and galleries. It is also strongly represented in the location of cultural and educational centres. A dendrogram (Fig. 2) shows the formation of clusters from top to bottom, i.e., from the level when the objects in the cluster are most similar. The graphical distribution of clusters is shown on the map in Figure 3:

Fig. 2. *Dendrogram of clusters of regions*
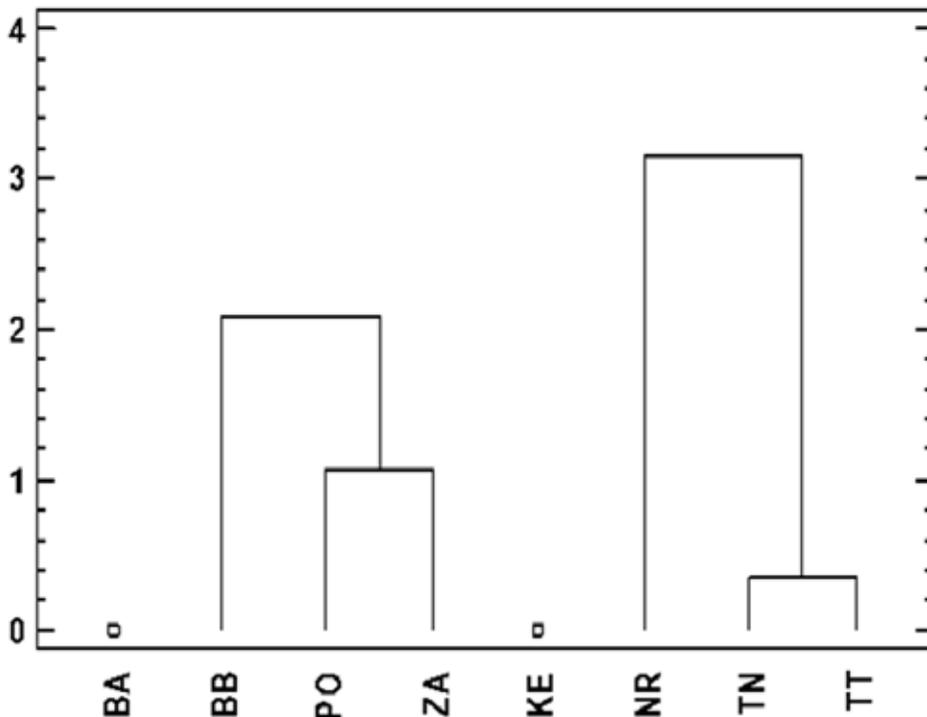
Fig. 3. *Map of clusters of regions*
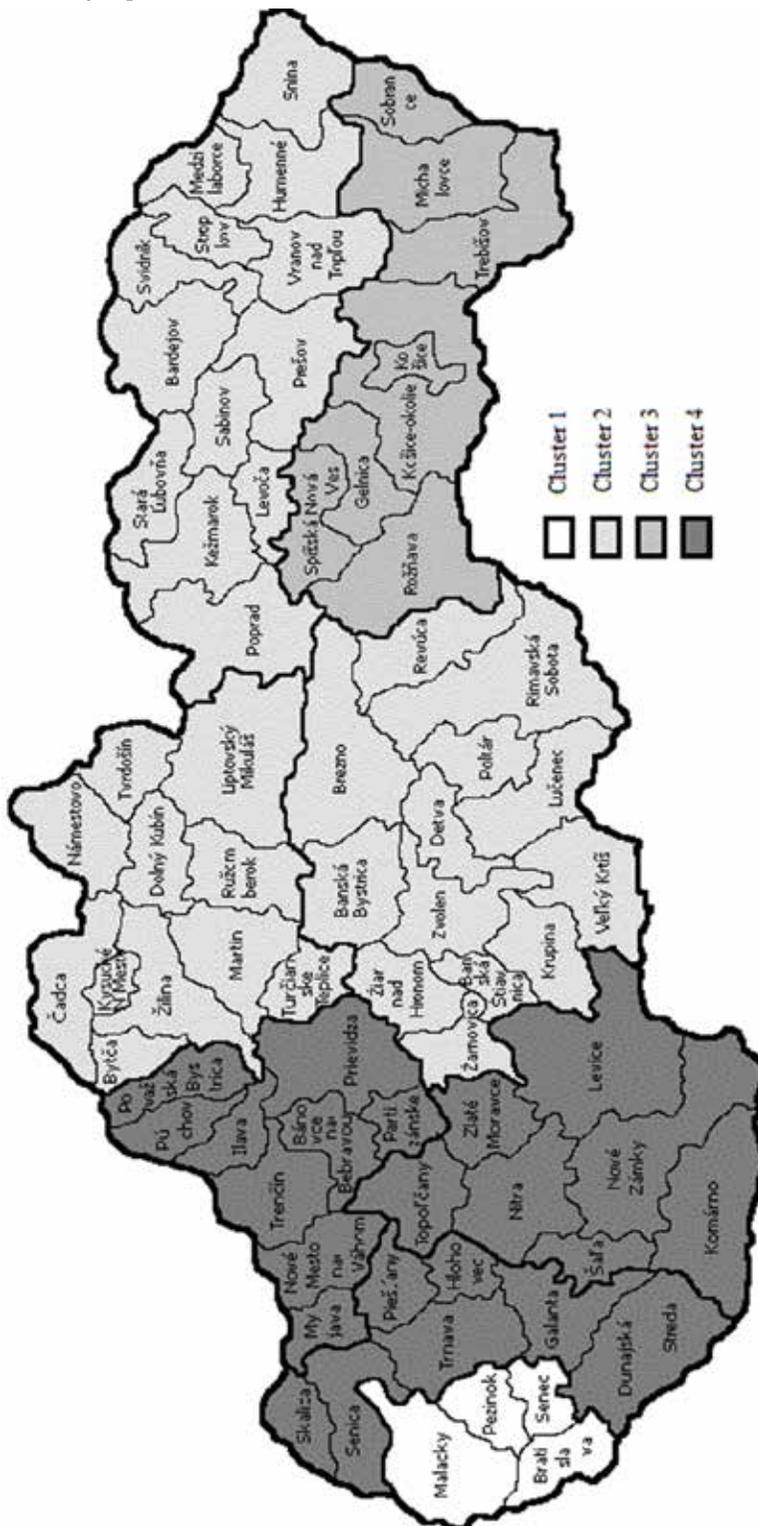
The second cluster analysis determined the division of districts into clusters according to selected indicators. The result of the analysis is the creation of 4 clusters (dendrogram in Figure 4 and graphical layout of map clusters in Figure 5).

• Cluster 1: Bratislava I;

•Cluster 2: Bratislava II, Bratislava III, Bratislava IV, Bratislava V, Pezinok, Skalica, Ružomberok, Banská Bystrica, Banská Štiavnica, Svidník, Košice I;

• Cluster 3: Malacky, Dunajská Streda, Galanta, Piešťany, Trnava, Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Prievidza, Trenčín, Komárno, Levice, Nitra, Nové Zámky, Topoľčany, Čadca, Dolný Kubín, Liptovský Mikuláš, Martin, Žilina, Brezno, Lučenec, Veľký Krtíš, Zvolen, Bardejov, Kežmarok, Poprad, Prešov, Sabinov, Stará Ľubovňa, Košice – surroundings, Rožňava, Spišská Nová Ves;

• Cluster 4: Senec, Hlohovec, Senica, Bánovce nad Bebravou, Ilava, Myjava, Partizánske, Považská Bystrica, Púchov, Šaľa, Zlaté Moravce, Bytča, Kysucké Nové Mesto, Námestovo, Turčianske Teplice, Tvrdošín, Detva, Krupina, Poltár, Revúca, Rimavská Sobota, Žarnovica, Žiar nad Hronom, Humenné, Levoča, Medzilaborce, Snina

Stropkov, Vranov nad Topľou, Gelnica, Košice II, Košice III, Košice IV, Michalovce, Sobrance.

Fig. 4. *Dendrogram of clusters of districts*
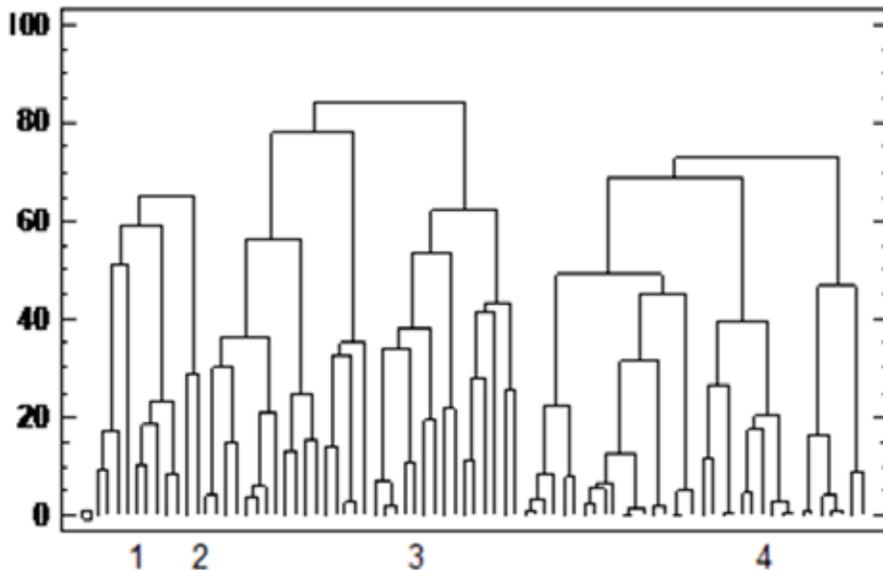
Fig. 5. *Map of clusters of districts*
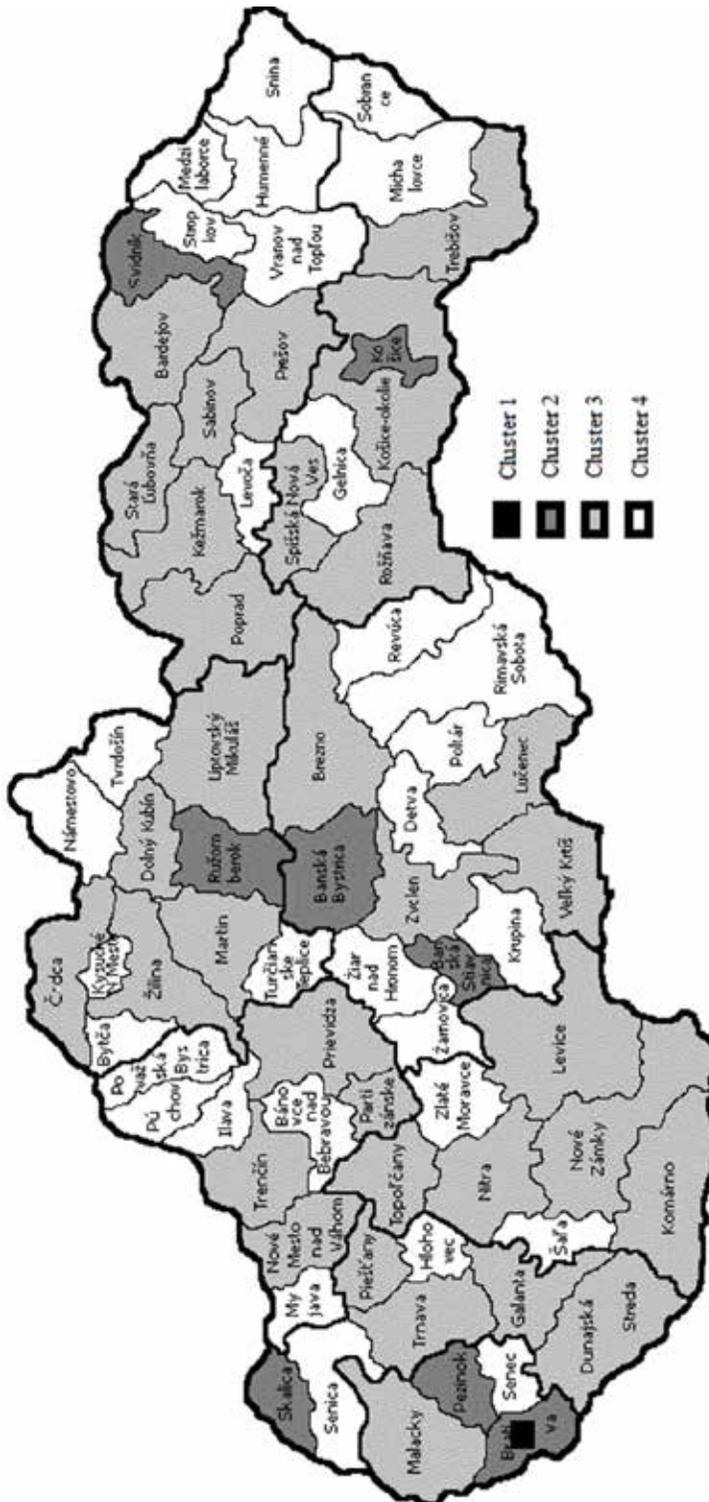
The most favourable results in the selected indicators are achieved by Cluster 3 followed by Cluster 4. It is interesting that within Bratislava as one city, there are big differences in individual city districts. In fact, only Bratislava I, which represents the Old Town, reaches a more significant position. It is (already from a historical point of view) the cultural centre of the whole capital. Representation of cultural institutions in other parts of the city is very weak even within the least favourable Cluster 2.

Tab. 2. *Cultural institutions in the districts of Bratislava I-V*

District	Theatres	Libraries	Cultural-educational centres	Cinemas	Museums and galleries
Bratislava I	2	21	2	6	13
Bratislava II	5	4	3	1	7
Bratislava III	2	2	3	2	3
Bratislava IV	1	5	6	1	6
Bratislava V	4	6	2	5	5

The results of the cluster analysis in the regions of Slovakia do not completely correspond to the results of the analysis in the districts of Slovakia. An example is that within the most successful Cluster 3 in the analysis of regions we see significant differences between individual districts, some of which already belong to another, less favourable Cluster 4.

The clusters with the most favourable indicators are characterised by:
- concentration of cultural industries (Bratislava, Trnava, Nitra, Košice);
- representation of educational institutions (universities);
- good transport accessibility;
- economic strength (these are always economically stronger districts);
- in the case of Bratislava, specific factors can also be considered, such as cosmopolitanism and the European character of the city, which predestines it to the position of the cultural centre of Slovakia.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The cluster analysis pointed out significant differences in the representation of cultural institutions in individual regions and districts of Slovakia. The regions with the best results (especially Bratislava, Trnava, or Nitra) have some common characteristics. One of the common denominators of the better results of these regions is the historical development and their current position in the territorial division of Slovakia. Bratislava as the capital is a traditional centre of culture throughout the country. These results are also in line with the research of Murgaš,[31] who measured creativity in individual regions of Slovakia. He even described Bratislava as "the pole of creativity",[32] so we can also call it a pole of culture in Slovakia. This confirms the fact that the availability of quality cultural infrastructure can attract the creative class and vice versa—the presence of the creative class in the region stimulates the

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[31] MURGAŠ & ŠEVČÍKOVÁ, Geografický prístup…, pp. 37–56.
[32] Ibid.

further development of cultural institutions.[33]

The districts of Prešov, Košice, and Banská Bystrica have a traditionally strong theatrical representation, Nitra dominates in the number of museums and galleries, and finally Košice as the metropolis of eastern Slovakia is not only a natural socio-economic centre of eastern Slovakia but also a centre of culture. The regions of western Slovakia have a high quality transport infrastructure with good accessibility. They are the centres of educational institutions, and education increases interest and demand for culture. Unsatisfactory cooperation of educational institutions with actors in cultural industries does not lead to the growth of the region, but, on the contrary, hampers development.[34]

The results also confirmed the assumption that within the regions, cultural institutions will be concentrated in larger district cities.[35] Specifically, in the case of Bratislava, the statement that they are concentrated within the city also applies, similarly to the analysis of Gregory and Rogerson.[36] It is interesting to compare the results of the analysis of the spatial concentration of cultural institutions and the spatial differentiation of quality of life in Slovakia. According to Murgaš,[37] the regional division of Slovakia speaks of the prosperous northwest of the country and the undeveloped southeast of the country. In part, this statement can be identified with our results—from the cluster analysis we can observe a belt of districts of southern, central, and eastern Slovakia, which do not have sufficient cultural infrastructure. These results are in line with the results of the analysis of the spatial differentiation of cultural capital as part of human capital. Also, in our results, the differentiating element is the position of some districts of the Prešov or Košice region. On the other hand, rather than southern Slovakia, the districts of central Slovakia ranked worse in the analysis of districts.

A higher concentration of cultural institutions is naturally created even in places with a concentration of the creative class. In this process, it not only acts as a creator of culture and a bearer of creativity, but above all it creates a demand for cultural institutions. At present, this demand is transformed and there is an increasing interest in new forms of cultural institutions and facilities (community centres and co-workshops, which serve not only as workspaces but also provide spaces where cultural events or interactive creative workshops take place on a regular basis).

An indispensable factor, which is strongly present in the analysis, is the economic maturity of regions (more specifically districts). The hierarchy of human needs is already clear from Maslow's pyramid. Only when one is able to satisfy one's primary physical needs does the need for self-realisation arise, with the need for aesthetics and culture at the very top of the pyramid. Unfortunately, in the economically weakest regions in the south of central Slovakia, or in the former mining areas, this situation is alarming. Lack of jobs and high unemployment do not encourage citizen participation in culture or encourage creativity. Cultural and social disparities between the inhabitants of economically prosperous areas and lagging areas are growing.[38] Slušná, on the other hand, also draws attention to the so-called stigmatisation of the population from the relevant economically weaker regions, while such stigmatisation (especially the medial

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[33] FLORIDA, *The Rise of…*

[34] GRANGER, *Creative Splintering…*

[35] FLORIDA, *The Rise of…*; BIALIC-DAVENDRA et al., Creative Clusters…

[36] GREGORY, James & ROGERSON, Christina M. Suburban creativity: The geography of creative industries in Johannesburg. In: *Bulletin of Geography* Socio-economic Series 39, 2018, pp. 31–52.

[37] MURGAŠ, Kvalita života…

[38] SLUŠNÁ, *Súčasná kultúrna...*

one) causes apathy in the population and the inability to identify the cultural potential of their region and turn it into its cultural asset.

Culture is one of the pillars of an educational society. It not only creates aesthetic and ethical values, but is also a sector with promising economic potential. It follows that cultural industries are one of the few in which there is a natural interconnection of intangible and economic values. Agenda 21 for Culture presents culture as the fourth pillar of regional development. Slovakia is not an urban country—it is one of the OECD countries with a higher share of rural population, so there is no so-called metropolitan culture and it is more strongly dominated by local culture or cultural heritage. It is similar to Poland and Hungary.[39]

Knowledge of the spatial concentration of cultural potential and cultural industries, as well as cultural institutions, is essential in shaping cultural policy and developing the cultural potential of the country. Cultural policy is an inseparable tool for the management of culture and cultural and creative industries today. It also addresses the management and functioning of culture. The scope of cultural policy today is very wide. It ensures adequate protection of cultural heritage,[40] and sets the allocation of financial resources, which has a direct impact on the development of regions, the creation of employment in culture, and the mobilisation of cultural potential. It regulates the management and administration of cultural facilities and institutions, and sets up education in the field of culture. Given that cultural policy de facto creates the conditions for the functioning of culture in the country, it is desirable that it will be based on the current needs of individual regions. It is therefore not possible to create an effective and functioning cultural policy without first mapping the state of culture in regions and districts, and without knowing their cultural potential and the spatial concentration of cultural industries, whose support has now become an integral part of the EU cultural policies. Such mapping and deeper—especially continuous—research in the subject matter with the involvement of all relevant actors has not yet taken place in Slovakia.

In our analysis, the statistical model included the territorial division of the country into regions and districts. This was introduced in 1996 and does not fully reflect the historical regions to which the common cultural tradition is understandably linked. This can be considered a shortcoming of the model. However, due to the allocation of funds from the Regional Operational Program, the model offered a view of the districts that could become potential beneficiaries of support. Spatial analysis therefore enables the creation of a picture of the current state of cultural institutions and the demand for culture and is a tool for identifying the strengths and weaknesses, needs and opportunities of regions and districts, as well as targeted resource allocation. It is therefore a basic precondition for creating and shaping a functioning cultural policy. In the future, it will be necessary not only to apply established models of cultural development, but also to respond flexibly to changing trends in the operation of cultural industries. It can be unequivocally argued that traditional cultural industries are beginning to be pushed aside.[41] It is therefore necessary to constantly remember the differences between culture and the creative industry, because the primary meaning of culture is not its economisation. Another trend is the transfer of culture and cultural activities out of the city, i.e., into the suburbs. This trend is not so visible in Slovakia yet, but in the future, it will be necessary to take it into account. It can be seen as positive, as the concentration of culture in suburbs and former

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[39] BIALIC-DAVENDRA et al., Creative Clusters…

[40] SLUŠNÁ, *Súčasná kultúrna...*

[41] BEDNÁŘ, Pavel & GŘEBENÍČEK, Pavel. Mapping Creative Industries in the Zlin Region. In: *Journal of Competitiveness*, 1, 2012, pp. 20–35.

industrial areas contributes to their revitalisation.[42]

As stated in the Strategy for the Development of Culture of the Slovak Republic for the years 2014–2020, there is a discrepancy between the attitude of society towards culture at the declarative level and the actual position of culture which is acknowledged by the society.[43] The financing of culture in Slovakia has long been underestimated (especially in comparison with other EU countries), while the data distorted the funds that flowed from the Ministry of Culture to support churches. One of the possibilities today seems to be the use of structural funds, but experience shows that Slovakia is not able to use the structural funds effectively. Moreover, from a political point of view, there is a certain discontinuity in the field of cultural policy-making. This formation was largely subject to changes in the political set. The strategy further states that one of the biggest obstacles to the development of culture is the low demand for it, while expenditures on culture represent only about 1% of the total monthly expenditures of an individual household.

On the positive side, cultural institutions (as cultural actors) are one of the strengths of culture in Slovakia. Their network and representation in individual regions and districts is relatively wide, even in less developed districts. This creates good preconditions for increasing the cultural offer. However, the inadequate technical conditions and material and technical equipment of some of them act as an impedance on the development of culture and the transformation of cultural potential into cultural capital in a given region. As a result of this unsatisfactory status, as well as the non-professional management system of cultural institutions, their inefficient functioning occurs very often. We therefore identify two key (though not the only) problems of cultural development in Slovakia—insufficient funding (both public and private, Table 3) and low demand for culture (which is also spatially differentiated). Compared to other V4 countries, the value of public expenditure on culture (per capita) in Slovakia is the lowest. The largest share of cultural expenditure in Slovakia has long been allocated to cultural heritage policy.

Tab. 3. *Financing culture and participation in culture in selected countries*
Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic, Eurostat

	Slovak Republic	EÚ	Czech Republic	Hungary	Poland
Citizen participation in culture %	59,40%	63,70%	70,20%	49,20%	56%
Financing % GDP	0,76%	0,73%	0,96%	1,72%	0,75%
Resources	60% public expenditures 40% municipalities	N/A			
Theatres	38 mil. EUR				
Museums and galleries	34 mil. EUR				
Libraries	30 mil. EUR				

[42] GREGORY & ROGERSON, Suburban creativity…
[43] MINISTERSTVO KULTÚRY SR. Stratégia rozvoja kultúry Slovenskej republiky na roky 2014–2020, 2014, accessed November 2nd, 2020, http://www.strategiakultury.sk/sites/default/files/STRATEGIAROZVOJA_ KULTURY_SR_NA_ROKY_2014-2020.pdf

Dignified administration and decent reconstruction of cultural heritage is undoubtedly one of the key areas of cultural care. However, when we talk about boosting the economic potential of culture with emphasis on the development of regions, it is necessary to respond flexibly to new trends and stimulate young generations to live within culture. It will therefore be necessary to focus on new forms of cultural institutions that come to the fore and are especially popular with the younger generation—such as community and co-working centres, creative labs, and multifunctional cultural spaces. Examples of the use of the Structural Funds could be successful European projects in the field of cultural infrastructure, cultural activities, and cultural production or the revitalisation of urban areas and their transformation into cultural centres, namely the reconstruction of the Zollverein industrial complex in the Ruhr area, cultural tourism in Greece and Portugal, and Musikpark Mannheim as a combination of cultural and commercial facilities etc. Successful programmes are also being launched in Slovakia, for example the planned creative centre in Trnava, which will be located in the revitalised historic building in the city centre and will provide studios, professional graphic studios, and workshops for working with wood and metal, as well as music rehearsal rooms, concert venues, and a lecture hall. It will also create adequate conditions for the development of business skills. Out of the total project budget, 7.7 million EUR will be obtained from the European funds.[44]

In conclusion, to eliminate the shortcomings in the support and development of cultural institutions, it will be necessary to set up a functioning system for financing culture in the next financing period of 2020–2027, especially with regard to the spatial concentration of culture. The planned creation of creative centres in the regions of Slovakia from the Integrated Regional Operational Programme—Priority Axis 3, which are not primarily cultural institutions in the true sense of the word, can create a synergistic effect and help concentrate the creative class in the region, and thus increase the demand for culture, cultural services and goods. At the same time, it will be necessary to strengthen the absorption of structural funds in the field of culture, which Slovakia has so far failed to use effectively. The second important area is the educational process and cultural literacy, where educational institutions play an important role at every level of education.

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[44] TRNAVSKÝ SAMOSPRÁVNY KRAJ. *Župa začne stavať Kreatívne centrum Trnava, o projekt sa zaujímala aj ministerka kultúry*, 2021, accessed on 11th August, 2021, https://www.trnava-vuc.sk/aktuality/zupa-zacne-stavat-kreativne-centrum-trnava-o-projekt-sa-zaujimala-aj-ministerka-kultury/

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Leopolis collection, Museum of Independence – wellspring of knowledge, state of research and recommendations

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Leopolis collection, Museum of independence – wellspring of knowledge, state of research and recommendations
The Leopolis Collection (at the Museum of Independence) constitutes a valuable source of knowledge on the past of Lviv and its surroundings as well as the fate of the Polish people living there. Created in 1992 as a result of the efforts of Borderland circles, its contribution is used for research by museum specialists, professional historians and researchers of the Borderlands past. The artefacts, archival materials and publications collected there are made use of for preparing exhibitions, scholarly articles and monographs.
These valuable collections in relation to exhibitions are still awaiting a systematic study. Research undertaken so far has borne fruit in the form of valuable monographs and studies, but there are many valuable materials still waiting to be unearthed. For the purposes of accessing the museum materials the creation of a Leopolis Collection catalogue is necessary so that its contents can be more broadly made use of – both in historical research and that pertaining to museum-based studies.

Keywords: museum collection, Borderlands, Museum of Independence, Museum Studies, historical awareness, Lviv.

Introduction

The Eastern Borderlands occupy an unchangingly very important place in Polish history and culture. This is not exclusively a definition relating to a geographic area. It is a keyword for associations and meanings that are readable for those who understand the Polish presence in Lviv, Vilnius and Krzemieniec. Without this it is not possible to understand either the past or the present – nor is it possible to understand Polish culture.

Attempts at a contemporary definition of this concept have been undertaken by scholars representing various approaches to this very subject.[1] Bolesław Hadaczek put forward this definition:

> The Borderlands constitute a so-called umbrella-name (hypernym) embracing all the eastern lands of the first and second Polish Republics – and only these lands. This name, crystallising over centuries of national history, produced a spontaneous element, a one of its kind mental shortcut that is irreplaceable.[2]

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[1] NICIEJA, Stanisław Sławomir. *Legenda Kresów Wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej*, In: STAWARZ, Andrzej (ed.). *Dziedzictwo i pamięć Kresów Wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały I Muzealnych Spotkań z Kresami*. Warszawa: Muzeum Niepodległości, 2009, pp. 7–17.

[2] HADACZEK, Bolesław. *Historia literatury kresowej*. Szczecin: PoNaD, 2008, p. 376.

The building of a particular place for the Borderlands in the historical consciousness of Poles was served by the legend of these lands created by writers and painters: "inspired by the authentic heroism of Borderlands communities, one stamped by history that became the legend of the Borderlands, a great and useful midwife to its history".[3] World War II and the Yalta arrangements established immediately after it, determined the respective fates of the Eastern Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic and the Polish peoples living there.[4] At that time, as would write Jerzy Janicki: "knowledge was disfigured, the accomplishments of culture, science and those of the country's history amputated, those that had been an integral part of Lviv for over 600 years".[5]

Memory of the Borderlands, nonetheless, continues. We continue to remember, for example, the phenomenon of Lviv, its rich multicultural nature, one developing across the ages, creating an unrepeatable atmosphere. The society in this city created an unrepeatable climate of local patriotism,[6] which bore fruit in an eternal commemoration of Lviv because the city had (and still has) it's heralds, ones proclaiming its fame, keeping watch over this memory and its past. Among those singing the praises of Lviv and the Borderlands and commemorating it were Wiktor Budzyński, Marian Hemar, Zbigniew Herbert, Jerzy Janicki, Stanisław Lem, Włada Majewska, Jerzy Michotek, Adam Zagajewski and Witold Szolginia.[7] The figure of Szolginia (1923–1996), architect, writer, poet and graphic artist, in the opinion of many needs to be recalled for many reasons – this most renowned scholar of the Polish Lviv.

Zbigniew Herbert called him the "Guard of the City and its Graves". Jerzy Janicki wrote of him: "An absolute rabbi. Like a Pope, infallible in Lviv matters. A veritable judge in Leopoliensis conflicts in the area enclosed by the toll gates of Łyczaków and Zamarstyniv. The epitome of a Lviv citizen and an epitome of a Łyczaków citizen".[8] For many years Witold Szolginia collected Lviv memorabilia and it is these that were to later give birth to the above-mentioned Leopolis Collection. The discovery of the "Lviv Atlantis" and lost roots constituted a splendid mission in his life and a testament for future generations of Poles who were no longer familiar with the Polish Lviv.[9]

This was an exceptional city in the annals of Poland as well as in Europe – it is here that throughout several centuries were to cross the influences of many cultures, religions and traditions shaping this metropolis of a unique nature. This particularity of Lviv explains perfectly the creation of "semper fidelis" cultural relics tied to the city, the heart of the collection, constituting one of the most important elements in the holdings of the Museum of Independence in Warsaw. It is difficult not to have the impression that without Polish

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[3] PRÓCHNIK, Adam. *Obrona Lwowa*, Zamość: Zygmunt Pomarański i Spółka, 1919, p. 5.

[4] NICIEJA, Stanisław Sławomir. *Pojałtański żywot miast przesiedlonych na przykładzie Lwowa*, In: NICIEJA, Stanisław Sławomir (ed.). *Jałta z perspektywy półwiecza. Materiały z konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Opolskiego w dniach 25–26 października 1994 r.*, Opole: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 1995, pp. 143–157.

[5] JANICKI, Jerzy. *Ni ma jak Lwów: krótki przewodnik po Lwowie*, Warszawa: Oficyna Literatów „Rój", 1990, p. 32.

[6] NICIEJA, Stanisław Sławomir. *Kresowa Atlantyda. Historia i mitologia miast kresowych. Lwów, Stanisławów, Tarnopol, Brzeżany, Borysław*, Opole: Wydawnictwo MS, 2012, pp. 67–68.

[7] These are but several names of those connected to Lviv. The authors of the Borderlands Encyclopaedia mentioned eighty-eight names of those active in the present day at scholarly, cultural and political institutions; KAROLCZUK-KĘDZIERSKA, Monika (ed.) *Encyklopedia Kresów*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kluszczyński, 2004, p. 249.

[8] KACZOROWSKI, Andrzej. „*Pamięć, skarb tułaczy…*" (Witold Szolginia), In: SZOLGINIA, Witold. *Tamten Lwów*, t. 8: *Arcylwowianie,* Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Sudety, 1997, p. 201.

[9] KACZOROWSKI, Andrzej. „*Pamięć, skarb tułaczy…*"… p. 202.

consciousness of the borderlands a Polish identity would be incomplete, one devoid of roots. All of us in Poland therefore come from the Borderlands. Further, we have this awareness, when analysing the history of the Polish nation and the biography of renowned figures and events from the past. That is why the collection and research of memorabilia is so important, so integral to the Leopolis Collection at the Museum.

Museum collection

In the professional literature under the concept of *collection* a defined whole is understood, one of selected components that are usually at a similar level and high value. The essence of a collection therefore is the collection of so-called mobile artefacts according to an earlier established key: artistic, cultural, historical, scientific and cognitive or other.[10]

The International Committee for Collecting, COMCOL, defines collections of objects as dynamic actors to fulfil an institution's mission. In the process of building collections, contacts with collectors (both individual and institutions) are extremely important, because they contribute to the creation and development of museum collections.[11]

Collectors become active participants in museum activities, focusing on ideas and objects important to the institution and creating it. They share their collections with the museum and they become participants in its activities.[12] Collections donated by collectors create or expand museum collections. In this process, it is important to evaluate the materials. According to Markus Walz, one should be guided by historical, artistic, research (scientific) and social significance. Moreover, from the point of view of the museum, the origin, authenticity, category of rarity or representativeness, physical condition, and connection with the mission of the institution are important. Therefore, a multifaceted examination of the collections donated by collectors is indispensable. One should also consider the emotional value of the object and the value assigned to it over time, which is important in shaping memory.[13]

The function of the museum is to preserve the traces of the past in order to pass them on to future generations.[14] Creating a collection depends on the financial capacity of the institution, and hence the free donation of collections by donors is immensely valuable. Creating a collection is one of the basic tasks of museums included in their definition. It is governed by

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[10] KOWALSKI, Wojciech. GWOŹDZIEWICZ-MATAN, Paulina. *Kolekcja*. In: ZEIDLER, Kamila (ed.). *Leksykon prawa ochrony zabytków. 100 podstawowych pojęć*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo C.H.Beck, 2010, pp. 115–116. Please see: ZALASIŃSKA Katarzyna, *Muzealia, zbiory, eksponaty, kolekcja muzealna oraz zasoby muzeum – pojęcia podstawowe w muzealnictwie*. In: STEC, Piotr. P.P. MANIURKA, Piotr, Paweł (eds.). *Kolekcje i zbiory muzealne. Problematyka prawna*, Opole: Wydawnictwo Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2015, pp. 8–15.

[11] MENSCH, Leontine Meijer, MENSCH, Peter. *Participative strategies in collecting the present. Introduction*. In: *Participative strategies in collecting the present*, MENSCH, Leontine Meijer, TIETMEYER, Elisabeth (eds.), Berlin, Berliner Blatter, 2013, pp. 8–9; LAI, Ying Ying. *Museum Collection Re-defined. A Case Study of TOGO Rural Art Museum, Taiwan*. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 2019, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 75–76; CORRAL, Oscar,N.avajas. Ecomuseums in Spain: an analysis of their characteristics and typologies. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 2019, vol. 7, no. 1, p.19.

[12] SIMON, Nina. *The participatory museum*, Santa Cruz: CA. Museum 2.0, 2010, p. 187.

[13] WALZ, Markus. *The selection of cultural assets between research and plebiscite. Five museological points dealing with "collecting 2.0"*. In: MENSCH, Leontine Meijer, TIETMEYER, Elisabeth (eds.). *Participative strategies in collecting the present*. Berlin: Berliner Blatter, pp. 124–126. Please see: ASSMAN, Jan. *Pamięć kulturowa*. In: *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturalna. Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*, SARYUSZ-WOLSKA, Magdalena (ed.), Kraków: Universitas, 2009, pp. 59–100; CHUNG, Yun Shun Susie. Museum Communication, Exhibition Policy and Plan: The Field Museum as a Case Study. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 2019, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 7–21.

[14] VERGO, Peter. *Milczący obiekt*. In: *Muzeum sztuki. Antologia*, POPCZYK, Maria (ed.), Kraków: Universitas, 2005, p. 313.

legal regulations. Detailed rules are contained in the ordinances of the director of the facility.

According to the statute of July 23, 2003 (Dz. U. 2003, no 162, pos. 1568) on the preservation and conservation of relics, a collection is a store of objects collected and organised according to the concept of those responsible for its creation. The collections stored by private individuals end up in museums on the basis of civil law contracts, which result in transferring the ownership of objects (contract of sale, exchange, donation) to the museum. Such stores are materials constituting collections that can be given to the museum as a deposit or loan.[15]

The requirement over time is not only to create museum collections, but also to analyse the process of their development and use in the museum's work and in scientific research.

History of the Leopolis Collection

The Leopolis Collection arose as an initiative of representatives from the Warsaw Delegation of *Towarzystwo Miłośników Lwowa* [Aficionados of Lviv Association].[16] Towards the end of 1992 Aleksandra Garlicka and Jerzy Janicki submitted an official letter on this matter to the director of the Museum of Independence in Warsaw. Indeed, it was good fortune that these two sides found common ground and room for coming to an agreement. In this way the mission of the museum has been realised, one whose sense of identity is to fulfil relevant social tasks.

On the decision of the Institute director, Dr Andrzej Stawarz, on December 18, 1992 the *Kolekcja Leopolis* [Leopolis Collection] at the *Muzeum Niepodległości* [Museum of Independence] in Warsaw was established. In the preamble the particular place of Lviv and the history of Poland and Poles was underscored, with a commitment to "the systematic collection of historical and museum materials, or material and non-material traces of the past that convey the truth and legend on Lviv".[17] According to the founders intentions the establishment of the Leopolis Collection, being a reference to the tradition of the pre-war *Towarzystwo Miłośników Przeszłości Lwowa* [Lviv Aficionados of the Past Association], was to serve towards the preservation of memory and the dissemination of historical heritage. In so doing, it constitutes an integral part of the Museum collections, whereby the institute director is responsible for its oversight and, in turn, designates a curator for the Collection.

A systematic enlargement of the Collection was planned by means of the purchase, transfer and donation from individuals and institutions, and objects with their genesis in exchanges between museums and by means of collection competitions etc. Monies for the purchase of collections were to be accrued on the Museum's sub-account, the so-called Collection Fund. Regardless of the nature and place of storage (Creation of Collections Section, Iconography Section, Chief Stock Taker Section, Museum Library) the collections were to constitute a self-sufficient whole.

Members of the Aficionados of Lviv Association, Warsaw Delegation and representatives of the Museum on January 8, 1993 established a Collection Council, being a think-tank of

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[15] GWOŹDZIEWICZ-MATAN, Paulina. GREDKA-LIGARSKA, Iwona. *Przekazywanie kolekcji na rzecz muzeów na podstawie czynności prawnych intervivos oraz mortis causa*; http://cenezcenne.pl/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/2019-3-4-GREDKA-GWOZDZIEWICZ.pdf [access: 28.12.2020]; ŁADYKA, Natalia. *Pozyskiwanie zbiorów muzealnych,* In: *ABC zarządzania kolekcją muzealną,* Warszawa: NIMOZ, 2014, no 3, pp. 12–21.

[16] The Aficionados of Lviv Association was established in Wrocław and registered there on September 22, 1988. The Warsaw Delegation was registered on December 17, 1988. WIÓRKIEWICZ, Helena. *Kolekcja Leopolis Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie.* In: *10 lat Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie 1990–2000. Księga Pamiątkowa,* Warszawa: Muzeum Niepodległości, 2000, p. 127.

[17] Directive number 22, December 18, 1992 of the Museum of Independence Director in Warsaw, regarding the establishment of the Leopolis Collection.

the Museum director in matters related to the Collection. It constituted eighteen people,[18] for whom the Lviv subject matter was very familiar. Jerzy Janicki was elected chair (radio and television script writer, playwright and journalist). For the purposes of liaison with the Museum the following Collection curators were designated: Ryszard Brykowski, Aleksandra Garlicka and Tadeusz Rudkowski. Those present passed a resolution for the Council regulations and principles of managing the Collection fund.[19] Helena Wiórkiewicz was elected curator for the Leopolis Collection at the Museum and Witold Szolginia designed the Collection logo.

The "Lviv Rare Book" exhibition initiated the functioning of the Leopolis Collection on May 5, 1993. This was an occasion to interest a broader group of those interested in Lviv subject matter as well as a means of strengthening collaboration with those from Lviv. This was the time in fact when the first donations came (about 300 exhibits given by six donors) to the Collection. Further, the Museum coffers began filling, thanks to which it was possible to buy valuable exhibits such as, for example, the purchase in 1993 at the UNICUM auction house the painting by Marcel Harasimowicz "A Panorama of Lwów", 1914.

Contents of the Leopolis Collection

The Leopolis Collection has its roots in the hobbies of those from the Borderlands. For them, collecting was – as would write Janusz Wasylkowski – "a substitute for unfulfilled love, professional ambition not realised, an escape into the world of fantasy mixed with an audacious imagination and even an escape from nightmares that would nag even when awake".[20]

To the museum's collection there were sent photographs, postcards and various mementos from families that came from Lviv. Borderlands organisations were often intermediaries, inspiring the members to comb their family archives. The list of donors is very large indeed. In the first year of the Collection the Museum received in sum 560 objects from twelve donors and, in addition, bought fifty such. The first donors were: Witold Szolginia (Warsaw), Ewa Jęczalik (Wrocław), Barbara Mroczek (Bytom), Artur Leinwand (Warsaw), Stanisław Ożóg (Warsaw), Władysława Lesnobrodzka-Włoczewska (Warsaw), Leszek Fabrycki (Warsaw), Krzysztof Lubziński (Dębica), Zofia Rysiówna-Hanuszkiewicz (Warsaw), Janusz Wasylkowski (Warsaw), Wanda Straszyńska (Warsaw) and Irena Szenderowicz (Great Britain).

To take the first five years of the Collection, seventy donors gave around 1700 objects.[21] At present the Collection numbers already over 5000 objects donated by over 100 donors living in twenty-five cities in Poland and abroad.[22] The Leopolis Collection contains realia, postcards, photographs, archival materials and family mementos. These document the annals of Lviv during the partition and that of the Second Polish Republic as well as being witness to the life of Lviv families. The materials given are of a sentimental value for donors, but from

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[18] Józef Bobrowski, Ryszard Brykowski, Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Aleksandra Garlicka, Marian Garlicki, Jerzy Janicki, Jerzy Kołaczkowski, Zofia Kurzowa, Artur Leinwand, Janusz Majewski, Krystyna Maszumańska-Nazar, Stanisław Sławomir Nicieja, Tadeusz Rudkowski, Witold Szolginia, Janusz Wasylkowski, Jerzy Węgierski, Władysław Zalewski, Mirosław Żuławski, Magdalena Bajer, Aleksandra Leinwand, Bożena Krupska, Piotr Piniński.

[19] These matters were regulated by Directive number 17, November 19, 1993 of the Museum of Independence Director in Warsaw, regarding the utilisation of the Leopolis Collection Fund.

[20] WASYLKOWSKI, Janusz. *Notatki kolekcjonera*. In: *Kresy Wschodnie Rzeczypospolitej. Ziemia i ludzie*, Warszawa: Muzeum Niepodległości, 1997, b.p.

[21] A full list of names is given in WIÓRKIEWICZ, Helena. *Kolekcja Leopolis Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie*, „Niepodległość i Pamięć" 1999, no 1 (14), pp. 224–225.

[22] WIÓRKIEWICZ, Helena. II Muzealne Spotkania z Kresami. Z prac nad organizacją konferencji i przygotowaniem publikacji. In: *Rocznik Kresowy*, 2017, no 3, p. 146.

the Museum's point of view they are a uniquely valuable source of knowledge on Lviv and its residents, allowing us to "construct a valuable whole – a picture of the life of the city's residents – one that is no more". [23]

The materials collected over time relate first and foremost to the history of Lviv during the partitions and the Second Polish Republic, while a small section of materials relates to South-East Małopolska and the East-Northern Borderlands.

In the Collection itself it is possible to identify several thematic groups. First, there are photographs – individual, group, documentary and so-called tableaux. Next, there are postcards – family documents as well as those of community life and those from publishing houses. Last, there are iconographies of Lviv – drawings with views of the city from the turn of the twentieth century, photographs and postcards published by the known Lviv company Książnica-Atlas in 1937–1939, photographs taken by Michał Stanisław Progulski and engravings by Ludwik Tyrowicz. Of particular value is the oil painting by Stanisław Kaczor Batowski *Reduta Najmłodszych* (1938) and the cycle of seventeen watercolours by Tadeusz Pobóg-Rossowski. Moreover, the Collection boasts thirty-one contemporary watercolours by Zbigniew Gumienny from the period 1976–1991, drawings by Władysław Szczepański and watercolours by the Ukrainian painter Aleksander Franko.

Another section of the Collection contains plans, guides and vade mecums of Lviv and the Lviv province. In this respect, one of the collections of interest relates to paraphernalia and documents of community life, press publications, medals and memorabilia related to World War I and battles over Lviv in 1918–1920. From the period of World War II (1939–1944) there are amateur photographs, testaments, ID cards, Polish, Ukrainian and German press publications, iconographic materials, archival materials, cartographic materials and printed matter presenting community and business life in Lviv. In addition, documentation has survived from production plants such as the power plant at Persenkówce and the *Miejskie Zakłady Elektryczne* (City Power Plant), as well as documentation of the *Targi Wschodnie* (Eastern Fair).

A major part of the collections contains materials presenting the work of institutions, schools and universities as well as community organisations: Lviv Polytechnic and the University of Jan Kazimierz in Lviv, or *Towarzystwo Popierania Turystyki* (Tourism Promotion Association), for example. In this respect the most valuable are objects relating to the Lviv University: unique, decorative graduation diplomas of congratulations related to the 250th anniversary of the universities founding, invitations and the diplomas documenting international Lviv contacts, the professorial gown and headwear of Professor Michał Stanisław Progulski (1874–1941), doctoral and masters diplomas, student record books, student IDs, student records, printed lecture programmes and transcripts of speeches by rectors. Among the memorabilia is the official record book of doctoral supervisions with 385 alphabetical records of doctoral students for the period from October 30, 1891 to December 1, 1900. From the Lviv Polytechnic there have been preserved several documents for a number of students from the period 1901–1940 (graduation diplomas, student record books, student IDs, university matriculation files) and photographs (tableaux) of graduates. In addition, the Collection has received a considerable number of materials relating to primary and high school education in Lviv (photographs, badges and documents), which constitute a valuable source of knowledge on the history of schools and the history of its graduates and teachers.

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[23] SKOCZEK, Tadeusz. ŻYWEK, Łukasz. Kolekcja Leopolis w zbiorach Muzeum Niepodległości, In: *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, 2014, no 3-4 (47–48), p. 287.

Also, pre-war Lviv radio circles present a very valuable set of formal documentation: *Wesoła Lwowska Fala* (Merry Waves of Lviv) in the period 1933–1939, then during World War II presented as the artistic group *Czołówka Teatralna Wojska Polskiego Nr 1 "Lwowska Fala"* (Polish Army Theatre Aces No.1 "Waves of Lviv"), which was collected by its members Kazimierz Jan Wajda "Szczepko", Henryk Vogelfänger "Tońko", Włada Majewska and Józef Wieszczek. These materials constitute varia (photographs, invitations, announcements and programmes, press clippings with reviews) from the period 1934–1945 and eight volumes of printed monologues, dialogues, sketches and songs of the *Lwowska Fala* from November 1939 to December 1946 (mainly by Wiktor Budzyński), printed programmes and announcements of performances and concerts, photographs of individual artists and the entire group, six albums of commemorative books of travel and performances containing entries by the audience, reviews, photographs and letters.

For the researcher-biographer, of particular interest are the private collections of several Lviv families. These contain photographs, personal documents (birth certificates, certificates of christenings and weddings, diplomas, work certificates, securities, business cards etc.) as well as various objects from family collections. It is on this basis that it is possible to recreate a picture of community, political and cultural life in Lviv and the part particular families played in it. Among the well-known Lviv families whose collections were donated to the Museum Collection, it is worth noting the following families: Drexler, Gorczyński, Progulski, Pasławski, Skierski, Zalewski, Jurkowski, Rybak, Klimowicz, Złotnicki, Zych and Zbrożk. These materials are both family memorabilia and a witness to the lives of the city and its people, among them those of artists and thinkers.

Many of these materials therefore are related to the very lives of people who left their own stamp on the history of Lviv and that of its surrounding lands. In this context, it is worth noting Ludwik Zalewski and his pastry shop at ul. Akademicka, Władysław Zych who fought for Lviv in 1919, and later on the Silesia insurgent Józef Mieczysław Michał Pawluk, who for his entire life was tied to Lviv (fought for Lviv, later Lviv official). In addition, of particular value are the photographs and documents relating to the education and professional work of the Lviv ophthalmologist Teodor Karol Bałłaban. Family mementos have also been preserved of the Lviv Gorczyński doctors. Among the family memorabilia belonging to Stanisław Fiałkiewicz, director of the tax office in Lviv, apart from the photographs and documents that have been preserved there are also fragments of a porcelain dowry set from his wife (Kazimierz Lewicki, Lviv). There are also many precious mementos related to the Klimowicz family and two generations of collections from the Mroczek family related to the pastry chef Zalewski as well as documents and photographs outlining the history of four generations of the Skierski family.

The Collection also has many objects of everyday use from Lviv shops, production plants and homes (devices for whipping cream, a tin from Ludwik Zalewski's pastry company, a doctor's thermometer from the Piotr Mikolasch apothecary, a clothes hanger from the Lviv shop at ul. Sykstuska and a coloured mug for drinking mineral water in Truskawiec).

Thus both materials from families and personal mementos from individuals constitute a jigsaw puzzle by which to recreate the history of the city's citizens, those who made the city a special place.

In addition, materials have been added to the Collection that paint a picture of other parts of the eastern lands of the former Second Polish Republic. Among these are engravings (mostly

the lithographs by A. Misierowicz based on the drawings of N. Orda), drawings, watercolours and postcards. Deserving particular note are the *Wołyń* and *Vilnius* photograph albums – there are also guides, vade mecums and some issues of Borderlands newspapers.

Complimentary to these Museum materials is a library collection of books relating according to subject and place to Lviv as well as a collection of Borderlands journals (including Lviv). In the Museum of Independence library there is a collection of contemporary journals on the Eastern Borderlands of the former Second Polish Republic, pre-1939 borders, which in the main come from donations. In addition, it has been possible to obtain Borderlands press items published in London: *Biuletyn Koła Lwowian* (Lviv Circles Bulletin), *Kwartalnik Kresowy* (Borderlands Quarterly), *Biuletyn Związku Ziem Wschodnich RP* (Polish Eastern Lands Association Bulletin) and *Zeszyty Lwowskie* (Lviv Gazette). Among the titles published in Poland in the museum there are, among others, the following: *Semper Fidelis*, *Cracovia-Leopolis*, *Biuletyn Informacyjny Oddziału Stołecznego TMLiKPW* (TMLiKPW Warsaw Delegation Information Bulletin), *Rocznik Lwowski* (Lviv Annual), *Przegląd Wschodni* (Eastern Review), *Wołyń Bliżej* (Wolyń Eye), *Biuletyn Informacyjny TMLiKPW Oddział Kraków'* (TMLiKPW Kraków Delegation Information Bulletin) and *Biuletyn Informacyjny Ogólnopolskiego Oddziału* Żolnierzy *AK Obszaru Lwowskiego im. Orląt Lwowskich (*ŚZŻAK Home Army "Lviv Green Eagles" National Delegation Information Bulletin).

Exhibitions created from the Leopolis Collection

The main motive for the creation of the Leopolis Collection was to document the life of Lviv and the presence of Poles in its history. The collected materials were made use of, among others, in the exhibitions of the Museum of Independence. For every exhibit on the Borderlands a thorough search was essential of the Museum resources and relevant institutions in Poland and abroad. The Collection becomes therefore the first and often most important area of research.

Exhibitions that can be classified as of the Borderlands are those Museum exhibitions where exhibits are presented from the Borderlands or such whose main subject is the history and culture of the Borderlands. In this respect, Magdalena Sacha identified three categories of Borderlands exhibitions, depending on the presence of a particular subject matter within them: exhibitions presenting the heritage of the Borderlands as the main motif, those with a Borderlands theme as an element of exhibitions from its own collection and, last, exhibitions aiming at preserving memory on the history of the Borderlands (in particular communities that were resettled).[24]

As previously mentioned, the first exhibition on the subject of Lviv, entitled *Lviv Rare Books*, was opened on May 5, 1993 (open until June 15). It was created with the use of the private collections of Jerzy Janicki, Witold Szolginia and Janusz Wasylkowski. These were memorabilia (over 600 exhibits) documenting family life and various aspects of community life in Lviv. Witold Szolginia presented interesting collections illustrating the life of scholars and culture in Lviv from the middle of the nineteenth century up to the outbreak of World War II, materials documenting the work of the artistic group *Wesoła Lwowska Fala*. In the last week of the exhibition an additional section was organised, containing sixty-five donations presented to the

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[24] It is difficult to relate this division of exhibitions prepared at the Museum of Independence on the basis of the Leopolis Collection, though the author places these exhibitions in category two. SACHA, Magdalena Izabella. Los niewidoczny? Kresy i kresowanie jako temat ekspozycji muzealnych po 1989 roku. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 2019, no 60, p. 117.

Leopolis Collection. Also the *Lviv Rare Book* exhibition had a pamphlet with a text by Witold Szolginia, *Wyznanie* (Credo), where he went on to describe his collections as "a chip of that long gone time, magical catalyst of memory". [25]

From May 27 to July 10, 1994 a large exhibition was arranged in the Museum of donations and materials purchased from the Leopolis Collection. On account of the limited exhibition space, only the most valuable and most interesting exhibits were presented – in all 424 artefacts were shown. The exhibition was divided into two parts. The first was an unrepeatable sentimental voyage to pre-war Lviv and the other – entitled *Oczyma szarego człowieka* – illustrated contemporary Lviv on the drawings of Władysław Szczepański.

The exhibition, *Dary i nabytki Leopolis* (Donations and Procurements), *Collection Museum of Independence in Warsaw*, was accompanied by the *Weekend Lwowski* (June 25–26) event, where a meeting with Witold Szolginia and a session of films on Lviv took place. [26] The closing of the exhibition was honoured with a meeting with Janusz Wasylkowski.

The yearly exhibitions organised on Lviv became a Museum tradition. In 1995 – on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the *Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze* (Folklore Association) in Lviv – an exhibition was prepared at the Museum of Independence, *We Lwowie przed stu laty. U źródeł Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego* (In Lviv a Hundred Years Ago. The Provenance of the Polish Folklore Association). This exhibition was of an historic and ethnographic nature, presenting Lviv in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and providing a reminder of the most splendid of the work of the above association (1895–1905) and one of the main research areas – Huculszczyzna. Therefore many examples of its folk arts were shown, both from the Museum collections and private ones. Moreover, other museums in Poland and the *Lwowska Galeria Obrazów* (Lviv Gallery of Paintings) lent exhibits. It should be added that this exhibition received a distinction at the national competition for *Najważniejsze Wydarzenie Muzealne Roku 1995* (The Most Important Museum Event of 1995).

The exhibition was complemented by accompanying events. Apart from the traditional *Weekend Lwowski* with Szolginia and Wasylkowski, two lectures were organised, one by Zygmunt Klodnicki on Lviv during the workings of the *Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze* and the other by Stefan Rosiński on Huculszczyźna. The ceremonial closing of the exhibition (January 1996) was honoured by Janusz Wasylkowski's lecture on Lviv carnivals and a performance by a band from Lviv.

From September 17, 1997 to January 18, 1998 at the Museum of Independence the public were able to view the exhibition *Kresy Wschodnie Rzeczypospolitej. Ziemia i ludzie* (The Eastern Borderlands of Poland. Land and People), which was initiated by Janusz Wasylkowski (Lviv Institute). At the exhibition, in terms of history, ethnography and geography, the history of the Borderlands from the end of the eighteenth century up to 1939 was illustrated. As Andrzej Stawarz emphasised, the aim of the exhibition was to leave guests after they had left the Museum "with the conviction that the Eastern Borderlands were not a mythical land of otherworldly exoticism, but as an important – perhaps discovered anew – element of Polish culture, one deep in our hearts and minds". [27]

The exhibition was divided into three parts. In the first, based on maps, engravings and

[25] WIÓRKIEWICZ, Helena. Witold Szolginia 1923–1996. In: *Niepodległość i Pamięć,* 1996, no 2 (6), p. 214.

[26] As part of the *Weekend Lwowski* the following films were shown: „Wszystko dla Orląt" (reż. Z. Kowalewski), „Włóczęgi" (reż. M. Waszyński), „Mój Lwów (reż. W. Gołaszewski), „Będzie lepiej – z udziałem Szczepcia i Tońcia".

[27] STAWARZ, Andrzej. Słowo wstępne. In: *Kresy Wschodnie Rzeczypospolitej. Ziemi i ludzie*, Warszawa: Muzeum Niepodległości, 1997, b.p.

paintings, the Borderlands were presented in a historical perspective. The second, main part, presented Borderlands provinces of the Second Polish Republic through their history, relics and particular features. The last part took place on September 17 and related to the final period of the Borderlands in the Polish Republic.[28]

In all, 1216 objects from thirty-six museums, libraries and archives as well as private collections were presented.[29] It is worth adding that this was the first such in Poland devoted entirely to the Eastern Borderlands. Its initiator and organiser was Helena Wiórkiewicz and the architectural as well as artistic design belonged to Marta Kodym. The jury of the national competition recognised the attributes of the exhibition and awarded it *Najważniejsze Wydarzenie Muzealne 1997*, (The Most Important Museum Event of 1997), whereupon its creators received an award.[30]

Materials making up the Leopolis Collection and memorabilia from Marian Przyślewicz served to make up an exhibition of posters, *W osiemdziesiątą rocznicę obrony Lwowa 1918–1919. Dokumenty i materiały* (The 80th Anniversary of the Defence of Lviv 1918–1919. Documents and Materials), November 20–29, 1998. This was the first time some documents and announcements were presented – those issued by various organisations during the Battle of Lviv in *Druki Wojskowe* (Army Journal) November 1–22, 1918).

In subsequent years subject matter related to the Borderlands (including Lviv) appeared sporadically. In this context, it is worth noting the exhibition *Kresy w fotografii Henryka Poddębskiego* (Borderlands in the Photography of Henryk Poddębski), January 2011, where Lviv accents also appeared. Here, there was also a lecture by Małgorzata Florczak (PAN Institute of the Arts) and Professor Jan Lewandowski (UMSC).

The most recent exhibition, *Kresy i bezkresy w zbiorach Muzeum Niepodległości* (Borderlands and Open Frontiers in Museum of Independence Collections), was prepared in 2020, where several aspects of the subject *Miasto Semper Fidelis* (heroic battles in defence of Lviv 1918–1919) were presented: *Lwów się bawi* (Party Time in Lviv) – Lviv culture, first and foremost a part devoted to the *Wesoła Lwowska Fala* as well as iconography related to the cultural life of Lviv and places connected to this. Further, there was a discussion on *Między duchem a materią…* (Between the Spiritual and the Material) – the workings of Lviv higher education institutions (University of Jan Kazimierz, Lviv Polytechnic, Academy of Overseas Trade, Academy of Veterinary Medicine) and that of *Pieśń dzisiaj niech miłowana – z przewonnych* łąk *duszy zwiana* (Let Us Love Song Today – On Meadows Scented in Spirit Lay); society and its people on the example of Lviv families.[31]

All the exhibitions mentioned above are examples of the use of collections that make up the materials of the Leopolis Collection for Museum purposes. This, it can be said, is a splendid means of popularising knowledge on the Borderlands, helping people become familiar with the Polish history of these lands and a means of reminding us all about the people that come to make up history as we know it in that part of the world.

[28] WIÓRKIEWICZ, Helena. Wystawa. In: *Kresy Wschodnie Rzeczypospolitej. Ziemia i ludzie*, Warszawa: Muzeum Niepodległości, 1997, b.p.

[29] This was made up of 51 oil paintings, 123 watercolours, drawings, lithographs, 26 posters and announcements, 269 photographs, 263 postcards, 25 maps and plans, 190 ethnographic relics, 148 various prints and 100 other objects.

[30] WIÓRKIEWICZ, Helena. Kresy Wschodnie Rzeczypospolitej. Ziemia i ludzie Wystawa w Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie. In: *Niepodległość i Pamięć*,1999, no 1 (14), pp. 247–264.

[31] BĄKAŁA, Krzysztof. *Kresy i bezkresy w zbiorach Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie*, Warszawa: Muzeum Niepodległości, 2020, pp. 2–4.

Apart from exhibitions on the Borderlands that have been organised at the Museum, the materials from the Leopolis Collection were presented in other exhibition spaces and devoted to various events and people tied to Lviv itself. As an example of how such collections may be used is the exhibition *The Leopolis Collection*, organised by the Museum of Independence in the Polish Radio building in Warsaw and in the accompanying conference *Polskie Radio na Kresach Wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej* (Polish Radio in the Eastern Borderlands, II Polish Republic) organised by the Archives of Polish Radio in November 2013.[32] This was on the occasion of the eighty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of Polish Radio in Vilnius and the eightieth anniversary of the first radio programme, *Wesoła Lwowska Fala*, as well as the seventy-fifth anniversary of the establishment of Polish Radio in Baranowicze.

It is worth noting in this place also that both the work related to the collection and the preparation of materials as well as their dissemination to the wider public at organised exhibitions has gained acceptance by the broader public. By force of the resolution of the Foundation Board, *Pomoc Polakom na Wschodzie* (Help for Poles in the East), on September 29, 2004, the Collection curator Helena Wiórkiewicz was awarded the Honorary Medal of the Foundation, *Meritus Patriae*. In 2005 the chairman of the Warsaw Delegation of TMLiKPW, Father Janusz Popławski, awarded Museum Director Andrzej Stawarz the *Złota Odznaka Towarzystwa Miłośników Lwowa* (Lviv Aficionados Association Gold Medal), showing appreciation for his work for the preservation of memory on Polish culture in the Borderlands. On the occasion of the Jubilee, Thirty years of the Warsaw Delegation, Aficionados of Lviv and South-Eastern Borderlands Association, on December 16, 2018 the Museum was honoured with a medal and received gratitude for "preserving and managing the Leopolis Collection".

Research conducted, making use of the Collection

It is difficult not to agree with the view of Łukasz Żywek, who emphasises that:

> Behind every, even ordinary object, there is a history that is worth preserving. Lviv memorabilia are subject to the wear and tear of time and in several years without professional conservation and preservation they may be beyond our retrieval. Thus in finding their place at the Leopolis Collection, Museum of Independence in Warsaw, they come under professional conservation and lend themselves to increasing our knowledge on this important city for Poland. [33]

The Leopolis Collection – this treasure trove of Borderlands memorabilia – also constitutes a continuing goldmine of knowledge on the history of the Borderlands. It has been made use of many a time, though as yet insufficiently. For the most part, the specialists at the Museum of Independence access these materials, initiating research for the purposes of exhibitions or so as to lay the groundwork for scholarly articles or papers at conferences on Borderlands subject matter.

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[32] The Polish Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Political Studies were co-organisers of the conference under the aegis of the Honourable Jan Dworak, Chair of the National Radio and Television Board and Longin Komołowski, Chair of the Association for a United Poland. The conference was hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of Cooperation with Polonia and Poles with TVP Historia as media patron.

[33] ŻYWEK, Łukasz. Kolekcja Leopolis Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie, In: *Lwowski Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 2015, no 1(74), p. 14.

Many such texts are published in Museum journals such as *Niepodległość i Pamięć* (Independence and Memory) and *Rocznik Kresowy* (Borderlands Annual). In this context it is worth mentioning that three special issues of the former, *Niepodległość i Pamięć* – 'Kresy Wschodnie Rzeczypospolitej' (Independence and Memory – 'Polish Eastern Borderlands'), have been published. They are, respectively: *W obronie polskości* (1999) (In Defence of Polishness), *Historia i pamięć Lwowa* (2006) (History and Memory of Lviv) and *Wołyń: historia i dziedzictwo* (2008) (Wołyn: History and Heritage). The single-subject issues had the aim of making readers familiar on a broader scale with the relevant topic. It should also be noted that in the issue devoted to the history of Lviv a text by Mirosława Pałaszewska was devoted to memorabilia left by Władysław Zych.[34]

Helena Wiórkiewicz has written articles devoted to memorabilia belonging to the Drexler family. On the basis of collected materials she completed research and published in the journal *Niepodległość i Pamięć* a study on the history of the Drexler family and their contribution to the development of Polish culture in the Borderlands.[35] Wiórkiewicz also presented this research at the *II Muzealne Spotkania z Kresami* (2nd Museum Convention) in 2011, where her paper was published in post-conference materials.[36]

In this context the journal *Rocznik Kresowy* (published by the Museum of Independence since 2015) has provided a relatively new base for the scholarly exchange of views – a journal devoted to the preservation of the memory of lands lost as a result of political or military decisions.[37] It is in this journal that articles are published as a result of research conducted at the Leopolis Collection[38] as well as those discussing specific objects such as, for example, the drawings of Tadeusz Pobóg-Rossowski[39] or *Słownik gwary lwowskiej* (Dictionary of Lviv Dialect) by Kazimierz Schleyen.[40]

General research at the Leopolis Collection in addition allows for the preparation of interesting papers presented during research conferences – scholarly work that has been and continues to be undertaken at the Museum. This not only constitutes a so-called popularisation of stored materials from the Leopolis Collection, but also a dissemination of knowledge on the contribution of Polish citizens in the annals of Borderlands cities and circles.

As already mentioned, research on memorabilia connected with the artists of the *Lwowska Fala* has been undertaken by Łukasz Żywek, who created a portrait of Włada Majewska[41] in a paper at the *XVI Międzynarodowe Sympozjum Biografistyki Polonijnej, Lwowianie w* świecie (16th International Symposium on Polonia Biography Studies: Lviv People Across the World), Warsaw,

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[34] PAŁASZEWSKA, Mirosława. Pamiątki po Władysławie Zychu. In: *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, 2006, no 3 (24), pp. 347–362.

[35] WIÓRKIEWICZ, Helena. Pamiątki lwowskiej rodziny Drexlerów w zbiorach Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie : dar Jadwigi Kern-Bałaty. In: *Niepodległość i Pamięć,* 2013, no 3-4 (43–44), pp. 305–367.

[36] WIÓRKIEWICZ, Helena. Pamiątki lwowskiej rodziny Drexlerów w zbiorach Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie. In: *Dziedzictwo i pamięć Kresów Wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej. II Muzealne Spotkania z Kresami*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Muzeum Niepodległości, 2017, pp. 243–299.

[37] SKOCZEK, Tadeusz. Zamiast wstępu. In: *Rocznik Kresowy*, 2015, no 1, p. 5.

[38] ZAŁĘCZNY, Jolanta. Smakowanie Lwowa. Ludwik i Władysław Zalewscy oraz ich cukiernia. In: *Rocznik Kresowy*, 2016, no 2, pp. 103–130.

[39] ŚWIERZEWSKA, Olga.„… krocząc wśród pocisków i ognia”. Lwów 1918–1919 w obrazkach Tadeusza Pobóg-Rossowskiego. In: *Rocznik Kresowy*, 2018, no 4, pp. 93–160. The text was previously published in the journal *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, 1998, no 4 (13), pp. 113–136.

[40] BĄKAŁA, Krzysztof. Słownik gwary lwowskiej Kazimierza Roberta Schleyena ze zbiorów Muzeum Niepodległości. In: *Rocznik Kresowy*, 2018, no 4, pp. 173–187.

[41] ŻYWEK, Łukasz. Włada Majewska – muza „Lwowskiej Fali”. In: GMITRUK, Janusz. JYDYCKI, Zbigniew. SKOCZEK, Tadeusz (eds.). *Lwowianie w świecie*. Warszawa: Fundacja Polonia Semper Fidelis, 2017, pp. 199–207.

November 17, 2017. This author also addressed the work of Lwowska Fala in emigration with the aid of extant comprehensive collections, presenting our research at the conference *Polskie wychodźstwo i jego przyczyny podczas II wojny* światowej *i po jej zakończeniu* (Polish Emigration and Its Causes During WWII and Thereafter) organised by Światowa *Rada Badań nad Polonią i Instytut Nauk Historycznych* (Polonia World Research Council and Institute of Historical Sciences), Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw on November 24–25, 2018. In addition, based on the materials at the Leopolis Collection, the paper *Kresowe biografie wpisane w wojnę 1939 roku* (Borderlands Biographies Written in War 1939) was presented at the conference *A jednak wojna… Rok 1939 na Kresach Wschodnich i Zachodnich* (War in Fact… The Year 1939 in Eastern and Western Borderlands) at the Górnośląski Museum in Bytom on November 22, 2019.[42]

Various materials relating to correspondence constitute another highly interesting research resource at the Leopolis Collection. It should be noted that letters are no easy matter when it comes to researching them, first and foremost in respect to the difficulty of deciphering handwriting. This may indeed explain the relatively small number of research works on correspondence itself. It is possible, nonetheless, to note that Łukasz Żywek conducted research on a letter from Kazimierz Bartel to Rudolf Kaczorowski,[43] whereas the present author conducted a study of correspondence between Florentyna Skierska and Zofia Romanowiczówna.[44]

Moreover, there are also texts discussing the history of those people connected with Lviv or, more widely, the Borderlands.[45] It should also not be forgotten that photographs from the Leopolis Collection are made use of as an important graphic material.[46] This collection is also utilised by researchers beyond the Museum itself, though there the research is as a rule of a complementary nature, whereby the relevant materials are not referred to either in footnotes or the relevant bibliography.

Research Recommendations

The Leopolis Collection has yet to see a research project commensurate with its importance and breadth of materials. To date the most comprehensive has been conducted by Helena Wiórkiewicz in relation to publications on the history of the Collection and some of its elements. In this respect memorabilia connected to the *Wesoła Lwowska Fala* have seen the most such, documenting among others, books of commemoration that were coined by Witold Szolginia as "*companions of Lviv pilgrimage*".[47] All the materials preserved in the Museum relating to the *Lwowska Fala* constitute – according to Wiórkiewicz – important documentation of the

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[42] ZAŁĘCZNY, Jolanta. Kresowe biografie wpisane w wojnę 1939 roku, In: FIC, Maciej. LUSEK, Joanna. ZA-ŁĘCZNY, Jolanta (eds.). *A jednak wojna… Rok 1939 na Kresach Wschodnich i Zachodnich.* Bytom–Warszawa–Katowice: Muzeum Górnośląskiego, Muzeum Niepodległości, Uniwersytet Śląski, 2020, pp. 232–253.

[43] ŻYWEK, Łukasz. Kolekcja Leopolis. List prof. Kazimierza Bartla do Rudolfa Kaczorowskiego, Lwów, 6.01.1922. In: *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, 2016, no 4, pp. 239–243.

[44] ZAŁĘCZNY, Jolanta. Kobiece troski, pasje i marzenia w listach Florentyny Skierskiej (1839–1890) do przyjaciółki Zofii Romanowiczówny. In: KITA, Jarosław. KORYBUT-MARCINIAK, Maria (eds.). *Życie prywatne Polaków w XIX wieku. t. VII. Prywatne światy zamknięte w listach.* Łódź-Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2018, pp. 149–163.

[45] PAŁASZEWSKA, Mirosława. Kolekcja generała Romana Abrahama (1891–1976) w Muzeum Niepodległości. In: *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, 2009, no 16/2 (30), pp. 319–344.

[46] GARLICKA, Aleksandra. „Ex orientelux" kultura i nauka we Lwowie 1772–1939. Szkic. In: *Niepodległość i Pamięć,* 2006, no 13/3 (24), pp. 71–92.

[47] WIÓRKIEWICZ, Helena. „Księgi pielgrzymstwa lwowskiego" w zbiorach Kolekcji Leopolis Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie. In: *Dziedzictwo i pamięć Kresów Wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały I Muzealnych Spotkań z Kresami*, Warszawa: Muzeum Niepodległości, 2009, pp. 145–165..

life of Lviv and its people in respect to the theatre and the city's history, which are exceptionally valuable both in terms of exhibits and research.[48]

Collections relating to particular individuals and families have been the focus of considerable research on the part of this author. Apart from the above-mentioned correspondence of Florentyna Skierska and Zofia Romanowiczówna, the Klimowicz[49] and Zalewski[50] families and their memorabilia, the contribution of Mieczysław Mroczek[51] as well as the work and poetry of Maria Mazurek have all seen studies from the above author.[52] The research in this area has also borne fruit in radio programmes on the Borderlands, to take the example of the Lviv family pastry chefs presented in the Christmas radio broadcast *Święta w Jedynce*. This particular formal popularisation of such materials would appear to be particularly important for building a picture of the Borderlands and Lviv in the minds of contemporary generations of Poles.

Yet still more exceptionally valuable materials await research and organisation – for example, there are studies deservedly awaited that will address the history of Lviv families (among others Jurkowski, Skierski, Górzyński, Złotnicki and Klimowicz). Moreover, of particular interest are archival materials bringing into relief education in the city, including memorabilia of teachers such as Oktawia Grząski[53] and the Wowkun sisters Franciszka and Ludwika. Further, there are many documents from the Lviv Polytechnic and the University of Jan Kazimierz that bring into light much valuable information on scholarly activities. There are also exhibits with their genesis in Lviv institutions and shops (tins, product containers, bottles) increasing our knowledge on the everyday life of this Borderlands city. Last, there are numerous works of art deserving of wider interest both in respect to their subjects and the artists themselves.

In reminding of the process of establishing Museum collections it is worth noting one more matter concerning the nature of organisation itself. Łukasz Żywek, author of an invaluable study on the people of Vilnius in the collections of the Museum, suggested establishing – on the basis of the Leopolis Collection – one large Borderlands Collection into which all other stores and materials related to the Eastern Borderlands of the Polish Republic be added, which at present constitute separate parts (Krzemieniec Collection, Vilnius Varia).[54]

Notwithstanding how Museum specialists will view the functioning of the Leopolis Collection, it is appropriate to call for a further systematic enlargement of materials gained from donors or archives. This in turn requires making contact with Lviv individuals and their heirs.[55]

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[48] WIÓRKIEWICZ, Helena. Kolekcja Leopolis Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie. In: *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, 1999, no 1 (14), pp. 235–242.

[49] ZAŁĘCZNY, Jolanta. Pamiątki rodziny Klimowiczów w Kolekcji Leopolis Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie. In: *Rocznik Muzeum Górnośląskiego w Bytomiu*. 2016, no 10, pp. 101–114.

[50] ZAŁĘCZNY, Jolanta. Smakowanie Lwowa. Ludwik i Władysław Zalewscy i ich cukiernia. In: *Rocznik Kresowy*, 2016, no 3, pp. 103–130.

[51] ZAŁĘCZNY, Jolanta. Szkic do lwowskich losów rodziny Mroczków. In: *Rocznik Lwowski*, 2017, pp. 105–147; eadem, Mieczysław Mroczek (1889-1939) – zwykły obrońca niezwykłego miasta. In: KOSESKI, Adam. SKO-CZEK, Tadeusz. ZAŁĘCZNY, Jolanta (eds.). *W drugim szeregu. Bohaterowie walk o niepodległość*, Warszawa-Pułtusk: Wydawnictwo Muzeum Niepodległości, Akademia Humanistyczna w Pułtusku, 2019, pp. 57–68.

[52] ZAŁĘCZNY, Jolanta. Maria Mazurkówna z Lwowa – sekretarka GTOZ, opiekunka przyrody i miłośniczka histo-rii. In: *Wrocławskie Studia Wschodnie*, 2020, no 24, pp. 221–236.

[53] Her recollections were published in 1999: Oktawia Grząska, *Byłam więźniarką NKWD*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Muzeum Niepodległości 1999.

[54] ŻYWEK, Łukasz. *Vilniana w zbiorach Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawi*e, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Muzeum Niepodległości, 2017, p. 11.

[55] Please see: GŁOWACKA-GRAJPER, Małgorzata. *Transmisja pamięci. Działacze „sfery pamięci" i przekaz o Kresach Wschodnich we współczesnej Polsce*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2016.

Therefore of extreme use would be the close and long-term planning of cooperation with Borderlands associations, which – in bringing together Polish citizens from the Borderlands and their families – would constitute a natural partner in Museum activities. Journals published by such an organisation (i.e. *Cracovia Leopolis*) would make for an ideal platform to present information and establish contact with those from the Borderlands.

Also of vital interest, would be a closer cooperation with museums that concern themselves with the Borderlands, which there is no lack of.[56] No doubt many specialists in these institutions would more than happily take advantage of the possibility of using the Leopolis Collection in their work on the materials at hand. It would appear therefore that its contents are still known only to those at the Museum of Independence, for though we live in an age of the almighty and omnipresent Internet, knowledge on the resources stored in Museum so-called dungeons is by no means widespread. Perhaps therefore it is worth creating, based on the project of storing and digitalising data on the heritage of the Eastern Borderlands (www.kresyMuseum.pl), an accessible Internet catalogue of the Leopolis Collection for everyone – though this particular enterprise requires additional funding.

Taking into account therefore that in Poland as such as many as 4.3 to 4 .6 million people over eighteen admit to having Borderlands roots,[57] popularising the subject of the Borderlands would appear to be exceptionally important. All the more so as in the case of the Borderlands of vital concern is "the social transfer of cultural memory in relation to this part of society that has not experienced the loss of their so-called family land and indeed, in relation to subsequent generations".[58] It is of particular consequence therefore to aim towards the preservation of memory in families becoming an element of the cultural collective of society and, in the process, the building of its historical awareness. This is possible thanks to the work of "museums as institutions that come to crystallise the memory of their communities and that of building the identity of groups and the social transfer of knowledge".[59]

The very fact of museums undertaking work for the purposes of the preservation of memory and dissemination of knowledge on Borderlands heritage proves just how important a role is played by such institutions. It is also worth noting in this context that the Borderlands heritage is not only one of Poland itself, but also that of Europe at large. To take but an example, the history of Borderlands peoples stripped of their country in the east and transported to new terrains in the west is at the same time the history of ex-patriots and settlers and, in its own way, iconic of the twentieth century.

The exhibitions organised on the basis of Borderlands collections and scholarly activities at conferences or published texts are responsible for the dissemination of knowledge on the history of these people in the Borderlands and lend themselves to the building of a collective memory in society, which is so important for the shaping of the awareness of Polish citizens.

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[56] Across Poland in 2019 there were three museums that carried the expression *Borderlands* in their name: The Museum of Lviv and South-Eastern Borderlands in Kuklówka Radziejowicka (registered in 2011), The Museum of Borderlands and Ostrowska Lands in Ostrów Mazowiecka (2013) and the Museum of Borderlands in Lubaczów (1958; as the Museum of Borderlands from 2004). At present at the National Museum in Lublin a new section is to be established – the Museum of Lands of the Former Polish Republic. Moreover, many such institutions, though, in their collections have Borderlands memorabilia that is presented at exhibitions.
[57] CBOS, *Kresowe korzenie Polaków*, p. 2, online: https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2012/K_050_12.PDF [access: 28.12.2020].
[58] SACHA, Magdalena Izabella. *Los niewidoczny? Kresy i kresowianie…*, p. 116.
[59] Ibidem, p. 116.

There is still one more aspect of such ventures which needs to be raised. All of the above allows those from the Borderlands to face their past and come to terms with their own personal losses related to their former cultural "alma mater". It is thanks to this that those of the Borderlands can set themselves free from their traumatic past[60] and come to experience the most beautiful and least troublesome forms of "owning their own patch" – that of "being their own masters in our collective memory, in literature and in museums". [61]

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[60] BUGAJEWSKI, Maciej. SARYUSZ-WOLSKA, Magdalena. password: Praca pamięci. In: SARYUSZ-WOLSKA, Magdalena. TRABA, Robert (eds.). *Modi memorandi. Leksykon kultury pamięci*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2014, pp. 393-395.

[61] SACHA, Magdalena. Fantomowe dziedzictwo? Różnice w muzealnej prezentacji dziedzictwa niemieckiego wschodu oraz polskich kresów – próba diagnozy,. In: *Rocznik Antropologii Historii*, 2016, VI (9), p. 147.

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