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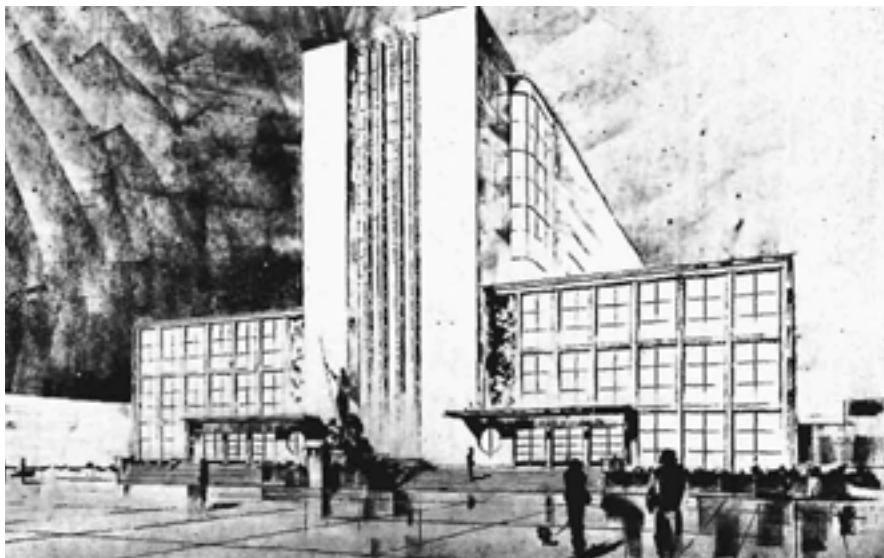
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Exhibition 'Organisers of Life. De Stijl, the Polish Avant-garde and Design', one of a cycle to mark the centenary of the Avant-garde movement in Poland, Archive of the Art Museum in Łódź, photo P. Tomczyk

AVANT-GARDE / INDEPENDENCE



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EVIDENCE OF THE CREATIVE SPIRIT. ARCHITECTURE OF MUSEUM BUILDINGS IN THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC OF POLAND

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Abstract: *May this Parthenon of arts (...) be heart consoling evidence of the greatness of an immortal, everlastingly creative spirit of Poland.* These words, written in the foundation act of the National Museum in Warsaw, leave no doubt – the authorities of the Second Republic of Poland (1918–1945) perceived culture as an extremely important factor creating the identity of the reborn state.

The construction of theatre and museum buildings was planned and conducted, and new institutions were conceived almost immediately after regaining independence. Suffice to mention that in the mid-1930s there were 135 public museums, half of which were established after 1918.

The culture-forming role of the construction of public buildings consolidated an image of the Second Republic as an heir of pre-partition Poland, and subsequently – as a modern state cherishing ambitions of achieving regional leadership. The first projects and their realisations were

a direct continuation of style from the turn of the nineteenth century. Theatre buildings designed by Czesław Przybylski in 1924, i.e. the National Theatre in Warsaw and the Municipal Theatre in Łódź (the latter was never erected) featured simplified Classical forms. Similarly, first projects of the National Museum in Warsaw (Marian Nikodemowicz, 1924) or the Museum of Pomerania in Toruń (Czesław Przybylski, 1926) followed the nineteenth-century tradition of the ‘museum-palace’ and the ‘museum-temple of arts’.

The late 1920s and the early 1930s marked a significant turning point; projects of the period reflected a search for an individual reception of modernity combined with national identity.

Architects of the Silesian Museum (Karol Schayer) or the National Museum in Warsaw (Tadeusz Tołwiński) sought a creative path linking modernity and the ‘state creating’ character of architecture.

Keywords: architecture of museum buildings, avant-garde, Modernism, Classicism, national identity, national style.

John Ruskin described architecture as the most ‘political’ of the arts while, at the same time, indicating its enormous propaganda potential. True, the role performed by architecture and, to a lesser degree, town planning in the process of creating or reinforcing national identity appears

to be undeniable. In the wake of 1918, public investments in the newly emergent state bodies of East-Central Europe became the domain of formal experiments whose shared objective was expressing national identity in architecture. The renascent Second Republic was by no means an

exception and the construction policy conducted by the re-emergent Polish state as regards public utility objects placed equal emphasis on the modern and national character of realisations.

Amidst public utility buildings special place belonged to objects fulfilling a cultural function. In their case, the contents (function) merged into a single entity with the form, thanks to which they exerted a particularly strong impact upon the recipients. This article is an attempt at following main currents and tendencies present in the architecture of museum buildings designed after 1918 within the context of creating the identity of an independent and modern Polish state.

Identity expressed in architecture

Architecture of the Second Republic should be perceived as a complex and multi-motif phenomenon containing both historicising, vernacular, and radically avant-garde tendencies. In his book: *Architektura użyteczności publicznej II Rzeczypospolitej 1918-1939. Forma i styl* Michał Pszczółkowski evoked several relatively universally used definitions concerning Polish architecture during the inter-war period such as: 'between tradition and the avant-garde' or 'between historicism and functionalism'.¹ The evolution of chief trends in the architecture of the reborn Republic was characterised already in the 1960s by Andrzej K. Olszewski, who distinguished successive periods of a search for 'the new form' in Polish architecture.² At the same time connections between particular stylistic currents and parallel political-social processes are clearly visible. The popularity of traditional forms identified primarily with the native and manorial style in sacral and residential architecture³ ended in the mid-1920s. The political situation of the period was relatively stable and Polish frontiers had been constituted by international resolutions. A vision of the Second Republic as the heir of pre-partition history and tradition became perpetuated, while the leading social role of the landowners and, consequently, the *imaginarium* associated with it became questioned.⁴ Poland made a decisive turn towards widely comprehended modernity, and architecture was supposed to stress the crucial role of the state both in modernisation and affiliation to the Western cultural range.

The concept of 'modernity' appears to be of special importance within this context. According to Andrzej Szczęsny the Second Republic *opted for modern development according both to the advanced methods known in Europe and her own ideas, while cherishing the ambition of joining the best developed states of the Old Continent*.⁵

If, however, we accept as the point of departure the definition proposed by Jürgen Habermas, who described 'modernity' as questioning the outer world tenets,⁶ then we may, while following the example of Andrzej Leder⁷ or Adam Leszczyński,⁸ ask whether Polish 'modernity' was not actually a costume used to adorn archaic social structures. Such a conception is reflected in the history of Polish architecture. Note that from the onset of the second decade of that century all the way to 1939 Poland was the site of a strong avant-garde movement whose activity, however, was not converted to state realisations

with a significant identity role. In *The Birth of the Museum, History, Theory and Politics* Tony Bennet defined nineteenth-century museums as an extension of a certain social order.⁹ In Poland the construction of new post-1918 reality merged the conservative consolidation of the social *status quo* and the building of a new identity and image of the independent motherland into a single whole. This is also the way in which it is possible to explain the relatively small representation of the revolutionarily inclined architectural avant-garde among all cultural objects. The phenomenon in question was confirmed by Mieczysław Treter, who in 1928 summed up the progress of art in the first decade of independence while stressing the need for creativity endowed with local, national specificity. At the same time, he rejected constructivist abstraction for the sake of realism,¹⁰ which in architecture denoted a dialogue with tradition and history.

Architecture and culture in space

An analysis of buildings functioning as seats of cultural institutions cannot be limited to reflections on their pure functionality but, in accordance with the conception outlined by Umberto Eco,¹¹ include turns towards the semantics of an architectural work. Attention should be, therefore, concentrated on its non-implication as a sign or a collection of signs. The semiotic merit of representative cultural objects is contained in all their strata: from interiors, architectural detail, and the shape of the solid, to localisation within the town-planning context. The latter aspect played a significant part across the centuries, both in antiquity and in eighteenth – and nineteenth-century Europe when, following the example of the plans of Frederick II the Great, particular states started to create a 'cultural forum'. Hans Selmer perceived this phenomenon as the socialisation of secular life. Temples of art (theaters and museums) were to replace churches and their traditional function within the urban structure.¹² Voltaire postulated to restore to cultural buildings the role of national monuments, as in ancient times.¹³ True, already Vitruvius placed theatres among buildings normative for municipal complexes.¹⁴

During the twentieth century the part of a reference point was played not by private foundations and collections created upon the basis of the subjective predilections of individuals or narrow elitist groups but by public realisations often financed by the state. Grzegorz Dziamski accentuated: *It is necessary to reject the false genealogy proposed by Julius von Schlosser, who derived modern museums from the Late Renaissance Kunst- und Wunderkammern, sixteenth-seventeenth century cabinets of curiosities*.¹⁵ In their stead he proposed Altes Museum designed in Berlin in 1824 by Karl Friedrich Schinkel¹⁶ as the original model of a 'pure' conception of the modern museum. Michel Foucault contrasted archaic institutions, which *were the expression of an individual choice*, with modern museums and libraries conceived as *heterotopias, in which time never stops building up*.¹⁷

The Second Republic benefited already from the entire resource of the experiences of other European states, at the same time enhancing it with an individual character and new objectives created for art and architecture. *May this Parthenon of arts (...) be heartening evidence*



1. Project of the National Museum in Warsaw, architect Marian Nikodemowicz, 1924

*of the greatness of the immortal, everlastingly creative spirit of Poland.*¹⁸ These words inscribed in the erection act of the National Museum in Warsaw leave no doubts – the authorities of the Second Republic perceived culture as an extremely essential factor forming the identity of the renascent state. The construction of theatre and museum buildings was planned and conducted, and new institutions were established almost from the very onset of independence. Suffice to mention that in the mid-1930s there were 135 public museums in Poland, of which half were created after 1918.¹⁹

At the same time a specific absence of cohesion and consistency was a characteristic feature of state policy focused on cultural investments. Despite an awareness of the importance of culture and art pertinent expenditure comprised a slight percentage of all the outlays in the budget of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education, and in 1930 totalled 1%.²⁰ Pszczołkowski stressed that the functioning of a decisive majority of investments was thus the effect of assorted social initiatives or public collections, which, nonetheless, were supported by the state or self-governments.²¹

The museum as a temple of art

The culture-creating role of public buildings after 1918 consolidates an image of the Second Republic as an heir of pre-partition Poland. Hence first projects and realisations constitute a continuation of the passeistic style based on Classical models. Take the example of the conceptions of new museums originating from the first half of the 1920s together with other cultural objects, with particular attention paid to theatres. Although the process of shaping their architecture was subjected to different determinants than those of museums, which are the object of these

reflections, they comprised an element of a single symbolic space. It seems, therefore, fully justified to outline a wider spectrum composed of representative buildings – seats of the cultural institutions of the Second Republic.

An excellent example of a traditional functional configuration and conservative form was the theatre in Częstochowa, built in 1928–1931 according to a project by Józef Krupa and Teodor Łapiński. The solid, whose design was inspired by the nineteenth-century building of the National Theatre in Warsaw,²² features solutions characteristic for academic Classicism although subjected to a modernisation of sorts. A similar approach had been applied earlier by Czesław Przybylski in his unrealised conception of the Municipal Theatre in Łódź (1923). Despite the absence of architectural order articulation it is possible to easily distinguish the symmetric composition of monumental elevations as well as the application of many other solutions of Classical provenance.²³ Przybylski, who designed an imposing edifice containing the main and chamber halls, wished to impact the spectator by means of the monumental scale of the cubature and its Classical proportions and not by the sumptuousness of the decorations.²⁴ This intention was confirmed also by the conception of interior outfitting distant from the opulence of nineteenth-century theatres; here, the design foresaw, apart from an attractive foyer, modest and unembellished forms.²⁵

The mentioned objects continued the nineteenth-century tradition of the ‘cultural object-palace’ and ‘temple of art’. Monumental forms were connected both with the conviction about the representative character of Classical forms and their compatibility with the ceremonial function of cultural buildings. Following the steps of Carol Duncan, Maria Popczyk underlined that museums (as well as other cultural buildings) resemble ritual sites not only



2. Project of the National Museum in Warsaw, architect Zdzisław Mączyński, 1924

due to characteristic architectural references but also, or perhaps predominantly, because they too possess ritual appropriation.²⁶

The cited idea was to be realised also by the National Museum in Warsaw. Selected in a competition held in 1924 and awarded first prize, the project by Marian Nikodemowicz, an architect from Lwów, was a continuation of Schinkelian examples from the previous century. The building, erected on the plan of a rectangle, was organised around two inner courtyards between which the project foresaw a main hall covered with a flattened dome. The solid of the building was composed in the spirit of academic Classicism, which, in accordance with nineteenth-century principles, appeared to be the most suitable for public utility objects. This is confirmed by the fact that all the distinguished works presented a Classicising appearance and by the statement made by Alexander Raniecki, one of the competition judges, who wrote in 'Architektura i Budownictwo': *The façade of the building (...) should create a monumental and uniform architectural composition.*²⁷ The axial composition of the façade, with a strong accent on the central part in the shape of a portico supported by columns, created the image of a 'temple' dedicated to art and of a setting for the ritual of its contemplation. Starting with the elevation and details, all the way to the hierarchic spatial configuration of the interiors, the architecture of the museum was to comprise both the decoration and the scenario.²⁸ The results of the competition gave rise to a controversy. The organisers were accused of an erroneous formulation of the programme and of restricting the architects' invention by indicating Classical forms as suitable.²⁹ Ultimately, the conception proposed by Nikodemowicz was not realised and a new competition was organised in 1926. Its outcome was completely different and predicted a breakthrough in the current of so-called official architecture.

With time, architecture intended for the purposes of

culture underwent transformations accompanying an evolution of the image created by the renascent Republic. In as late as 1925–1930 Stefan Narębski, author of the Museum of Kujawy, erected at the time, resorted to historical forms but subjected them to a modern composition of simple solids. By following the example of Pszczołkowski we may easily discover in the ogival portal and the trefoil blind windows *an original example of the application of Gothic references*,³⁰ which, however, had been subjected to far-going simplifications.

Transformations affected also the forms and typology of museum buildings and the philosophy accompanying them. The question of designing new buildings with their future expansion in mind was raised increasingly frequently. This was the approach recommended by Zenon Przesmycki, who accentuated that the role played by a museum would exceed far beyond the exposition of collections, and that *the architect should keep in mind the fact that in the future the given museum shall irrevocably become an entire complex, a conglomerate of buildings.*³¹ Moreover, Przesmycki mentioned numerous types of interiors, which should be included in the newly planned building, at the same time making the reservation that the future would certainly bring solutions, which he was incapable of imagining.

Przesmycki postulated that the architecture of new museum buildings should be characterised by moderation and restraint. Instead of applying decorativeness obligatory in the nineteenth century he stressed the necessity of subjecting architectural form to the fulfilled function, indicating that it should constitute a discreet frame for the collections.³² Mieczysław Treter spoke in a similar vein.³³

Modernity in the service of the independent state

A breakthrough in the development of Polish architecture took place at the end of the 1920s and the onset of the 1930s.

In accordance with the idea expressed in the above-cited declaration made by Mieczysław Treter, artists and theoreticians sought a style that would express the national spirit and, at the same, accentuate the modern character of the Republic. This is the role that Classicising Modernism was to play.

Architecture that combined the unadorned simplicity of the avant-garde with the monumentalism of antiquity not only granted a suitable setting to official rituals but also realised the idea of 'Poland on the Mediterranean', as if stressing affiliation to Latin culture. Avant-garde Modernism, deprived of national attachment, was incapable of fulfilling this function, as testified by, i.a. the opinions expressed by designers.

Architects associated with the moderately conservative monthly 'Architektura i budownictwo' searched in the forms of public buildings for values close to monumental architecture of Classical provenance. *In Poland tradition is eagerly trampled or regarded as evidence of dementia and negative values – they wrote,*³⁴ thus clearly dealing a blow aimed at the Modernist avant-garde. While discussing the results of the second competition for a project of the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow editor Stanisław Woźnicki underlined: *Respect for, and a profound understanding of the eternal values of Classical traditions revealed by the Soviet state undergoing industrialisation on an enormous scale, deserve to be watched carefully.*³⁵ In such a situation the monumental character of the buildings of the Silesian Museum in Katowice, the Museum of Crafts and Applied Arts in Warsaw, and the National Museums in Warsaw or Cracow should not come as a surprise.

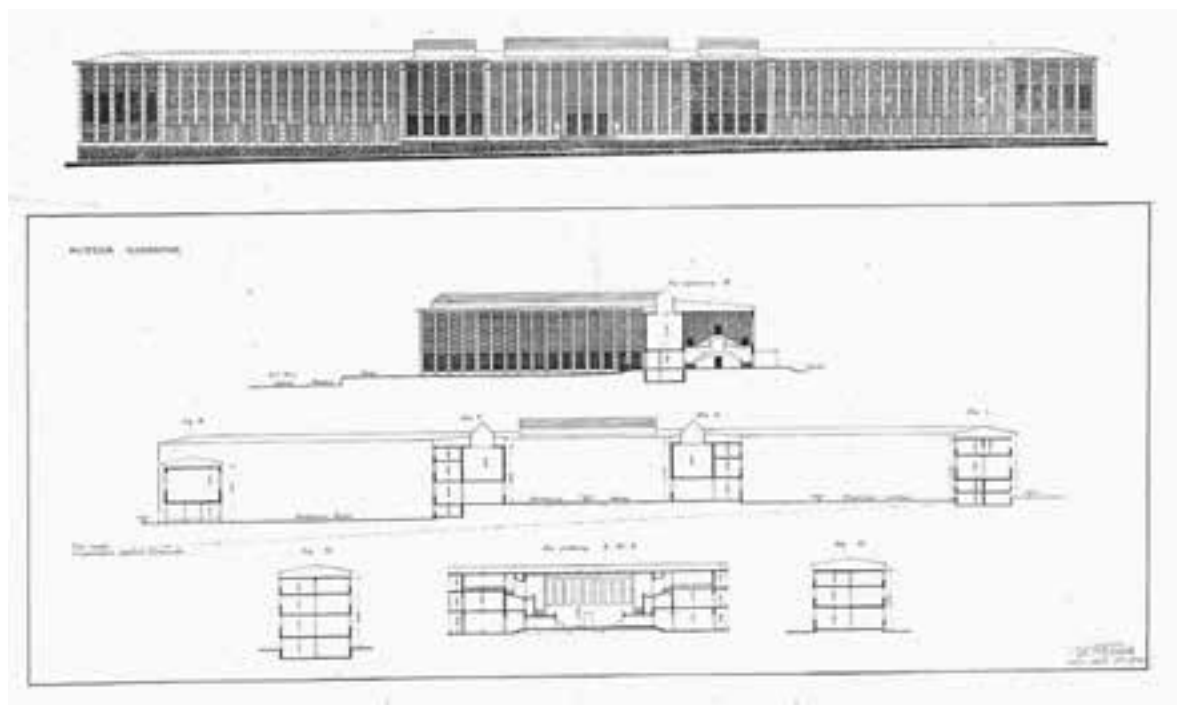
The National Museum in Warsaw, designed by Tadeusz Tołwiński, was erected in 1927–1932 and 1935–1939. The

main part was established on a plan of an elongated rectangle, with four adjoining wings creating open courtyards. The competition judges *praised the exceptional clarity of the plan* and the attainment of the *largest utilitarian squaring of the circle of interiors.*³⁶ Simple and functional spaces illuminated by overhead light (or overhead-side lamps) implemented a new program of the exposition of artworks. Already in 1917 M. Treter drew attention to the purposefulness of placing and displaying works of art in objects specially intended for this purpose. In addition, he stressed the necessity of applying modern technical solutions that would not only ensure comfort for the visitors but also be safe for the accumulated exhibits.³⁷ Special attention was paid to lighting, considered in detail in the first half of the 1920s by Juliusz Zborowski³⁸ and Julian Leonard,³⁹ who postulated overhead-side lamps instead of the until then used overhead light and side lamps.

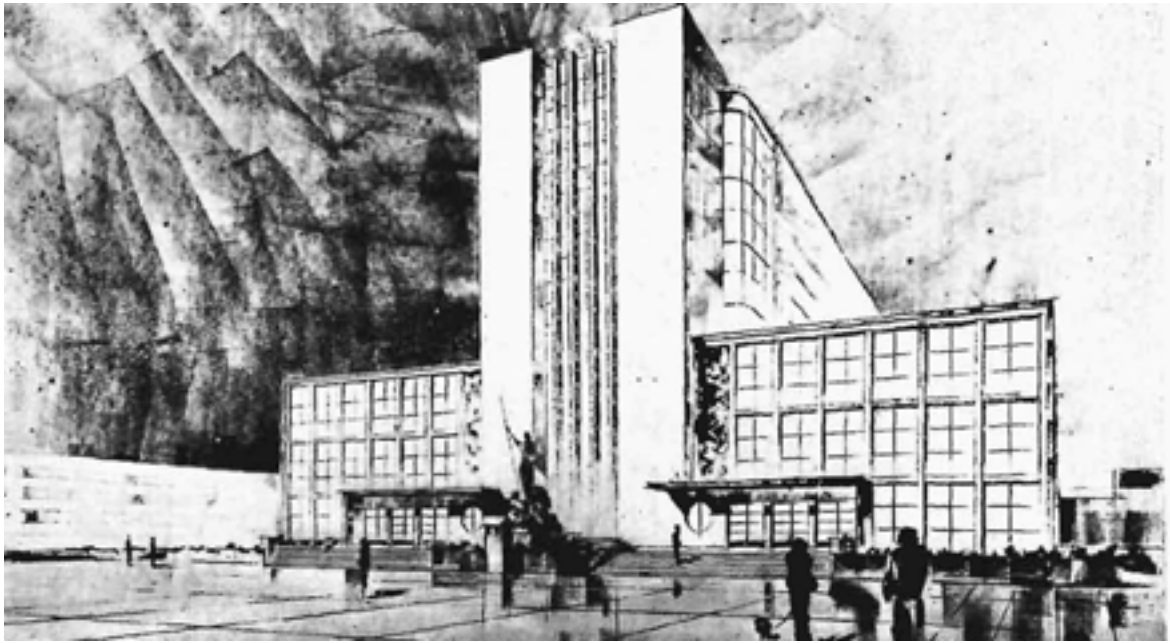
Despite certain functional insufficiencies or shortcomings (communication within a multi-storey layout of the interiors) Tołwiński proudly accentuated: *From the viewpoint of technical outfitting and special equipment the National Museum is one of the most modern and best-appointed museums.*⁴⁰

At the same time, simple solids received a setting that referred to simplified Classicism. Here, the decisive factor was the axial nature of the composition, the monumental character of the entrance hall preceded by a portico supported by pillars, and the regular rhythm of simple lesenes, which created the articulation of the façade and rendered reference to a Classical colonnade legible.

Similar premises, although expressed by different means, were realised by the Silesian Museum in Katowice. Its construction had been considered already in 1924, and in 1927 Michał Grażyński, the then voivode of Silesia,



3. Project of the National Museum in Warsaw – chosen for realisation, architect Tadeusz Tołwiński, 1926



4. Edifice of the Silesian Museum, architect Karol Schayer, 1936

entrusted Tadeusz Dobrowolski with the office of head of the Department of Art and recommended to create a collection, which was to become the core of the ensuing museum. Initially, the exhibits were presented on the uppermost storey of the seat of the Voivodeship Office,⁴¹ but no one doubted that it was necessary to erect a modern building, which would fulfil the function of a museum. Work on raising the edifice according to a project by Karol Schayer was initiated in 1936. Numerous historical connotations are to be encountered in its Modernist form, and the shape of the solid *makes it possible to decipher an allusion to forms resembling a monument. This holds true for the central projection, bringing to mind the shape of a tower, a residence of a sovereign, and, at the same time, a fortified space dedicated also to commemoration and defence.*⁴² The ideological significance of the Schayer museum is explicitly evidenced by the fact that it was supposed to create, together with the nearby Silesian Sejm, *a Polish imperial forum with a monumental architectural program.*⁴³

Other noteworthy objects whose architectural form accomplished the official program of an intentional merger of modernity with the spirit of Classicism include the National Museum in Cracow and the Museum of Pomerania in Toruń. The first, designed in 1934 by Czesław Boratyński, Bolesław Schmidt, and Edward Kreisler, combined Modernist simplicity of the cubature with monumentalism and spatial distribution based on a layout organised around inner courtyards originating from nineteenth-century museum architecture.⁴⁴

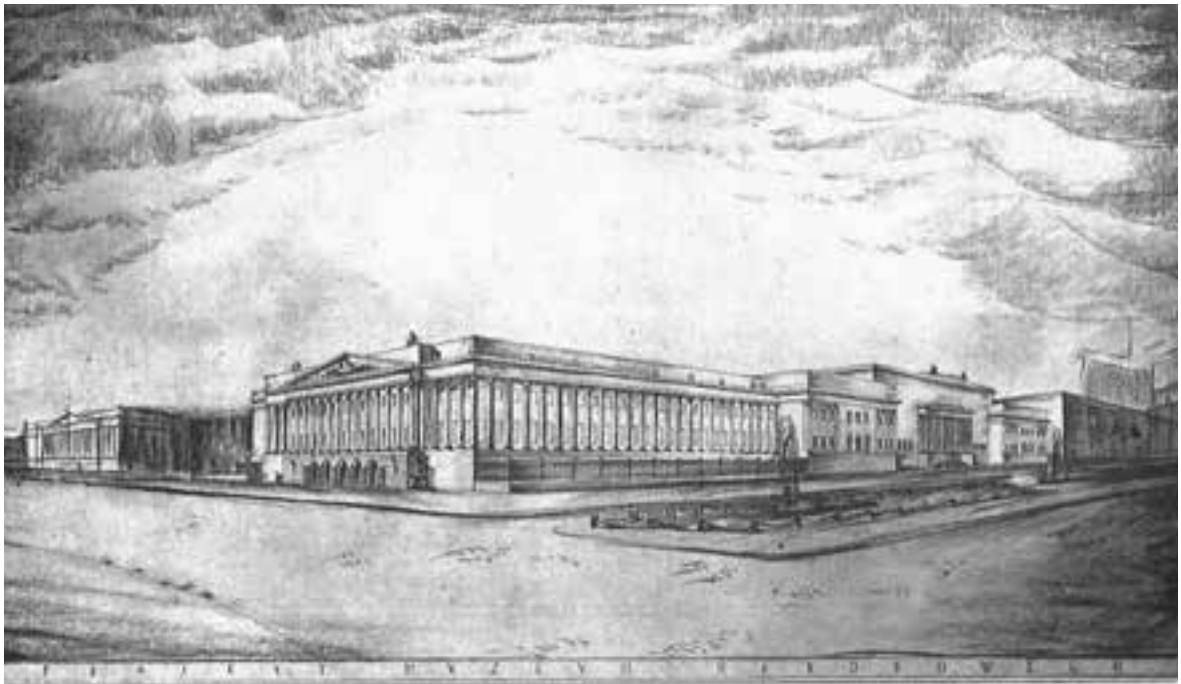
The Museum of Pomerania was to constitute not only a monument of Polish culture but also homage paid to Józef Piłsudski. A competition announced in 1935 attracted over thirty projects, from which the concept by Franciszek Krzywda-Polkowski was selected for realisation.⁴⁵ Construction work was inaugurated in 1937 and accompanied by

a public collection of funds as well as a widely conceived propaganda campaign aimed at increasing social awareness of the object's meaning for the region. The campaign in question was conducted by the Executive Committee for the Construction of the Museum of Pomerania, which also played the part of coordinator of the investment.⁴⁶ The building, which today is the seat of a University, was moulded in a 'purely Modernist fashion', with the entrance in the central part of the edifice accentuated by a simplified portico, a distant echo of Classical architecture.

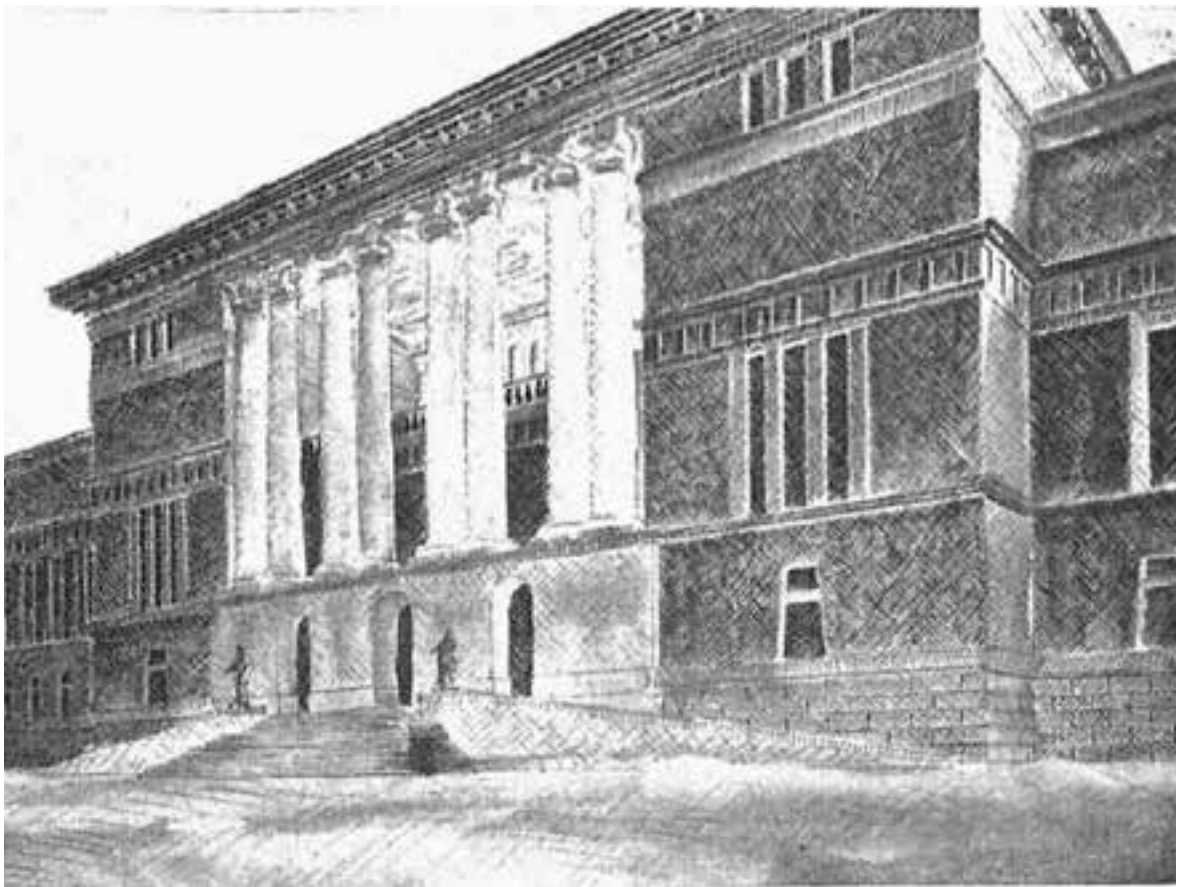
The avant-garde and identity

As has been mentioned, the part played by avant-garde architecture in the creation of official architectural symbolic space in the Second Republic was slight. This is not to say, however, that Functionalistic objects did not come into being. In 1924 Jarosław Girin designed the People's House (Dom Ludowy) in Białystok, which in the course of its realisation was changed into a municipal theatre. Some forms of small-scale architecture originate from the premises of the modern movement although, at the same time, it is difficult to speak about this object as *an icon of architecture from the era of Functionalism.*⁴⁷ This is also the way in which the seat of the Stanisław Moniuszko Theatre in Stanisławów, designed in 1929 by Stanisław Trela, should be assessed. Its simple geometric forms, rounded quoin, and the architect's inclination towards operating with large surfaces devoid of articulation bring to mind realisations from the range of Italian rationalism.

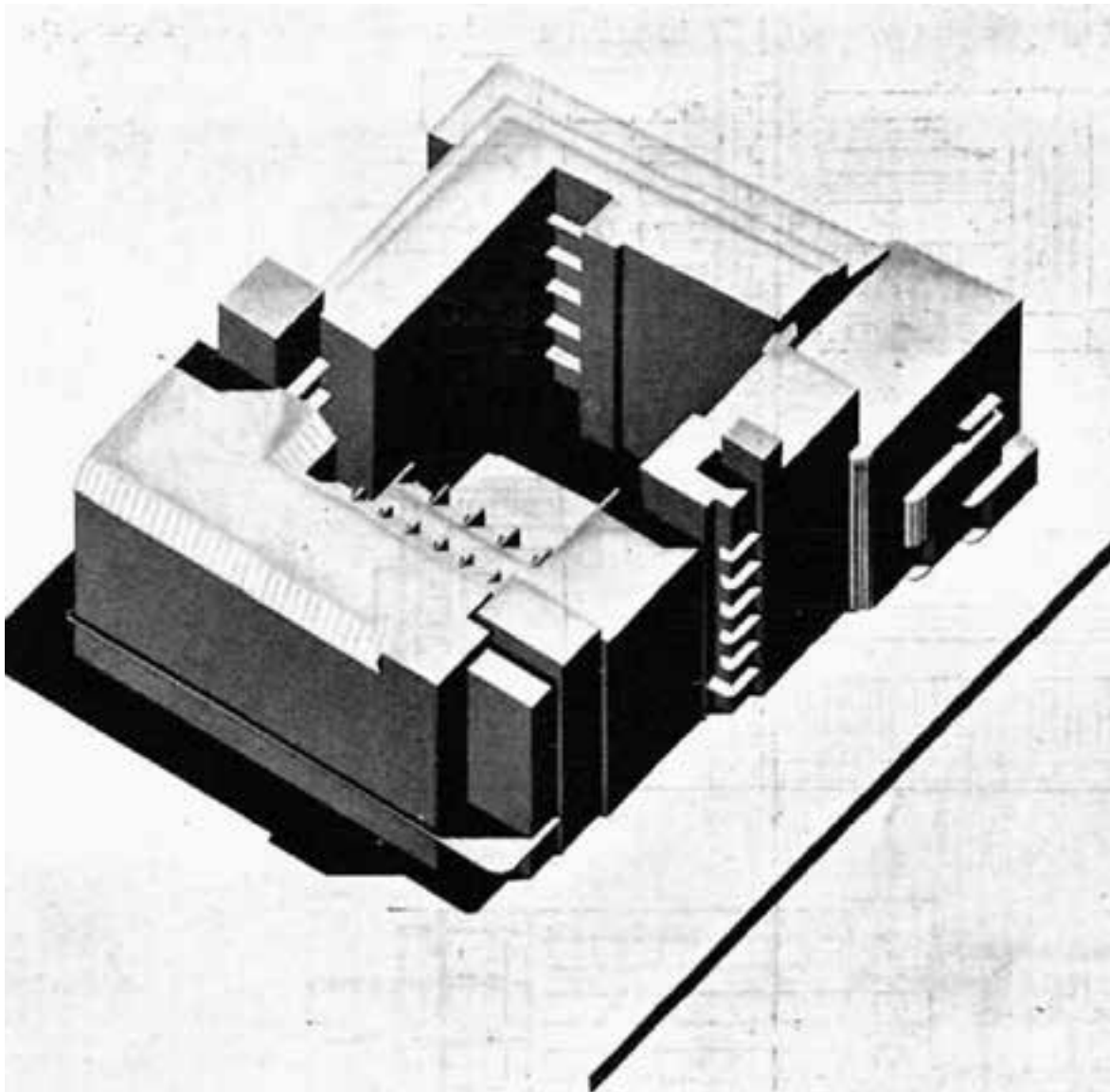
While considering the impact of the avant-garde on the architecture of cultural objects in the Second Republic it is impossible to ignore the unrealised conception of a 'simultaneous theatre' by Helena and Szymon Syrkus and



5. Project of the National Museum in Warsaw, architects Jadwiga Dobrzyńska, Stefan Sienicki, Bolesław Żurkowski, 1924



6. Project of the National Museum in Warsaw, architects Maksymilian Goldberg and Hipolit Rutkowski, 1924



7. Project of the Museum of Crafts and Applied Arts in Warsaw, architect Czesław Przybylski, 1930

(Photos: 1, 2, 5, 6 in: „Architektura i budownictwo” 1925, no. 1; 3 in: „Architektura i budownictwo” 1926, no. 9; 4 in: „Architektura i budownictwo” 1936, no. 2; 7 in: „Architektura i budownictwo” 1930, no. 7)

Andrzej Pronaszko. The project, presented in New York in 1927, broke with the heretofore tradition of shaping theatre interiors and thanks to an extremely expanded stage apparatus was supposed to enable the accomplishment of the postulate of a spectacle’s simultaneousness.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, regardless of the pioneering character of this conception, the avant-garde did not fully join the current of constructing the identity of independent Poland by means of the architecture of cultural objects.

It is difficult to discover among the discussed projects and realisations of museum buildings those, which could be unanimously attributed to the current of Modernist avant-garde. The fact that even designers whose works are associated with Functionalism endeavoured to grant cultural

buildings a Classical and monumental character appears to be symptomatic. The project of the Warsaw National Museum, devised by Jadwiga Dobrzańska (jointly with Bolesław Żurkowski and Stefan Sienicki), features instead of Modernist simplicity typical for the later oeuvre of this architect also solutions close to academic Classicism. The conception proposed by Maksymilian Goldberg and Hipolit Rutkowski should be assessed similarly. Against the backdrop of numerous comparable cases Czesław Przybylski’s project for the Museum of Crafts and Applied Arts in Warsaw remains distinctive. This multi-functional object (apart from showrooms it was to contain also, i.a. a library and a school) was planned around an inner atrium.⁴⁹ The solutions applied for the interiors and the solid were differentiated depending on the purpose

of a given part of the building, which obtained an attractive setting maintained in the style of avant-garde Modernism with elements of Art Déco characteristic for Przybyłski's oeuvre.

New architectural projects and their realisation within the domain of public utility objects were of enormous significance for creating the image of the Second Republic and building community – and identity-oriented attitudes. This phenomenon is accentuated by the presented evolution

of museum architecture, whose origins date back to nineteenth-century projects emulating solutions devised in Western Europe. In time they became supplanted by such conceptions as the National Museum in Warsaw or the Silesian Museum, whose pioneering character was by no means inferior to leading realisations of the period. Architects simultaneously sought an answer to questions concerning the 'new form' in architecture not by pursuing ready-made schemes but by striving towards expressing in stone and concrete both the spirit of the time and the identity of the nation and the independent Republic.

Endnotes

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- ² A. K. Olszewski, *Nowa forma w architekturze polskiej 1900-1925: teoria i praktyka* [New Form in Polish Architecture 1900-1925: Theory and Praxis], Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, Wrocław 1967, p. 29 sqq.
- ³ *Ibidem*, pp. 64-66.
- ⁴ T. S. Jaroszewski, *Od klasycyzmu do nowoczesności. O architekturze polskiej XVIII, XIX i XX wieku* [From Neo-Classicism to Modernity. On Polish Architecture of the 18th, 19th, and 20th Centuries], PWN, Warszawa 1996, p. 243 sqq.; A. K. Olszewski, *Nowa forma w architekturze...*, p. 115 sqq.
- ⁵ A. Szczerski, *Cztery nowoczesności. Teksty o sztuce i architekturze polskiej XX wieku* [Four Modernities. Texts on Art and Polish Architecture of the 20th Century], Studio wydawnicze DodoEditor, Kraków 2015, p. 12.
- ⁶ J. Sowa, *Zmagania z nowoczesną formą* [Struggling with Modernity], 'Rzut' 2016, no. 1, p. 11.
- ⁷ Cf. A. Leder, *Prześląona rewolucja. Ćwiczenie z logiki historycznej* [Dreamed Through Revolution. Training in Historical Logic], Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, Warszawa 2014.
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- ¹⁰ A. Szczerski, *Cztery nowoczesności...*, pp. 51-52.
- ¹¹ B. Grzegorzczak, *Korelacje usytuowania budowli teatralnej i miasta w kontekście semantycznym* [Correlation Between the Location of Theatre Building and City in Semantic Context], in: *Siedziby teatrów, teatrzyków, oper, filharmonii – historia i architektura* [Seats of Big and Small Theatres, Operas, and Philharmonics: History and Architecture], D. Bręczewska-Kulesza, A. Wysocka (ed.), Towarzystwo Miłośników Miasta Bydgoszczy, Bydgoszcz 2008, p. 13.
- ¹² M. Bryl, *Hans Sedlmayr – muzeum jako symptom „epoki bez boga”* [Hans Sedlmayr: Museum as a Symptom of 'Godless Age'], in: *Muzeum Sztuki. Antologia* [Art Museum. Anthology], M. Popczyk (introduction and ed.), TAIWPN 'Universitas', Kraków 2005, pp. 59-90.
- ¹³ B. Grzegorzczak, *Korelacje usytuowania budowli...*, p. 15.
- ¹⁴ *Ibidem*.
- ¹⁵ G. Dziamski, *Muzeum a dyskurs nowoczesności* [Museum Versus Modernity Discourse], in: *Muzeum sztuki. Od Luwru...*, p. 28.
- ¹⁶ Traces of the origin of the modern museum at the Louvre or the British Museum, which are much closer to the modern idea of a museum, appear to be excessively burdened with extra-artistic connotations (political-revolutionary and imperial-colonial, respectively).
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- ¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 193.
- ²⁰ Barely 0,0016% of the state budget; B. Mansfeld, *Muzea w odrodzonej Rzeczypospolitej (1918-1919)* [Museums in the Restored Polish Republic (1918-1919)], 'Spotkania z Zabytkami' 2001, no. 8, p. 2.
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- ²² *Ibidem*, p. 187.
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- ²⁴ R. Pakuła, *Działalność architektoniczna Czesława Przybyłskiego w Łodzi. Niezrealizowane projekty Teatru Miejskiego i Gmachu Reprezentacyjnego* [Czesław Przybyłski's Architectural Activity in Lodz. Unaccomplished Designs of the Municipality Theatre and Stately Edifice], in: *Sztuka Polski Środkowej* [Art of Central Poland], Studia V, P. Gryglewski, E. Kubiak, K. Stefański (ed.), Księży Młyn Dom Wydawniczy, Łódź 2011, p. 149.
- ²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 153.
- ²⁶ M. Popczyk, *Muzeum sztuki jako heterotopia...*, p. 283.
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- ²⁸ C. Duncan, *Muzeum sztuki jako rytuał* [Art Museum as Ritual], in: *Muzeum sztuki. Antologia...*, pp. 279-298
- ²⁹ P. Kibort, *Na Skarpie. Gmach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie 1919-1938* [On the Escarpment. Building of the National Museum in Warsaw 1919-1938], in: *Marzenie i rzeczywistość. Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie* [Dream and Reality. National Museum in Warsaw], National Museum in Warsaw, Warszawa 2016, p. 55.
- ³⁰ M. Pszczołkowski, *Architektura użyteczności publicznej... Forma i styl ...*, p. 162.
- ³¹ Z. Przesmycki (Miriam), *Pro arte. Uwagi o kulturze i sztuce. Nieco z obyczajów, teatru, kabarety, muzyki, literatura. Sztuki plastyczne* [Pro Arte. Remarks on Culture and Art. Some Comments on Habits, Theatres, Cabarets, Music, Literature. Fine Arts]. Miejskie Muzeum Sztuki, Nakł. Tow. Akc. S. Orgelbranda Synów – E. Wende i Spółka, Warszawa 1914, p. 597.
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- ³⁴ S. Woźnicki, *II Konkurs na Pałac Sowietów w Moskwie* [Second Competition for the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow], 'Architektura i Budownictwo' 1932, no. 5, reprint: 2006, no. 1, p. 60.
- ³⁵ *Ibidem*.
- ³⁶ M. Lalewicz, *Konkurs ograniczony na projekt gmachu Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* [Restricted Competition for the Building of the National Museum in Warsaw], 'Architektura i Budownictwo' 1926, no. 9, p. 3.
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- ³⁸ J. Zborowski, *Problem światła w muzeach* [Question of Light in Museums], 'Przemysł-Rzemiosło-Sztuka' 1923, no. 1-2, pp. 34-43.
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- ⁴⁴ M. Pszczołkowski, *Architektura użyteczności publicznej... Funkcja ...*, p. 141.
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THE ORIGIN OF OUR ‘HERE AND NOW’. MODERNISATION AND MUSEALISATION OF WARSAW URBAN SPACE DURING THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

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Abstract: The article contains both a description and an analysis of processes creating the urban space of Warsaw during the inter-war period (1918–1939). On the one hand, they include the parallel development of activity regarded as examples and symbols of modernisation (avant-garde architecture, urban planning, and ‘state-building’ monumentalism), and, on the other hand, parallel ‘musealisation’ (reconstruction as

a conservation method, restoration of historic urban ambiance) described according to present-day terminology. The article also points to the continuity of the titular processes and the ideas constituting them, always topical in periods of an intense search for collective identity and spatial forms in which it is manifested (e.g. at the time of post-war reconstruction in 1945–1956 and at the turn of the nineteenth century).

Keywords: modernisation, museologisation, architecture, urban planning, historic monuments.

Monuments and history

During the nineteenth and twentieth century views concerning the conservation and restoration of buildings and the revalorisation of complexes regarded as historical underwent essential transformations. In the first half of the nineteenth century many undertakings were conducted in the spirit of stylistic unity, at the same time constructing the modern concept of the monument. The most outstanding restorer of the period, Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, renovated the church in Vézelay in the spirit of a search for an architectural optimum, conducted work on the urban complex

in Carcassonne and on Château de Pierrefonds, and supervised the restitution of Sainte-Chappelle and the Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris, altering the French landscape and, at the same time, the image of the mediaeval past cultivated by the French. Thanks to his authority – the consequence of praxis and published theoretical reflections – he encouraged to carry out restorations similar from the viewpoint of intentions although not always as regards the quality of execution. Viollet-le-Duc recognised the purposefulness of restoring a building in a style suitable from the perspective of the restorer but recommended its thorough examination prior to embarking upon work as

well as flexibility of its direction. Furthermore, he granted knowledge about mediaeval architecture the same features as those of the norms of natural sciences, treating deductions of past architectural forms in the manner of conclusions drawn from palaeontology and citing the accomplishments of Georges Cuvier, a zoologist and palaeontologist celebrated for his reconstructions of animal fossils using their minute fragments and performed upon the basis of a presupposed co-relation of inner organs. Viollet-le-Duc perceived himself as a second Cuvier resurrecting architectural forms from past epochs. He also expressed the following conviction: *To restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness that could have never existed at any given time*¹ [this and further emphasis – P.M.].

Practical restoration, especially in the version proposed by the emulators of Viollet-le-Duc, became the object of criticism initiated in 1848 by John Ruskin, who maintained that it is *impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture* (religious experience shared by Ruskin indicates, however, that belief in exceptions from this rule is possible...), and thus restoration *means the most total destruction which a building can suffer* (*The Seven Lamps of Architecture*). In the second half of the nineteenth century no one in any European country exerted a similar impact upon the imagination of his nation. Ruskin maintained that the title of an artist was deserved by a person capable of expressing traces of divine presence in matter, materialised in Nature. The Ruskin doctrine, while keeping a distance from all forms of sustaining old architecture, excluded, therefore, acts of human pride and usurpation, i.e. reaching for something due to the Creator.²

The essence of the quality and status of a monument (*Denkmal*), which up to this day constitutes a point of reference in debates on the value of heritage, was fundamentally formulated in 1903 by the Austrian historian of art Alois Riegl. In his opinion the most important feature of a monument is its *age value* (*der Alterswert*), constituting the reason for acknowledging a given object as a monument. With those premises as his point of departure, the Czech historian of art Max Dvořák, Riegl's co-worker at the Imperial Central Commission for the study and conservation of art and historical monuments, declared that a renovated relic is no longer a relic. Both scholars represented a stand calling for the protection of historical monuments against attempts at reconstruction, treating them as a *sui generis* forgery of a historical source; this is also the reason why they criticised the programme of restoring Wawel Castle, pursued by Polish artists and their milieu.³ Riegl also noticed changes in the comprehension of the concept of the monument, into which – in the course of the development of the conception and actual existence of the nation – human accomplishments turned predominantly owing to their historical and axiological value and not merely their artistic and aesthetic worth. The *Alterswert* question was broached also by the Prussian researcher and inventor Georg Dehio, who urged: *conserve, do not restore*⁴ (a significant fact since he was familiar with the nationalistic instrumentalisation of the value of historical legacy).

Polish conservators, in particular those living in the shadow of Wawel Hill, were also inspired by those reflections. In 1901 Cracow-based Ludwik Puszet declared:

Restoration should be only tantamount to conservation and no stylisation [should] be introduced while the novelty, which it adds, [should be] authentically Modernist. Józef Muczkowski too popularised the principle of preserving historical monuments in the shape found by the given generation and called for not reverting them to the imagined original state. A convention held in 1909 by the Society for the Protection of Monuments of the Past passed a resolution preferring conservation but, at the same time, permitting restricted and scientifically justified restoration.⁵

Practice, however, strayed from declarations, in particular when historical substance, valuable for a given community, became damaged as a consequence of a sudden cataclysm.

When in 1902 the bell tower of St. Mark's in Venice toppled it was decided to rebuild its historical form. A precise reconstruction was carried out according to the original model – with the preservation of the type and colour of the bricks – because it was recognised that the urban landscape would not remain the same without one of its prime spatial accents. This episode became particularly important from the viewpoint of the devastation produced by a World War which, it was not known at the time, would turn out to be the first of its sort.⁶

The Great War

Losses suffered at the time of the First World War, which affected not only particular buildings, such as Reims cathedral, but also entire historical towns, e.g. Arras, Louvain, and Ypres, questioned the principle of limited conservation in favour of restoration and restitution. War permanently verified conservation principles formulated in the conditions of peacetime stability.⁷

At the time of World War I many historical buildings in Polish lands, and even entire town quarters, turned into ruins. Now reflections deliberated not whether but how to rebuild the ravaged monuments. In 1916 art historian Józef Piotrowski declared: *Just like the masters of old always acted it is necessary to rebuild even if within totally new shapes but well-connected with the entire monument and corresponding to present-day aesthetic demands and architectural trends.* With those premises as a point of departure it was decided to recreate the destroyed centre of the town of Kalisz.⁸ Tadeusz Szydłowski treated the question of prolonging the existence of historical monuments as a political task; in doing so he indicated the connection between national awareness and *the protection of monuments of art*. Faithful to the Rieglian doctrine he agreed that *a historical monument is visible as long as it remains genuinely old and authentic.* At the same time, Szydłowski recognised the necessity of raising historical buildings out of wartime ruins.⁹ *Today, therefore, we shall stand under a sign other than that of Riegl – postulated Jarosław Wojciechowski, Edward Trojanowski, and Zygmunt Otto – not only to conserve but also to rebuild. Just like the mythical Phoenix, gutted villages and small towns shall be reborn from ashes, cottages and manor houses, schools and churches shall be rebuilt together with other monuments of architecture. Valuable monuments of architecture, as long as their ruination was caused not by time but by a sudden catastrophe, not only can but should be rebuilt.*¹⁰

It is worth noting on the margin that the social and historical awareness of losses suffered by Polish culture and caused by the Great War is incomparably smaller than that of losses generated by the Second World War, although the scale of the actual destruction (with the exception of the demolition of Warsaw in 1944) was comparable in both those periods.¹¹

Remaining within the main current of the discourse conducted at the time, in December 1916 the Scientific Circle of Architects at the Warsaw Polytechnic prepared *Uwagi do szkicu wstępnego planu regulacyjnego Wielkiej Warszawy*, a precursory document among those originating from the time-in-office of President Stefan Starzyński. The co-author of *Uwagi*, the above-mentioned Jarosław Wojciechowski, wrote about *historical Warsaw*: *There is no room in it for monumental undertakings and architectural projects for the future. The latter must develop in the lifeless and soulless terrains of New Warsaw (...), in all those places to which history has not yet made its claims.*¹²

After 123 years of servitude

In the renascent Polish state conservators, without negating the principles established by Riegl, took part in clearing urban space of buildings identified with the effects of denationalisation conducted by the partitioning powers, in particular in the Russian partition area. According to decisions made by tsarist authorities, after the fall of the January Uprising *Privilinski kray* was to become covered by a network of Russian Orthodox churches located in a way that would testify to the dominating character of imperial architecture. The fate of the church of St. Alexander Nevsky, erected in Saski Square in Warsaw, was – in this battle waged for iconosphere – the most prominent example of the subsequent reaction. In the wake of lengthy disputes, with the church's defenders evoking artistic criteria, it was razed starting with the accompanying bell tower while the demolition of the entire building took place in 1922–1926. The rubble was used for regulating the river bed of the Vistula, the pink Finnish granite ultimately decorated the façade of the State Geological Institute, and after 1935 the columns were deployed for designing the crypt of Józef Piłsudski on Wawel Hill.¹³

The majority of theoreticians propagating pure conservation simultaneously opted for supplementing historical buildings with contemporary elements. In this spirit, in 1928 the façades of houses in the Market Square of the Warsaw Old Town were covered, under the supervision of Zofia Stryjeńska and Stanisław Ostrowski and the patronage of the Society for the Protection of Monuments of the Past, with contemporary polychromes, which gave rise to numerous doubts.¹⁴ Many instances of reconstruction from the period were linked with a wish to restore the original state. In destroyed Old Towns attempts were made to grant rebuilt houses shapes close to former ones and to introduce details referring to historical counterparts, a tendency expressing a quest for the local or national character of architecture, connected with ethnographic studies and fashionable regionalism (present, e.g. in the writings of Stefan Żeromski).¹⁵

During the inter-war period a study by Alfred Lauterbach, issued in 1929, was regarded as a basic programme publication concerning the philosophy of conservation.

Its author drew attention to the unsuitability of limited restorations *of living monuments of architecture* although he respected the stratifications occurring within. Following the example of Ruskin, Lauterbach accentuated that from the theoretical point of view there is no difference between the exchange of a single square meter and a whole wall, but he did not draw conclusions resembling those formulated by Ruskin. *Small or large restoration will be always necessary* – he wrote – *something that present-day reticence or hypocrisy call conservation*. Lauterbach was of the opinion that pure conservation may be applied only in the case of well-preserved objects or lifeless ones, i.e. ruins.¹⁶

In 1931 Alfred Lauterbach and Marian Lalewicz represented Poland at an international congress, which passed the Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments. The Charter ascertained *a general tendency to abandon restorations in toto and to avoid the attendant dangers* and approved the striving present among conservators and architects towards placing social interests above private ones.¹⁷ In 1938 Lauterbach wrote in a summary of his inter-war experiences: *The necessity of rebuilding after the Great War numerous valuable monuments and even entire historical complexes by the very force of things propounded the principle of historical restoration and reconstruction, while reluctance towards this method is decreasing due to the growing possession of precise data and operating with concrete material, and not with assumptions and fantasies as has been often the case in historical restorations during the past century.*¹⁸ After all, the Polish school of the conservation of historical monuments came into being long before 1945.

What was the binding legal state pertaining to the protection of monuments of architecture in Poland reborn in 1918? A decree issued by the Regency Council on the protection of monuments of art and culture (31 October 1918) offered protection to *all movable and immovable works testifying to the art and culture of past epochs and existing for no less than 50 years*. In this fashion, quite innovative for the period, it was provided to recognise urban and rural complexes as monuments, and historical value was perceived in the historical outlay of towns, gardens, and parks.¹⁹ In view of the ephemeral political character of the Regency Council the decree in question remained rather in a *de lege ferenda* than a *de lege lata* sphere.

A legal act regulating the protection of cultural property, and in force all the way to 1962, was the Regulation of the President of the Republic of Poland of 6 March 1928 on the Protection of Historical Monuments, amended by the Act of 1933 on the Protection of Public Museums. The Regulation defined that a monument is each object, immovable and movable, characteristic for a certain epoch, possessing artistic, cultural, historical, archaeological or palaeontological value confirmed by a statement made by state authorities and *consequently deserving to be preserved*. The surrounding of historical buildings and their complexes could be also acknowledged as a monument. In the case of architectural objects practical use was made of the criterion of time, perceiving *the age value* in hundred-year old buildings. An essential element of the legal order in force was the

protection of the urban landscape, postulated rather than realised; terrains created by *aesthetically valuable* towns and districts were recognised as cultural legacy.²⁰

Andrzej Tomaszewski summed up the intellectual discourse of the inter-war period from the perspective of the turn of the twentieth century by writing: The new [Rieglian] *conservation philosophy was in its spirit fundamental. The extreme nature of its prohibitions and restrictions corresponded to that of its purist [à la Viollet-le-Duc] predecessor (...).*

*Science and research were not to serve – as had been the case before – creating a foundation for reconstruction undertakings but scientific acquaintance with historical monuments in their capacity as a source/historical document. The new philosophy became accepted in Europe half way: the number of believers was large but that of the practicing faithful was lesser. The nineteenth century left behind two serious limitations: the education and mentality of the architects of the period, happily tampering with a monument upon each opportune occasion, unable and unwilling to adopt an ascetic attitude. They [also] included modern awareness of national identity aroused during the era of Romanticism (...). This is the reason why the twentieth century was marked by an acute conflict between theory and praxis. It was a century of conservation hypocrisy and dramatic attempts at conciliating contradictions.*²¹

Dreams of a better city

During the inter-war period numerous milieus cultivated the conviction that the modern world – presumably better, albeit variously comprehended and imagined – could and should be constructed in the manner of a town. Modernising architects were of the opinion that the contemporary urban environment, composed also of a social structure and demography, required a special sort of correction: the population of Warsaw grew from 820 000 in 1919 to 1 265 000 twenty years later. At the same time, 43% of Warsaw flats were composed of a single room without any sanitary amenities and were inhabited by almost 70% of the population, mainly working-class (900 000 persons). Attempts at remedying this state of things involved an encounter of avant-garde plans of a *functional Warsaw*, launched by Jan Chmielewski and Szymon Syrkus, and *étatist* projects of a *monumental Warsaw*, conceived by Stefan Starzyński.²²

The Athens Charter, prepared in 1933 by the International Congress of Modern Architecture, known as CIAM (Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne), was the Bible of avant-garde architects. Most of the over thirty towns examined in the course of preparations for the Congress, including Warsaw, were found to be unsuitable from the viewpoint of the fundamental life requirements of their residents. The authors of the Charter stated: *At any event, it is impossible to coordinate them* [individual liberty and collective action] *in a harmonious way without preparing in advance a carefully studied program that leaves nothing to chance.* Referring to architectural legacy they added: *Precious witnesses of the past... will be respected* although

after profound examination which objects and complexes may be adapted for contemporary use or as monuments of culture. The decisive conclusion declared: ***Under no circumstances should the cult of the picturesque and the historical take precedence over the healthfulness of the dwelling.*** In other words: *In certain cases, it is possible that the demolition of unsanitary houses and slums around some monument of historical value will destroy an age-old ambience. This is regrettable, but it is inevitable.*²³

In Poland the most representative for this trend of architectural thought was the Praesens group, established in 1926 and closely co-operating with CIAM. Its founders included: Bohdan Lachert, Szymon Piotr and Helena Syrkus, and Jerzy Szanajca. Architects belonging to this milieu or its sympathisers were also engaged in the realisation of the idea of social architecture and co-operated with the Warsaw Housing Co-operative, the Social Building Enterprise, the Workers' Estates Society, the Polish Society for Housing Reform, and the Architects' Circle at the Democratic Club (Adam Kotarbiński, Jan Minorski). Projects for the development of the capital city and the legacy of *functional Warsaw*, conceived in avant-garde circles, survived a successive world war and got their chance due to wartime devastation. *Members of the former Praesens and those gathering around them before the war and during the occupation in the Architecture-Town Planning Studio of the Warsaw Housing Co-operative WSM comprised the conceptual core of the Capital City Reconstruction Office BOS.*²⁴

Étatisation of memory

During the 1930s Polish architects and town planners shared a fascination with the town-creating accomplishments of Benito Mussolini, expressed by Stanisław Brukalski, student at the Milan Polytechnic: *Nothing new was erected in new Rome, and this great chaotic town was turned into a modern quarter merely by opening its centre.* The Apennine Peninsula was envisaged as a site for the implementation of the idea of modernity in a social, political, and town-planning dimension. Within this context the following declaration: *The thought about a certain town-planning-architectural dictatorship in Warsaw appears to be actually the sole measure capable of preventing the present-day disgrace of the capital* was by no means surprising.²⁵

Such fascination was not limited exclusively to forms of urban space but encompassed also the model of state patronage practiced in Italy and belonging to the sources of moulding urban space. Authors anticipated state commissions, subsidies, and statutory guarantees of focusing a certain part of the costs of building investments on modern painted decorations. The economic crisis of the 1930s rendered those expectations even more conspicuous. In 1934 artists engaged in the creation of official art presented the postulate of introducing centralised supervision over artistic life, starting with purchases and the establishment of galleries all the way to protecting the author. At the same time, they declared a readiness to serve the state: a memorandum containing the above-listed postulates, prepared by the Main Board of the Union of Polish Visual Artists, was signed by, i.a. Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz. The threat of the promotion in Poland of a basically totalitarian system of protection over art was prophetically noticed by Henryk

Gotlib, whose article: *Faszystowska ofensywa na sztukę* warned against the danger created by the interventions of the authorities, the centralisation of artists' unions, and the 'from above' administration of culture.²⁶

Another object of positive interest, apart from the Mediterranean model of protection for creators, was – and this might seem highly surprising from the ahistorical perspective of the twenty first century – Soviet Socialist Realism, treated as a stylistic emanation of a cultural policy. The first meeting of Polish artists and Socialist Realism took place not in 1949, but 16 years earlier. The 'Exhibition of Soviet Art from the USSR', opened at the Institute of Art Propaganda in March 1933, inspired discussions about the place of the artist in society, the foundations of his existence, and the functions of art in changing reality. Waldemar Baraniewski wrote: *In those discussions Socialist Realism assumes the form of an argument used in our disputes, one that does not propose solutions but is treated as acceptable*. Potential approval of Socialist Realism was connected in particular with the artists' hope for gaining a suitable, in their opinion, social status.²⁷

It is impossible to place the Poland of Piłsudski alongside the Poland of Bierut, but collective behaviour characteristic for the latter did not come into being in a historical vacuum and was composed into the eternal scheme of relations between the patron and the client.

Modernisation processes, for which it was indispensable to indicate an ideological context, were accompanied by undertakings that in times closer to us are described as politics of memory, and which in this case encompass town-planning complexes. The past, alongside the creation of projects of the ultimately non-emergent Warsaw, occupied a significant place in the vision of *monumental Warsaw* pictured by President Stefan Starzyński.²⁸ *Warsaw possesses sufficient monuments, which require only serious effort to extract them from concealment and render them accessible to the population* – Starzyński stated. Antoni Wiczorkiewicz, organiser of the Museum of Old Warsaw (today: Historical Museum of Warsaw) and a 'Kurier Warszawski' journalist, was the promoter of the idea of *revealing historical monuments* and suggested lowering the terrain around palaces so as to optically slenderise the outlines of the latter. Another recommended method was the demolition of *provincial houses or slums*, the removal of newer architectural strata, and the reconstruction of older elements or entire buildings. The task presented to the Municipal Commission for Protection of Historical Monuments of Warsaw, established in 1935 as an advisory body assisting the President of the capital city, envisaged introducing order into the Old Town defensive walls after their disclosure. The re-Gothicisation of the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in the New Town, the accentuation of such Gothic relics as the façade of the Royal Castle revealed by Kazimierz Skórewicz or the above-mentioned defensive walls reconstructed until 1938 under the supervision of Zachwatowicz stressed the antiquity of Warsaw and legitimised the town's metropolitan character and status as a capital.²⁹

Historical architecture was a domain on which the authorities left the imprint of their creative ambitions. After the May 1926 coup d'état state authorities became

increasingly interested in the symbolic building of the Royal Castle conceived as the Warsaw residence of President Ignacy Mościcki. Consequently, the needs for representation gradually dominated over conservation priorities guarded by the above-mentioned Kazimierz Skórewicz, whose approach towards postulates made by the Presidential entourage was not devoid of pragmatism. Ultimately, Skórewicz's place was taken by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz – an architect inclined to meet the demands of the authorities as well as to accept and apply a creative approach towards historical interiors as an expression of his artistic individualism. *Should our restorer not be, above all, an artist? – he asked rhetorically. Should he not be concerned with placing in the restored building some sort of a memento of our culture and art for all eternity?*³⁰

Already in 1915 Alfred Lauterbach's brochure: *Potrzeby estetyczne Warszawy* criticised tenements built at the turn of the nineteenth century, indicating that the height of houses in particular streets should be rendered uniform. In 1938 Jan Zachwatowicz, speaking at a convention of town planners held in Zamość, postulated the necessity of programming the functions of Old Town complexes envisaged as an element of a holistic town-planning project (the above-mentioned cleansing of mediaeval fortifications in the Warsaw Old Town was such an example). At a town-planning course organised in February 1939 by the Association of Polish Cities, Zachwatowicz publicly presented in his paper: *Dzielnice i obiekty zabytkowe w planie zabudowy miast* a conception of healing the streets of Warsaw, referring to the Lauterbach program. The revitalisation of historical areas was to consist of applying a holistic programme for façades within a single street; the style and height of buildings were to become uniform. Edifices facing the street were acknowledged as worthy of conservation protection, while outbuildings were to be pulled down so as to improve the living conditions of the residents, design courtyards, and introduce plants, as in the already post-war Nowy Świat Street.³¹

No country can afford the luxury of demolishing existing towns and raising new ones in their stead. This is not to say that plans, visions, and dreams do not emerge just in case such luxury was to become real. *One day Warsaw will be compelled to experience a period of demolition, just as Paris, Rome or other towns did* – wrote Starzyński, who in September 1939 managed to see beautiful Warsaw.³²

A photograph by Tadeusz Przytkowski, published in 1938 and featuring a fragment of the defensive walls of Warsaw, bore the caption: *The second part of the bridge and the Barbican are enclosed by the house shown in the photograph, which should be torn down as soon as possible. Soon afterwards – as Grzegorz Piątek wrote – the pre-war campaign of revealing the past of the capital was accelerated (...) opening a field for shaping the image of Old Warsaw for architects and conservators alike.*³³

The second Great War and its consequences

During peacetime between two world wars Bronisław Malinowski – one of the most outstanding social anthropologists – concluded that war could be of significance for the creation

of culture. He was to change this opinion in the course of the Second World War, which proved to pose a special threat for culture without, however, ceasing to act as a consequence of that culture: by comprising a destructive element it provided creativity with conditions of *sui generis* cultural Darwinism.³⁴

The effects of World War II were the reasons why – as Carlo Ceschi wrote – the Athens Charter [conservation] and norms for the restoration of monuments became outdated. **It was impossible to think about the preservation of only that, which survived.**³⁵ Another consequence of the War was the creation of conditions for the fulfilment of dreams about a better city of the future, cherished by architects and town planners alike.

In Poland wartime destruction became a generational challenge for representatives of the world of culture, an ethical and ideological call for rebuilding workshops and monuments of architecture in a political reality quite different than could be predicted while working in the structures of the Underground Polish State during the German occupation. It was also a time for becoming aware of the fact that due to wartime devastation entire domains of the national past would remain lifeless for always, and that in this context some of its documents, such as monuments of architecture, which can be recreated thanks to conservation undertakings, would become even more valuable.³⁶

Endnotes

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- ² B. Rymaszewski, *Klucze ochrony zabytków...*, p. 25, 26-27.
- ³ J. Krawczyk, *Klejnot w futerale* [Jewel in a Case], in: *Wokół Wawelu. Antologia tekstów z lat 1901-1909* [Around the Wawel. Anthology of Texts from 1901-1909], J. Krawczyk (ed. and introduction), Warszawa/Kraków 2007, p. 9, 11.
- ⁴ B. Rymaszewski, *Polska konserwacja zabytków* [Polish Preservation of Historic Monuments], Warszawa 2005, p. 25, 28-29; R. Kasperowicz, *Dehio i Riegl, czyli spór o przeszłość i przyszłość zabytków* [Dehio and Riegl, Namely a Controversy over the Past and Future of Monuments], in: *Alois Riegl, Georg Dehio i kult zabytków* [Alois Riegl, Georg Dehio, and a Cult of Monuments], R. Kasperowicz (transl. and introduction), Warszawa 2006, p. 17, 38, 40, 41-43.
- ⁵ *Pamiętnik pierwszego zjazdu miłośników ojczystych zabytków w Krakowie* [Diary of the First Congress of the Lovers of Native Monuments in Cracow], Kraków 1912, p. 21.
- ⁶ B. Rymaszewski, *Polska konserwacja...*, p. 33.
- ⁷ A. Lauterbach, *Zniszczenie i odbudowa Warszawy zabytkowej* [Destruction and Reconstruction of the Historic Warsaw], 'Kronika Warszawy' 1971, no. 4, p. 64; W. Ostrowski, *Odbudowa zespołów zabytkowych po drugiej wojnie światowej* [Reconstruction of Historic Ensembles Following WW II], 'Kronika Warszawy' 1979, no. 1, pp. 73-75; idem, *Zespoły zabytkowe a urbanistyka* [Historic Ensembles Versus Urban Planning], Warszawa 1980.
- ⁸ J. Piotrowski, *Ochrona zabytków a odbudowa kraju* [Preservation of Historic Monuments versus the Reconstruction of the Country], Lwów 1916; B. Rymaszewski, *Polska konserwacja...*, p. 59; T. Zarębska, Kalisz [Kalisz], in: *Zabytki urbanistyki i architektury w Polsce. Odbudowa i konserwacja. Miasta historyczne* [Historic Monuments of Urban Planning and Architecture in Poland. Reconstruction and Conservation], Warszawa 1986, p. 161 sqq.
- ⁹ T. Szydłowski, *Ruiny Polski. Opis szkód wyrządzonych przez wojnę w dziedzinie zabytków sztuki na ziemiach Małopolski i Rusi* [Poland's Ruins. Description of Damage Inflicted in the Realm of Art Monuments in Lesser Poland and Ruthenia], Kraków 1919.
- ¹⁰ J. Wojciechowski et al., *Odbudowa zabytków architektury* [Reconstruction of Architectural Monuments], Warszawa 1915, after: B. Rymaszewski, *Polska konserwacja...*, p. 32.
- ¹¹ R. Kunkel, *Straty polskich dóbr kultury podczas I wojny światowej* [Losses in Polish Cultural Goods during WW I], 'Rocznik Historii Sztuki' 2015, p. 164.
- ¹² T. Zarębska, *Świetna karta dziejów planowania Warszawy 1915-1925* [An Excellent Episode in the History of Warsaw's Planning 1915-1925], in: *Spotkania w willi Struwego 1998-2001. Wykłady o dziedzictwie kultury, Warszawa 2001* [Meetings in the Struve Villa 1998-2001. Lectures on Cultural Heritage], p. 387.
- ¹³ P. Paszkiewicz, *Spór o cerkwie prawosławne w II Rzeczypospolitej. 'Odmoskwienie' czy 'polonizacja'?* [Controversy over Orthodox Churches in the Second Polish Republic. 'De-Moscovizing' or 'Polonizing?'], in: *Nacjonalizm w sztuce i historii sztuki 1789-1950* [Nationalism in Art and Art History 1789-1950], D. Konstantynow, R. Pasieczny, P. Paszkiewicz (ed.), Warszawa 1998, pp. 227-228; J. Trybuś, *Warszawa niezaistniała, niezrealizowane projekty urbanistyczne i architektoniczne Warszawy XX międzywojennego* [Warsaw That Did Not Come into Being: Unaccomplished Urban-Planning and Architectural Designs for Warsaw in the 1920s and 1930s], Warszawa 2012, pp. 164-165.
- ¹⁴ B. Rymaszewski, *Kryteria odbudowy Starego Miasta w Warszawie* [Criteria of the Reconstruction of Warsaw's Old Town], 'Kronika Warszawy' 2000, no. 5, pp. 31-32; idem, *Era ochrony zabytków Jana Zachwatowicza* [Jan Zachwatowicz's Era of Monument Preservation], 'Ochrona Zabytków' 1984, no. 2, p. 120; B. Wierzbicka, *Polichromia Rynku Starego Miasta w 1928 roku* [Polychrome of the Old Town's Market in 1928], in: *Historyczne place Warszawy. Urbanistyka. Architektura. Problemy konserwatorskie. Materiały sesji naukowej, Warszawa, 3-4 XI 1994* [Warsaw's Historic Squares. Urban Planning. Architecture. Conservation Challenges. Conference Proceedings, Warsaw 3-4 November 1994], B. Wierzbicka (ed.), Warszawa 1995, pp. 58-59.
- ¹⁵ B. Rymaszewski, *Polska konserwacja...*, p. 59, 62-63; B. Chomętowska, *Lachert i Szanajca, Architekci awangardy* [Lachert and Szanajca, Avant-garde Architects], Wołowiec 2015, p. 56; S. Lorentz, *Album wileńskie* [The Vilnius Album], Warszawa 1986, p. 34 - the author recalled that in 1936-1937 one of the participants in restoring Troki Castle was Ksawery Piwocki, who after 1945 kept a distance from the programme of restoring historical monuments.
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- ¹⁷ B. Rymaszewski, *Polska konserwacja...*, p. 55.
- ¹⁸ J. Zachwatowicz, *O polskiej szkole konserwacji i rekonstrukcji zabytków* [On Polish School of Historic Monuments' Conservation and Reconstruction], in: *Wybór prac* [Selected Works], Warszawa 1981, pp. 47-50.
- ¹⁹ B. Rymaszewski, *Polska konserwacja...*, p. 40; idem, *Klucze ochrony zabytków...*, p. 45.
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MODERNISATION AND THE AVANT-GARDE IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE (1918–1939)

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Abstract: The establishment of independent states in Central and East Europe after 1918 not only generated changes in European geopolitical reality but also initiated many cultural processes carried out in the name of a modernisation of the region. The processes in question aimed at building the subjectivity of individual states based on their civilisational advancement made possible by political independence, which many Central European nations gained for the first time in their history. Anticipated growth was not only to confirm their right to exist, but also to occupy a place among leading states in Europe. Within the Old Continent East-Central Europe turned out to be a domain of modernisation *par excellence*, whose progress was the most awaited and stirred the greatest number of controversies. A particular role was ascribed to the arts and artists, whose mission was

to proclaim new slogans calling for a change of the *status quo*. Instead of indisputably adopting the already existing patterns of modernity they tried to work out original concepts of modernisation reforms based on an attempt to reconcile modernity with traditional values regarded by particular national cultures as worthy of preservation. Such processes were supported by representatives of the avant-garde and the more moderate promoters of modernisation, enabling a peaceful coexistence of radically avant-garde programmes and quests for conservative definitions of Modernism. In 1918–1939 ‘New Europe’ was in favour of modernity and consistently pursued civilisational advancement while making skilful use of tools offered by new political reality and, first and foremost, of national independence achieved by numerous states in the aftermath of World War I.

Keywords: modernisation, Modernism, avant-garde, East-Central Europe, independence.

The establishment of independent states in Central and Eastern Europe after 1918 not only brought a fundamental change in European geopolitical reality but also initiated numerous civilisational and cultural processes taking place in the name of a modernisation of the region. Their purpose was to create the subjectivity of particular new states based on civilisational advancement possible due to political independence, which many Central European nations achieved for the first time in their history. Already at the time of the First World War Tomáš Masaryk wrote enthusiastically in ‘The New Europe’, a periodical with a truly symbolic title, issued since 1916 together with Robert Seton-Watson, and subsequently in a book with an identical title, published in 1918, about the opportunities created for

‘small nations’ by the fall of former empires. In the future newly established independent states were to embark upon co-operation and comprise a bulwark of democratic order in Europe. Analogous plans of political and economic federations were formulated also by other politicians and publicists. Despite the fact that they remained to a great extent unrealised – as in the case of the vision of a renaissance of the Jagiellonian community, formulated by Józef Piłsudski, the conception of an Intermarium discussed in Poland and envisaging a union of states situated between the Baltic Sea, the Adriatic, and the Black Sea, or the idea of a Danube Confederation conceived by the Hungarian liberal Oszkár Jászi – they accentuated the common history of this part of the Continent. Ultimately, local antagonisms

and conflicts, such as the controversy concerning Wilno and involving Poland and Lithuania or the activity of the so-called Little Entente, whose members: Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia were interested predominantly in hampering Hungarian efforts to regain lost territories, proved successful.

A union of new East-Central European states, therefore, turned out to be an unfulfilled hope.¹ Nonetheless, it was the experience of modernisation, based on the realisation of separate programs in particular states in 1918–1939, that should be recognised as an extremely important chapter in the history of East-Central Europe. Political elites treated the attainment of ambitious reforms as a source of the legitimisation of their power in the given country and a confirmation of the credibility of new states on the international scene. Anticipated civilisational advancement was supposed to confirm not only their *raison d'être* but also their right to occupy a displayed place in Europe and, as a consequence, to abandon the peripheral status imposed by the nineteenth-century division of the world. 'New Europe' wished to finally become a subject of the 'modern age', while within the Old Continent the whole region proved to be a *par excellence* domain of modernisation and a place where its progress was both the most anticipated and gave rise to maximum controversies. The specificity of this region, however, was the reason why modernity, albeit created in a dialogue with chief centres in West European countries and the United States, possessed a specific character resulting from a lower level of economic development than in the West and a different social structure, including an underdeveloped middle class, enclaves of modern industry, and traditional forms of agriculture in the provinces.

In this situation a special role in modernisation was assigned to art and artists, whose vocation was to proclaim radical slogans calling for a change of the *status quo*. *Instead of simply adopting the already existing patterns of modernity they tried, however, to work out their original concepts of reforms, based on an attempt to reconcile modernity with traditional values, which were found worth preserving within individual cultures.*² During the inter-war period this process enjoyed the support of state authorities – culture found itself in the very centre of their attention. Consequently, we may speak about the appearance of a specific 'state Modernism' constituting part of the official cultural policy of the states of 'new Europe'.³ Visual arts, architecture, and design occupied conspicuous places in 'new societies', moulding public and private space, educating the 'new man', and supplying him with models of 'modern life'. Modernisation, however, did not signify abandoning neo-Romantic ideas of national renaissance, and radical changes were often carried out in the name of slogans stressing cultural distinctness and proclaimed also by leading representatives of the avant-garde.⁴

Relations between modernisation and the activity of the avant-garde belonged to most frequently investigated research questions. As a rule, the avant-garde was described as a breakthrough, which, as its name indicated, preceded its epoch, opted for idealistic targets, and indicated a path towards the future. Avant-garde intransigence also denoted alienation in the world, not always treated by representatives of the avant-garde as negative, while a solution to this situation was envisaged as a strategy of building utopia,

often unexpectedly totalitarian. In turn, Modernism was to be deprived of the ideological and ethical objectives chosen by the avant-garde, thus comprising a less radical response to the challenges of contemporaneity and realising totally non-utopian projects yielding tangible profits. This is the reason why Modernism could be identified with state creating processes, but could also support colonial processes, act for the sake of great trade and industrial co-operation, or satisfy the daily needs of modern societies connected, for example, with the development of towns. For this reason it was granted a less essential role in the progressively inclined history of art by placing avant-garde rebelliousness higher than modernist pragmatism. It is difficult, however, not to notice that from this point of view the avant-garde matched the scheme of the classical theory of modernisation by realising the same program of changes all over the world, convinced that successive isms would lead to a better future. This teleological and universalistic program was an excellent summary of the celebrated scheme proposed by Alfred Barr, in which a minutely defined path towards modernity became the foundation of reflections on the history of twentieth-century art and the source of the majority of museum narrations in Europe and the United States. Not until the last two decades of the twentieth century did historians start questioning this way of thinking by demonstrating not so much the international character of the avant-garde as its numerous particular features resulting precisely from the cultural context that developed in individual countries, the best-known example being the differences between French and Czech Cubism. In turn, the history of Polish Formists shows that they linked the application of the pioneering geometricised form with quests going back all the way to the Young Poland period; they also pursued national distinctness in art by calling themselves Polish Expressionists and discovering inspiration in Polish Romanic poetry or folk art. Furthermore, the works of chief Formists referred to traditional iconography and religious themes, questioning the thesis maintaining that the avant-garde always takes the side of rationalistic secularism.

It should be also kept in mind that numerous representatives of the avant-garde in East-Central Europe joined state creating processes by executing works supporting the construction of state and national identity, i.e. by designing pavilions for world exhibitions in Paris (1937) or New York (1939) and even, as in the case of Poland, by creating the outfitting of a representative Presidential palace in Wisła (1929–1930). Nonetheless, even this new point of view, albeit cognitively attractive, cannot undermine the fact that the avant-garde proclaimed, first and foremost, the necessity of building new art for new times in accordance with the same model of cultural and political values, which were to be accepted by all mankind, and thus supported cosmopolitan artistic exchange referring to universalistic slogans and opposing national distinctness. Modernism, primarily in architecture, was initially described as an 'international style' and treated as an expression of a universalistic model of modernisation. This concept, however, was reserved mainly for the most novel projects, closest to the avant-garde, and without stressing the less radical realisations, often more important from the viewpoint of their scale and impact, such as the construction of new districts of luxury residential architecture

granted forms close to avant-garde ones and experimental housing estates intended for a completely new type of clientele. From the present-day vantage point it is impossible to ignore the fact that the identification of Modernism with the 'international style' turned out to be erroneous. This was rapidly noticed by the Modernists themselves – only some attempted to build in accordance with the postulates of the Athens Charter while many regarded the Charter as dubious and inadequate in those countries in which they worked. From this perspective the history of Modernist projects better matches definitions of modernisation as a polyphonic process adapted to concrete circumstances and in this manner attaining its objective. This is also the reason why – contrary to what heretofore history of art concentrated on the avant-garde would prefer – Modernism should be recognised as a much more reliable and effective tool for building a modern world than the avant-garde, which remains on its margin and cherishes universalistic ambitions. Finally, this is why studying Modernism could be much more important for a discussion about modernity and contribute new contents, which the history of art is unable to interpret, being limited only to the history of the avant-garde. After all, Modernism encompassed numerous currents, which sought legitimisation for introduced reforms in tradition and historical topoi referring to the cultural canon or national specificity defined as 'conservative Modernism', radically different from progressive avant-garde programs.⁵ The essence of modernisation processes, therefore, was their attractiveness for a great number of ideological and political milieus, including left-wing adherents of social reforms as well as the elites of new states aiming at building modern national identities.⁶ An analysis of the Modernist transformation of the world thus calls for taking a look at the entire spectrum of 'modernisation' projects embracing all aspects of reality, which the Modernists wished to design, i.e. architecture, design, visual arts, and sculpture as well as music, literature, the cinema, and even street decorations. Hence, while seeking an interpretation of the complex world of Modernism it is simply impossible to treat the avant-garde as privileged; more, this approach to the object of studies loses its ambiguity and diversity. Such syncretism makes it possible to accentuate mutual dependencies between various fragments of the Modernist project of rebuilding the world and appreciating each one of them as an element of a greater whole.

From the end of the eighteenth century, modernisation was integrally linked with the concept of 'modernity' discussed in Europe by analysing the emergence of a 'new society' as the effect of, i.a. the Industrial Revolution and technical progress, economic growth, urbanisation or the shaping of new types of personality and new collective identities.⁷ Jerzy Szacki stressed that sociology recognised that the new type of society and 'modern' countries differ basically from all others, which had not yet undergone the great process of transformation.⁸ Consequently, there came into being a distinctive dichotomy between groups or individuals embedded in traditional structures succumbing to inevitable disintegration and those, who opted for modernity. The acceptance of a new vision of the world did not denote an indisputable acknowledgment of the approaching epoch, and modernity was perceived also as a threat resulting in the deterioration of interpersonal ties, conflicts, and

a faltering social order together with, as Witkacy put it, the *disappearance of metaphysical emotions*.⁹ Nonetheless, modernity described in the categories proposed by Max Weber remained the attribute of the developed world, and whoever wished to become part of the latter was compelled to accept it. In order to build a new society it was necessary to achieve its modernisation, which, it was believed, should be conducted according to models devised in developed countries, to which the rest of the world had to adjust itself. This conviction was questioned by research conducted in recent decades and by subjecting the concept of modernisation to far-going criticism. The most universal charges included those, which questioned the conviction claiming that due to modernisation society is reaching its final phase of development and could persist in modernity. References to the problematic idea of progress and, more essentially, belief in universalism, which assumes that Western-style modernisation must produce everywhere the same effects: *a free market, economic growth, secularisation, democratisation, individualisation, greater respect for human rights, etc.*¹⁰ were also questioned.

Within the context of the modernisation programs pursued by new states attention should be drawn predominantly to theses formulated by Shmuel Noel Eisenstadt, who accentuated that there is no single modernity and that 'detraditionalisation' in assorted regions of the world follows diverse paths. Depending on the axial system binding in a given civilisation modernisation can follow a different course and thus does not always have to radically oppose tradition; more, modernity and tradition are mutually connected since if the former is not to become an abstraction deprived of contents then it is inconceivable without the latter.¹¹

Particular modernisation programs questioning the universalism of the Western model of modernity can be recognised as a characteristic feature of pro-reform activity pursued in East-Central Europe. Despite the differences dividing them, in 1918–1939 Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were compelled to tackle similar problems connected with the implementation of modernisation programs. Their peripheral location *vis à vis* West European centres also meant that minimalising civilisational differences, which split Europe, and stressing own subjectivity within European culture became an important task. The particularism of modernisation projects in individual countries of the region also created new perspectives for writing the history of inter-war modernity.¹² While following this path it is worth taking a step further and ponder the significance predominantly of those phenomena in the art of East-Central Europe, which did not have equivalents in other parts of the Continent and the world, and thus stress even more distinctly the specificity of experiencing 'new Europe'. Noteworthy examples include the activity of the 'Bata' Shoe Company in Czechoslovakia or the appearance of the new town and port of Gdynia in specific political and cultural conditions; such cases can be multiplied while demonstrating that the region witnessed the emergence of original and autonomous modernisation projects, which underlined the pluralistic character of modernity.

Emphasis placed on the significance of the 'new state' makes it possible to notice a community of the modernisation experience from the Baltic to the Adriatic, connected

with the restoration or winning of political independence and attempts at benefitting from it. This does not signify concentrating solely on the question of state patronage; the 'new state' should be perceived as a pretext for an analysis of a multi-motif creation of new civilisational and cultural models generated by modernisation, which could not be achieved in the absence of political freedom. In inter-war East-Central Europe this process was particularly turbulent and assumed radical forms predominantly due to a universal conviction that in the heretofore history of modernisation this region was deprived of subjectivity. Tackling the consequences of such a state of things and a willingness to find oneself rapidly in the very centre of modernity were the reasons why it became necessary to seek original modernisation solutions unknown elsewhere, serving the promotion of modernity by using also contemporary art, architecture, and design. The 'new state' functioned not only as a modernisation instrument acting by means of its administrative structures, but also as a source of inspiration for creating visionary projects of building a 'brave new world'. While accepting the thesis about assorted modernisation strategies adapted to local conditions one should pose a question about the specificity of works of art, design or architecture created

as a result of such 'regional' modernisations. Another fundamental problem is the history of cultural institutions established after 1918, and in particular museums, which became key authors of modernisation projects within the domain of culture, an outstanding example being the J. and K. Bartoszewicz Museum of History and Art in Łódź, where thanks to Władysław Strzemiński and Director Marian Minich the International Collection of Modern Art of the 'a.r.' group was installed in 1932.¹³

The history of modernisation in East-Central Europe is tantamount to the co-existence of numerous parallel phenomena, whose range contains both avant-garde attitudes and quests for conservative definitions of Modernism, while the interest of the authors focuses on extremely varied domains of activity spanning from representative exhibition pavilions to designing leaflets. Jointly, those phenomena are evidence that in 1918–1939 'new Europe' favoured modernity by consistently striving towards civilisational advancement and skilfully using tools provided by new political reality and, first and foremost, by independence achieved by the states in the aftermath of World War I.

Endnotes

- ¹ The author of the article used fragments of an introduction to his book: *Modernizacje. Sztuka i architektura w nowych państwach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 1918-1939* [Modernizations. Art and Architecture in the New States in East-Central Europe, 1918-1939], Museum of Art in Łódź, Łódź 2010 and article: *Architektura, modernizm, nowoczesność* [Architecture, Modernism, Modernity], 'Autoportret' 2015, 3 (50), pp. 54-58. These questions were discussed in detail in comparative studies on new states in East-Central Europe; cf., i.a. W. Balcerak, *Powstanie państw w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej* [Establishment of States in East-Central Europe], Warszawa 1974; P. Wandycz, *Cena wolności. Historia Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej od średniowiecza do współczesności* [Price of Freedom. History of East-Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present], Kraków 1995, pp. 306-347; H. Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe 1918-1941*, Hamden 1962; *The Economic History of Eastern Europe 1919-1975*, vol. I. M. C. Kaser, E. A. Radice (ed.), Oxford 1985. The concept of East-Central Europe is borrowed from: O. Halecki: *Historia Europy – jej granice i podziały* [History of Europe: Its Borders and Divisions], Lublin 1994.
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- ⁸ J. Szacki, *Teorie modernizacji i systemu światowego* [Theories of Modernisation and of the World System], in: *Współczesne teorie socjologiczne...*, p. 729.
- ⁹ On the dual perception of 'modernity' in inter-war Polish art cf. K. Nowakowska-Sito, *Miasto, masa, maszyna. Mit współczesności w sztuce polskiej dwudziestolecia* [City, Mass, Machine. Myth of Modernity in Polish Art in the 1920s and 1930s], in: *Wyprawa w dwudziestolecie* [Expedition to the 1920s and 1930s] (exhibition catalogue), eadem (ed.), National Museum in Warsaw, Warszawa 2008, pp. 70-85.
- ¹⁰ J. Szacki, *Teorie modernizacji...*, p. 730. On cultural contexts of modernisation cf. *Modernizacja Polski. Kody kulturowe i mity* [Modernization of Poland. Cultural Codes and Myths], J. Szomburg (ed.), Gdańsk 2008.
- ¹¹ J. Szacki, *ibidem*, p. 731. S. N. Eisenstadt, *Nowoczesność jako odrębna cywilizacja* [Modernity as Separate Civilization], in: *Współczesne teorie socjologiczne...*, pp. 754-768.
- ¹² In this context it is worth recalling the concept of 'critical regionalism' introduced into research on architecture by Kenneth Frampton, cf. K. Frampton, *Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance*, reprint in: *Die Bedeutung der Form*, B. Huber, C. Süstrunk (ed.), Zürich 1988, pp. 16-30.

¹³Cf. I. Luba, *Utworzenie Międzynarodowej Kolekcji Sztuki Nowoczesnej „a.r.”* [Creation of the ‘a.r.’ International Collection of Modern Art], in: *Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi. Monografia* [Museum of Art in Lodz. Monograph], vol. 1, A. Jach, K. Słoboda, J. Sokołowska, M. Ziółkowska (ed.), Łódź 2015, pp. 16-35.

Prof. Andrzej Szczerski

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André Le Brun, Cartouche with the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ciołek coat of arms with the figures of Justice and Peace, Marble Room in the Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum, photo A. Ring, L. Sandzewicz, courtesy of the Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

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ESTABLISHMENT OF ICOM NATIONAL COMMITTEE POLAND AND THE ROLE IT PLAYED IN 1947–1958¹

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Abstract: International Committee Poland (PKN) of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) was founded in 1947 as a result of Poland having joined the United Nations, and subsequently the International Council on Monuments and Sites (UNESCO). Throughout the 72 years of its activity, ICOM Poland (PKN ICOM) has transformed from a small-sized group of museum directors and experts (21 individuals in 1947) into a team of professionals amounting to over 300 individuals (either professionally active or retired). Their contribution to shaping Polish museology will likely become the topic of an extensive monograph.

In 1947–2018, ICOM Poland was presided by 8 individuals (see Table 1.); their operation mode was specified by

subsequent ICOM Statutes, modified by the General Assembly, as well as the *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums*.

It is the first decade of the ICOM Poland operations that is discussed in the paper; the names of the illustrious museologists of that period are given; they were the ones who in 1947–58 worked out the principles of cooperation, and despite the challenging political situation, were able to gradually introduce the rules of creating museums and of managing them as institutions of heritage protection and active learning, open to a broad exchange of ideas and international cooperation; furthermore, they worked out the assumptions and models for museum exhibits' conservation and documentation.

Keywords: International Council of Museums (ICOM), ICOM International Committee Poland, team of professionals, international cooperation, museum management, heritage protection, active learning.

Among the thorough transformations that occurred in Europe immediately following WW II, the new role of the organizations established in order to protect heritage and museum tradition should be pointed to. In reaction to the damage inflicted and the experience of many nations and states: occurring from the birth of totalitarian regimes in the Europe of the 1930s until the treaties signed in 1945–46, these concluding WW II, the circles of individuals connected with culture protection and requisition of museum collections came up with the proposal of new ways for cooperation and reflection. Their representatives led to establishing international organizations which, while overcoming political and regime conflicts, were to initiate activities aimed at restoring cooperation worldwide, marking out new trends in thinking about heritage, and

at creating a network that could serve such prominent purposes. Within a decade, the standards of professional, ethical, and pragmatic activities, were written down, and they have been implemented for over 70 years. Despite the lapse of time, the goals defined back then have remained topical, and not always fully attained, therefore they are worth recalling right now when years later we are faced with subsequent crises, this time related to climate change and a dramatic increase of the world population, as well as with social conflicts resulting from the latter. Organizations such as: UNESCO, ICOM, ICOMOS,¹ have gained a unique status on the international arena. Although referred to as NGOs, thus Non-governmental Organizations, they are essentially organizations established as a result of agreements among governments, thus functioning in all countries and areas

¹from the editorial office – on November 24, 2018, Piotr Rypson PhD was chosen as the favorite PKN ICOM.

Table 1. Presidents of the ICOM National Committee Poland in 1947–2018

1947-1966 – prof. Stanisław Lorentz
1966-1971 – prof. Kazimierz Michałowski
1971-1980 – prof. Stanisław Lorentz
1981-1990 – prof. Aleksander Gieysztor
1990-1996 – prof. Andrzej Rottermund
introduction in the ICOM Statute of a term of office of max. 2 x 3 years, with a break requirement of max. 12 years
1996-2002 – prof. Konstanty Kalinowski
2002-2005 – dr Dorota Folga-Januszewska
2005-2008 – dr Dorota Folga-Januszewska
2008-2010 – prof. Andrzej Tomaszewski
2010-2012 – p.o. Paweł Jaskanis
2012-2015 – prof. Dorota Folga-Januszewska
2015-2018 – prof. Dorota Folga-Januszewska

as national or international committees, this obliging their members to act in compliance with the legal regulations of a given country, yet also in compliance with the principles adopted by those organizations of supra-local character, and formulated by those organizations. Members are therefore obliged to abide by the rule of representing those organizations, expressed in the act of signing the will to join the organization.

When recalling the moment of establishing the International Council of Museums (ICOM), resulting from the foundation of the United Nations (UN), the above historical and political contexts should not be neglected, as they were the contexts in which these organizations, supported by respective governments, were to operate, aiming to rebuild the world so painfully mutilated and divided into two antagonistic political systems.

The late 1940s witnessed the existence of Communist and Socialist regimes, as well as colonial slavery still present in many regions of the world, with a simultaneous establishment from scratch of new or strengthening of the already existing liberal democracies; all these accounting for the differentiated quality of the world in which the institutions dealing with heritage happened to operate. On 24 October 1945, following the signing of the UN Charter (26 June 1945), the United Nations was founded. Not fully a month later, namely on 16 November 1945, UNESCO was established in London; its Constitution was adopted on 16 November 1946, this very day Poland becoming the organization's member. Its goal was to support international cooperation within culture and heritage protection, while also to promote human rights. Ten days later, the Founding Conference held at the Louvre on 16–20 November 1946, concluded with establishing ICOM. The Act establishing ICOM was signed by: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Great Britain (UK), the Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Switzerland, Sweden, and the USA; the following countries: Argentina, China, Chile, Egypt, Finland, Greece, Haiti, India, Nicaragua, Peru, the Philippines, South Africa, and Turkey, submitted letters informing that they had founded national committees.

Elected ICOM's first President, Chauncey Jerome Hamlin (1881–1963²), author of the Committee's Statute and rules, set in these *education and exchange of scholars and curators, as well as the formation of national committees* as his priority.³

The establishment of ICOM International Committee Poland was also connected with Hamlin, as it was initiated by the meeting and breakfast which Prof. Jan Muszkowski and Eugeniusz Eibisch shared with him in Paris in the course of a UNESCO conference held at the time, this encounter documented in the preserved letter Muszkowski dispatched to Prof. Lorentz.⁴

In response to the proposal, on 29 March 1947, Prof. Stanisław Lorentz (1899–1991),⁵ Director of the National Museum in Warsaw as well as Director of the Board of Museums and Protection of Monuments, sent a letter to Chancey J. Hamilton, at the time already ICOM's President, as well as Chairman of so-called UNESCO Preparatory Commission, informing that in reaction to Hamilton's letter of 20 January 1947 he had launched activities aiming at founding ICOM International Committee Poland.⁶

Slightly earlier, on 20 March 1947, Prof. Lorentz had dispatched letters to a circle of illustrious individuals regarded as outstanding specialists in museology and directors of two museums enquiring whether they would be willing to enter the first ICOM National Committee in Poland, also requesting them to kindly identify other potential candidates to join that body. The offer was presented to: Feliks Kopera (1871–1952), Chairman of the Museum Association in Poland; Ludwik Sawicki (1893–1972), Director of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw; Col. Zbigniew Szacherski (1901–1985), Director of the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw; Tadeusz Mańkowski PhD (1878–1962), Director of the State Art Collections at the Wawel; Prof. Stanisław Gąsiorowski (1897–1962), Director of the Czartoryski Collection Museum in Cracow; Reader Tadeusz Seweryn (1894–1975), Director of the State Ethnographic Museum in Cracow; Gwido Chmarzyński PhD (1906–1973), Director of the National Museum in Poznan; Jerzy Güttler PhD (1904–1952), Director of the Museum of

Prof. Dr Jan Muszkowski
 Łódź, Uniwersytecka 3

Łódź dn. 12. III. 1947

WF. Dyrektor Lorentz
 Muzeum Narodowe

Warszawa
 Al. Trzeciego Maja

Wielce Szanowny Panie Dyrektorze,

pod koniec pobytu w Paryżu na konferencji UNESCO otrzymałem niespodziewanie zaproszenie na śniadanie do p. Chauncey J. Hamlin, Przewodniczącego The International Council of Museums. Śniadanie było świetnie przyrządzone i podane, ale nie bezinteresowne, bo zażądano od wszystkich obecnych podania najwybitniejszych specjalistów danego kraju w zakresie muzeologii. Podałem oczywiście nazwisko Szan. Pana, stwierdzając że sam nie mam z muzeami nic wspólnego. To samo uczynił (w pierwszej części) p. Eibisch, który był również obecny na tym śniadaniu.

Nieznaję jednak otrzymuję wezwanie do współpracy z załączeniem różnych materiałów. Otóż pozwalam sobie przesłać to wszystko Szan. Panu, jakkolwiek nie wątpię, że i Pan to otrzymał, i pászę parę słów do p. Hamlin, dziękując za pamięć, ale stwierdzając równocześnie swój brak kompetencji w tych sprawach.

Równocześnie pozwalam sobie przypomnieć, że w październiku ub. r. pisałem do Dyrekcji Muzeum Narodowego z prośbą o żaskawę poinformowanie mnie,

czy kolekcja płytek z pismem klinowym, którą posiadało Muzeum, zachowała się i w jakim stanie? Jeżeli tak, proszę też o parę słów bliższego opisu, o ile jest to możliwe. Wiadomość ta potrzebna mi jest do drugiego wydania mojego *Życia Książki*, które jest obecnie w przygotowaniu.

Proszę przyjąć, Szan. Panie Dyrektorze, zapewnienie prawdziwego wiatania i najlepsze wyrazy

Jan Muszkowski

aa. m

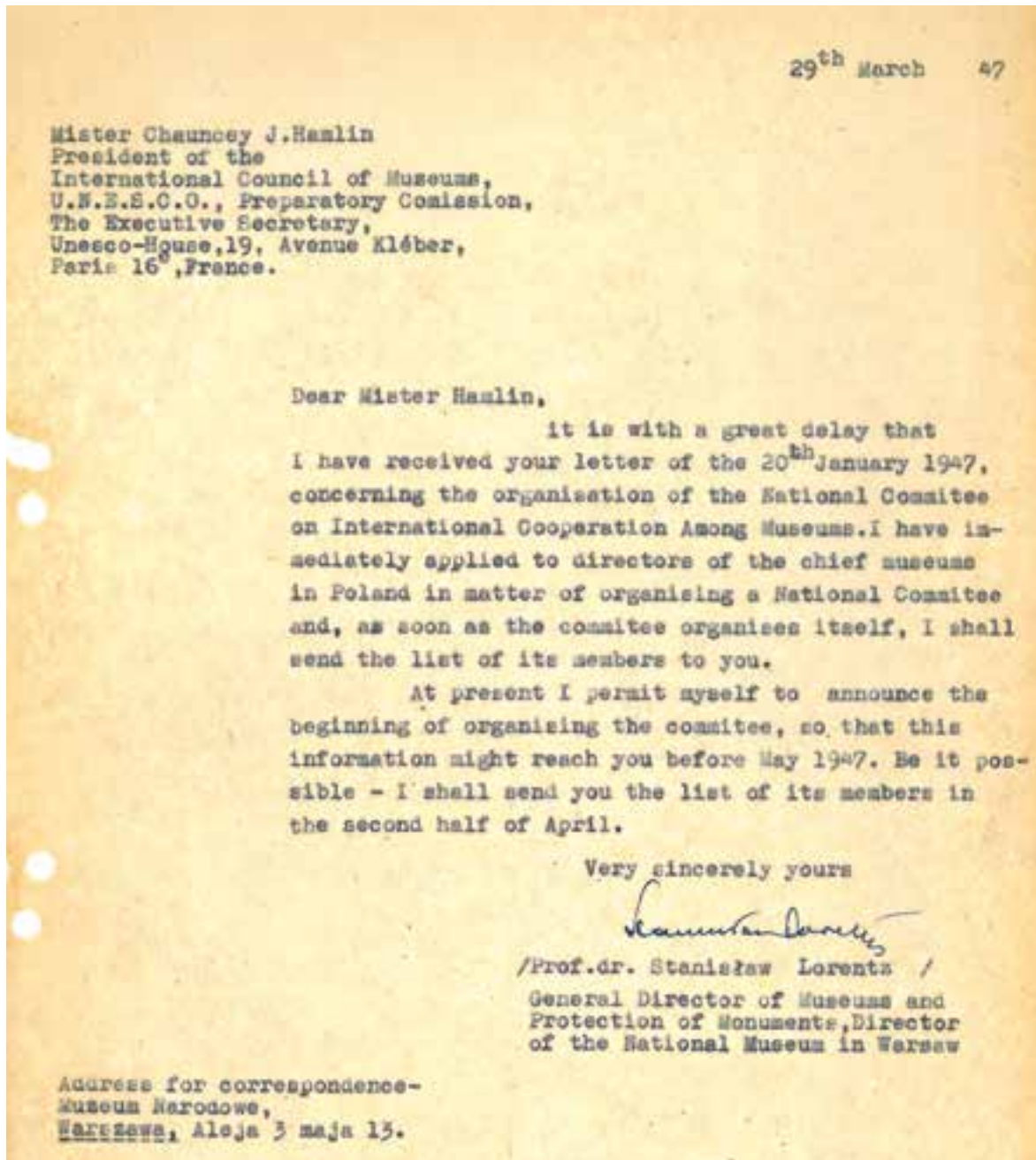
pp. prof. Michalski

1. and 2. Letter of Prof. Jan Muszkowski of 12 March 1947 to Prof. Stanisław Lorentz informing him of Chauncey J. Hamlin's proposal to establish the ICOM National Committee in Poland, ICOM Archive at MNW, portfolio 1433/26-27

Silesia being created at the time in Wrocław; Jan Chranicki PhD (1906–1976), Director of the City Museum in Gdansk; Curator Stanisława Sawicka PhD (1895–1982), Director of the Print Cabinet at Warsaw University; Stanisław Feliksiak PhD (1906–1992), Director of the State Zoological Museum

in Warsaw; as well as Stanisław Małkowski PhD (1889–1962), Director of the Museum of the Earth in Warsaw being established at the time.

Analysing the preserved correspondence with the above-mentioned museology specialists, it can be concluded that



3. Letter of Prof. Stanisław Lorentz to Chauncey J. Hamlin of 29 March 1947 informing of launching the establishment process of the ICOM National Committee in Poland, ICOM Archive at MNW, portfolio 1433/29

all of them agreed to accept the proposal, also pointing out to further candidates. Col. Szacherski suggested the following individuals: Prof. Tadeusz Manteuffel (1902–1970), Director of the Historical Institute at Warsaw University, Prof. Władysław Tomkiewicz (1899–1982),⁷ Director of the Recovery and Reparations Bureau at the Ministry of Culture, Prof. Józef Kostrzewski (1885–1969), affiliated to the Society of Friends of Sciences in Poznań, as well as Prof. Stanisław Bodniak (1897–1952), Director of the Kórnik Library. Stanisława Sawicka proposed Tadeusz Dobrowolski PhD (1989–1984), a distinguished employee of the Silesian

Museum in Katowice before 1939, and after 1945 running art history courses at the Jagiellonian Museum in Cracow. Jerzy Gutler PhD, in his turn, presented the candidacy of Marian Mnich PhD (1898–1965), Director of the Museum in Łódź; meanwhile Tadeusz Seweryn PhD proposed Józef Fudakowski PhD (1893–1969), Director of the Natural History Museum of the Polish Academy of Learning, an outstanding Polish zoologist, to be incorporated into the Committee.

This is how the twenty-one-person team of the first ICOM National Committee Poland was formed. On 4 June 1947, the founding meeting held in Poznań led to electing Prof.

Uwagi służbowe

Odpłata za telegram zł _____

Inne opłaty dodatkowe zł _____

Podpis _____

Odelegrowano
do _____ godz _____ m _____

numer Nr _____

Podpis _____

TELEGRAM

z _____ Nr _____ st. _____ dn. _____ godz _____ m. _____ Via _____

Adres: *Professor Lorentz - poste restante
Copenhaga
main partyspise*

*Unesco deleguje czy moiesz delegow
ynie / Meksyk skop jeśli tak deleg
Museum Narodowe ewentualnie
Skneszewski i Dybowski skop
Michatowski*

15/10-47

Instalacja adresowa wysyłająca

Nazwisko i imię _____

Miejscowość, ulica, nr domu, poczta, Nr telef. _____

P. T. T. - Nr 1011 - 4 W - 11 900 000

Uwagi służbowe

Odpłata za telegram zł _____

Inne opłaty dodatkowe zł _____

Podpis _____

Odelegrowano
do _____ godz _____ m _____

numer Nr _____

Podpis _____

TELEGRAM

z _____ Nr _____ st. _____ dn. _____ godz _____ m. _____ Via _____

Adres: *Unesco 133 leon c.o Unesco
avenue Jiliber Paris*

*professeur Michatowski passeport de servi
2848-3262-2128 Varsovie aout 1947
arrivera Paris 28 octobre skop Priere
reharder depart Mexico 31 octobre sk
photo suit skop
Lorentz*

H. E. J.

Instalacja adresowa wysyłająca

Nazwisko i imię _____

Miejscowość, ulica, nr domu, poczta, Nr telef. _____

P. T. T. - Nr 1011 - 4 W - 11 000 000



4., 5. and 6. Three telegrams in which Prof. Stanisław Lorentz informs that his Deputy at the National Museum in Warsaw, Prof. Kazimierz Michałowski has been assigned to participate in the ICOM General Conference in Mexico in November 1947, ICOM Archive at MNW, portfolio 1433/ 55, 58, 59

Stanisław Lorentz the Committee's President, while Ludwik Sawicki PhD was elected its Secretary. During the meeting the founders' body was joined by Stanisław Leśniewski (1871–1957), Director of the Museum of Industry and Agriculture in Warsaw. On 21 June 1947, Stanisław Lorentz sent a letter to Chauncey J. Hamlin informing him that the Committee had been established; it had its seat at the National Museum in Warsaw, at 13, 3. Maja Avenue.⁸ In response, the invitation to the first ICOM General Assembly in Paris planned for June 1948 was received.

Prof. Lorentz wrote in a letter to Hamlin that regrettably he would be unable to join the so-called ICOM preparatory General Conference in Mexico, held on 7–14 November 1947, as an excuse giving a long trip and high expenses. In response he received a cabled invitation with the promise of all the expenses to be covered by UNESCO. However, Prof. Lorentz did not decide to go, delegating his deputy at the National Museum, a well-known and outstanding archaeologist Prof. Kazimierz Michałowski (1901–1981).⁹ Therefore, the spell between June and November 1947 is considered to be the time when Poland joined ICOM and Poland's National Committee was founded.

On 17 February 1948, during the meeting of ICOM Poland in Warsaw, Prof. K. Michałowski reported on the Mexico Conference. He summarized the main assumptions adopted and voted through. A major emphasis was put then on the necessity to accept the special role to be played by museums in the cultural exchange for the sake of peace keeping, creation of representative displays of the history of mankind, general access to culture, international

exchange, as well as the struggle against an illegal circulation of cultural goods.

Soon afterwards, preparations for ICOM General Conference in Paris were started: it was to focus on the architecture of museums. The correspondence preserved in the ICOM Archive at the National Museum in Warsaw between Prof. Lorentz and the Conference Chair Georges Salles (1889-1966) was of particular importance,¹⁰ since not only did it lead to Poland's participation in the planned debate, but it, among others, prompted the participation of the most illustrious figures of French post-WWII culture, e.g. Pablo Picasso and Paul Eluard, in the Wrocław Peace Congress in August 1948.

The importance of Salles for the European museology of the time should be remembered, and the impact he had on the shape of the collections of Warsaw's National Museum pointed to. Georges Salles, grandson of Gustave Eiffel, as of 1945 Director of the French Museums, was one of the first museologists to emphasize the connection of contemporary art with creative post-war museography. It was Salles who introduced, among other concepts, that of a *truly teaching museum*. As of 1946, cooperating closely with Picasso, he led to establishing the Arts Council in France which actually prompted the Louvre to adopt as its programme the idea of combining works of the past with contemporary art. In this way a series of artistic dialogues with masters was launched: the 1950 Louvre display of the works by Zurbarán, El Greco, Murillo, Ribera in the vicinity of and in the interpretation by Pablo Picasso, whereas Salles became a 'a new classic' of the then museology. This relationship eventually climaxed with the painting Picasso



7. Letter of Marian Spychalski, 1st Vice Minister of National Defence, of 3 May 1948 communicating the decision of not sending a delegation of military museologists to attend the 1948 ICOM General Assembly in Paris, ICOM Archive at MNW, portfolio 1433/89

executed several years later in the Paris UNESCO building.¹¹ Lorentz and the Warsaw circles were inspired by this story to invite Picasso to the National Museum, which in its turn made the Master present an exquisite collection of ceramics and prints to the Warsaw Museum.¹²

The story of Poland establishing contacts with ICOM had both its glamorous and bleak moments. Lorentz's first request for the permission for the delegation of the Polish Army Museum to attend the Paris ICOM Conference was turned down by Marian Spychalski,¹³ while Lorentz himself was authorized to travel there by the Minister of Culture and Art, after his application had been given an opinion of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; a similar permission was also granted to Prof. Stanisław Gąsiorowski. Moreover, Zdzisław Raabe PhD and Jan Żabiński PhD were authorized to travel by the Ministry of Education. Finally, however, only Lorentz, Gąsiorowski and Żabiński reached Paris.¹⁴

The process of organizing ICOM National Committee Poland in 1947–48 and the official appointing of Poland's delegates by the Polish government demonstrate the role ICOM played almost immediately following its establishment and the prestige it enjoyed. The first General Assembly with Poland as a rightful member, held in Paris on 28 June – 3 July 1948, brought together 300 museologists from around the globe. National Committees of 53 states were represented; also 12 international committees were formed, of which some, like ICOMOS, later became (as of the late 1960s) separate organizations. Among them there were committees of specialized museums, such as science ones and planetariums, museums of the history

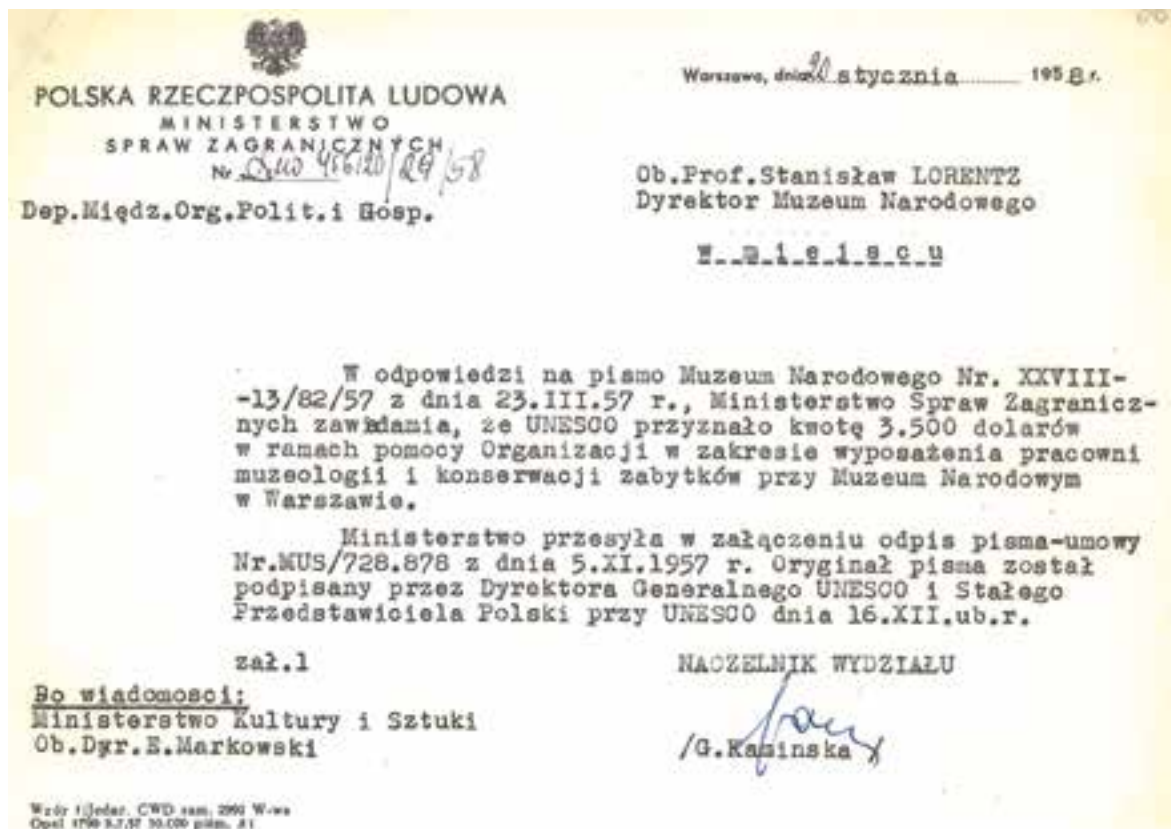
of sciences and technology, natural history museums, as well as zoological and botanical gardens, aquariums, national parks, ethnographic and anthropological museums, historic sites, arts and crafts museums, industrial museums, children's museums. Separate committees were established to deal with museum learning, education of museologists, museographic techniques, museum law and administration, as well as contacts with the public and publications.¹⁵ Furthermore, 'ICOM NEWS', museum newspaper conveying topical museology-related information, was launched.

For Polish museology contacts with ICOM constituted the key platform for the exchange of information, knowledge, and of experience, and what is more, for shaping partnership in the process of organizing exhibitions, of searching for the heritage lost in WW II, as well as for networking that allowed to enrich collections with abundant donations arriving from outside Poland.

The Stalinist period (1949–53) and that of Socialist Realism terrorizing culture made this cooperation harder in Poland, it did not, however, thwart the effects of the Polish delegation's participation in the 1948 Paris Conference. The major results of that encounter imported to Poland can be seen in the e.g. transfer of the new cataloguing standards and documentation of museum objects (obligatory photo!), elaboration of questionnaires to characterize collections, founding of museology studies, and the application of museology methods previously worked out worldwide. Conservation standards were proposed, and so were methods of handling collections. Particularly worth pointing to was the questionnaire proposed by Philip Hendy dedicated to the methods of dealing with

Liste des Directeurs de Jardins Zoologiques
qui ont accepté d'assister à la première session
de la Conférence générale biennale de l'ICOM

M. Lee GRANDALL	Director, Bronx Park, New York.
M. GRUDI	Rome
M. DECHAMBRE	Paris
M. Jean DELACOUR	Directeur du Parc Zoologique de Clères (Seine-Inférieure).
M. Hogens HØJGAARD	Directeur de l'Aquarium de Charlottenlund, Copenhague.
Mme MEYER-HOLZAPFEL	Directrice du Parc Zoologique de Berne.
M. le Docteur NOUVEL	Paris
M. A. REVENTLOV	Directeur du Parc Zoologique de Copenhague.
M. Freeman M. SHELLY	Director, Zoological Park, Philadelphia.
M. SUNIER	Directeur du Parc Zoologique d'Amsterdam. Président de l'Union internationale des Directeurs de Jardins Zoologiques.
M. W. VAN DEN BERGH, (et Madame)	Directeur du Parc Zoologique d'Anvers.
M. VEVEERS (et Madame)	Directeur du Parc Zoologique de Londres.
M. ZABINSKI	Varsaw
Mr. & Mrs MANN	Zoological Park, Washington.



10. Letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Prof. Stanisław Lorentz of 20 Jan. 1958, informing him that UNESCO had allocated USD 3,500 to equip the conservation and museology workshop at the National Museum in Warsaw, ICOM Archive at MNW, portfolio 1435/86

painting objects,¹⁶ which to this day has remained the model of an extensive description of a museum object.

In 1949–54, direct contacts of the Polish Committee with the ICOM Office in Paris were reduced to the minimum for political reasons,¹⁷ while its activity flagged. The relations were resumed in 1954 when the Committee included merely 14 members¹⁸ (Jan Chranicki, Tadeusz Dobrowolski, Janusz Durko, Zdzisław Kępiński, Col. Kazimierz Konieczny, Stanisław Lorentz, Kazimierz Michałowski, Kazimierz Malinowski, Zdzisław Rajewski, Jerzy Remer, Tadeusz Seweryn, Juliusz Starzyński, Jerzy Szablowski, Wanda Załuska). Prof. Stanisław Lorentz remained its President following the Committee's restructuring, and represented it at the General Conference in Paris on 20 July 1954. It was the time of extremely close, almost identical relations between UNESCO and ICOM, this resulting from the affiliation structure of both organizations complying with the French law, and the move to the new seat in the Paris purpose-raised building called Maison de l'UNESCO.¹⁹

The trip of the National Committee's representatives to the subsequent ICOM General Conference in Switzerland was described in his memoirs by Janusz Durko (1915–2017),²⁰ Secretary of the National Committee Poland in 1954–69, as well as a long-standing Director of the Historical Museum of Warsaw (1951–2003). Director Durko's account brilliantly characterizes the difficulties that Polish museologists faced when trying to travel to the Western world.

In 1956, on the initiative of Lorentz and in cooperation with ICOM, the so-called International Museum Campaign

took place in Warsaw, this serving as a token of appreciation for Polish museology and monument conservators. On that occasion Warsaw was visited for the first time by Georges Henri Rivière, ICOM General Director, Jan van der Haagen heading UNESCO, Germain Bazin, director of the Painting Gallery at the Louvre, and many other heads of European museums who considered crossing the 'Iron Curtain' a risky undertaking. Durko recalls the session held at Nieborów on 21–22 September 1956.²¹

It was most likely for political reasons that in the late 1950s ICOM Poland focused on conservation challenges and the application of documentation techniques, which being of strictly professional character were not frowned upon by Poland's Communist authorities. A preserved example of this activity type can be found in the response of the Polish party to the ICOM questionnaire of 1 December 1958 related to the establishment of museum laboratories in Warsaw and Toruń called Workshops for Research and Technological Documentation.²² The correspondence between Arthur van Schendel, Director at Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum, and Prof. Stanisław Lorentz on Memling²³ discloses the realm of a very active cooperation and knowledge exchange on collections and methods of their protection. Moreover, some documents also testify to financial support to museums that Poland was granted from UNESCO and ICOM.²⁴

Interestingly, the 1950s were the time of activities and transformations occurring in technology museums worldwide.

1958

ICOM
MIĘDZYNARODOWA RADA MUSEÓW

STATUT +/

Artykuł I

Nazwa i siedziba

- § 1. Tworzy się Organizację pod nazwą Międzynarodowa Rada Muzeów /International Council of Museums, Conseil International des Musées/ nazwycoj oznaczoną skrótom ICOM.
- § 2. Siedziba ICOM-u mieści się w Paryżu.

Artykuł II

Określenie

- § 1. Termin muzeum oznacza tutaj każdą instytucję o charakterze stałym, której zadaniem jest zachowanie, badanie i udostępnianie społeczeństwu wartości zespołów dóbr kulturalnych przez stosowanie różnorodnych środków a głównie przez ekspozowanie dla celów wychowawczych oraz wywołania przeżyć emocjonalnych i estetycznych : zbiorów dzieł sztuki, pamiątek historycznych, przedmiotów mających wartość naukową i techniczną, ogrodów botanicznych i zoologicznych, akwariów.
- § 2. Na równi z muzeami traktuje się biblioteki publiczne i ośrodki archiwalne posiadające stałe sale wystawowe.

Artykuł III

Cele i środki działania

- § 1. Celem ICOM-u jest:
 - a/ utworzenie w płaszczyźnie międzynarodowej organizacji reprezentującoj muzea oraz muzealnictwo jako zawód;

+/ Tłumaczenie z języka francuskiego Statutu uchwalonego w dn. 3 lipca 1951 r. z uwzględnieniem zmian uchwalonych w dn. 11 lipca 1953 r. oraz w dn. 4 lipca 1958 r.

11. First page of the 1958 Polish translation of the ICOM Statute of 3 July 1951, ICOM Archive at MNW, portfolio 1435/175

Under ICOM's auspices, the institutions introduced active learning rooms, namely displays with devices and models meant for learning through experiments. In response to this tendency, the NOT [Supreme Technical Organization] Museum of Technology and Industry was reactivated, and meant to continue the pre-WW II Museum of Industry and Technology; in 1955, it found a new home in the Palace of Culture and Sciences, featuring a new display, subsequently perfected until the late 1970s.²⁵ This was the beginning of the phenomenon today referred to as 'interactive museum'. Technology and science museums also worked out the model of in-field, 'mobile' institutions, thus preserving technology monuments, such as old railway lines and rolling stocks, machines and devices once equipping the industrial plants that were closed down, or serving as earlier technological solutions in agriculture (e.g. windmills). The International Committee for Museums and Collections of Science and Technology (CIMUSET) continued evolving, with Poland's representatives serving as its extremely active members. The action methodology worked out at the time continues as a set of standards for industrial heritage conservation applied today.

In July 1958, ICOM Poland had 13 ordinary members (Adam Bochnak, Jan Chranicki, Zdzisław Kępiński, Col. Kazimierz Konieczny, Stanisław Lorentz, Kazimierz Michałowski, Kazimierz Malinowski, Ksawery Piwocki, Zdzisław Rajewski, Jerzy Remer, Tadeusz Seweryn, Juliusz Starzyński, Jerzy Szablowski) and 13 associate members (Prof. Antonina Halicka, Director at Warsaw's Museum of the Earth; Prof. Bohdan Marconi, Director of the Central Laboratory for Monument Conservation;²⁶ as well as Engr. Czesław Ługowski, Director of the Museum of Industry and Technology in Warsaw).²⁷

In 1958, also the idea of establishing a new committee dealing with the relations between museums and TV, filmmaking industry, and the 'active' media, was conceived. In his letter of 20 March 1958, Georges Salles invited Stanisław Lorentz to participate in the conference prepared on the topic; Lorentz, in his turn, committed himself to put together a report on the situation in Poland.²⁸ A period of extremely lively and versatile international contacts started.

The preserved correspondence points out to the exchange of specialists in many directions, this being something novel, as well as to a substantial team of outstanding museologists invited to Poland, preparation of shared exhibitions, and to information exchange.

The ICOM Poland's archive also includes the possibly first 1958 Polish translation of the ICOM Statute adopted on 3 July 1951, in Art. 2 containing an extended definition of 'museum':

1. *The term museum here denotes any permanent establishment, whose task it is to preserve, study, and make accessible to the public, the values of groups of cultural goods, this by applying various means, mainly by displaying them for the instruction of the public and in order to inspire emotional and aesthetical experiences: of art work collections, historical mementoes, and objects of scientific and technological value, of botanical and zoological gardens, and aquariums.*
2. *Public libraries and archival institutions maintaining permanent exhibition rooms shall be considered as museums.*²⁹

The above definition launched a debate on extending the traditional role of museum, it served as grounds for subsequent standardizations and legal regulations with respect to cultural goods. ICOM Statue definitions and regulations were translated into Polish, and subsequently incorporated into the Polish Act on Cultural Heritage Protection of 15 February 1962.³⁰ In Section 8 of the Act, dedicated almost entirely to museums, ICOM's phrasing from the 5th General Conference in Stockholm (1959) was applied, adding even the transcript promoted within ICOM by H.G. Rivière,³¹ in Polish regulations reading in Art. 51: *Museums shall be entitled to attempt to be classified as scientific-research institutes in compliance with the valid regulations.*

A new period of the development and professional profiling of those institutions, later named the museum age by Germain Bazin,³² began. The next decade (until the events of 1968) was the time when many new concepts were conceived, and the idea of European museology expanded further. ICOM National Committee Poland was to experience yet another spell of intense development, this, however being the topic of a future paper.

Endnotes

¹ The Author extends her most sincere gratitude for the precious comments and consultancy she received while writing the present paper to Prof. Andrzej Rottermund, Prof. Iwona Szmelter, Prof. Stanisław Waltoś, and Director Paweł Jaskanis.

² UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; ICOM: International Council of Museums; ICOMOS: International Council of Monuments and Sites.

³ The Archive of the Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, contains a selection of Hamlin's writings; Hamlin has been considered one of the leading American politicians of the mid-20th c.; Hamlin's letters from his trip to Europe at Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, 1 Lafayette Square, Buffalo, NY 14203, File No.: RBR Mss. H37 1955, 1. k.

⁴ Quoted after: *Histoire de l'ICOM (1946-1996)*, S.A. Baghli, P. Boylan, Y. Herreman (elab.), ICOM, Paris 1998, ISBN 92-9012-243-9, p. 13. Major stages in ICOM's development, <https://icom.museum/en/about-us/history-of-icom/> [Accessed: 28 Dec. 2018].

⁵ Letter in the National Museum in Warsaw (MNW) Archive, so-called ICOM Archive, portfolio1433/26-27.

⁶ For Prof. Stanisław Lorentz's biography and contribution to the organization of Polish museology, together with the bibliography of his publications see: *Przeszłość przyszłości. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Stanisława Lorentza w setną rocznicę urodzin* [The Past of the Future. Book Commemorating Professor Stanisław Lorentz on the 100th Anniversary of His Birth], A. Rottermund, D. Folga-Januszewska, E. Micke-Broniarek (ed.), Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, Warszawa 1999.

⁷ Letter in the Archive..., portfolio 1433.

⁸ In the written record the initial of the first name was erroneously given as 'S'. The person in question is Władysław Tomkiewicz, letter to S. Lorentz of 31 March 1947. *Ibid.*, portfolio 1433.

- ⁹ Letter of 21 June 1947, *Ibid.*, portfolio 1433/47. Museum's current address: 3 Jerozolimskie Avenue.
- ¹⁰ Correspondence and telegrams preserved, *Ibid.*, portfolio 1433/48-60.
- ¹¹ Also including the letter of 26 March 1948 from Georges Salles, at the time Director of the French Museums and President of ICOM National Committee France to Stanisław Lorentz, encouraging the addressee to collect photographic documentation showing museum architecture; this was to accompany the Conference in an exhibition, *Ibid.*, portfolio 1433/69.
- ¹² See documentation at Administration Picasso, <https://www.picasso.fr/details/ojo-les-archives-avril-2014-ojo-25-a-lire-autour-de-picasso-georges-salles-lhomme-a-la-sensibilite-intransigeante> [Accessed: 28 Dec. 2018] and memoirs published as: G. Salles, *Le Regard*, RMN, Paris 1992.
- ¹³ I write more extensively on the topic in: D. Folga-Januszewska, *Picasso. Przemiany* [Picasso. Transformations], Exhibition Catalogue, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Warszawa 2002.
- ¹⁴ Letter dated 3 May 1948 from the Vice Minister of National Defence to the Minister of Culture and Art, Archive, portfolio 1433/89.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, portfolios 1433/110 and 111.
- ¹⁶ *Histoire de l'ICOM ...*, pp. 15-16.
- ¹⁷ *Questionnaire sur le traitement des peintures*, See Archive..., portfolio 1433, items 170-182. Full questionnaire in MNW's Archive.
- ¹⁸ It was the antagonisms between the USSR and USA that were of the greatest impact, these including the accusations of imperialist actions, see J.A. Armstrong, *The Soviet Attitude towards UNESCO*, 'International Organization' May 1954, Vol. 8, Issue 2, pp. 217-233.
- ¹⁹ The members' number limited to 15 individuals resulted from the decision of the Ministry of Culture who paid ICOM membership fees in hard currency into the Paris ICOM account. Any other transfer of membership fees was at the time impossible. This is the piece of information I owe to Prof. Andrzej Rottermund.
- ²⁰ Earlier (1946-58) UNESCO and ICOM had their seat at the old Hôtel Majestic (16th District), following which it was moved to a modern three-winged building at 7 Place de Fontenoy, designed by Bernard Zehruss, Marcel Breuer, and Pier Luigi Nervi in cooperation with Eero Saarinen. The cornerstone having been laid on 10 April 1955, the building was used as of 1958. Its interiors were gradually decorated up to 1985 by a number of most illustrious artists with sculptures, murals, mosaics, paintings, and prints, e.g. Henry Moore, Alexander Calder, Pablo Picasso, Roberto Matta, the number of works totalling about 700, decorating almost all the spaces of the building and the surrounding garden.
- ²¹ J. Durko, *Lata pięćdziesiąte* [The 1950s], 'Almanach Muzealny' 1997, Vol. 1, pp. 347-358, memoirs dedicated to ICOM pp. 350-353. The second part of the memoirs called *Lata sześćdziesiąte* [The 1960s] was published in Vol. 5 of 'Almanach Muzealny' in 2007.
- ²² J. Durko, *Lata pięćdziesiąte...*, p. 353.
- ²³ Archive..., portfolio 1435.
- ²⁴ Friendly letter of 2 Nov. 1957, *Ibid.*, portfolio 1435/60.
- ²⁵ Letter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to MNW of 20 Jan. 1958 on the allocation of a UNESCO grant to the equipment of a conservation studio, *Ibid.*, portfolio 1435, item 86; also later documents informing of awarding scholarships for museology development and career development of museum employees.
- ²⁶ Jerzy Jasiuk (1932-2016), Museum's director in 1972-2013, was a longstanding member of the presidium of ICOM National Committee Poland, and strongly promoted this direction in the Museum's development.
- ²⁷ Bohdan Marconi (1894-1975), well-known and esteemed conservation professor at Warsaw's Academy of Fine Arts, member of the Board of IIC (International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works 1962-65, its Vice President 1965-72), see e.g.: L. Krzyżanowski, *Marconi Bohdan*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny konserwatorów zabytków* [Polish Biographical Lexicon of Monument Conservators], Stowarzyszenie Konserwatorów Zabytków, Poznań 2000, fascicle 1.
- ²⁸ List of members with their addresses, Archive..., portfolio 1435/173.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, portfolio 1435/107-108; Report - items 150-152; and the description titled: *Telewizja polska i muzealnictwo* [Polish TV and Museology], *Ibid.*, portfolio 1435/165-168.
- ³⁰ Translations in the Archive..., portfolio 1435, items 175-180; the translation likely by S. Lorentz, typescript.
- ³¹ Journal of Laws of 1962 No. 10, Item 48.
- ³² In November 2018, an exhibition dedicated to the impact of G.H. Rivière on the general understanding of the role of scientific research in museums, particularly on the proper shaping of the learning process, was launched at Marseille's MUCEM. The exhibition's title *Seeing is Understanding* conveys the ideas which were accepted with much resistance by many circles considering museums exclusively to be culture institutions, not research establishments, see: *Georges Henri Rivière – Voir, c'est comprendre*, 14 novembre 2018 – 4 mars 2019, Mucem, Marseille.
- ³³ G. Bazin, *Le temps des musées*, Liège 1967.

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REGISTERS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE IN MUSEUMS FOLLOWING THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ACT ON MUSEUMS IN 1996

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Abstract: The Act on Museums of 1996 regulated peculiar challenges faced by museums. At the same time it separated museum preservation of archaeological heritage from the system of the preservation of monuments. From that moment onwards those museums whose collections were movable archaeological heritage were obliged in their museum procedures to comply with the regulations of two acts: the afore-mentioned Act on Museum and the Act on the Protection and Guardianship of Historical Monuments of 2003, together with its implementing regulations.

The ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Art on the standard for registering heritage items in museums introduced quite a revolutionary change in the registering of archaeological heritage in those institutions as for object inventorying. The registering was to be from then on applied only to single tangible heritage items, and not to archaeological sites together with all the collections

like in previous years. The change implied quite a lot of organizational repercussions, including difficulties in defining the collection's countability and its financial worth, or the unequivocal item's identification. The challenges caused are, among others, problems with the decisions how to qualify different historic groups of scientific sources to be entered into museum documents. This is connected with the necessity to differentiate and define what archaeological mass finds versus museum objects are in museum registers. New principles of museum object identification were introduced, and their implementation in the documentation practice forced significant changes in the attitude to the traditionally perceived methodology of creating information on archaeological monuments. Furthermore, the value assessment of archaeological monuments is questionable. It is the lack of standards for assessing the value of this group of monuments that is related to this issue.

Keywords: specificity of archaeology, legal amendments, register standard, museum objects, mass finds, value of archaeological monuments.

Upon the adoption of the Act on Museums in 1996,¹ peculiar problems, particularly of state museums, were normalized, and to a lesser degree of institutions of a museum character which are not cultural institutions,

but amass collections. At the same time, the Act separated museum preservation of archaeological heritage from the system of the preservation of monuments of history. From that moment onwards those museums whose collections

were movable archeological heritage were obliged in their museum procedures to comply with the regulations of two acts: the afore-mentioned Act on Museums and the Act on the Protection and Guardianship of Historical Monuments of 2003,² together with its implementing regulations.

Although neither of the Acts deals with the methodology of the way of discovering the remains of old cultures within historical space, these new ways of registering archaeological collections essentially impacted the processes of ordering knowledge with respect to museum objects isolated from them and the remaining heritage objects, which with the due progress of academic elaboration are separated from an enormous number of artefacts collected in museums' storage spaces. The alteration of the legal status from a monument to a museum object within archaeological collection is thus the result of research and conservation processes spaced in time, requiring appropriate staff, financial resources, organizational and storage conditions. In this collection there also exists mass material boasting the status of amorphous and collective movable monuments hardly countable and impossible to unequivocally identify. After the introduction of the legal amendments what we usually only speak of is a museum object: single identifiable archaeological monument.

The ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Art of 1997, and the new one of 2004³ introduced quite a **revolutionary change** in the registering of archaeological heritage in museums as for object inventorying. The registering was to be from then on applied only to single tangible heritage items, and not to research sites together with all the collections, namely so-called archaeological sites.

Legal conditionings have the major impact on shaping the registering model and managing museum collections, since they constitute the framework in which the institution identifies its possessions and manages cultural heritage. They also constitute practical guidelines, collectively allowing to standardize approach to collections in various institutions. The reference points for the models can be found in remaining factors, such as tradition and history, as well as the methodology of a scientific elaboration of collections, and in the case of archaeological monuments, also the methodology of their acquiring. Since the late 20th century rapid development of digital technology and a widespread application of IT have allowed transformation of the format of museum documents and of the management of the knowledge of the collections. Museological circles have realized the need to introduce a widely understood standardization into the managing of the institution and the collections, particularly the necessity to verify the so-far models of collection registering as a means to create the basis of knowledge potentially accessible through teleinformatic networks.⁴ In modelling the collection register it was thus necessary to also take into account the conditionings of the functioning of the integrated database system allowing to effectively create and use the collected data. The task required proper structuralization of data and information, as well as the systemic opening to cooperation with other database systems, also the network ones which collect data related to archaeological and cultural heritage. Moreover, it called for standardization applied to the adopted terminology of extensive semantics, while at the

stage of creating the database, also to the discipline in the unequivocal character of the used terms, and consistency in calling objects and phenomena, as well as their essential and mutual relations. Institutions of culture, science, and of monument protection, can and should co-use the collected data, as well as share the knowledge they have created with different users.⁵

The presentation of the list of the main amendments related to the identification and management of collections after 1996 with reference to the earlier contexts, might allow to accurately look at the problem faced by museologists who wanted to properly carry out their mission of protection for museum objects and other movable archaeological monuments collected in museums. Particularly as the legislator in the justification to the bills standardizing the register neither foresaw the economic impact of the introduced changes, nor defined the transitory period for their implementation.

The legal grounds for the construction of the register of museum collections **before 1996** had been the Act of 15 February 1962 on the Protection of Cultural Goods and Museums,⁶ in which the task of museums in the system of culture goods' protection was defined. In the Act as well as in the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Art of 18 April 1964 on running inventory of museum objects⁷ typological variety of the collections amassed by museums had been taken into account, and therefore detailed principles of creating templates for their registering, different for collections of art, archaeology, ethnography, nature, and technology, were provided.

Museums were obliged to **run museum objects' inventory** (Art. 1 of the 1964 Ordinance), composed of numerous documents, together allowing to identify museum objects and to manage them. The documents were enumerated in Art. 2.1, and were as follows:

- register of museum objects' accession,
- museum objects' storage file,
- inventory register of museum objects,
- academic catalogue of museum objects,
- deposit register of museum objects,
- register of museum objects' circulation.

For museums with archaeological collections it was also necessary to run a field accession register for accessions from currently conducted excavations (Art. 2.2). **Therefore, the set of documents creating the system of collections' identification and management was defined as inventorying.**

In the museums boasting archaeological collections, the inventory of museum objects was entered either sites or archaeological objects that were immovable archaeological monuments; it was only in relation to those that movable monuments were registered. This principle was phrased in Art. 6.2 of the 1964 Ordinance: *In an archaeological museum (department) the objects entered into the field accession register shall not be entered into inventory registers of museum objects; instead, the archaeological site for which the field accession register is run shall be entered.*

However, not all the archaeological monuments acquired by museums come from excavation research. It is through field research that museums acquired in the past and continue acquiring over 90 per cent of their collections,

while the remaining part coming from private collections could either be purchased or donated? to museums. In the latter case they qualify to be entered into inventory as individual entities, analogical to other museum collections of, e.g. art. Such a solution results in the lack of cohesion in the inventorying rules for monuments of one category.

The 1964 Ordinance was accompanied by the *Instruction How to Run Inventory of Museum Objects*,⁸ in detail interpreting its respective provisions. In Art. 41 it was decided, among others, that as part of the number given to the site, numbers and categories of monument sets which can be identified in compliance with the criteria valid in archaeology have to be provided. The type of set can be seen in monuments or groups of monuments of a high academic or display value. As an example given were *10 axes from a treasure*. At the same time in the inventory books it was possible to give individual numbers to selected historical objects acquired during excavations, namely discovered at archaeological sites in the event when they are regarded to be objects of exceptional value.

In this way inventory items covered both respective objects and their groups (sites, sets, or monument categories), as well as objects belonging simultaneously to the inventory register of the site and selected at museum's discretion.

An incoherent definition of the inventory object in museums for archaeological monuments in the regulations from the 1960s resulted in the fact that in the registering model of the collections immovable monuments (archaeological sites) were given an equal status to movable monuments (single specimens). Each of the above-described entities could be given an individual number in the inventory book.

The 1996 change of the legislator's attitude to the inventory object, in relation to archaeological monuments, implied quite a number of organizational repercussions, including difficulties in defining the collection's countability and its financial worth, or the unequivocal item's identification in cases of the inevitable alteration to their preservation state. Changes in principles for identifying museum objects were introduced, and their implementation into documenting praxis forced essential changes in the attitude to the traditionally understood methodology of formulating information on archaeological monuments. In connection with the inconsistency of the legal regulations from the 1960s, a need arose, particularly in museums, to elaborate a new model of **registering** and managing museum objects, also taking into account the specificity of records in the existing museum inventories.

Thus the new notion of registering was introduced into museum terminology. The legislator included in it the whole system of the identification and of managing collections, in particular allowing for:

1. identification and designation of each object in the museum collection in the way allowing the quantitative- and -qualitative identification of the set;
2. documentation of the object's history from its creation to its acquisition by the museum (provenance);
3. documenting the history of the object in the museum, i.e. all the activities conducted by the museum while it is kept there (conservation, scientific research, making it available, e.g. participation in exhibitions, etc.).

Museums were obliged to run collection registers (Art. 1.2 of the 2004 Ordinance⁹), *which consisted in an appropriate entry in the following inventorying documentation:*

1. register card,
2. inventory of museum objects kept in the form of an inventory book,
3. book of deposits,
4. documentation of archaeological research and other field research allowing to identify each of the museum objects that are in the museum.

This means that the concept of 'registering' following the adoption of the Act on Museums from 1996 supplanted the concept of 'inventorying'. earlier defined in the regulations from the 1960s.

Inventorying in museums signifies currently the entry of objects that are museum's property (Art. 21, Act on Museums) into the document called Inventory Book of Museum Objects, and run in the format defined with the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture (Arts. 3.1–2 and 3.4–5; Art. 4.1, Art. 5.1–2, Ordinance of 2004).

Since 1996 the Inventory of Museum Objects has required the entry of particular movable archaeological cultural heritage objects. In Art. 5.1 of the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture of 2004 this was phrased as follows: *each museum object shall enter the Inventory Book under a different number*. It is only in the cases when a set of objects constitutes an integral whole, e.g. a portfolio, a sketchbook, a set of furniture, that the inventory number can be slashed with respective numbers assigned to its elements (Art. 5.2, Ordinance of 2004). In any case identifying numbers must be attributed to respective movable monuments, and not to the archaeological site (immovable), as had been done in previous years. The thesis that the inventorying object had been changed is confirmed by a detailed analysis of the 2004 Ordinance. The set of information defined by the legislator that museum is obliged to include in inventorying documents unequivocally shows that it refers to respective archaeological monuments, not archaeological sites. The entries into the Inventory Book of Museum Objects (Art. 3.1) have to contain the information on the object's author or creator, provenance, value on the acquisition day, creation place and time, material, execution technique, dimensions, optionally weight of the inventoried object, and identification of its characteristic features. Arts. 7.1 and 7.4 enumerate additional features of museum objects that obligatorily need to be placed on register cards. These include: visual documentation, most frequently a photo or a drawing, value on the registering day, means of labelling in the museum, place where it is kept, and information on any relocation.

The regulations have left out all the issues of registering the spatial and historical contexts of the objects' discovery, namely all the determined connections of movable heritage objects, and thus museum objects too, with archaeological sites. What has remained is only the obligation to provide information on the place of the acquisition of the museum object. The Act on Museums with the 2007 amendments actually defines that inventorying can apply to immovable heritage objects, however this only in the case when due to the specificity of the collection a real estate that is museum's property enters the inventory, as is the case

of immovable heritage objects in open-air (ethnographic) museums. Archaeological sites (immovable heritage objects) from which collections of archaeological heritage objects (movable heritage objects) come, generally are not owned by museums. Thus a two-level information order had been simplified to one level only. The method of archaeological museum connotation: general-to-specific had been reversed with a legal-administrative procedure, this resulting in the necessity to alter the registering of collections and museum objects, in favour of exclusively registering museum objects.

The basic feature distinguishing movable archaeological heritage object from other museum collections can be seen in the fact that being products of human activity, and discovered in immovable heritage objects,¹⁰ they are covered with the system of protection and guardianship still before they are taken over by museums. The principles of conducting the field research in the result of which monuments that are later transferred to museum collections are discovered, have been regulated in Polish legislation, and have to be reflected in the model of registering of archaeological collections in museums. This goes to say that the legal grounds for these models, apart from the Act of 21 November 1996 on Museums together with the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture of 30 August 2004 as for the Range, Form and Format of inventorying monuments in museums is to be found in the Act on the Protection and Guardianship of Historical Monuments of 23 July 2003 together with the statues, the latter including first of all the Ordinance on Conducting Archaeological Research and Documentations Standards (the latest amendment of 2 August 2018).¹¹

One of the main museum procedures to acquire archaeological heritage objects, namely collection acquisition, is provided for in Art. 35 of the 2003 Act on the Protection and Guardianship of Historical Monuments. It provides regulations for handling movable archaeological discoveries made in the course of excavations conducted at immovable archaeological monuments, namely archaeological sites. It also regulates the mode and form of acquiring archaeological monuments by museums. The monuments are then transferred to the museum upon the decision of the territorially relevant Voivodeship Monument Conservator/Officer for Preservation of Objects of Cultural Heritage (on behalf of the Voivode as a representative of the Treasury of State) in compliance with a two-stage procedure: first as a deposit, and subsequently, upon the motion filed by the museum director, as property. The form of the decision valid for the monument preservation unit depends on the regulation of an administrative-and-legal character that museums have no impact upon. Additionally, these museums are obliged, just like all the museums in Poland, to receive collections by protocol, this having been included in Art. 2 of the 2004 Ordinance. This creates the necessity to apply peculiar procedures of receiving, registering, and managing them, which are more complex and slightly different from the procedures applied for other type of museum objects. Acquiring archaeological collections is a multi-stage process in which field practice intermingles with legal obligations, extensive cultural and natural research, also for conservation purposes.

The process begins at the stage of the field identification of the research object within the range enabling the issuing

of a permit to conduct the research by the Voivodeship Conservator of Monuments/Officer for Preservation of Objects of Cultural Heritage. Archaeologists are required by Polish law to apply for such a permit, additionally submitting a document confirming *the readiness of a museum or another organizational unit to receive archaeological heritage objects discovered in the course of running the archaeological research* (Art. 9.3.7 of the 2018 Ordinance).¹² In practise, the entity applying for the permit provides museum director with information on the location of the planned archaeological investigation and on the predicted category of the site that can be uncovered on the grounds of preliminary research in archives and conservation documentation, as well as field prospection. The director makes to decision to declare readiness to receive the heritage objects in the event when both the research location, and the foreseen heritage object character complies with the policy of building the museum collections. One of this policy's elements is the territorial principle of preserving archaeological heritage objects in compliance with the country's division into voivodeships. An important element for the director's decision and his/her consent is the assessing of the potential number of movable archaeological heritage objects in view of the institution's storage and organizational-and-staff potential.

However, director's declaration may contain museum's additional expectations (apart from the need to supply field documentation specified in Annex 2 to the above-pointed Ordinance of 2018) related to the way of preparing monuments unearthed during the excavation, as well as their documentation format. It is the only legal form allowing the museum to participate in planning the archaeological research. The museum is not a party in the process of deciding detailed conditions for field research, although once this is completed, it is the organization that becomes responsible for the care of the movable heritage objects, in many a case without appropriately secured financing to store, keep, conserve, and elaborate them.

Following the completion of the field works, movable heritage objects as well as the produced documentation connected with the investigation process are not transferred to the museum that had earlier agreed to receive them, but to the Voivodeship Conservator of Monuments/Officer for Preservation of Objects of Cultural Heritage; as a representative of the Treasury of State, the latter has owner's authority over all archaeological heritage objects. Upon the director's motion, the Conservator/Officer may transfer them to the museum, following a two-stage procedure.

The period over which the museum has the heritage object in deposit is used by the staff to conduct conservation works and a preliminary registering as well as scientific elaboration. It has to be borne in mind, however, that archaeological monuments when unearthed are most generally fragmented or defected. Therefore, in the museum conservation and reconstruction undertakings are carried out, as a result of which their number and typological definition may alter compared to the information contained in the field documentation. Such research can go on for a number of years, depending on numerous factors, these including the number of movable heritage objects found at the archaeological site, their preservation, as well as the

material they were made of, and the execution technique. It is only upon the completion of research works and the detailed identification of the set that the ascertainment of the total number of individualized monuments as well as the amount of the mass material received by the museum is possible; this, however, was impossible directly after the completion of the excavation works on the grounds of the field documentation. The museum director submits a motion to the Voivodship Conservator of Monuments/Officer for Preservation of Objects of Cultural Heritage to transfer to museum the ownership of the quantitatively and qualitatively verified set, boasting a preliminary museum documentation. The two-stage procedure of acquiring archaeological heritage objects, as specified in the Act on Protection and Guardianship of Historical Monuments of 2003 allows the museum their prompt entering into the museum inventory, i.e. (...) *within 60 days of coming into their possession* (Art. 4.3, Ordinance of 2004), and thus fulfilling the obligations resulting from legal regulations worked out for museology.

Under the new legal circumstances, the museums preserving archaeological collections have faced the decision challenge related to qualifying various historic scientific sources for the entry into museum collections. This is connected with the necessity to differentiate and define the difference between museum objects and archaeological mass finds in the system of museum registering. The Voivodship Conservator of Monuments/Officer for Preservation of Objects of Cultural Heritage transfers all the scientific sources that come from the site to the museum, however without any pre-selection and not deciding which of them qualify to be entered into the museum inventory as museum objects. A substantial portion of the set transferred to the museum is usually mass archaeological material that, once appropriated by the museum, needs to be documented, analogically as individualized monuments, for the simple reason of the duty to take care of them (Art. 5 of the Act on the Preservation and Guardianship of Historical Monuments of 2003) and of the implementation of the research purpose for which they were protected against destruction and acquired so as to scientifically investigate the remains of old cultures. In this way the museum becomes the owner of historical heritage objects that have the value of museum objects as well as objects that first of all have the cognitive value as academic sources. The borderline between both categories is not unequivocal, and it depends on the degree of the advancement of the scientific investigation which even years later may identify monuments that can be qualified as museum objects.

The mass archaeological material cannot be accompanied by identical records as museum exhibits, since it cannot be registered following the principles as provided for by the 2004 Ordinance on registering collections. Its Art. 1.2 specifies that *registering consists in an entry (...) allowing to identify each of the monuments in the museum*; further on, Art. 3.1 specifies in detail features that identify museum objects. Meanwhile, sets of the mass find character do not comply with this requirement, since they are not countable, and are sometimes characterized by changeable physical qualities and preservation state.

Mass finds are fragments of an unidentified number of

objects. Therefore, from the point of view of statistical calculations, there can be no equal sign put between monuments (even if preserved in fragments) and numerous fragments of an unidentified number of objects. Actually, for the majority of the material preserved as defected it is impossible and finally pointless to recreate (reconstruct) it. They are in majority fragments of objects of everyday use, i.e. vessels, production waste, construction elements. Mass material, however, is a precious source of knowledge of the place of the find: the archaeological site; it has to be recorded in detail and documented at the museum; moreover, it has to be investigated, since there always exists a chance to discover, even in the material destroyed over the years, such fragments and forms which allow new scientific conclusions or the reconstruction of a unique form of the object, and then it will be possible to include the object in the museum's inventory.

For archaeological finds what seems appropriate is the distinction of two groups in the model of registering museum collections. The core group, analogically as at all the museums, is constituted by the museum objects that are national good, namely those respective movable archaeological heritage objects that have been preserved in the state allowing their typological identification. The second group contains mass cultural heritage objects, complementing information on the museum's resources. What belongs to the latter are fragments of an indefinite number of objects preserved in such a fragmented state that does allow to enter them in the inventory according to the scheme of features identifying respective objects. Instead, they qualify to be registered in auxiliary documentation, namely registers created in a way that allows to identify groups of this material, and to cover it with museum's care. Such a decision is possible for the director thanks to Arts. 4.2 and 7.2. of the 2004 Ordinance.

To recapitulate, mass finds should not be registered in the museum inventory run in compliance with the currently valid legal regulations for three reasons:

1. It is impossible to define the number of objects whose fragments have been preserved, thus the number of museum objects which cannot be properly entered in the inventory; Art. 5.1 of the Ordinance of 2004 reads that *Each museum object is entered in the inventory book under a separate number*.
2. From the point of view of statistics no equal sign can be put between identified monuments (even if preserved in fragments) and numerous fragments of an indefinite number of objects: not every fragment is a museum object.
3. The number of mass finds is a changeable value over time (e.g. due to the material's little durability, or since it may be used to reconstruct or complete objects previously inventoried), this possibly leading to discrepancies in the inventory registers.

The premise to distinguish two groups of cultural heritage objects and two types of documents containing information relevant to them in the inventory model results in the fact that already at the stage of the field research documentation distinguishing scientific sources coming from the discovered archaeological site is produced. The principles ruling the ordering of information on those sources have been defined in the system of the protection

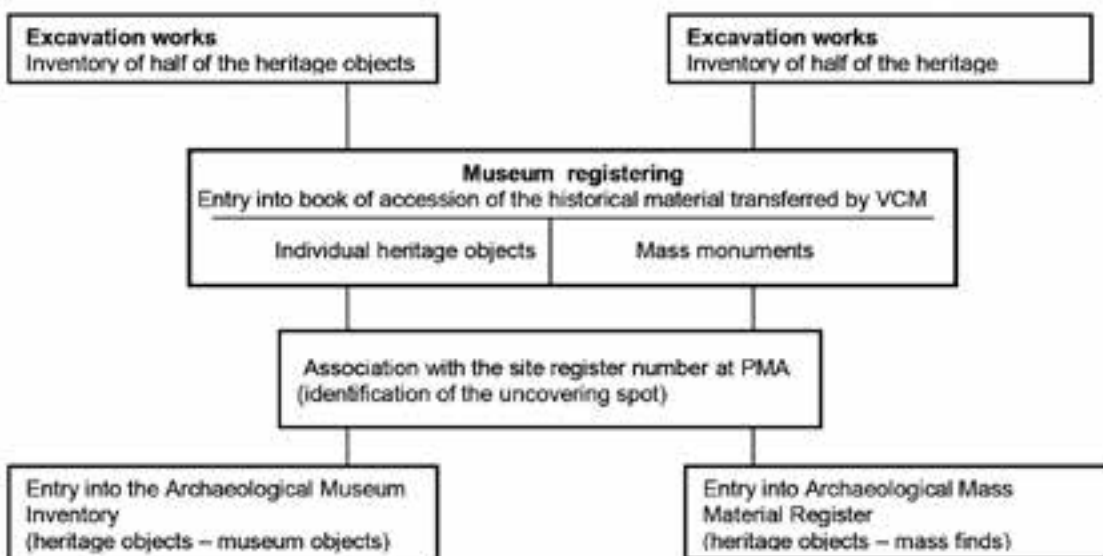
of monuments currently in force. It is in particular in Art. 1.5a of Annex 2 to the Ordinance of 2018 titled *Elements Contained in Archaeological Research Documentation* that the rules for creating the inventory of specified monuments are described, while in Art. 1.5b principles for creating the inventory of mass finds are provided. It seems that the museum, acquiring the collection together with the excavation and conservation documentation, this including the field inventory, while constructing the principles for registering collections, should also bear these standards in mind, and adjust the structure of museum information to the structure of source information, i.e. the documentation produced in the course of the field research. This is rational, also in view of the general digitizing of human activity, while as for the systems of knowledge dealing with cultural heritage, it results from the need to apply common principles of creating and sharing data.

In the model elaborated for the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw in 2004–6, and since then systematically implemented, I took into account the division of collections that occurs already at the stage of the field works. They are individual cultural heritage objects, preserved either entirely or in a part that allows to define for them individual identity features in museum notation (museum objects) and mass finds, including fragments of non-characteristic objects (mass material). The whole historic material is correlated with the spatial context of its discovery, namely the register of archaeological sites. The division of collections reflects the division into information categories, the latter being reflected in the structure of documents produced during the field research, and subsequently at the museum. I have also defined the role of the accession book as the key document supporting the supervision of the resources of cultural heritage objects owned by the museum. The book records all the acquisitions, reflecting the typological and material classification, with the acknowledgment of the legal ownership issue and the category of document in which

single heritage objects or groups of mass finds are identified in detail. What is transferred to the museum together with the heritage object is the research documentation, including field inventories, which in compliance with Art. 2.4 of the 2004 Ordinance are an element of museum records. I have deemed it pointless to copy the content of field inventories into the book of deposits, particularly as it is very likely that upon the completion of the research works conducted at the museum, the number and typological identification of the acquired heritage object will be changed.

The next issue that requires a solution in the model of museum registering is the implementation/adjustment of the set of information identifying museum objects and specified by the legislator (Art. 3.1, Arts. 7.1, and 7.4; Ordinance of 2004) to the specificity of the methodology of scientific elaboration of archaeological heritage objects. In the legal regulations that are currently in force the names of the features have been made to suit the set of working tools used by art historians. For collections of other types it is, however, essential to interpret and define these concepts on the grounds of museology trade categories.

For archaeological collections what requires interpretation first of all is the range of information related to the identification of archaeological sites, namely immovable archaeological heritage objects, within the area of which the archaeological material for the museum was unearthed and acquired. The association of respective movable heritage objects with the spatial context of their unearthing is the most essential requirement voiced by archaeologists in the documentation of the finds. As a matter of fact, respective movable archaeological heritage objects, without being placed within the spatial-and-cultural context definitely have smaller cognitive value than cultural heritage objects of definite unearthing location. A hierarchy of information on archaeological heritage objects is also the basis of the standard for archaeological research documentation, while the field documentation is



1. Rules for entering information on archaeological heritage objects valid at the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw

the first record containing the specification together with a scientific description of the archaeological material being acquired by the museum.

In the museum register model archaeological site can be interpreted as the place of the creation (uncovering) of a movable heritage object entered in the inventory. The basic site identification is to be found in its address in relation to Poland's administrative division. Most generally this information contains: locality, community (*gmina*), county (*powiat*), and voivodeship (*województwo*), but more and more frequently another geographical location system is used (Spatial Information System), and information related to the kind and form of the uncovered site.

Moreover, analogically as in the case of the Register of Archaeological Heritage Objects run by the administrative organs of the monument protection, what is of major importance is for the museum to keep the register of all the locations of the unearthing of the collections that it keeps, since it is the only documented form of the existence of an immovable heritage object that could be entirely destroyed once the excavations are over (this relates to the facilities that do not feature in the register of historical monuments in a given voivodeship). This knowledge is essential to recreate settlement structures from the past, regardless of whether the historical monument exists in geographical structure (if

so, if it is covered with conservatory protection), or whether it does not exist in situ anymore; however, in the latter case the documentation from the field research and historical material are preserved at the museum. For this reason in the system of monument protection/preservation of objects of cultural heritage there should co-exist two registers of archaeological sites. One run by conservation services in order to protect the immovable heritage object existing in geographical space, the second in museums in order to document the existence of the immovable cultural heritage object prior to conducting excavation works and its destruction, currently constituting the archaeological context of the discovery of movable heritage objects preserved in museums. In the event of removing the site from the historical monument register following the completion of the excavation research, the site should be entered into museum register together with the registering of museum objects. In other words, the knowledge of the existing archaeological heritage object within geographical space, knowledge of archaeological historical monuments which were destroyed in the course of archaeological excavations, and the knowledge of movable heritage objects acquired in their course, should be preserved first of all in museums, this being the basic condition for correct scholarly concluding.

The next feature of the cultural heritage object required in

Registering of museum objects: description structure in compliance with legislation	Registering of archaeological museum objects: proposed description structure
accession no.	accession no.
title (name)	title (name)
author or producer	culture for prehistoric monuments
provenance: acquisition means	provenance: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. means of acquisition for the museum 2. type of archaeological find (research)
value on the acquisition date	estimated value
time of creation	time (chronology, or/and absolute time of creation)
place of creation	place of creation (discovery): <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. address for the discovery of the archaeological site: locality name, SIS location 2. type of archaeological site 3. numerical ID of the site
material	material
execution technique	execution technique
dimensions, optionally weight	dimensions, optionally weight
identification of characteristic features	identification of characteristic features
visualisation	visualisation
labeling	labeling
permanent place of storage	permanent place of storage
relocation	relocation

2. Implementation of the meaning of concepts defined in legislation as registering data applied for identification of archaeological museum objects

registering documentation is the identification of the monuments' provenance: for archaeological collections at museums this constitutes two sets of information. One related to the legal means of purchasing the heritage object by the museum. Most frequently it is the transfer upon the decision of the Monument Conservator/Officer for Preservation of Objects of Cultural Heritage. However, there is also an option of the purchase of the object e.g. from a private collection, particularly if the object comes from outside Poland; acceptance of an object donated by its owner; or transfer from another institution. The latter set of information relates to the discovery of the cultural heritage object, namely the authorship and type of conducted archaeological research, or alternatively the conditionings of an accidental discovery. Depending on the type of the conducted research an appropriate field documentation is created, while its range has influence on the format of registering heritage objects at the museum. Both information sets constitute the knowledge of the provenance of archaeological collections, this containing the history of field research, author's scientific ascertainment, and the history of the collections.

Below presented is my proposal for the implementation and extension of the set of museum objects' features, obligatorily placed in register documents, prepared for the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw in compliance with the tradition and methodology of creating documentation of archaeological finds at museums.¹³

The piece of information that museologists find exceptionally challenging while working out the registering documentation is the definition of the archaeological museum objects' value. In compliance with the legal regulation in force (Art. 3.1, Ordinance of 2004) the value on the acquisition date is to be placed in registering documentation.

The problem stems from the fact that it is neither in the Act on Museums of 21 November 1996, nor in the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture of 30 August 2004 on the Range, Form, and Format of Registering Museum Objects at Museums, nor in the Act on the Protection and Guardianship of Historical Monuments of 23 July 2003 that it is precisely formulated who and how is obliged to define the value of archaeological heritage objects.

Movable archaeological heritage objects, before being transferred to museums and becoming their property, as well as becoming museum objects, continue the property of the Treasury of State, this in compliance with the provisions of Art. 35.1 of the Act on the Protection and Guardianship of Historical Monuments of 2003. The Voivodeship Conservator of Monuments/Officer for Preservation of Objects of Cultural Heritage, standing as the representative of the Treasury of State, makes administrative decisions to transfer them to museums. At the moment of transferring the heritage objects as museum's deposit or property, they do not have a define value. The value is not defined by the researcher or institution who conducted the archaeological investigation on the grounds of an appropriate administrative permission. Neither is the value of archaeological heritage objects defined by the Voivodeship Conservator of Monuments/Officer for Preservation of Objects of Cultural Heritage at the

moment of receiving them from the researcher or institution who conducted the research, nor at the point of transferring them as museum's deposit or property. Additionally, the discussed group of monuments is theoretically and in the practice of public institutions excluded from trade, and as such cannot be attributed value with respect to market principles or any that approximate them. All the forms of trade in archaeological heritage objects are illegal, provided that these objects were acquired following the adoption of respective legal regulations.

What seems a solution is the setting up of standards of estimating the value of such objects; in the first place by putting together over 20-years' of experience of museums, and comparison of reference values estimated for respective monument groups or types collected in databases. When renting of monuments is involved, which implies the transfer and insurance of monuments, museums assess their estimated value, including: scholarly, historical, and artistic values, as well as the unique character of the object in collections. The value is defined by a commission on the grounds of the internally accepted regulations, which in a number of cases also cover principles of including these values in the system of the museum objects' register.

The standard to be adopted should cover evaluation criteria, as well as the importance given to the respective qualities having impact on the object's value. The assessment of its value should always be conducted jointly by a commission, as the results of the evaluation shall constitute the museum's assets in the understanding of Art. 3.1 of the 2013 Ordinance. Since archaeological collections do not boast any definite value at any of the earlier stages of their acquisition for the museum collections, it has to be realized that the value assessed in commission in respective museums, and entered in registering documents will be their value on the acquisition date. Following the general rules of this new procedure, each museum shaping its own model of collection registering can begin the process of assessing the value of the newly acquired heritage objects. The challenge faced by museums is the decision to ascertain individual procedure of the evaluation of the collections which were entered into the inventory prior to the entry into force of the 1996 Act on Museums, before which date museums had not been obliged to assess that. The reason being the traditional approach of museologists to archaeological collections, since they were regarded essentially to be scientific sources, and were actually excluded from trade. This lack of evaluation was possible thanks to the legal regulations from the 1960s. Art. 17.1 of the Ordinance of 1964 reads: *The value assessment does not apply to objects: 1) whose evaluation is not possible for the lack of grounds for their evaluation. This principle was implemented in records for over 30 years.*

For museums which currently would have to evaluate their entire archaeological collections numbering over 3 million objects, the registering model should take into account the many-years' plan of joint evaluation by commissions for registered monuments implemented for decades before the introduction of the current regulations.

Endnotes

- ¹ Act on Museums of 21 November 1996 (Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 5, Item 24).
 - ² Act on the Protection and Guardianship of Historical Monuments of 23 July 2003 (Journal of Laws of 2003, No. 162, Item 1568).
 - ³ Ordinance of the Minister of Culture of 26 Aug. 1997 on the Principles and Means of Registering Cultural Goods in Museums (Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 102, Item 656), and subsequently the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture of 30 Aug. 2004 on the Range, Form, and Format of Registering Museum Objects in Museums (Journal of Laws of 2004, No. 202, Item 2073).
 - ⁴ The first national proposal for standardisation of the creation and sharing of information on museum collections with the use of IT was that proposal authored by Dorota Folga Januszewska and Agnieszka Jaskanis from 1996, judged by ICOM as one of the world standards, and called: Network System of Museum Information Sharing (SSWIM): A. Jaskanis, *Międzymuzealna sieć komputerowa SSWIM – standard udostępniania informacji o muzeach i muzealiach w Polsce* [SSWIM Inter-museum Computer Network: Standard for Sharing Information on Museums and Museum Objects in Poland], in: *III Forum Konserwatorów. Dobra kultury w obliczu zagrożeń* [Third Forum of Conservators: Cultural Goods Facing Threats], Toruń 2000, pp. 91-8, and *Sieciowy System Wymiany Muzealnej – standard udostępniania informacji o obiektach muzealnych* [Network System of Museum Information Sharing (SSWIM): Standard for Sharing Information on Museum Objects], in: *Informatyka w historii sztuki. Stan i perspektywy rozwoju współczesnej metodologii* [IT in History of Art. State and Prospects of the Development of Current Methodology], Series: *Cyfrowe spotkania z zabytkami* [Digital Encounters with Monuments], Wrocław 2009, pp. 40-50.
 - ⁵ I described the issue in the paper: A. Jaskanis *System informacji o zbiorach Państwowego Muzeum Archeologicznego w Warszawie* [Information System in the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw], in: *Efektywność Zastosowań Systemów Informatycznych* [Effectiveness of the Application of IT Systems], Vol. 1, Warszawa-Szczyrk 2002, pp. 85-100, and in cooperation: A. Jaskanis, A. Laszuk, M. Wrede, *Gromadzenie, wymiana i udostępnianie informacji o dobrach kultury przechowywanych w archiwach, bibliotekach i muzeach* [Collecting, Exchange, and Sharing Information on Cultural Goods Kept in Archives, Libraries, and Museums], 'Teki Archiwalne' 2004, Seria Nowa, Vol. 8(30), pp. 150-56, and A. Jaskanis, *Zarządzanie bazami danych o zbiorach archeologicznych w muzeum. O potrzebie standaryzacji* [Management of Databases on Archaeological Collections in Museum. On the Need for Standardization], in: *Digitalizacja dziedzictwa archeologicznego. Wybrane zagadnienia* [Digitizing of Archaeological Heritage. Selected Problems], R. Zapłata (ed.), Wiedza i Edukacja, Instytut Archeologii WNHIS UKSW, Lublin 2011, pp. 143-57.
 - ⁶ Act on the Protection of Cultural Goods and Museums of 15 February 1962 (Journal of Laws of 1962, No. 10, Item 48).
 - ⁷ Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Art on Running the Inventory of Museum Objects of 18 April 1964 (Journal of Laws of 1964, No. 17, Item 101).
 - ⁸ *Instrukcja do rozporządzenia Ministra Kultury i Sztuki z dnia 18 kwietnia 1964 r. w sprawie prowadzenia inwentarza muzealiów* [Instruction to the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Art of 18 April 1964 on Running Museum Objects' Inventories], 'Biblioteka Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków' 1970, B Series, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 117-32, published together with Decision No. 9 of the Minister of Culture and Art of 9 Sept. 1968 on the format of museum object's inventory form.
 - ⁹ This obligation was introduced in 1997 (Art. 1.2) with the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture of 26 Aug. 1997 on the Principles and Modes for Registering Cultural Goods in Museums (Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 102, Item 656).
 - ¹⁰ See Art. 3.4 of the Act on Protection and Guardianship of Historical Monuments of 23 July 2003 (Journal of Laws of 2003, No. 162, Item 1568).
 - ¹¹ Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 2 Aug. 2018 on Conducting Conservation and Restoration Works and Conservation Research in Relation to the Cultural Heritage Objects Entered in the Registry of Objects of National Heritage or List of Heritage Treasures, as Well as Construction Works, Architectural Research and Other Activities on Cultural Heritage Objects Entered in the Registry of Objects of National Heritage, and Archaeological Research and Search for Objects of National Heritage (Journal of Laws of 2018, Item 1609), Part II: Elements Included in the Archaeological Research Documentation. Earlier the issues had been regulated by the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 27 July 2011 on Conducting Conservation, Restoration, and Construction Works, Conservation Research and Other Activities in Relation to the Cultural Heritage Objects Entered in the Registry of Objects of National Heritage and to Archaeological Research (Journal of Laws of 2011, No. 165, Item 98.7), Part II: Standards for Archaeological Research Documentation, and the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 9 June 2004 on Conducting Conservation, Restoration, and Construction Works, Conservation and Architectural Research, and Other Activities in Relation to the Objects Entered in the Registry of Objects of National Heritage and to Archaeological Research as well as Search for Hidden or Abandoned Movable Heritage Objects (Journal of Laws of 2004, No. 150, Item 1579), Part II: Standards for Archaeological Research Documentation.
 - ¹² Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 2 Aug. 2018 on Conducting Conservation and Restoration Works and Conservation Research in Relation to the Cultural Heritage Objects Entered in the Registry of Objects of National Heritage or List of Heritage Treasures, as Well as Construction Works, Architectural Research and Other Activities on the Cultural Heritage Object in the Registry of Objects of National Heritage, and Archaeological Research and Search for Objects of National Heritage (Journal of Laws of 2018, Item 1609). This obligation had been introduced together with the Act on Protection and Guardianship of Historical Monuments of 2003 in the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 9 June 2004 on Conducting Conservation, Restoration, and Construction Works, Conservation and Architectural Research, and Other Activities in Relation to the Objects Entered in the Registry of Objects of National Heritage and to Archaeological Research as well as Search for Hidden or Abandoned Movable Heritage Objects (Art. 3.4.3).
 - ¹³ See A. Jaskanis *Specyfika zbiorów archeologicznych w procesie zarządzania kolekcją muzealną* [Specificity of Archaeological Collections in the Process of Managing Museum Collection], in: *ABC zarządzania kolekcją muzealną* [ABC of Managing a Museum Collection], 'Szkolenia Narodowego Instytutu Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zbiorów' 2014, No. 3, p. 31.
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Collection of the Association of Free Speech in Warsaw, in the foreground 'Bibuta' – annual publication of the Association, photo A. Michalski

MUSEUMS AND COLLECTIONS



MICHAŁ TYSZKIEWICZ (1828–1897): AN ILLUSTRIOUS COLLECTOR OF ANTIQUITIES

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Abstract: Michał Tyszkiewicz was an outstanding collector of antiquities and a pioneer of Polish archaeological excavations in Egypt conducted in late 1861 and early 1862, which yielded a generous donation of 194 Egyptian antiquities to the Paris Louvre. Today Tyszkiewicz's name features engraved on the Rotunda of Apollo among the major Museum's donors. Having settled in Rome for good in 1865, Tyszkiewicz conducted archaeological excavations there until 1870. He collected ancient intaglios, old coins, ceramics, silverware, golden jewellery, and sculptures in bronze and marble. His collection ranked among the most valuable European ones created in the 2nd half of the 19th century. Today, its elements are scattered among over 30 major museums worldwide, e.g. London's British Museum, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, New

York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, or the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The latest investigation of M. Tyszkiewicz's correspondence to the German scholar Wilhelm Froehner demonstrated that Tyszkiewicz widely promoted the development of archaeology and epigraphy; unique pieces from his collections were presented at conferences at Rome's Academia dei Lincei or at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris, and published by Italian, French, Austrian, and German scholars. He was considered an expert in glyptic, and today's specialists, in recognition of his merits, have called a certain group of ancient cylinder seals the 'Tyszkiewicz Seals', an Egyptian statue in black basalt has been named the 'Tyszkiewicz Statue', whereas an unknown painter of Greek vases from the 5th century BC has been referred to as the 'Painter Tyszkiewicz'.

Keywords: Michał Tyszkiewicz (1828–1897), excavations in Egypt, collector, art of Antiquity, archaeology, epigraphy, Rome, science and collectorship as well as antiquity market in the 19th century.

The latter half of the 19th century was the period of extremely intense research into the history of ancient civilisations, this greatly contributed to by extensive archaeological excavations in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. The knowledge of Antiquity art history was developing particularly in expanding Rome which attracted numerous European scholars, art dealers, as well as collectors. One of them was Michał Tyszkiewicz who went to live there in 1865. He collected pieces of ancient art such as ancient intaglios, old coins, pottery, silverware, golden jewellery, as well as bronze and marble sculptures. The Tyszkiewicz Collection, enriched with the items from his excavations conducted in Italy, *ranked among the most valuable European ones* created in the 2nd half of the 19th century.¹ Today, its elements are scattered among over 30 major museums worldwide, e.g. London's British Museum, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, New

York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, or the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

The Austrian archaeologist Dr Ludwig Pollak (1868–1943), the collector's long-standing friend during his stay in Rome, claimed that Tyszkiewicz *contributed more to archaeology than some believe*.² Tyszkiewicz was also a pioneer of Polish excavations in Egypt and Nubia conducted in late 1861 and early 1862, which actually yielded a generous donation of 194 Egyptian antiquities to the Louvre Museum. Today Tyszkiewicz's name features engraved on the Rotunda of Apollo among the major Museum's donors. Meanwhile, the contribution of the Polish collector to the development of science is today little known, actually limited to a very narrow circle of specialists, although the activity of Tyszkiewicz for the sake of the development of archaeology and epigraphics was already known in his lifetime, e.g.



1. Michał Tyszkiewicz, The Tyszkiewicz Archive in Paris

through the presentation of unique pieces from his collection during sessions at the Academia dei Lincei in Rome, or at the Paris Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, as well as through numerous scholarly publications of German, Austrian, French, and Italian scholars.

Up until now the main source of information on Tyszkiewicz's collectorship has been found in his memoirs *Notes et Souvenirs d'un Vieux Collectionneur*, first published in 1895–97 in installments in the Paris 'Revue archéologique' journal.³ The collector also left his *Diary of the Trip to Egypt and Nubia*, its first version having been printed in Paris already in 1863.⁴ The recently discovered⁵ unknown letters of Tyszkiewicz from 1872–97 to the German scholar Dr Wilhelm Froehner (1834–1925) provide an important source of information on his life, environment, collections of both correspondents, as well as the evolution of the antiquity market in Italy. They have been the topic of the doctoral dissertation of the Author of the present paper, constituting the departure point for searching through archival sources in France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, or Switzerland.⁶

The Lithuanian period

In order to understand motivations and ambitions that had led to Michał Tyszkiewicz entering the elite of European collectors, academics, and antiquity dealers in the second half of the 19th century, it would be worthwhile to briefly present the beginning of his collectorship interests in Lithuania. The family he was descendant of in the course of five centuries gave Poland 40 senators and other high



2. Paris, Louvre Museum, *Statuette of Neith*, Late Period (664–332 BC), gold-encrusted bronze, Tyszkiewicz's donation, (ACNO E3730); Neith is the oldest goddess confirmed by text sources; photo 2018



3. Paris, Louvre Museum, *Seated Osiris*, Late Period (664–332 BC), gold-encrusted bronze, Tyszkiewicz's donation, (ACNO E 3751); photo 2018



4. Paris, Louvre Museum, *Tyszkiewicz Statue*, black basalt, 4th c. BC (ACNO E10777); photo 2018

dignitaries.⁷ The Tyszkiewiczz's motto read: *Pandite lucem in asperis vitae (Cabinet of Polish Medals)*.⁸ It was implemented in numerous ways, also in the arena of collectorship. Michał Tyszkiewicz's merits were substantial already in the Vilnius period. When in 1855 his cousin Eustachy Tyszkiewicz (1814–73) was setting up the Museum of Antiquities in Vilnius, Michał was one of the first to support this project by commissioning museum furniture: coin display tables and cabinets.⁹ In 1856, he was nominated regular member of the Vilnius Archaeological Committee, while in 1858 he became member of the Archaeological Committee founded in Sankt Petersburg by Tsar Alexander II.

From the early youth he was passionate about numismatics. Seriously ambitious already in 1850, he was intending to publish books dedicated to the Polish medals¹⁰ overlooked by Edward Raczyński (1786–1845) in his four-volume work *Cabinet of Polish Medals* from 1838–1843.¹¹ Assisted by Mikołaj Malinowski and Eustachy Tyszkiewicz, he collected copious materials, however the project was aborted. What actually Tyszkiewicz's passion yielded was the

collection of Polish coins, purchased e.g. from illustrious numismatists: Karol Beyer (1818–77), Leon Mikocki, and others.¹² He resold his collection to Emeryk Czapski (1828–96), who, in his turn, bequeathed it to the Museum (probably the National Museum) in Cracow.¹³

In Russian society the Count ranked highly, while the position of the Grand Master of the Hunt in Vilnius Gubernya¹⁴ fully reflected his passion for hunting. It was particularly a hunting trip to Egypt in October 1861 that proved to be the turning point in Tyszkiewicz's life. When in Cairo, he met e.g. Vicomte Ferdynand de Lesseps (1805–94), heading the works on the Suez Canal, and Auguste Mariette (1821–81), founder of the Bulak Archaeological Museum.¹⁵ However, the decisive impact was to be found in the audience with Viceroy of Egypt Mohammed Saida Pasha (1822–63) who granted him permission to conduct excavations on the whole territory of Egypt and Nubia. Thanks to this Tyszkiewicz had an opportunity to discover his own talent of an archaeologist-amateur, which determined the direction of his future career as a collector.

Upon the return from Egypt, the Count donated a part

of his Egyptian collection to the Louvre, as well as to the Museum of Antiquities in Vilnius (224 pieces),¹⁶ and to the museum founded by Konstanty Tyszkiewicz (1806–68) in Lahoysk.¹⁷ The remains of the Lahoysk collection are now at the National Museum in Warsaw, whereas the whole of the Vilnius collection was taken to Moscow in 1867, and its whereabouts remain unknown. Meanwhile, the information on Tyszkiewicz's donation to the Louvre was published in 1862 by Emmanuel de Rougé (1811–72),¹⁸ conservator of the Department of Antiquities, today considered to have been one of the fathers of Egyptology.¹⁹ On that occasion De Rougé pointed to numerous bronze statues showing deities from the Egyptian pantheon, at the time as yet not fully known, covered with golden incrustation and inscriptions allowing to identify their names as well as the public functions of their donors.²⁰

Despite this publication, Tyszkiewicz's donation to the Louvre was not warmly welcomed in Lithuania. The fact that Tyszkiewicz was fully aware of the importance of his discoveries in Egypt can be best testified to in his unknown letter to Konstanty Tyszkiewicz, in which he says: *So much trouble and work are not put for enjoyment, but for science. These excavations, if brought to Lithuania, where no one knows how to read hieroglyphs, would become just exceptional and curious objects, [while] when put in the hands of present-day Champollions, have contributed to science.*²¹ Apart from the published travel diary, Michał Tyszkiewicz also wanted to release in Paris a luxurious album featuring the most exquisite pieces of Egyptian art (including architecture), however this project was not implemented. Meanwhile, Tyszkiewicz's Egyptian collection from the Louvre, following the collector's death, was enriched with e.g. a unique statuette of black basalt from the 4th century BC purchased at an auction at Paris's Hôtel Druot for 21.500 francs. Today, in recognition of Tyszkiewicz's contributions, it is named *Statue Tyszkiewicz*.²²

The Italian Period

In 1862, upon the tragic death of his uncle Jan Konstanty Tyszkiewicz (1802–62), the Count inherited the Birzai Entail.²³ As the 2nd Entailer he owned great wealth, which consolidated his high social position, also when living as an expatriate. In 1863, he purchased the impressive Lucia Villa in Naples, located on the Vomero Hill, once property of Ferdinand I, King of Naples (1759–1825).²⁴

It was in Naples that the Count set up his first collection of intaglios, studying them together with Alessandro Castellani (1823–83).²⁵ Regrettably, as it turned out, in majority it contained fakes. Regardless of the incurred costs, however, (125.000 francs), it was a good lesson for him, since it made him realize, as can be read in his memoirs, the necessity to conduct thorough studies of glyptic, which he embarked upon with great enthusiasm. By the end of his life he was familiar with all the genuine intaglios or their impresses in the major public and private collections.²⁶ As the excavation in Cumae and Baiae, in which he was involved with Jacques-Alfred Bovey and Marquess Anatol de Gibot were relatively unsuccessful, and he was not granted the permission to conduct excavations in ancient Pompeii, Tyszkiewicz finally moved to Rome, *the capital of the ancient world*.²⁷ There

he easily obtained the necessary permits, and together with A. Bovey, appointed Secretary at the French Embassy in Rome, he began works on *Via Appia Antica*, to later extend works onto other city sites, as well as to Veii and Faleris. The Count was able to lead a peaceful life in Rome, provided he did not get involved in politics. And indeed, with time, his name disappeared from the reports of the then Polish spy Julian Bałaszewicz, active for Russia amidst the Polish émigré circles under the false name of Albert Potocki.²⁸

Throughout the first period of his stay in Rome, Tyszkiewicz created an important collection of Roman medals. Four of them: golden Olympic medals from the 3rd century AD found in Tarsus, of a unique artistic value, are now at the Cabinet des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques at the National Library of France. In 1868, the Count intended to sell them in Paris, and for the purpose he was to meet Wilhelm Froehner, this first encounter planned in the flat of the well-known antique dealer Heinrich Hoffmann. Froehner was greatly impressed by the meeting, and on 14 September 1868, he outlined Tyszkiewicz's profile: *Coming to Hoffmann's flat, the Count brought with him medals from Tarsus in order to show them to me. Tall, sturdy, wearing a ginger beard, he is very kind and pleasant.*²⁹ Froehner was an archaeologist, a doctor in classical philology, an expert in 10 old Semitic, German, Romance, and Slavic languages. Until 1870 he was an academic at the Antiquities Department at the Louvre as well as a personal translator of and advisor to Napoleon III.³⁰ It was through him that Tyszkiewicz managed to sell several of his precious bronzes to Napoleon III, who transferred them to the Louvre Museum in 1870.³¹ Among them there was Hercules Resting from the 3rd century BC excavated at Foligno, a copy of the large sculpture by Lysippos from the 4th century BC. What stands out with its artistic quality is the bronze lid of a Greek mirror with a relief from the Palestrina excavations showing Aphrodite riding an ibex dating back to the 2nd quarter of the 4th century BC.³² Another item among the collection was Head of a Youth also called *Head of an Athlete from Benevento* from the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BC – 3rd quarter of the 1st century AD, found at the excavations at Herculaneum.

In 1878, Wilhelm Froehner published his work *Les Médailles de l'Empire romain depuis le règne d'Auguste jusqu'à Priscus Attale*.³³ Seemingly nothing suggested that it referred to the Tyszkiewicz Collection, however the work bears a surprising dedication: *À Monsieur le Comte MICHEL TYSZKIEWICZ*. It was only after Tyszkiewicz's death, in 1898, that in the introduction to the auction catalogue of his collection Froehner explained that the items published in his work and dedicated to Roman medals had been engraved at Michał Tyszkiewicz's expense.³⁴ This does not only testify to the collectorship passion of Tyszkiewicz, but also to his great commitment to popularizing knowledge. What bonded him with Froehner was friendship based on the shared passion for Antiquity. Moreover, he shared the German scholar's interest in epigraphics, and his own collection contained numerous inscription-covered items. In a number of letters drawings made by Tyszkiewicz together with the transcription of old inscriptions can be found. Their deciphering as well as the letter exchange on the topic that he could conduct with Froehner allowed him to continuously learn new things.³⁵



5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, 4 golden Olympic medals, 3rd c. AD; photo 2007

The 1870 political breakthrough thoroughly transformed the antiquity market in Italy. The new government introduced a stringent policy for the fans of the art of Antiquity.³⁶ Tyszkiewicz had to give up his excavations. In 1875, in order to reduce theft of art pieces and to increase control over them, the government-affiliated Direzione Generale di Antichità e Belle Arti was established.³⁷ Its first director Felice Bernabei (1842–1922) became quite involved in the struggle against illegal dealers of antiquities, making sure these ended up in Rome's museums. Moreover, Bernabei stayed in regular contact with collectors living in Rome. He used to visit Tyszkiewicz's flat, which, in his view, (...) *was a kind of a museum* (...) [where] *almost daily the individuals most knowledgeable about antiques living in Rome would meet in the afternoon in order to admire precious objects previously displayed and the latest acquisitions which the Count would be showing to his friends full of admiration.*³⁸

Bernabei also appreciated the professional display cabinets in which Tyszkiewicz showcased his collection, and which he later purchased for the *Thermae of Caracalla Museum*.³⁹ This aspect is also emphasized by the art historian Maria Cristina Molinari who writes: *Tyszkiewicz had a great talent for work, and he stored the antiquities in his Roman apartment on*

*perfectly arranged shelves.*⁴⁰ It is worth emphasizing here that Tyszkiewicz learnt to meticulously catalogue excavation objects from his close friend Baron Giovanni Barracco (1829–1914), later a senator and founder of the museum of antiquities bearing his name.⁴¹

The knowledge of ancient monuments as well as the skills of their storage and display were an essential condition for Tyszkiewicz to create a collection of the world profile. However, it was not a closed set; contrariwise, according to L. Pollak, it continuously transformed. Thanks to his numerous and wide contacts, Tyszkiewicz always had something new and important to show. From everywhere around he was provided with some precious traces of old civilizations. *In this way others learnt from him and together with him.*⁴² As distinct from other collectors, Tyszkiewicz preferred to have fewer objects, though of the highest quality. His correspondence with Froehner demonstrates that he exchanged numerous letters with experts in antiquities in Paris and London, but also in Greece (Athanasios Rhoissopoulos, E. Triantaphyllos), and in Syria. Just to illustrate this aspect, in 1896, he wrote about 100 letters monthly.⁴³ From Tyszkiewicz's correspondence it seems that he systematically sent those objects which he did not want to keep longer in his collection to Paris.



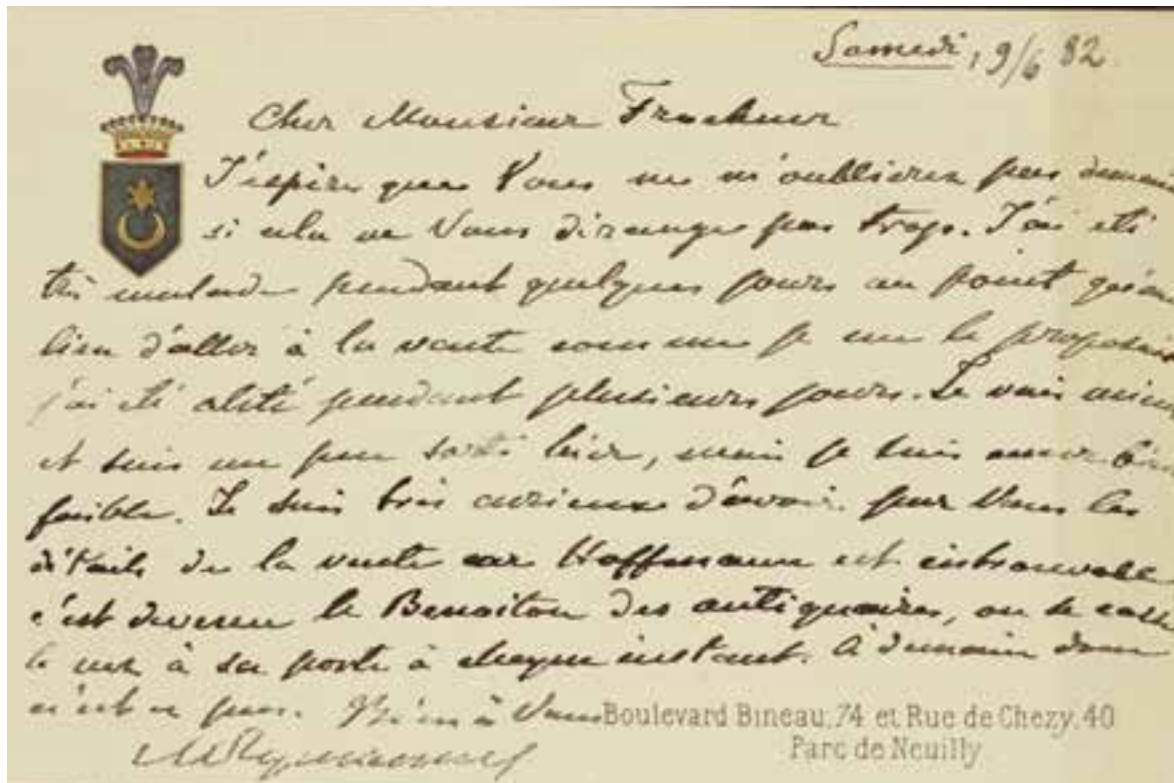
6. Paris, Louvre Museum, *Head of the Athlete of Benevento*, bronze, 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD; photo 2019



7. Sculpted stones from the collection of Michał Tyszkiewicz, after: J. Tyszkiewicz *Tyszkiewicziana* [*The Tyszkiewicz's Mementoes*], Poznań 1903, unnumbered chart between pp. 90 and 91

With time this activity became for him a major source of additional income. The Count provided the to e.g. Mathilde Bonaparte's boutique in Paris.⁴⁴ A Russian subject, Tyszkiewicz applied for divorce in Russia, however on 10 July 1872, he was only granted official separation with his wife Princess Maria Radziwiłł (1830–1902).⁴⁵ On the very same day he renounced his rights to the Birza Entail, passing

the ownership title to his eldest son Józef, previously having arranged that his son would pay him for life a yearly pension of 7.642 roubles in gold. Two years later, in compliance with the Act signed by the Governor General of Vilnius, Kaunas, and Grodno of 8 April 1874, the Count *was released from the bonds of Russian nationality*.⁴⁶ Apart from the pension paid by his son, Michał Tyszkiewicz undoubtedly derived



8. Weimar, Goethe und Schiller Archiv, M. Tyszkiewicz's short letter to W. Froehner dated: Neuilly-sur-Seine, 19 June 1882

income from his knowledge of the history of ancient art. Its effects were also visible in his collectorship activity.⁴⁷

The core of the Tyszkiewicz Collection, actually the part he treasured most, was constituted by intaglios. After 1870, his main Roman competition in the field was Alessandro Castellani (1823–83). Keeping it a strict secret from Castellani, in January 1883, Tyszkiewicz in partnership with the Rome antique dealer Francesco Martinetti (1833–95) managed to purchase one of the most famed Italian collections of engraved stones which belonged to the family of Ludovisi Boncompagni Princes of Piombino.⁴⁸ Enchanted, he wrote about it to Froehner in his letter dated 14 January 1883: *I have almost doubled my collection of gems, having purchased precious and very rare items, which I will demonstrate to you with utmost pleasure upon the return.* However, the most refined expert in intaglios Tyszkiewicz ever met was the Frenchman Oscar Pauvert de la Chapelle (1832–1908).⁴⁹ Although descendant of a modest family, he became Tyszkiewicz's confidant as for intaglios. According to Bernabei, Pavert de la Chapelle's collection of intaglios fitted in his jacket pockets. He would always carry on him around 30 gems, of which the smallest was worth 5.000 francs. Today his collection forms part of that at the Cabinet des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques in Paris, including 3 intaglios from the Tyszkiewicz Collection.

Another expert in intaglios who would visit the



9. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Lucius Ceionius Commodus Junior, future Lusius Verus (ruling 161–169), marble (ACNO 787)



10. Paris, Louvre Museum, *Niobid Krater* (480–460 BC); photo 2007



11. Paris, Louvre Museum, *Winged Billy Goat*, partially gilded silver, 4th c. BC; the goat's rear hooves are resting on the Silen's mask; photo 2019

Count in Rome was the American Edward Perry Warren (1860–1928). It was him who upon Tyszkiewicz's death purchased his collection of glyptic. Among the privileged individuals who had the opportunity to see it were also subsequent Headmasters of the prestigious French School of Rome (École Française de Rome): Edmond Le Blant (1818–1897) and his successor Auguste Geffroy (1820–1895).⁵⁰ Thanks to the generosity of *their owner Count Tyszekiwicz, who knows antiquities so well and can spot their beauty with great finesse*,⁵¹ they would send to Paris, to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, information on his unique artefacts. From one of A. Geffroy's letters it can be found out that Professor Carl Robert (1850–1922) presented a certain Greek inscription from the 6th century BC, owned by Tyszkiewicz, at Rome's Academia dei Lincei, where he was demonstrating its major philological impact.⁵² The Italian Academy's journal 'Les Monumenti' was to (...) *in its nearest issue publish that text from Argos, engraved in seven lines on a small bronze plate, which belongs to Count M. Tyszkiewicz*. This piece of news and another archaeological news from Rome were already 3 days later, namely on 17 April 1891, signalled at the Paris Academy.⁵³ Every year, in early spring, having deposited his antiques at a bank, Tyszkiewicz would leave Rome for Neuilly-sur-Seine in France, where the closest family of his second wife Juliette Beaud lived. On 19 December 1874, with the Decree of the Grand Council of the Canton of Schaffhause, Tyszkiewicz was granted citizenship of the town of Unter-Hallau, and as a result of the valid legal regulations, he became a Swiss citizen.⁵⁴ Already as such, he was granted divorce from his wife Maria years later when in Schaffhausen on 7 March 1878,⁵⁵ to marry Juliette Beaud in Romanshorn on 13 July that same year.⁵⁶ Living between France and Italy, he chose the citizenship of the country whose administration would be the promptest to grant divorce. Similarly as in Rome and Neuilly, also in Paris at 40 rue de Chézy or at 74 boulevard Bineau,⁵⁷ the Count would present his latest treasures to the Paris friends and renowned experts. According to Charles Rouit, Tyszkiewicz was excellent at marketing.⁵⁸ Thanks to this Jules Oppert (1825–1905), friends with Froehner, widely considered father of Assyriology, analysed two Phoenician cylinders covered with cuneiform from the Tyszkiewicz Collection during the session of the members of the Paris Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres on 6 April 1883.⁵⁹ Salomon Reinach (1858–1932) in his turn, Director of the Archaeological Museum in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, during a Paris Congress of Orientalists in 1897 presented a unique intaglio from the Tyszkiewicz Collection: a Hittite cylinder seal from the 17th century BC, following which he published an article on it in 'Revue archéologique'.⁶⁰ The seal can now be found at Accession No. MFA 98.706, together with the whole collection of Tyszkiewicz's intaglios in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and is named 'the Tyszkiewicz Seal'. Interestingly, contemporary researchers, in recognition of the contribution of the Polish collector, have named a whole group of Hittite cylinder seals 'the Tyszkiewicz Group'.⁶¹

Apart from intaglios, the Tyszkiewicz Collection included many precious antiquities. Worth mentioning is e.g. the collection of ancient marbles, of which he sold a substantial

portion to Carl Jacobsen (1842–1914) for the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek founded by Jacobsen in Copenhagen.⁶² In 1887–90, Tyszkiewicz sold the total of 48 sculptures to Copenhagen. The most famous of them being the *Head of Pompey*, Roman general (106–48 BC) at the age of 50.⁶³ It is noteworthy that the transportation of heavy art pieces between Italy and France must have been costly, requiring appropriate approvals. The marble sculptures Jacobsen purchased in Paris from Tyszkiewicz may have therefore been exported from Rome illegally.⁶⁴

An important part of the Tyszkiewicz Collection, though marginalized by scholars, was pottery. The art historian Witold Dobrowolski wrote in 1997 that Tyszkiewicz *did not have a fondness for Greek vases, contrary to the Działyńskis and Czartoryskis*.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, in his letters Tyszkiewicz often informed Froehner about his latest painted vases he was not eager to part with. It was through his hands that one of the most interesting works in this category: a red-figure calyx krater, called the 'Niobid Krater' passed. Apart from the massacre of Niobe's children, it features an important historic event: soldiers awaiting the battle of Marathon (490 BC). Another of Tyszkiewicz's Greek red-figure vases from 450–430 BC painted by Polygnotos of Athens reached the British Museum from an 1898 auction. It was at the same auction that Paul Dissard (1852–1926), Curator at the Lyon Museum of Fine Arts, purchased a splendid polychrome hydria for 20.500 francs.

Furthermore, the Tyszkiewicz Collection included an extremely precious Greek rhyton from the 5th century BC by Sotades featuring a black man devoured by a crocodile. The piece later reached the collection of Alphonse Van Branteghem (1844–1911), and finally that of Auguste Dutuit (1812–1902); the latter donated all his collection to the city of Paris in 1902 (today at the Petit Palais Museum). The contribution of Tyszkiewicz to collectorship of ancient pottery is best seen in the fact that an unknown painter of Greek vases, living in the 5th century BC, is today referred to as 'the Tyszkiewicz Painter'. The Calyx Krater from his collection showing the Trojan War is precisely the work by the 'Tyszkiewicz Painter', similarly as *Stammos* and *Askos*. The krater is now one of the major showpieces in the collections of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Accession No. 90.368.

Moreover, Tyszkiewicz was interested in ancient jewellery and silver. In 1897, his collection boasted 49 golden jewels, including a golden diadem from the 3rd century BC (250–200) which, according to the register of 2 July 1898, was purchased by the British Museum for 6.100 francs. The Tyszkiewicz Collection also contained a masterpiece of Oriental art from the 4th century BC, namely a sizeable (27 cm) *Winged Ibe* gilded silver, serving as an amphora handle found in the Palace of Darius I in Susa. In 1898, the Louvre paid for it 29,600 francs (Accession No. AO 2748). Furthermore, the Museum paid 1.590 francs for 4 silver vessels: a goblet with a handle, large lidded goblet, and two deep spoons from the Carthage Treasure.⁶⁶ This type of Christian silver vessels (most likely liturgical) was popular in Roman Africa between the 4th quarter of the 4th century and the 1st quarter of the 5th century.⁶⁷ Until 1876, the objects were the property of Charles A. Tulin (1837–99), Consul General of Sweden in Tunis. The set of silverware purchased from Tyszkiewicz by the Louvre is completed with a silver mirror with a handle in



12. Paris, Louvre Museum, Le Trésor de Carthage, silver lidded goblet, 4–5th c. AD; photo 2007



13. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, archaic bronze (720–680 BC); photo 2013

(Photos: 2- 3, 5-6, 10-13 – M. Kazimierzczak; 4 – G. Jakimov)

the shape of a club covered with a lion hide, discovered at Boscoreale in 1895, which Tyszkiewicz donated to the Louvre several months before his death.

The little-known part of the Tyszkiewicz Collection is that of ancient glassware which in 1897 contained 53 pieces. Two of them are today at the British Museum, of which one coming from Roman catacombs dates back to the 6th century AD. Among others it was Countess Działyńska who eagerly desired to purchase some pieces from Tyszkiewicz, though the transaction did not go through; on this subject Tyszkiewicz wrote to Froehner as follows: *I am not surprised that the Countess would like to have my Christian glassware. (...) But I am not going to resell those five pieces for less than ten thousand francs (let me repeat: ten thousand), and since there is no chance that she accepts this price, I do not see any reason for which I should put my glassware at risk by making it travel.*⁶⁸

By the end of Tyszkiewicz's life his taste evolved towards archaic items, such as the Greek figure of a man in bronze from the 8th century BC, today at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. His collection enjoyed European renown, and as he wrote about it, it was the joy in his old age.⁶⁹ Tyszkiewicz passed away in Rome on 18 November 1897, and

was buried at Campo Verano. In compliance with his last will, his collection was sold at an auction in Paris, yielding in total 358.866 francs.⁷⁰ In the Introduction to that auction catalogue W. Froehner wrote as follows: *Alas! It will be long before we see a collector equally passionate about things we love, and I worry that losing him, archaeology has suffered irreparable harm.*⁷¹

Michał Tyszkiewicz's passion for Antiquity undoubtedly constituted an endless source of joy for him. The collector remained indifferent to neither beauty nor ugliness of a work of art, this best testified to in his emotional descriptions of antiquities in the letters he wrote to Froehner: *ekphrasis* extremely valuable for Polish literature. The kind of an individual we can identify when reading Tyszkiewicz's letters is someone competent in the areas he was passionate about. It goes without saying that the recognition he won among the experts of the period were the reason for his personal satisfaction, and so was his contribution to the development of archaeology and epigraphy, as well as the awareness that his heritage, as dispersed as it might be, would remain part of the major museum collections worldwide.

Endnotes

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- ⁹ 'Tygodnik Ilustrowany' Wilno 1898, nr 49, s. 973.
- ¹⁰ Z. Potocka, *Teki rodzinne Tyszkiewiczów*, [Family Portfolios of the Tyszkiewicz], Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie (BNW), Accession No. 10114/1-25, Vol. 9, page nr 7. Unknown letter of Michał Tyszkiewicz in Polish, Minsk 23 June 1850.
- ¹¹ *Nowa Encyklopedia Powszechna*, [New Universal Encyclopaedia], P-S, PWN, Warszawa 1998, Vol. 5, p. 428. The genuine title: *Gabinet medalów polskich oraz tych, które się dziejów Polski tyczą, poczynszy od najdawniejszych aż do końca panowania Jana III (1513–1696)* [Cabinet of Polish Medals and those that Relate to Polish History, Beginning with the Oldest Times to the End of the Rule of John III (1513–1696)].
- ¹² J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tyszkiewicziana: militaria, bibliografia, numizmatyka, ryciny, zbiory, rezydencje, etc. etc.*, [Tyszkiewicziana: Militaria, Bibliography, Numismatics, Prints, Collections, Residences, Etc, Etc] Poznań 1903, pp. 86-87.
- ¹³ As a numismatist, Tyszkiewicz is mentioned in the *Rocznik dla archeologów, numizmatów i bibliografów polskich* [Annual for Polish Archaeologists, Numismatists, and Bibliographers] from 1873 and in its Paris edition *Répertoire annuaire général des collectionneurs de la France et de l'étranger avec des notices par Ris-Paquot, E. Renar et P. Eudel*, Paris vol. 1. 1892-93, Vol. 2. 1895-96.
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CENTRAL STORAGE FACILITY FOR MUSEUM COLLECTIONS: A NEW TASK FOR THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR MUSEUMS AND PUBLIC COLLECTIONS

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Abstract: Museum is collections. Their safe and appropriate storage has always been and will remain the basic statutory activity of every museum. As can be found in both domestic and international sources, merely a fraction of museums' collections is on permanent display, while their remaining part is kept in museums' storerooms. Therefore, the priority goal of every museum, of its management, and organizer, should be the availability of an adequate storage area. Regrettably, history and praxis demonstrate that it is precisely within this field that museums have always had and continue having the greatest needs. Worldwide museology faces the ongoing challenge of museum collection storage, and this is the challenge that Polish museums face as well. Fortunately, for over two decades a process of actual transformation in this respect has been occurring, the latter resulting in modern storage facilities being built. These, complying with the latest standards, shall guarantee high-quality protection to the collections, as well as a low-budget construction, and low energy consumption in the course

of operations. Poland, too, has been participating in these changes.

Recently, the topic of museum storage areas has entered the list of priority tasks of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, which in 2016 commissioned the National Institute for Museums and Public Collections (NIMOZ) to provide appropriate reports, analyses, and concepts, while in 2018 it formally assigned the Construction of the Central Storage Facility for Museum Collections Project (CMZM) to NIMOZ. A new position of the Director's Proxy for the Central Storage Facility for Museum Collections has been created. This means that a major development in the history of Polish museology has taken place: at the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage and its subordinate cultural institution definite steps have formally been taken in order to resolve the problems of museum collection storage in Poland. The assumption has been made that CMZM will be a pilot and model solution that can be followed by subsequent storage facilities for museums in Poland's other regions.

Keywords: museum collections, collection storage area, collection protection, museum conservation, preventive conservation, Central Storage Facility for Museum Collections in Poland.

Not so long ago the dilemma containing the metaphor whether museum storages were or not 'sexy'¹ was quite popular; it was actually meant in a way to explain the situation in which, despite the awareness of the scale and importance of the question, inadequate collection storage remained unresolved. The fact that storage-related activities were less attractive compared to e.g. display activities, and were therefore not treated as a priority, was given as one of the main reasons for such a status quo. Meanwhile, *it is collecting and durable preservation of natural and cultural heritage of mankind, both tangible and intangible* that have always been and will continue being the basic statutory task of each museum. Interestingly, the provisions of the Act on Museums and other ordinances and acts related to museum collections² do not refer to a selected collection of the most valuable exhibits, but to any single museum object.

It should be realized that as both domestic and international sources claim merely a fraction of museums' collections are on permanent display, while their remaining part is kept in museums' storerooms. Therefore, the priority goal of every museum, of its management, and organizer, should be the availability of an adequate storage area. Regrettably, history and praxis demonstrate that it is precisely within this field that museums have always had and continue having the greatest needs.

The report prepared and released by the National Institute for Museums and Public Collections (NIMOZ) in 2015³ demonstrated that in over one third of the surveyed museums there were no storages areas, while the two thirds had insufficient storage area, and almost a half featured inappropriate equipment or equipment only partially meeting the requirements. The information provided in the report of the Statistics Poland (GUS) for 2017⁴ shows that currently Polish museums and galleries feature about 22 million objects, which in view of the previously-quoted figures saying that on average ca 90 per cent of the collections permanently remain in storage spaces gives the number of about 20 million objects stored in different, often imperfect, conditions. Furthermore, both in museums and art galleries the annual increase of the number of collected exhibits has been observed, e.g. in 2016 the growth of the overall number of museum collections versus 2015 was at 4.3 per cent,⁵ while in 2017 the public gallery sector collections grew by 4.4 per cent versus the previous year.⁶

Similar challenges have been witnessed in worldwide museology, this confirmed in a survey conducted in 2011 by the International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) participated by 1.500 museums from 136 countries. Its results showed that in one in every four museums moving around objects in storage areas was difficult or impossible, in two out of three there was lack of storage area, and in every other there was no adequate étalage, with storage spaces overflowing.⁷ Thus it has to be unequivocally stated that a worldwide serious challenge in museums' collection storage is felt, this also affecting Polish museums to a high degree.

What should thus be done in order to finally solve the eternal museum challenge? First of all, wise advice of our predecessors should be listened to. *Preservation of the already made collection takes priority over extending it*, is the statement by Dr Józef Grabowski, Curator at the Pokućie

Museum in Stanisławów recorded in 1935,⁸ proving topical regardless of the elapse of time, since it justly prioritizes every museum's activities. It should, as mentioned above, apply to the whole of the museum collection, while the fact that a substantial majority of the collection remains in a storage area reveals that storage spaces are the most important places for the implementation of the basic museum tasks whose shared goal is preservation and making heritage artefacts available for public viewing for the longest period possible. Therefore, it is safeguarding adequate storage conditions for museum objects within storage areas that should be these institutions' priority task versus all the others. Museums are essentially obliged to provide good conservation to the entire collections, since the latter are the real purpose of their existence.

Additionally, the most characteristic and powerful aspect of storing collections in storage spaces needs to be emphasized: as part of preventive conservation, storage spaces can be secured the safest possible conservation conditions in every aspect, guaranteeing the objects the longest possible lifetime. Such conditions cannot be secured in display rooms in which an inevitable compromise between conservation and display has to be reached. Importantly, such preventive activities conducted in storage spaces, as distinct from conservation interventions with respect to single items, are applicable to all the museum objects stored, thus providing a large-scale prevention. Avoiding or minimizing damage and destruction by eliminating their causes prove to be far more effective and less costly in a longer term, while securing at the same time a full accessibility to and usefulness of the collections.

To conclude, and to respond to the question formulated at the beginning of the present paper, it can be deduced that in order to finally solve the problem of proper collections storage, new museum storage areas have to be raised, while the existing ones need to be modernized. Practically, for over two decades real changes have been occurring in this respect; as a result, modern storage facilities are built,⁹ these designed to be optimally organized, managed, situated, functional, accessible, conservation-secure, and energy-efficient. All these spheres have strongly evolved over the last decades, which has been caused, first of all by the advancements in science and technology, as well as professionalization and extension of museum staff with new specialists. What has started in the area of collection organization and management is the responsibility scope division between curators and conservators, this mainly stemming from the fact that each museum object exists in two dimensions: physical and intellectual or informative.¹⁰ The implementations of research and protection of these two dimensions should be the competence of specialists in different areas. Hence the change in the traditional model and subordination of storage management that have been occurring for over 20 years in the growing number of museums worldwide.¹¹ The general tendency has been to separate storage facilities as independent organizational units, while the supervision (in the meaning of physical care) over the collections has been taken away from curators and passed on to conservators as well as highly-trained collection storeroom clerks.

The correctness of this attitude has been confirmed by e.g. Julian Spalding, a long-time Director of the Glasgow Museums

and the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum who wrote that *the task of a museum conservator is to secure increasingly safer conditions of providing access to museum exhibits, both from the museum's own collection and those borrowed. In order to perform this correctly, museum conservators have to be constantly and entirely responsible for the collection. This also applies to collection storages where, as statistics demonstrate, the most damage is done to exhibits.*¹²

A clear division of the responsibility for the collections among museum specialists (including conservators and curators) in compliance with competences has now formed the ICOM-confirmed international standard. The ICOM-CC website features the application *Conservation: who, what & why?*,¹³ which clearly and specifically shows the division of tasks and responsibilities of the museum staff, precisely defining which specialists and to what extent should be involved in the basic museum activities.

The location of museum collections storage areas constitutes yet another vital issue, as it determines both the accessibility of objects to stakeholders, and the economy of the operations of the storage space as such. The general practice shows that two variants are applied: they are located on-site with the museum/gallery or nearby (Fig. 1) or outside the city centre, in some cases even outside the city, at a certain distance from the mother institution. Each of the variants has its advantages and disadvantages which depend on a multitude of factors, the basic one of them being availability of free spaces, both in the meaning of the existing infrastructure and the plot for construction versus the current needs and plans for the future.

It should be a rule to always aspire to find long-term solutions which do not cater only to the current needs, but will also protect the collections in a longer perspective. Therefore,

already at the first planning stage it is recommended to define the time horizon to sustain the full assumed functionality of the project. In the case of new museum storage rooms good practice is to assume the time horizon for at least 20–30 years; such has been assumed for e.g. the Vienna History of Art Museum (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien) in Himberg, though not the whole project has to be implemented all at once. The optimum solution is to design storage facility infrastructure on a larger plot, allowing a gradual, time-staged extension in proportion to the increasing needs. In this respect a good example to follow is that of the Storage and Conservation Centre in Vejle (Konserveringscenter og Fælles Museumsmagasiner Vejle), Denmark, where the first storage facility segment of 3.400 sq m and the conservation centre (1.200 sq m) were built in 2003, while in 2013, the second storage space segment (2.300 sq m) was added.¹⁴

The choice of the location relates to the selected storage model and its running concept. It is of key importance, particularly in relation to the policy of amassing and enlarging the collections, as well as to the extension of their accessibility. Of importance are also the functions planned to be implemented on the premises apart from the storage. The most appropriate and logical museum storage space project should assume the combination of all the storage spaces with all other rooms whose function is related directly to the care and documentation of the collections, e.g. accessibility, research, conservation, photographing, digitizing, etc. A storage and conservation centre organized in this manner will provide complex protection and servicing of museum collections, while maximally reducing the risk resulting from the need to transport them. It will also allow to optimize work and staffing structure, enhancing the operation effectiveness. Good examples of such solutions are to be



1. World Conservation and Exhibitions Centre of the British Museum in London; designed by Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners, https://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/the_museums_story/new_centre/explore_the_centre.aspx



2. Storage facility of the Art History Museum in Himberg, distanced some 20 km from the Museum's main building



3. Storage and Conservation Centre in Vejle, Denmark; the 2013 new storage facility extension visible on the left, <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Conservation+Centre+Vejle/@55.744623,9.6023283,168a,35y,180.26h,45t/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x464c8159bdba460f:0xef1bbea9faf33218m2!3d55.7432319!4d9.6011918?hl=pl-PL>



4. Art Collection Centre of the Swiss National Museum in Affoltern am Albis with the visualization of a new segment designed by Jesse Reiser + Nanao Umemoto 2014, <http://www.reiser-umemoto.com/extension-of-snm-collection-center.html>



5. Conservation and Storage Centre for the Paris Louvre Museum in Liévin; designed by Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners, <https://www.dezeen.com/2015/07/07/rogers-stirk-harbour-partners-conservation-storage-facility-musee-du-louvre-lievin-paris-france/>

found in the above-mentioned centres in Denmark's Vejle and Austria's Himberg, but also in Switzerland's Art Collection Centre of the Swiss National Museum in Affoltern am Albis, Scotland's: National Museums Collection Centre in Edinburgh and Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, or last but not least Conservation and Storage Centre for the Paris Louvre Museum (Centre de conservation du Louvre) in Liévin, France.

Additionally, when working out the concept, a shared character of a given project needs to be considered, which in many a case allows to faster and more economically secure the interests of a number of different institutions, in particular of middle- and small-sized museums from a region. For such a variant a good example of a shared centre, slightly distanced from their mother institutions are the storages in Vejle, raised as a form of a shared project for 16 museums and archives, located in compliance with the agreed rule an hour's drive from Vejle at most. A shared project can also be found in the Glasgow Museums Resource Centre; located in the city suburbs in a purpose-built facility housing conservation workshops, research labs, study rooms, a library, archives, and storage spaces, it caters for several Glasgow museums: Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum, Riverside Museum, Burrell Collection, Gallery of Modern Art, People's Palace, Scotland Street

School Museum, St. Mungo Museum of Religious Life & Art, and Provand's Lordship. Meanwhile, an example of storage spaces shared by several museums, yet located in the city centre, and at the main building can be found at the MAS Museum / Museum on the River (Museum aan de Stroom) in Antwerp, the facility shared by the Ethnographic Museum, National Maritime Museum, and the Folk Museum.

As for the function of providing access to collections, it has to be strongly emphasized that since the 1970s the process of 'democratization' of the access¹⁵ to museum collections and the change in the attitude to their displaying have been observed; the process aptly characterized in the early 21st century by Stephen Weil who said that over the previous 25 years museums and their staff had undergone the change from *being about something to being for somebody*.¹⁶ This has been confirmed in specially arranged storage facilities, being created more and more often worldwide, and which are accessible (entirely or fragmentarily) to different public groups.¹⁷ The process has intensified, this particularly visible in the early 21st century when museums began implementing different open-storage projects: e.g.: Metropolitan Museum of Art in Washington DC, Hermitage in St Petersburg, Larco



6. Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, <https://www.glasgowdoorsopendays.org.uk/glasgowmuseumsresourcecentre.html>



7. MAS Museum / Museum by the River in Antwerp

Museum in Lima, Jüdisches Museum in Vienna, MAS Museum in Antwerp, or Victoria & Albert Museum in London. In Poland, too, similar storage facilities have been established, e.g. Shipwreck Conservation Centre in Tczew (branch of the National Maritime Museum in Gdansk), Storage Space Gallery of John III Museum at Wilanów, Thesaurus Cracoviensis at the Historical Museum of the City of Cracow, or Study Storeroom at the Museum of Art in Łódź.

As can be seen from the above considerations, the priority need of the majority of museums is to have additional space for collection storage; at the same time, a growing number of them regard as purposeful to create open storage areas that would give the chance to solve both basic storage needs, and to create potential for new ways and tools to develop presentation, dissemination, and education activities. The above-presented examples confirm the tendency, while the 'democratisation' process of the access to collections complies with the direction of museum evolution, implying museum's growing social role and the introduction of the institution's participatory model,¹⁸ namely society's participation in its creation, operation, and development.

To recapitulate the location topic, it can be stated that both variants as shown above do provide potential for improvement of the storage conditions and museum's development, though to a varied degree. Many museums continue to prefer the traditional location of their storage space as forming an integral part of the institution's existing infrastructure, or at least locating it in the vicinity of the main premises. The 'pros' quoted in this respect are quicker access to the collections and easier access to storage spaces, which additionally in the case of an open-storage model creates opportunities for attracting larger



8. and 9. Staraya Derevnya Restoration and Storage Centre for St Petersburg's Hermitage

numbers of the public. The issues raised in this debate also cover transportation costs, e.g. transportation of the collections and staff between the museum's main seat and the storage space. Meanwhile, the institutions that already boast storage and conservation centres distanced from their main facility claim to the contrary: apparently, such an arrangement allows to economize, while the distance between the two does not discourage visitors. In the case of the latter location variant the strongest 'pro' argument is the possibility to plan and implement an optimal project that can be phased and time-staged, while its segmented extension can be carried out proportionally to the growing needs. Of substantial impact in this respect is greater availability of adequately larger land plots and lower land price on the city's outskirts; furthermore, such an area offers larger design freedom of optimum solutions for this type of buildings (as distinct from the city centre where designers generally face conservation restrictions). An additional important aspect is the fact that a storage-cum-conservation centre stands a chance of becoming yet another cultural institution within a totally new space, this constituting added value in the attractiveness boost of both the museum itself, and the new place. The latter aspect is perfectly illustrated by the Shipwreck Conservation Centre and Study Storage Space in Tczew, established in 2016 as a branch of the Maritime Museum in Gdańsk.

Preservation as well as effective and sustainable collections management are more frequently the domains in the contemporary world which resort to various disciplines of knowledge and go beyond the so-far traditional range of museum activities. Of particular importance in these areas is the cooperation of three different professional groups: conservators, curators, and scientists (mainly physicists, chemists, biologists) whose shared or complementary activities should be targeted at increasingly enhanced solutions aimed at raising the quality of collections' preservation. At the same time, the contemporary world caring for the environment, obliges us all to take well-thought-out steps in managing a cultural institution acting in a *responsible, effective, and environment-friendly manner*.

Responsible management of natural resources is of particular impact in the era of a general reduction of energy consumption and CO₂ footprint, this coupled with

*the aspiration to secure high standards in collections' preservation.*¹⁹ Such an attitude has been accepted as an international standard,²⁰ since the reduction of excessive energy consumption is in the vital interest of cultural institutions themselves, and apart from economical aspects, has its environmental and ethical impact. Preservation of cultural heritage accompanied by the care for natural resources and the environment embodies the idea of a 'green museum', but it actually is simply our duty if we feel responsible for the future of our society and heritage.

A contemporary museum storeroom should therefore guarantee a high standard of collection preservation, this coupled with a cost-effective construction and low-energy consumption in operations. As these factors are interdependent, it could be easily expected that high quality of collection preservation will induce high costs as well as high energy consumption by the devices regulating the climate inside the storage facility. Meanwhile, as international research projects²¹ and the afore-enlisted project implementations have proven, the target we want to reach can be attained. One of the ways is to apply appropriate construction and functional solutions securing building airtight envelope, maximally reducing uncontrolled infiltration, and designing an energy-efficient passive microclimate stability system that can secure safe climate.²²

At this point it is worthwhile to quote Stefan Michalski of Canadian Conservation Institute who reminds that *a practical rule of thumb for the benefits of lower temperature states that each reduction of 5°C doubles the lifetime of the object.*²³ The rule results from the fact that temperature increase reduces chemical degradation of organic polymers, e.g. paper, textiles, leather, and plastics present in a large number of museum objects. Hence the widely applied guidelines of the American Society of Heating, Refrigerating and Air-Conditioning Engineers (ASHRAE)²⁴ foresee +10° C for archive and library storage. The interdependence between the lifetime of materials of varied chemical sensitivity and temperature in which objects are stored can be found in the table below elaborated by specialists of the Canadian Conservation Institute.²⁵

Examples of materials classified as for their sensitivity:

- Low: wood, linen, cotton, leather, parchment, oil paint, egg tempera, watercolour media;



10. and 11. Shipwreck Conservation Centre in Tczew, branch of the National Maritime Museum in Gdańsk

(Photos: 2, 7-11 – J. Czop)

- Medium: stable photographic materials, e.g. 19th-century black-white negatives on glass, 20th-century black-white negatives on polyester foil;
- High: acid paper, e.g. newspaper paper and low-quality books, paper after 1850, celluloid and many plastics, natural materials acidified through contamination (textiles, leather);
- Very high: magnetic media, e.g. video, audio tapes, floppy discs; photographic materials, e.g. coloured prints; numerous elastic polymers, from rubber to polyurethane foams and some acryl paints.

Thus if we want to wisely and responsibly take care of museum collections, we have to implement in practice the above expertise and create state-of-the-art storage spaces in which by lowering temperature conditions for safer and the longest-possible-lasting storage of cultural heritage will be created. It is important to bear in mind that there should be no permanent job positions in the storage facility, while its functional parameters should first of all target at the preservation and accessibility of collections, while consider the comfort of a human staying within it only as secondary.

In Poland it is the National Museum in Cracow that has undertaken actions meant to raise a modern, energy-efficient storage facility securing optimal preservation conditions for the collections; the National Museum, like the majority of museums in general, has forever been trying to tackle the challenge of insufficient storage space and insufficient equipping of its storage rooms. Therefore, for several years already, together with international cultural institutions, the National Museum has been mastering the competences in the area of a new approach to effective and sustainable storage, additionally providing access to heritage resources.²⁶ As a result, a concept to raise a modern Central Conservation and Storage Facility for Cultural Heritage (CKM), combining the functions of a place securing the highest preservation quality with a research centre, as well as education, promotion, and service activities, was prepared in 2014–16 by a team of specialists from the National Museum in Cracow: Janusz Czop, Łukasz Bratasz, Anna Kłosowska, Grażyna Malik, and Barbara Świątkowska, in cooperation with some experts non-affiliated with the Museum: Prof. Roman Kozłowski, the architect Wojciech Wicher, and the logistician Michał Krawczak of the

Logis Company. For reasons beyond the Museum's control, it failed to obtain legal ownership title to the post-industrial area at Nowa Huta, where CKM was originally planned to be raised. Currently, the opportunity to implement the existing concept can be seen in the edifice of the former Cracovia Hotel purchased together with its plot in 2016, where among other things the construction of CKM is planned.

At the same time, the topic of museum storage areas entered the list of priority tasks of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, which in 2016 commissioned the National Institute for Museums and Public Collections (NIMOZ), as an expertise organization, to provide the *Report on the Concept of the Construction of Nationwide Network of Museum Storage Facilities in Poland*. The Report was prepared in cooperation with outside specialists: Janusz Czop, Agnieszka Jaskanis, Marcin Krawczyk, Sławomir Momot, and Robert Szumielewicz. As the Report's completion and continuation, in 2018 the study: *Universal Concept of the Central Storage Facility for Museum Collections (CMZM) with Its Functionality and Utility Assumptions* by Janusz Czop, Anna Kłosowska, and Roman Kozłowski was elaborated. The basic CMZM assumption is to establish a shared museum storage facility, which in compliance with the optimum model as described above, will combine high quality of collection preservation, cost-efficient construction costs with energy-efficiency during operations. When working out the *Universal Concept...*, its authors took into account all the factors endangering museum objects,²⁷ the results of scientific and research projects,²⁸ as well as the guidelines currently formulated for Polish and European standards to be complied with when safeguarding optimal conservation preservation of collections.²⁹

All the works conducted by NIMOZ in consequence resulted in the fact that in 2018, the Minister of Culture and National Heritage³⁰ assigned the Construction of the Central Storage Facility for Museum Collections Project (CMZM) to NIMOZ. A new position of the Director's Proxy for the Central Storage Facility for Museum Collections was created.³¹ This means that a major development in the history of Polish museology has taken place: at the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage and its subordinate cultural institution definite steps were formally taken in order to resolve the problems of museum collection storage in Poland. The year

Table 1. Interdependence between the lifetime of materials of various chemical sensitivity and the temperature in which items are stored. The assumption made for the calculation: relative humidity at 50% in each case.

Temperature	SENSITIVITY			
	Low	Medium	High	Very high
~60°C	~4 years+	~1 year	~6 months	2 months
~30°C	~250 years+	~75 years	~25 years	~7 years
~25°C	~500 years+	~150 years	~50 years	~15 years
~20°C	~1.000 years+	~300 years	~100 years	~30 years
~10°C	~5.000 years+	~1.500 years	~500 years	~150 years
~0°C	20.000 years+	~6.000 years	~2.000 years	~600 years

Examples of materials classified as for their sensitivity: **Low:** wood, linen, cotton, leather, parchment, oil paint, egg tempera, watercolour media; **Medium:** stable photographic materials, e.g. 19th-century black-white negatives on glass, 20th-century black-white negatives on polyester foil; **High:** acid paper, e.g. newspaper paper and low-quality books, paper after 1850, celluloid and many plastics, natural materials acidified through contamination (textiles, leather).

2019 opens up the process which will inevitably be multi-stage and implemented over several years. The first phase planned for 2019–21 will involve the construction of the Central Storage Facility for Museum Collections meant to serve various cultural institutions located in Warsaw. As a facility shared by several museums, it will be a pioneering solution in Poland. The assumption has been made that CZMZ will constitute a pilot and model solution that can be followed by subsequent storage facilities for museums in Poland's other regions.

As demonstrated above, the optimum implementation of the CMZM Project is to raise a new building. This proves more cost-efficient than attempts to adapt the already existing infrastructure, and it is more functional: there will be no need to overcome architectural limitations and limited room, while spaces from the onset designed to serve definite purposes (storages, research, display) will better fulfil their functions. Raising the storage facility from scratch additionally allows to create the best possible climate conditions, while enabling the design of cost-efficient construction solutions that are at the same time energy-efficient and cheap in operations. Therefore, right now works are conducted in order to identify and acquire

an appropriate property in Warsaw; on this plot CMZM will be raised. Finalizing this stage will allow to complete the creation of the functionality and utility programmes adjusted to the definite location, as well as to prepare necessary documentation for launching a competition to provide architectural and urban-planning conceptual design of the Central Storage Facility for Museum Collections. It will serve as the basis for design documentation necessary for the Project's implementation.

Meanwhile, as for the dilemma mentioned at the beginning of the paper it can be said that the numerous examples of the implemented storage projects, and all the activities undertaken in this sphere, allow to declare that storage spaces of museum collections are becoming 'sexy'. The positive changes that have been occurring over the last years in numerous museums worldwide confirm that the topic of an appropriate storage of museum exhibits has finally started to be perceived as attractive for both museums and its management and organizer, while the storage space as such has been appreciated, and is now treated in compliance with the function it exerts and its superior role of the basic tool serving the conservation preservation of museum collections.

Endnotes

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- ²⁶ <https://www.canada.ca/en/conservation-institute/services/agents-deterioration/temperature.html> [Accessed: 15 March 2019].
- ²⁷ Works on the Centre's concept conducted at the National Museum in Cracow had been preceded by many-year analysis of solutions adopted worldwide in preventive conservation through participation in international research projects in conservation, such as:
1. *Net Heritage* – European network for research programme into the protection of tangible cultural heritage (grant of the Seventh EU Framework Programme).
 2. *Envi Control* – Managing museum collections on the grounds of computer-modelled impact of microclimate fluctuations on historic objects (grant of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education).
 3. *Heriverde* – Energy-efficiency of museum and library institutions (grant of the National Centre for Research and Development).
 4. Participation in the works of the European Committee for Standardization, Working Group 4 'Environment', Technical Committee 346 'Conservation of Cultural Heritage' and experience exchange with international cultural institutions such as Canadian Conservation Institute, Smithsonian Conservation Institute, Getty Institute, University College London, English Heritage.
- ²⁸ Full profile of all 10 factors available at Canadian Conservation Institute website: <https://www.canada.ca/en/conservation-institute/services/agents-deterioration.html>
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PARLIAMENTARY MUSEUM: HISTORICAL CONTEXTS AS WELL AS CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ENTANGLEMENTS

Błażej Popławski

Sejm Library

Abstract: The goal of the article is to present parliamentary museum as an institution. In the introduction parliamentary museum is characterized as a peculiar type of historical museum. Subsequently, selected institutions of the kind in India, Japan, Jordan, and Belgium are discussed. Moreover, the political context for founding

the Museum of the Polish *Sejm* [Parliament] is described. This covers the time spanning from the late 1970s to 1989, as well as the operations of the Museum Content Department at the *Sejm* Library. To conclude, challenges and prospects for the planned Museum of Polish Parliamentarism are presented.

Keywords: historical museum, parliamentary museum, museum autonomy, historical policy, Museum of the Polish *Sejm*.

Parliamentary museums as examples of historical museums

The majority of parliamentary museums are examples of so-called historical museums. According to Zdzisław Żygulski Jr., *the task of historical museum is to present, within a given range, the historical past by means of material historic objects and other documents.*¹ The museologist, enumerating subtypes of historical museums dominating in the late 20th century, does not distinguish parliamentary museums. He mentions only the growing impact of historical museums dedicated to selected periods, events, associations or political parties, or illustrious political activists.²

Slightly different conclusions are reached by contemporary museologists. The sociologist Geneviève Zubrzycki during the debate instigated by the Polish History Museum, when analyzing the impact of the political transformation in Poland after 1989 on the condition of Polish museology, claimed: *In societies in which history forms an integral part of the cultural code impacting the image of the nation and*

*the basis of the political discourse, historical museums seem to be particularly important socially. They stand the chance of playing the role of the conveyor of change in the domain of social patterns and the way of thinking about politics: they serve learning, forming views of citizens and of international visitors.*³

According to the researcher, historical museums fulfil two basic functions. They are social institutions and, due to their function of supporting the state's authority, they are also instruments of power. They support the idea of a political community (mainly national, as seen from the perspective of the realities of East-Central Europe), as well as shape the collective identity of the country's citizens. In compliance with Eric Hobsbawm's ideas, they are to serve the purpose of *inventing tradition*, namely the process of demonstrating the relation between the past and the present, and the activities conducted by elites (usually political) for legitimizing purposes.⁴

It is necessary to emphasize that the majority of parliamentary museums were created at the moments

of a particular historical impact: in the periods of political transformation, of the exchange of the ruling elite. When analyzing the history of parliamentary museums it has to be observed that the very moment of initiating the debate on the shape of museum institutions is often connected with the need to provide structure to a new political narrative meant to sanction beforehand the status of the new authorities or to defend the *ancien régime* against social delegitimation. In the history of parliamentary museums one of the key challenges is thus the attempt to define the extent of programme and ideological autonomy of the museum in relation to its organizer and the degree of the entanglement of the display message in the political and party discourse.

Selected parliamentary museums around the world

The majority of parliaments have offices responsible for popularising the knowledge of their history. Most commonly, their scope of responsibilities includes preparation of information materials and taking visitor groups round the parliament building. Relatively few of those units implement classical tasks of a museum, namely collecting, storing, conserving, displaying, and popularizing collections related to the history of parliamentarism. More active in the field are the countries whose parliamentary tradition is relatively short, particularly those outside Europe. The institutions of the type include e.g. the Japanese Parliamentary Museum, New Delhi's Parliament Museum, and the Jordan Museum of Parliamentary Life. In Europe, the most prominent institution of the profile of parliamentary museum is the Parliamentarium in Brussels.

Tokyo's Parliamentary Museum started operating in 1970 on the 80th anniversary of the birth of Japanese parliamentarism. The choice of the date was thus not accidental: reference was made to the tradition of Meiji ('Civilization and Enlightenment'), when a thorough transformation of the country took place, modernizing it to resemble the Western model. Interestingly, the project to establish a museum was from the very beginning supported by Eisaku Satō, Prime Minister in 1964–72, the charismatic leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party, regarded to have been one of the co-authors of the economic success of Japan, as well as the advocate of a close cooperation with the United States.

The official opening of the permanent exhibition at the Parliamentary Museum took place in 1972. The institution is located in the immediate vicinity of the main building of the Japanese Parliament, and the building of the Parliament library. The display, combining traditional exhibits with modern multimedia, shows the work of the Parliament and presents its Speakers and Prime Ministers (however, with the opposition leaders hardly mentioned). The Museum exposes the role of democracy, marginalizing the political development of Japan from before the Meiji period. In the display narrative also the times of the Shōwa period, namely the 'Era of Enlightened Peace', the rule of Emperor Hirohito, covering WW II, are selectively tackled. The history of the country's political system is presented from the perspective which can be defined as America-centred.

The Parliament Museum in New Delhi initiated its activity in 1989, during the administration of Rajiv Gandhi, the son of

Indira Gandhi, with the Indian National Congress dominating the political stage. Currently, the institution forms part of the parliamentary office called Parliamentary Museum and Archives. Modernized in the early 21st century, it had its political narrative discretely modified to reflect that closer to the rightist ideology of the Indian People's Party (BJP). The exhibition is made up of three parts: the first shows the tradition of democratic institutions in India (including the Edicts of Ashoka hewn in rock in the 3rd century B.C.); the second (the most modest in form) analyses the importance of parliamentary institutions in selected countries; the third part introduces the legislative process in India. By means of a skilful division of emphases, the Museum's visitors become acquainted with Indian statehood: from the ancient times to today.

The Museum of Parliamentary Life in Amman, founded in 2010, had its permanent exhibition launched 6 years later. Reporting to the Ministry of Culture, the institution was located in the old Parliament building, a symbolical venue at which in 1946 Abdullah I bin Al-Hussein declared the independence of the Kingdom of Transjordan. The exhibition records the political and parliamentary history of Jordan. The narrative's goal is to expose the achievements of the Hashemites ruling Jordan to-date. Its mission can therefore be regarded as the creation of a narrative mythologizing the dynasty.

The Parliamentarium, namely the centre for those visiting the European Parliament, is located in the Espace Léopold complex in Brussels. The modern interactive exhibition is meant to show the way to the European integration and to introduce the modes of work of the European Parliament. Its message emphasizes the universalisation of the European values, while presenting the stories of individuals, communities, and nations from a multicultural perspective. The exhibition, available in every of the 24 languages of the EU, is divided into three parts: the past, the present, and the future. Its last segment provides the visitors with the possibility to describe their own vision of the future of Europe *integrated in diversity*.

Context for the foundation of the Polish Sejm Museum

According to the available archival records it seems that the initiative to found the Polish *Sejm* Museum was officially formulated in November 1979 by Kazimierz Światała, a lawyer, former Minister of Interior in Communist Poland (1968–71), member of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (KC PZPR) (1968–71). However, it is difficult to consider Światała the 'father' of the Polish *Sejm* Museum: in the period when the project was initiated, he was Head of the Chancellery of the *Sejm* who submitted the draft of a ready resolution to the Presidium of the *Sejm*.

The launching of the debate on establishing a new museum institution has to be put in a wider context. Upon Edward Gierek becoming the First Secretary of the KC PZPR, a partial shift in the formula of political legitimization took place, claims the historian Marcin Zaremba. According to him, the Polish authorities, trying to restore social confidence after the arms had been fired against protesters in Gdańsk and Gdynia in December 1970,

purposefully resorted to the national past, also the elements unspoken of in the first two decades of Communist Poland. Thus the authorities distanced themselves from the martyrology discourse. The official version of the history was corrected. *Jubilees of historical anniversaries stopped being celebrated 'against someone', and they were first of all meant to educate people,*⁵ writes Zaremba referring to the reconstruction of the Royal Castle and the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of Poland regaining independence.

The manifestation of the change of attitude towards national history could be seen in the establishment of several museum institutions in Warsaw in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In 1974–80, three branches of the Historical Museum of Warsaw were launched: the Wola Museum of Warsaw (1974), Museum of Printing (1975), and the Museum of Struggle and Martyrdom Palmiry (1980). In 1981, the Social Committee for the Construction of the Warsaw Uprising Museum was established, while 2 years later the branch of the Warsaw Uprising Museum was founded at the Historical Museum of Warsaw. In 1978, the Museum of Caricature was launched as a branch of the Museum of Literature. In 1980, namely a year after the first apostolic pilgrimage of John Paul II to Poland, the Museum of the Archdiocese of Warsaw was opened. In 1984, the Museum of the History of the Polish Peasant Movement was started. The institutions offered varied historical narratives, detabooing particular fragments of the panorama of national and political history, the latter including also the parliamentary one.

The conviction that the knowledge of the history of the *Sejm* should be conveyed to society in a comprehensible and attractive format can be reflected in the reconstruction of the old *Sejm* interiors in the rebuilt Royal Castle in Warsaw: the New Chamber of Deputies, Senatorial Hall, Guards' Room, New Chamber of Deputies, and the Antechamber to the New Chamber of Deputies. The decision to do so demonstrated a new field of interest in the history of the *Sejm* neglected in the prior research. Works on recreating the space in which the Constitution of 3 May 1791 was adopted required knowledge of architecture, history, history of law, and of history of art. The reconstructed *Sejm* halls became places where the history of Polish parliamentarism was popularized, turning them into a substitute of the *Sejm* Museum.

In the early 1980s, both academic and popular literature focused on the history of parliamentarism, actually more than in the previous decade; so the topics tackled were its beginnings under the Jagiellonian Dynasty, the Union of Lublin, Commission of National Education (KEN), namely the events and commemorative sites emanating the idea of strong statehood, civic education, and patriotic tradition. *Concepts such as 'Socialism', 'Socialist political system', 'society', were gradually replaced by the terms: 'state' and 'statehood'.*⁶ Manifestations of the type of discourse can be found in the justification to the draft resolution on establishing the Polish *Sejm* Museum submitted to the *Sejm* Presidium. The document reads, among others: *The Sejm constitutes an inseparable important element of the tradition of the Nation and Polish state; in the past regarded as synonymous with and an expression of state's sovereignty, in general awareness it has become an essential element of the bond of the nation with the state authorities. (...) Particularly over the last decade [the role of the Sejm] has found a gradually fuller reflection*

*in the political and legal praxis of our State, substantially benefitting the strengthening of the bond between the state authorities and the masses, as well as consolidating patriotic attitudes of the citizens. All these circumstances favour the undertaking of necessary organizational steps to allow to collect all the documents and mementoes of the history of the Polish Sejm activities in one place, for them to testify to the former and today's importance of the Polish Sejm, and for them to contribute to consolidating the awareness of the national memory of Polish parliamentarism and the knowledge of its challenges today.*⁷

Importantly, the document had been beforehand given an approval by Henryk Jabłoński, President of the Council of State, as well as Edward Babiuch, Chairman of the PZPR Parliamentary Club. The *Sejm* Presidium approved the motion at the session on 25 November 1979, and took the following resolution: *The Sejm Presidium has decided to found the Polish Sejm Museum as a publicly accessible public museum showing the long lasting and durability of Polish national parliamentary traditions; it will become a major instrument in the patriotic ideological, and educational activity, particularly among young people, teaching them the proper civic attitude to the history of homeland, and to contemporary Polish Socialist statehood.*⁸

Establishing of the Polish *Sejm* Museum

On 19 December 1984, the Presidium of the *Sejm*, in agreement with the Minister of Culture and Art, adopted a subsequent resolution to found an organizational unit called 'The Polish *Sejm* Museum'. This document being of a far more executive character than the one adopted 5 years earlier, read: *The task of the Museum is to collect, keep, conserve, scientifically elaborate, and make available to the public the collection related to Polish parliamentarism until the most recent times.*⁹ The detailed range of the Museum's activities and its internal structure were to be specified by the statutes to be provided by the Head of the *Sejm* Chancellery in agreement with the Minister of Culture and Art. The assumption was made that the supervision of the Museum's activity, in this case the selection of its Director, was to remain the prerogative of the Head of the *Sejm* Chancellery. The organization was to be financed by the Culture Development Fund.

In August 1985, a Team to Organize the Polish *Sejm* Museum was appointed, while a year later, the Opinion and Consultancy Committee for the Museum of the Polish *Sejm* was set up. The Committee was to be responsible for working out the script of the future exhibition, the supervision of the adaptation of museum rooms, and for holding academic conferences.¹⁰ At the same time it was agreed that the opinions formulated by the Committee were to be submitted to the Speaker of the *Sejm*, while their implementation was to be the responsibility of the Head of the *Sejm* Chancellery.

The design works meant to adjust the oldest buildings in the *Sejm* complex to serve museum purposes were begun in 1987, while the first renovation works were started in 1988. The furnishing of the interiors and the display were to be completed in February 1991. According to the decision of the Politburo of the KC PZPR, plans were made for the Museum to be opened on the 200th anniversary of adopting the 3 May Constitution: *It will constitute the central item*

on the national celebrations agenda related to the moment which seems to have been the most important moment in the history of Polish parliamentarism.¹¹

Restructuring of the Polish Sejm Museum

Soon after the partially democratic *Sejm* election, in December 1989, the decision was made that the renovated building meant to house the Polish *Sejm* Museum was to serve as conference rooms for the *Sejm* and Senate Committees (with the building actually serving this very purpose until today). The winding down of the Culture Development Fund resulted in the fact that as of 1 January 1991 the Museum's current operations were incorporated into the overall budget of the *Sejm* Chancellery, while new organizational regulations of the *Sejm* Chancellery founded the Museum Content Section, later restructured into a Department at the *Sejm* Library

The unit continues collecting, elaborating, and conserving historic objects (currently the collection boasts almost 10.000 artefacts related to the history of the Polish *Sejm*), and it displays them at temporary exhibitions (in 1986–2019, 37 such displays were held in Poland, and also in foreign parliament buildings). It is also the museologists' task to provide decoration of the *Sejm* stately interiors. Furthermore, the Museum Content Department staff hold scholarly conferences, and are responsible for sculpture projects (e.g. sculpture gallery of Deputy Chamber Speakers from the First Polish Republic, commemorative plates in the *Sejm*'s main hall), as well as for painting ones (painting gallery of the Speakers of the Second Polish Republic), additionally providing historic iconography to the *Sejm* Publishing House. Furthermore, the Museum Content Department's responsibility is the *Sejm* Virtual Museum and the uploading of a selection of parliamentary artefacts onto the Google Arts&Culture Platform.

Future of the Polish Sejm Museum

The restructuring of the *Sejm* Chancellery in 1989 did not mean closing up the debate on the Museum's future. Already in December 1991, different ideas were being considered: to locate the permanent exhibition at the Rembieliński Palace on the corner of Piękna Street and Ujazdowskie Avenue; in the pavilion of the former Ujazdów Hospital in Jazdów Street; in one of the residential buildings in Górnośląska Street; and in the planned new *Sejm* building at the junction of Matejki and Wiejska Streets. In the last edifice, however, put into service in late 2018, there was no room left for the Museum's permanent exhibition.

In the course of the 7th *Sejm*'s term of office, the idea to establish the museum of Polish parliamentarism was resumed. The project has to be put into two contexts: a global and a local one. The first is related to the so-called wrzenie upheaval?, museum boom; the second, also partially correlated with the first, is connected with the increase of financing allocated to the memory culture and historical policy in Poland under the administration of the Law and Justice Party (PiS).

The caesura for the 'museum upheaval' can be found in the opening of the Warsaw Rising Museum in Warsaw in 2004. Over the next decade many new museums were created, or

the old ones were entirely rearranged; these soon became well-rooted landmarks in Poles' social imagination, as well as in tourist guidebooks targeted at international visitors.

Interestingly, the resuming of the debate on establishing a parliamentary museum coincided with three jubilees important for the *Sejm* history: the 550th anniversary of the Piotrków *Sejm* (1468): the first in history two-chamber *Sejm*; the 100th anniversary of Poland regaining independence; and the 100th anniversary of launching the Legislative *Sejm*. In 2017, in compliance with the *Sejm* Speaker's decision, works were started to create the Museum of Polish Parliamentarism. The decision read: *The [Museum of Parliamentarism] Project is one of the initiatives related to the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of regaining independence. (...) The Museum will show Poland as one of the cradles of parliamentarism on the European continent, to a degree anticipating other European countries in this respect.*¹²

Over the recent years, the number of *Sejm* museologists has been increased, and the process of collecting exhibits intensified. The issues of the institution's future location have been retackled. However, unless the seat of the Museum of Polish Parliamentarism is decided, planning of the permanent exhibition will be unrealistic, and the activity of the Museum Content Department will focus on preparing temporary exhibitions and on further extending the parliamentarism-related exhibit collection.

Parliamentary museums are tools for implementing historical policy, creating historical awareness of citizens, and for patriotic education. As viewed from this perspective, they resemble state think tanks, consolidating democratic practices in society. On the other hand, however, historical policy also means working out the politically correct interpretation of history by referring to selectively chosen memorial sites (events, national heroes, historical anniversaries), since institutionalizing the discourse on the past means both the policy of memory, and the policy of oblivion: parliamentary museums relatively easily transform into monuments commemorating the success of the political group which happens to have the parliamentary majority at a given moment (or which is apprehensive about losing its political position), this confirmed by the history of the parliamentary museums in Asia.

The above conclusions are also partially reflected in the history of the idea of the Polish *Sejm* Museum. Over four decades the concept of an institution collecting Polish parliamentarism-related exhibits evolved: from the tool legitimizing the Communist elites to the project, revived in the 2nd decade of the 21st century, of founding yet another historical narrative museum, located in the capital, matching in importance the Museum of Polish History, whose main narrative axis of the Old Polish period is interestingly to be found in the history of the parliament.

The Polish *Sejm* Museum, and later the Museum Content Department, structure-wise have always remained under the auspices of the *Sejm* Chancellery. This affiliation on the one hand has provided their stability, however on the other, in view of the increasing number of *Sejm* committees, it has hindered the creation of an autonomous display on the parliamentary complex premises.

Endnotes

- ¹ Z. Żygulski jun., *Muzea na świecie. Wstęp do muzealnictwa* [Museums Worldwide. Introduction to Museology], PWN, Warszawa 1982, s. 98.
- ² *Ibid.*, s. 99.
- ³ G. Zubrzycki, *Między historią, pamięcią wspólną i mitologią narodową: wyzwania i szanse współczesnych muzeów* [Between History, Shared Memory, and National Mythology], M. Szukała (transl.), in: *Historia Polski od-nowa. Nowe narracje historii i muzealne reprezentacje przeszłości* [History of Poland Anew. New Historical Narratives and Museum Representations of the Past], R. Kostro, K. Wóycicki, M. Wysocki (ed.), Muzeum Historii Polski, Warszawa 2014, pp. 14-15.
- ⁴ E. Hobsbawm, *Wprowadzenie. Wynajdowanie tradycji* [Introduction. The Invention of Tradition], M. Godyń, F. Godyń (przeł.), in: *Tradycja odnaleziona* [Tradition Found], E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (ed.), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2008, pp. 9-23.
- ⁵ M. Zaremba, *Komunizm, legitymizacja, nacjonalizm. Nacjonalistyczna legitymizacja władzy komunistycznej w Polsce* [Communism, Legitimation, Nationalist Legitimization of the Communist Regime in Poland], (2nd edition), Trio, Warszawa 2005, p. 364.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 378.
- ⁷ *Uzasadnienie do Uchwały Prezydium Sejmu z dnia 15 listopada 1979 r. w sprawie powołania Muzeum Sejmu Polskiego* [Justification to the Resolution of the Sejm Presidium of 15 Nov. 1979 on Founding the Polish Sejm Museum], p. 1.
- ⁸ *Uchwała Prezydium Sejmu z dnia 15 listopada 1979 r. w sprawie powołania Muzeum Sejmu Polskiego* [Resolution of the Sejm Presidium of 15 November 1979 on Founding the Polish Sejm Museum], p. 1.
- ⁹ *Uchwała Prezydium Sejmu z 19 grudnia 1984 w sprawie utworzenia Muzeum Sejmu Polskiego* [Resolution of the Sejm Presidium of 19 December of 1984 on Founding the Polish Sejm Museum], p. 1.
- ¹⁰ In 1981-84, four symposia were organized under the auspices of the Sejm Chancellery: *History of Polish Parliamentarism prior to the Partitions* (Kórnik 1982); *History of Parliamentarism on Polish Territories in the Post-Partition Period* (Cracow 1982); *History of Polish Parliamentarism during the Second Polish Republic* (Warsaw 1983); *History of Parliamentarism in Communist Poland* (Lublin 1984).
- ¹¹ *Notatka informacyjna – Jak zrodziła się inicjatywa utworzenia Muzeum polskiego parlamentu?* [Memo: How Was the Initiative to Found the Museum of Polish Parliamentarism Born?], p. 4.
- ¹² *Muzeum Sejmu Polskiego na 100-lecie Niepodległej* [Polish Sejm Museum on the 100th Anniversary of Independent Poland], <http://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm8.nsf/komunikat.xsp?documentId=EE27EA87625F52A9C1258076005677E8> [accessed: 25 Jan. 2019]

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du Palais de Lazienki

1851.

Rédigé par N^o Kaniewski
Membre de l'Académie Impériale des beaux-arts
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Spis Obrazów
znajdujących się w salonach
Pałacu Łazienkowskiego

1851. r.

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POST-WAR REPOSITORIES FOR RELOCATED CULTURAL GOODS IN POLAND. CONTRIBUTION TO BROADER ELABORATION

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Abstract: The article deals with the so-called 'conservators' and 'museum' repositories set up in Poland within its current borders, after WWII, in the 1940s and 1950s, in order to assemble the movable monuments obtained during the transportation and requisition campaign. It indicates and summarises the information on the geopolitical factors and law provisions which influenced the creation of repositories, although it does not analyse them. It deals with the general description of how the repositories functioned, without detailing the histories of each one. It mentions the duties of the Ministry of Culture and Art's representatives responsible for protecting

cultural property, i.e. delegates for actions related to collecting pieces; it presents the procedures applied by the repositories and the mechanisms for fulfilling the Ministry's obligation to supervise them. It also describes the activities connected with destroying selected items in the presence of a committee, as well as transferring them free of charge to the state-owned enterprise DESA and to central institutions, churches and collections of Polish museums.

The information is based solely on the archival material gathered by the author. The text also describes the later activity of repositories until the present day. It is also a prelude to a broader elaboration of the topic.

Keywords: movable monuments, exhibits, transport campaign, requisition campaign, Wawel repository, Warsaw repository, Silesian repositories, repository in Oliwa, repository in Sopot, recording collections.

The paper analyzes the so-called 'conservator' and 'museum' repositories set up in Poland within its current borders in the 1940s and 1950s in order to collect movable monuments: art works and museum exhibits.¹ The necessity to organize many temporary repositories for cultural goods resulted from the effects of WWII and the geopolitical changes occurring within the country, these headed by the revision of borders and

the agrarian reform. There was an urgent need to take care of the movable goods which had lost their owners: museum administrators, German collectors, Polish landowners, museum monuments, and private Polish collections, as well as pieces of unknown descent, dispersed as a result of war vicissitudes. The legal status of the goods taken over by the Polish state agencies, these including to a great extent historical movables collected in

the repositories that have been the subject of my research, was provided for by the legal regulations adopted in 1944–58.² This is not, however, the moment for describing the then political and legal situation, nor is this the opportunity to recall the scope of German plundering of the Polish cultural goods and the action of searching for them, undertaken by Poland even before the war ended, and conducted across the former German territories that had passed under Polish administration. Also what remains not tackled is the issue of cultural goods being reclaimed from the territories of Germany and Austria occupied by the Allies or repatriation of Polish movable monuments from the territories of the pre-war Republic of Poland, occupied by the Soviet Union, as well as requisition of private possessions, in the official newspeak referred to as former manorial property. It has to be, however, emphasized that the formal day of the war's end, namely 8 May 1945, was not of importance for the establishment of the repositories. Instead, other events and dates were of key significance: the formation of the Polish temporary administration (July 1944 in Lublin; as of February 1945 in Warsaw and Łódź) controlled by the USSR; gradual implementation of the agrarian reform as of 1944 on the territories where war activity had ceased; founding of the Central Directorate of Museums and Collection Protection (NDMiOZ), the agency established at the Ministry of Culture, whose task was to 'reclaim cultural goods'; formation of the Gdansk Voivodeship on 6 April 1945, namely a month before the war's end, and about a year later (28 June 1946) of the Wrocław Voivodeship; exercising of actual administration on the so-called Claimed Territories³ by the Red Army War Headquarters⁴ (in Szczecin until July 1945); as well as the stipulations of the Agreement of 2 August 1945 on the delineation of Poland's western borders formulated at the Potsdam Conference.⁵

The Polish authorities were making efforts to regain the Polish property, mainly industrial one, such as factory and mine equipment, etc. robbed by the German administration, and transferred outside the Polish territories. The activities were called the Requisition Campaign.⁶ The first state organ dealing with the recovery of Polish property was the Department of War Reparations established by the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN), later restructured into the Office of War Reparations at the Presidium of the Council of Ministers [PRM], and wound up in 1947. In order to conduct the requisition of industrial property, in 1945 the Office for Requisition and Reparations (BROW) was established at the Ministry of Industry, on 1 January 1946 transferred to the Central Planning Office⁷ which acted as an agent in establishing Office branches and special requisition missions in all the occupied zones of Germany and Austria. BROW was liquidated in 1950. Following this, culture department was involved in those activities.⁸ The Office for Requisition and Reparations was formed within the NDMiOZ structure; its aim was to *recover the Polish cultural property taken by the German invaders inside Germany and Austria, and to elaborate plans of reparation within culture*, as well as to recover cultural goods from the pre-war eastern territories of the Republic of Poland, and to bring them to Poland.⁹

As for the Polish territory, Polish administration¹⁰ was taking control over numerous cultural goods, all this happening under politically complex, as well as dynamically developing circumstances, providing for repositories as part of the scheme.¹¹ The actions consisted in the search for Polish and

German heritage on the former German territories, hidden at various places and kept in different conditions.¹² Attempts were also made to take over the historic objects which were already in the possession of the Red Army, to anticipate the looting carried out by its Trophy Brigades, and to prevent the widespread looting conducted both by civilians,¹³ constituting a real threat to culture goods, and the 'official' one,¹⁴ and to take over the nationalized private collections of private owners.¹⁵ For the transport campaign it was of significance that so called New Territories were 'temporarily' controlled by the Ministry of Regained Territories (founded on 13 Nov. 1945 and wound up on 11 Jan. 1949).¹⁶ In these lands, the Ministry had precedence over the central administration: among other things, procedures meant to protect cultural goods, also of German provenance, were introduced.¹⁷ Freedom of movement across the Regained Territories was banned. Adequate permits were essential for searching, protecting, and every transport of any movable, even within the boundaries of one voivodeship. These were issued by District Liquidation Offices on the grounds of detailed lists of transported objects. In the course of protecting and transporting goods, the liquidation apparatus was obliged to provide any necessary assistance to the organs of the Ministry of Culture and Art (MKiS)¹⁸ and the Ministry of Education, delegated to conduct the protection of cultural goods. MKiS envoys for the implementation of the transport campaign were so-called delegates for the protection of cultural goods. The scope of their responsibilities included: setting up repositories, search for and initial selection of movable monuments, making their lists, and acquiring permits to transport them to the repositories of protected monuments, organization of transport of the monuments from the repositories to their destination, and to a certain extent recruitment of the staff.¹⁹ The delegates were the decision-makers and reported to the NDMiOZ management for all that was related to the process. They used a round seal they applied to stamp vouchers, reading: MKiS DELEGATE FOR THE PROTECTION OF MOVABLE MONUMENTS. They were the only individuals empowered to issue name authorization to individuals participating in the transport campaign. Heads of repositories of cultural goods reported directly to a respective MKiS delegate or to the Voivodeship Conservator: in Pomerania as of 1945, and in Silesia as of 1949. The reading of the preserved archival records unequivocally demonstrates that the process and efficiency of the establishment of repositories depended on how resourceful the individuals delegated to do the tasks were. Attention was paid so that the locations selected for the repositories were safe and provided appropriate storage conditions for the gathered monuments. Some repositories were nothing but storage spaces, others fulfilled some more elaborate functions, featuring an appropriately developed institutionalized structure. The repositories in which books and archival materials were collected reported to the Ministry of Education, while the Ministry of Culture and Art financed the majority of those into which art works and exhibits were brought. The conditions of being awarded subsidies by the repository were fulfilled only with timely once-a-month reports to NDMiOZ. The reports, really monotonous as for their content, today serve as an excellent source of knowledge of the repositories' daily operations.²⁰ It can be seen that the Ministry's subventions

were not adequately large, often delayed, and not sufficient to cover the heating materials and other basic costs, while the employees' pay was really low. Very scarce though extremely committed staff, often working under life-threatening conditions, were very creative and resourceful. Despite this, they often felt helpless, particularly as there was an acute shortage of transport means. Transporting paintings, book collections, retables, sculptures, and furniture required vehicles that worked and were spacious.²¹ *The necessity to leave protected movable monuments in the field for a longer period of time, despite the effort on part of the individuals obliged to protect them, results in a substantial reduction of their number.*²² The inspection of the territory would be made on motorbikes; the presence of unprotected cultural goods would be registered, only to realize in the course of subsequent inspections that the goods were missing.

Repositories were basically created in every Voivodeship; they were often located in museums or buildings which served as offices for culture department offices. In a part of central and eastern voivodeships, mainly goods acquired in the aftermath of the agrarian reform were collected. Such repositories, e.g. in Przeworsk, Kielce, and Poznan museums, were characterized by more modest activities than the repositories in Silesia or Pomerania. Relatively limited resources that were gathered there were usually later incorporated into the collections of the museum they were deposited at. A different operation mode characterized the repositories into which numerous objects of varied provenance were transported (Silesian, Pomeranian ones). The objects were received on the grounds of hand over-receipt reports made between the individuals handing in objects (e.g. members of Operational Groups) and the Repository Director. Following an initial selection of the objects in view of their overall value and assumed usefulness for respective museums, the provided collections were recorded. Separate inventories for cultural goods collections were run, and separate were kept for everyday objects. Respective objects were given their accession numbers. Stickers were used, e.g. *MKIS Museum Repository in Narożno No...* Subsequently, the destination to which the exhibits were transported was entered in the inventory. Every shipment was accompanied by a separate list of objects: *the numbers were put on the exhibits in compliance with the list, respective components of one object (e.g. a dismantled wardrobe) were to bear the same number (supplemented by letters: a., b., c...).* The parts can be accounted for in total in the list.²³ The principles do not differ from the ones currently used in digitalized inventories.²⁴ Directors of the repositories used their official stamps; correspondence was registered, and detailed accountancy was run. When respective repositories were closed down, special commissions called by NDMiOZ would do stocktaking, inventories, and would officially wind up their operations, passing the documentation to MKiS, and allocating the collections to different institutions and museums, or sending them to other repositories. All the remarks that appeared in the course of the repository stocktaking were recorded in the inventory books and protocols. Regardless of the periodical controls: repository stocktaking in compliance with inventory books, the correctness of the issued protocols was verified. In repositories, attempts were made to keep objects divided

into categories. It seems, however, that the collected objects were not given filing cards, which I came across only in the documents of the Oliwa Repository from the 1960s.

Some collections were purposefully destroyed. The selection of objects meant to be destroyed was made by NDMiOZ – appointed committees, composed of experts. The criteria were as follows: [objects] *not displaying any value as exhibits, monuments, or everyday objects, both in respect of their artistic quality, and preservation state; also because of their peculiar local-German character, and for that purpose by no means fit to be used in our conditions.*²⁵ Similar committees decided on the selection of monuments that were transferred from repository collections and museums for sale by the State Enterprise of Art Works and Antiques (P.P. Desa) established on 3 April 1950.

Silesia repositories were successively emptied mainly for economic reasons: they were either closed down or transformed into local museums.²⁶ The illustration of the process can be seen in the list of repositories with monuments meant for closing down in the Wrocław Voivodeship in 1947: Żary (Culture and Art Department), Lwówek (former Heimatmuseum, Trinitarian Church, Parish Church), Legnica (Culture and Art Department), Krasków (palace), Rychbach (Culture and Art Department), Jelenia Góra (Paulinum, museum), Henryków (church), Czocha (castle), Ząbkowice (Culture and Art Department), Skąteczno (palace), Narożno (palace), Szlagowo (palace), Raszewo Dolne (palace), Olszynka (palace), Brzezina (palace), Milicz (repository), Żmigród (palace cellars), Czerwony Zamek (palace), Syców (Catholic Church), Oleśnica (in the field), Janowice (palace), Agnieszaków (Hauptmann's Villa), Środa (in the market), Lubiń (Culture and Art Department), Krajewo (palace), Nowy Jagiń (palace), Głogów (Cathedral), Białobrzezie (apartment), Łojowice (palace), Ziołowice (palace), Chojno (Kynsburg Castle), Niemcza (former Heimatmuseum), Łądek (State Railways establishment), Gościec (palace), Bystrzyca (county, in the field).²⁷ The repositories placed at the Paulinum Castle in Jelenia Góra and the Narożno Palace in Bożków were in 1947 transformed into effectively operating collective repositories.

Certain repositories in the course of their operations changed location, usually due to the intervention of the authorities, most often by the Secret Political Police (UB) which were taking over the properties the repositories had been using. For that reason, in 1950, the collections of the Paulinum Castle were transferred to Karpacz to be deposited in the building allocated for the purpose by the Army Unit; in Świdnica, it was essential to urgently transfer the collections to the building of the Town Council, since the building previously used for repository was taken over by the Secret Police; the Narożno Palace was assigned to serve as the State Farm (PGR), in return the State Farm transferred the Żelazno Castle, meant to serve as a repository, to MKiS. Those interventions consumed a lot of time, effort, and incurred additional costs in order to transfer monuments from one repository to another. There is no need today to convince museum professionals of the impact such relocations have on monuments' state; in this context, however, it has to be emphasized how disrespectfully the then state administration treated the surviving cultural goods.

The collections from the liquidated repository in Narożno were sent in large numbers to various museums and

institutions, and the remaining monuments were relocated to Żelazno, the last of the large Silesian repositories. Subsequently, from Żelazno, in 1954, the monuments were transported to the new repository, called the Central Museum Repository established in Kozłówka in the Lublin Voivodeship.²⁸

In Pomerania the situation looked similarly as in Lower Silesia. In the first period following the liberation, there were three administration centres in Gdansk: the Soviet War Headquarters, operational groups of the central administration, and the forming local government.²⁹ The terrain search and monument transport were conducted by both MKiS envoys from Warsaw³⁰ (from March to late October 1945)³¹ and individuals delegated by the Ministry of Education who came to Gdansk from Cracow.³² The actions of both groups were not correlated, which promptly caused conflicts resulting from vaguely defined competences.³³ Between 9 June and 2 August 1945, MKiS delegates made 17 trips between Sopot- Pomerania localities with caches – Sopot, and the last trip in two vehicles was made between Sopot and Warsaw.³⁴ Collected property from churches, barns, and other hiding places³⁵ was taken to the repository at 24 Abrahama Street in Sopot, meant for *paintings, furniture, and small art pieces*, whereas *church wood and bigger art works were placed* in convent granaries at the Oliwa Cathedral, architectural elements in lapidariums (places for collecting mainly stone elements of historic buildings and monuments) organized throughout Gdansk, also at St John's Church.

The Sopot *Inventory of Museum Collections of the Gdansk Voivodeship Department of Culture at 24 Abrahama Street in Sopot, over the period from 16 April to 18 May 1945 contained 164 items*³⁶ The total number of monuments protected or remaining in situ at the Museum in Gdansk exceeded 1.000 items. Apart from the monuments transported to Warsaw (50 of the item list),³⁷ the rest remained in the custody of the Department of Culture and Art of the Voivodeship Office in Gdansk, and later of the Voivodeship Conservator in Gdansk-Oliwa at the Abbots' Palace.³⁸

Still in 1946, in Gdansk there were 10 lapidariums organized for the deposition of architectural elements.³⁹ By *mid-1946 over 1.000 exhibits of art works and a fragment of the Library from the Bishops' Palace in Oliwa had been collected; in the Oliwa granaries 3.000 exhibits had been collected. In the plans of the Department of Culture and Art of the Voivodeship Office in Gdańsk, among the works foreseen for 1947, the closing down of the museum repositories and deposits in the field, as well as the inventory of the amassed monuments were planned,*⁴⁰ *as well as the completion of the renovation of the buildings housing the museum repositories in Oliwa.*⁴¹

What is characteristic of this repository is the transfer, mainly as deposit, not property, of monuments or architectural elements to the institutions that owned the real estate these objects had belonged to or formed part of prior to WW II. The main Pomerania repository, called conservators', and located in Gdansk-Oliwa, has kept its function as well as resources, these obviously significantly reduced, to this very day. In 2015, it gained additional spaces in the Bastion of St Gertrude.⁴² The architectural elements of Gdansk's historic buildings kept since WWII at different places, also at afore-mentioned St John's Church, have been gathered there.

From among all the national museum repositories, the Cracow one at the Wawel, and the Warsaw one at the National Museum (MNW), have ranked as the most significant and richest. A separate study will be dedicated to these repositories. Meanwhile, it is worth emphasizing that the monuments collected there were acquired both through transport campaigns conducted within their close vicinity (post-manor property), in Lower Silesia, Pomerania, and Masuria, as well as the collections acquired and recovered as a result of requisition campaigns outside Poland. At the Wawel and Warsaw repositories each arriving object was designated with a different number from the requisition list. Therefore, regardless of their descent and sources of acquiring the collections, here the objects were given the status of requisition items.⁴³ The reason for that procedure was the inflow, over a very brief time, of a large number of objects: between 21 June 1945 and 9 Dec. 1945, 30 transports came from Silesia to the Wawel; in 1946–49, 8 transports arrived as a result of the requisition campaign; between 22 July 1945 and 23 Dec. 1952, in total 59 transports of cultural goods reached MNW. Following collection recording: detailed for unknown collections and Museum's own, and of vague character for collections packed in original crates of particular institutions from which they had been taken (e.g. Archaeological Museum, Museum of the Polish Army), the identified objects from Polish institutionalized collections were gradually returned to their owners. The returns to private owners were not as obvious, since these were subject to complicated procedures.⁴⁴ Many objects, particularly from among those brought from Silesian repositories, were picked up by museums, but also state central institutions, for them to serve as decoration or to be used. The largest number of monuments were transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Art, President's Office, Council of Ministers' Office (including the residences: Mała Wieś, Jadwisin), Collegium Maius of the Jagiellonian University, Warsaw University, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of National Defence, but also churches in Warsaw and other dioceses. It was often the case that the process of monuments' transfer or commodate was not recorded well. The descriptions on the receipts were not sufficient for further identification: instead of protocols, laconic confirmation of the reception was issued.⁴⁵ The remaining monuments, among them numerous post-German ones, were either left at the Wawel or the National Museum in Warsaw, or went to enrich the collections of other museums: in Toruń, Łódź, Białystok, Lublin, as well as new ones that were being established on the Western and Northern territories: Wrocław, Olsztyn, Szczecin, Gdansk, also the Zoological Museum in Warsaw, Jewish Historical Institute, National Museum in Cracow, Army Museums in Wrocław and Warsaw, National Museum in Poznań.

The main collection transfers received at the MNW repository and at other museums, initially as deposit, to become later their property, took place throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The thorough investigations of the provenance documentation of the exhibits at MNW in 2000–12 also resulted in numerous relocations of exhibits to their genuine place of provenance.

The present paper describes the overall situation and operations of the repositories. Meanwhile, the following

issues are being prepared: detailed history of particular repositories; activity of the individuals involved in saving cultural goods; analysis of political and legal conditionings of their activities; politics versus museum authorities; and finally the story of the collections gathered at the repositories. These will all be included in the planned monographs on the largest and most important post-WW II repositories, particularly: at the Wawel, National Museum in Warsaw, and at Kozłówka.

The latter implemented the policy of collecting exhibits by the culture department until the 1970s.

I do not hesitate to claim that the above-described operations, though today often criticized, particularly in view of the change of the ownership status and possession of cultural goods, have saved thousands of heritage monuments, at the time deprived of any protection, from irrevocable destruction and loss.⁴⁶

Endnotes

- ¹ The article is the first result of research, mainly based on archival material, not yet closed. It presents an attempt to systematize information on factors that had an impact on the creation and operation of Polish repositories. The article does not contain a description of the individual functioning repositories. It also does not mention people who actively participate in events. Due to the limited text volume, a selection would have to be made those that the author wanted to avoid.
- ² Apart from the mentioned repositories, there were also ones organized for the collections of books, archives, technology monuments.
- ³ § 11 of the Order of the Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform of 1 March 1945 in relation to the PKWN Decree of 6 Sept. 1944 on Agrarian Reform, Dz. U. (Journal of Laws) of the Republic of Poland 1945, No. 10, Item 51, and in compliance with the Executive Provisions to the PKWN Decree of 6 Sept. 1944 on Implementing the Agrarian Reform, Dz.U. 1945, No. 3, Item 13, as amended, and related to the abandoned post-German property and that of the Free City of Gdansk Dz.U. No. 9. Item 45; Act of 6 May 1945 on Abandoned Real Estates Dz.U. No. 17. Item 97; as amended No. 30. Item 179; Decree of 8 March 1946 on Abandoned Former German Real Estates Dz.U. No. 13. Item 87 as amended; Act of 25 Feb. 1958 on Settling the Legal Status of the State-Managed Property Dz.U. No. 11, Item 37.
- ⁴ The territories that ended up within Poland's borders following WW II were also referred to as: Claimed Territories, Returning Territories, New Territories, Recovered Territories, Western and Northern Territories.
- ⁵ S. Łach, *Status prawny komendantur wojennych Armii Czerwonej na ziemiach zachodnich i północnych Polski w 1945 roku* [Legal Status of Red Army's War Headquarters on Poland's Western and Northern Territories in 1946], in: *Ziemie Odzyskane pod wojskową administracją radziecką po II wojnie światowej* [Recovered Territories under Soviet Military Administration Following WW II], S. Łach (ed.), Słupsk 2000, pp. 85-86.
- ⁶ Potsdam Agreement at https://www.nato.int/ebookshop/video/declassified/doc_files/Potsdam%20Agreement.pdf [accessed 8 Aug. 2018]
- ⁷ W. Borowik, *Tezy ogólne w sprawie rewindykacji i odszkodowań z zakresu kultury i sztuki* [General Theses on the MKiS Requisitions and Reparations in Culture and Art], 'Prace i Materiały Wydziału Rewindykacji i Odszkodowań MKiS' 1945, No. 2; W. Tatariewicz, *Etyczne podstawy rewindykacji i odszkodowań* [Ethical Grounds for Requisitions and Reparations], 'Prace i Materiały...', No. 3; H. Szczerbiński, *Restytucja mienia polskiego z zachodnich stref okupacyjnych Niemiec* [Polish Property Restitution from the Western Occupied Zones of Germany], Warszawa 1983, more extensively: L.M. Karecka, R. Olkowski, *Akcja rewindykacyjna dóbr kultury po II wojnie światowej* [Campaign of the Requisition of Cultural Goods Following WW II], commissioned by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage [MKiDN], being prepared.
- ⁸ In detail: W. Kowalski, *Likwidacja skutków wojny w dziedzinie kultury* [Overcoming War Effects in Culture], Warszawa 1994, p. 66 ff.
- ⁹ Letter of Minister W. Kowalski to Prime Minister E. Osóbka-Morawski of 21 May 1946 – AAN PRM, Biuro Prezydzialne, 5/503; B. Franczyk, K. Staszko, *Sprawa restytucji i rewindykacji mienia po drugiej wojnie światowej. Wybór dokumentów* [Restitution and Requisition of Property Following WW II. Selected Documents], Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, Główna Komisja Badań Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, Warszawa 1972; A. Wiślicki, *Roczny bilans prac rewindykacyjnych* [Annual Balance of Requisition Works], Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Set 6, Bundle 44, Vol. 692, p. 119; J. Pruszyński, *Dziedzictwo Kultury Polski, jego straty i ochrona prawna* [Heritage of Polish Culture, Its Losses and Legal Protection], Kraków 2001, Vol. II, pp. 58-75; see: K. Sroczyńska, *Rewindykacja dzieł sztuki w pierwszych latach powojennych* [Requisition of Art Works in the First Post-WW II Years], 'Biblioteka Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków' 1968, Vol. XXIII, B Series, Report on Poland's War Losses and Damages in 1939–45, Office of War Reparations at PRM, Warszawa 1947.
- ¹⁰ Monuments from Lvov were sent to Cracow and Wrocław, see: M. Matwijów, *Walka o lwowskie dobra kultury w latach 1945–1948* [Struggle for Lvov Cultural Goods in 1945–48], Wrocław 1996, pp. 334; Idem, *Muzea lwowskie w latach 1939–1945 i sprawa ich rewindykacji przez Polskę po II wojnie światowej* [Lvov Museums in 1939–45 and Their Requisitions by Poland Following WW II], 'Muzealnictwo' 1997, No. 39, pp. 18-28; monuments from Lithuania reached Warsaw, see: R. Olkowski, *Losy wileńskich dóbr kultury po II wojnie światowej* [Visicitudes of Vilnius Cultural Goods Following WW II], Ms.
- ¹¹ Ministry of Culture and Art [MKiS], Ministry of Education, Culture Departments at Voivodeship Offices and County Starost Offices; District Liquidation Offices, State Landed Estates.
- ¹² The list of Silesian German repositories was published and discussed in: J. Gębczak, *Losy ruchomego mienia kulturalnego i artystycznego na Dolnym Śląsku w czasie II wojny światowej* [Fate of Movable Cultural and Artistic Goods in Lower Silesia During WW II], Wrocław 2000, and W. Kieszkowski, *Składnica muzealna Paulinum i rewindykacja zabytków na Dolnym Śląsku* [Paulinum Museum Repository and Requisition of Monuments in Lower Silesia], in: *Pamiętnik Związku Historyków Sztuki* [Diary of the Association of Art. Historians], A. Gieysztor (ed.), Warszawa 1948, pp. 135-158; *Lista pomorskich składnic niemieckich* [List of German Repositories in Pomerania], Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Michał Walicki's materials [APAN] Cat. No. III-178/73.
- ¹³ By law German collections became the property of Poland's Treasury of State, and were treated as substitute requisitions or war reparations. See footnote 3 and K. Kocot, *Problem pojęć: reparacje wojenne, restytucja, odszkodowania, itp., w aspekcie umowy poczdamskiej, traktatów pokojowych i doktryny prawa międzynarodowego* [The Terms: War Reparations, Requisitions, Compensations, etc. in the Framework of the Potsdam Agreement, Peace Treaties, and Doctrines of International Law], Warszawa 1974, W. Kowalski, *Restytucja dzieł sztuki w prawie międzynarodowym* [Requisition of Art Works in International Law], Katowice 1989.

- ¹⁴Pillage and transport of goods out of the western and northern territories was considered as a *particularly dangerous crime* Journal of Laws of 13 June 1946, No. 30. Item.192, after: F. Kusiak, *Dewastacja oraz wywóz mienia z ziem zachodnich i północnych po II wojnie światowej* [Devastation and Transport of Property out of the Western and Northern Lands Following WW II], in: *Ziemie Odzyskane pod...*, p. 258.
- ¹⁵'Official pillage' consisted in the transportation of all goods missing on other territories as authorized by the authorities, mainly the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, as well as the Investment-Financial Fund of the Recovered Territories PPR: see: F. Kusiak, *Dewastacja oraz wywóz...*, pp. 255-266.
- ¹⁶CZMiOZ asks to add in the authorization, the words: 'or former manorial' following the words 'former German', Files of the National Museum in Wrocław [AMNWr], Cat. No.. 21/47.
- ¹⁷Decree of 13 Nov. 1945 on the Governance on the Recovered Territories, Journal of Laws 1945, No. 51, Item 295.
- ¹⁸M. Rutowska, *Elementy polityki wobec niemieckiej spuścizny kulturalnej na Ziemiach Zachodnich (1945–1950)* [Elements of the Policy Towards the German Cultural Heritage on the Western Territories (1945-50)], in: *Wspólne dziedzictwo? Ze studiów nad stosunkiem do spuścizny kulturowej na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych* [Shared Heritage? From the Studies of the Attitudes Towards Cultural Heritage on the Western and Northern Territories], Z. Mazur (ed.), Poznań 2000.
- ¹⁹Letter of Poland's Ministry of Recovered Territories [MZO] Liquidation Department Reg. No. 10281 to MKiS NDMiOZ, AAN MZO, Cat. No. 196/1007.
- ²⁰Information collected on the grounds of the documentation of the repositories founded by MKiS in Sopot and Oliwa in 1945, in 1947 in Silesia: Paulinum, Narożno, Lubin Legnicki, Żelazno as well the reports on the transport of art works that reached the repositories set up at the National Museum in Warsaw, at the Wawel, and at Kozłówka. **Research conducted thanks to a Ministry of Culture and National Heritage Grant.**
- ²¹Their content is not full. Some archival sets testifying to the operations of the repositories, produced by MKiS, have been annulled.
- ²²The issue of the justifiability of the transfers of church furnishings, collections, etc. has been purposefully omitted. It requires a detailed analysis of the factors that influenced the then made individual decisions, which goes beyond the present study's topic.
- ²³AMNWr, Cat. No. 16/47.
- ²⁴AMNWr, Cat. No. 18/47.
- ²⁵L.M.Karecka, *Ewidencjonowanie polskich zbiorów muzealnych* [Recording of Polish Museum Collections], in: *ABC zarządzania kolekcją muzealną* [ABC of Running a Museum Collection]. 'Szkolenia Narodowego Instytutu Muzeów i Ochrony Zbiorów' 2014, No. 3, p. 8.
- ²⁶AAN, Zespół Centralny Zarząd Muzeów [CZM], Cat. No.5/48, p. 1.
- ²⁷J. Gębczak, *Straty ruchomego mienia artystycznego na Dolnym Śląsku w czasie ostatniej wojny* [Losses in Movable Artistic Property in Lower Silesia During the Last War], typescript, Wrocław 1950, AAN MKiS 387/131; see: J. Gębczak, *Losy ruchomego mienia...*; S. Lorentz, *Muzea i zbiory w Polsce 1945-1955* [Museums and Collections in Poland in 1945-55], Warszawa 1956; P. Wiater, *Losy muzeów dolnośląskich muzeów regionalnych po 1945 r.* [History of Regional Museums in Lower Silesia after 1945], Szklarska Poręba 2001, typescript.
- ²⁸AMNWr, Cat. No. 14/47.
- ²⁹Order No. 111 of the Minister of Culture and Art of 29 June 1955.
- ³⁰State Archives in Gdansk [APG] Set: Gdansk Voivodeship Office [UWG], Cat. No. 1164/20, p. 12, Report of the Gdansk City Council on the period as of 1 May 1945, signed by Franciszek Kotus-Jankowski, Mayor of Gdansk.
- ³¹APAN III-178/73, see: M. Walicki's business trip of 13 April 1945.
- ³²Stryczyński claims that the collections transported out by the Germans had been either entirely or partially destroyed before their hiding locations were identified; see: M. Stryczyński, *Gdańsk w latach 1945-1948. Odbudowa organizmu miejskiego* [Gdansk in 1945-48. Rebuilding of the City Organism], 'Studia i Materiały do dziejów Gdańska' [Studies and Materials for the History of Gdansk] 1981, E. Cieślak (ed.), p. 39.
- ³³M. Stryczyński, *Gdańsk w latach ...*, s. 49; A. Drzycimski, *Miasto Gdańsk! Niedługo nasze, będzie znowu nasze* [The City of Gdansk! Once Ours Will Be Ours Again], 'W drodze' 1985, No. 7, p. 55: informs that the first representatives of the Polish administrations arrived on 2 April 1945.
- ³⁴APG UWG 1164/1225, pp. 109-110.
- ³⁵APAN III-178/73, p. 27.
- ³⁶See footnote 11. The part of information missing from Report No. 1 for April-May 1945.
- ³⁷They were: *paintings covering 34 inventory items, 6 prints; 12 sculptures, mainly Baroque ones; ceramics covering 34 items, including Meissen and Chinese china; 1 chair from 1776; bronze objects covering 35 items; 8 items covering white metal and iron; 10 items coverings wooden Oriental monuments; textiles: kelim carpets and rugs covering 14 items; miscellaneous minute objects covering 1 inventory item.* APAN III-178/73, pp. 6-10.
- ³⁸APG UWG 1164/1250.
- ³⁹M. Stryczyński, *Gdańsk w latach...*, p. 118.
- ⁴⁰APG UWG 1164/1229 WKiS UWG Report of 8 May 1946.
- ⁴¹*Ibid.*, Report dated 31 Dec. 1946.
- ⁴²*Ibid.*, Report for the 1st quarter of 1947.
- ⁴³www.ochronazabytkow.gda.pl/uncategorized/nowa-skladnica-w-gdansk [accessed: 4 April 2016]
- ⁴⁴See: L.M. Karecka, *Akcja rewindykacyjna w latach 1945–1950. Spór o terminologię czy o istotę rzeczy* [Requisition Campaign in 1945–50. Dispute over Terminology or the Essence of Things], 'Ochrona Zabytków' 2002, Nos. 3/4, pp. 404-409.
- ⁴⁵See: R. Olkowski, *Kolekcja Rotwandów. Losy polskich zbiorów w dobie bezprawnych praktyk* [The Rotwand Collection. History of Polish Collections in the Era of Illegal Practices], 'Adlojada – Prawo i kultura' 2016, pp. 202-209.
- ⁴⁶M. Romanowska-Zadrożna, *Badania proveniencyjne, czyli habent sua fata artis opera* [Provenance Studies, or *Habent Sua Fata Artis Opera*], 'Muzealnictwo' 2012, No. 53, pp.12–13, R. Olkowski, *O badaniu proveniencji* [On Investigating Provenance], 'Muzealnictwo', *Ibid.*, pp. 27-37.
- ⁴⁷See: APG UWG 1164/369, 1164/370, and AAN MZO 196/1007, also L.M. Karecka, *Mienie zwane podworskim w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie* [So-called Former Manorial Property at the National Museum in Warsaw], 'Muzealnictwo', *Ibid.*, pp. 44-57.

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WAWEL AND WARSAW – THE BIGGEST POST- WAR REPOSITORIES FOR RELOCATED CULTURAL GOODS IN POLAND. CONTRIBUTION TO BROADER ELABORATION

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Abstract: The article continues the text Post-war repositories for relocated cultural goods in Poland, published in 2016 in the 57th issue of 'Museology'. It is based on unpublished archival sources, as a result of basic research. It refers to the first two main repositories, i.e. at the Royal Castle State Art Collections at Wawel Castle and in the National Museum in Warsaw including its branches founded in 1945 in Wilanów, Nieborów and Łowicz. This is the first and preliminary description of the theme. It covers the results of the so-called requisition campaign, enumerates the transports and the directions from where

they came, and the number of chests with cultural goods transported to Wawel and to the National Museum in Warsaw. It examines the complexity of problems then faced by museum professionals who salvaged cultural goods in opposition to the activities of the state administration, and it describes their consequences. It describes the registration activities in repositories. The issues treated still require further elaboration. The author does not tackle the legal aspects of moving cultural goods, such as the aspect of their ownership. The article may serve as an incentive to other researchers to investigate the problem in greater depth.

Keywords: requisition campaign, transport campaign, repository, Wawel repository, Warsaw repository, relocation of cultural goods.

This article is a continuation of *Powojenne składnice przemieszczanych dóbr kultury w Polsce*¹, which embarked upon a problem up to then almost absent in studies conducted by Polish museology after the Second World War. The above publication dealt with the origin, conditions, and principles of the functioning of repositories of cultural property, established after the war within present-day

Polish frontiers. The presented text, written similarly as its predecessor upon the basis of an extensive archival survey and using predominantly unpublished sources, refers only to two imposing post-war repositories in Cracow and Warsaw. The first was the Wawel Royal Castle-State Art Collection (PZWS) and the second – the National Museum in Warsaw (MNW). The Warsaw repository was composed also of MNW

branches in Wilanów, Nieborów, and Łowicz, created in 1945. The text is restricted to a presentation of the functioning of both repositories, making it possible to understand their special role in the museum system of the period, which constitutes the object of research.

It was impossible to find documents pertaining to the decisions and formal regulations accompanying the establishment of the titular repositories. Solutions made at the time, and concerning the location of cultural property, were determined by practical factors – the capacity and condition of the buildings, a professional staff that passed the test in wartime conditions, and communication links.

In 1945 both institutions housed chests containing the resources of the given museum and other owners, as well as historical monuments looted and then stored there by the occupant. Transporting to Cracow and Warsaw monuments found in Lower Silesia and previously taken by the Germans from Wawel Hill and MNW was an obvious move, which did not require any justification. On the other hand, further decisions made after 1946 about locating in the two repositories the remaining collections obtained by the Polish administration as a result of the so-called reclamation campaign² were based on political reasons.

Repository on Wawel Hill

Today we might find calling the Royal Castle on Wawel Hill a repository to be jarring. In 1945 the term: Repository of Wawel Royal Castle-State Art Collection functioned officially in the Polish administration terminology and was used in as late as the 1950s. Wawel Castle played, for all practical purposes, the function of a repository already during the German occupation. Here chests containing collections plundered by the Germans from assorted institutions: the Jagiellonian Library, the Polish Academy of Learning (Library and Print Room), the Commission on Art History of the Polish Academy of Learning, the Jagiellonian University as well as collections looted in Warsaw – from the Polish Army Museum, the National Museum, the Royal Castle, Łazienki, Belweder, and the State Art Collections, the National and University libraries, the Branicki collections from Wilanów, and the collections of two Warsaw estates: the Zamoyski Estate and the Museum and Library of the Krasieński Estate³ survived until the end of the war.

Acts accumulated at the Archive of the Wawel Royal Castle-State Art Collection (further as: Archive PZSW) include *Protokół z pierwszego posiedzenia Komisji do sporządzenia Inwentarza Ruchomości na Wawelu z dnia 9 kwietnia 1945 roku*⁴. The titular session was attended by professors, conservators, and architects engineers: Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, Feliks Kopera, Marian Gąsiorowski, Adam Bochnak, Bogdan Treter, Jan Mozer, and Bohdan Guerquin. Information concerning movable monuments originating from different museums and private collections and purchased by the German occupation authorities was presented. It was decided to divide movable monuments into the following groups: furniture, paintings, sculptures, carpets, fabrics, glassware, porcelain, gold artefacts, arms, and utilitarian objects. Already at the second session of the Commission held for preparing *Inwentarz Ruchomości na Wawelu*, which took place on 4 August 1945, a report of the completed work was presented (...) a list of

*historical objects kept in shelters and on three storeys of Wawel Castle as well as in buildings No. 5 and No. 9, a total of 5225, was made (...) An inventory of utilitarian movable items (furniture) is being completed. Up to now their number totals 705, but the number of objects is much larger. Work on an inventory of movable utilitarian sideboard objects (porcelain, glassware, silverware and kitchen utensils) is under way (...) It was decided to protect the state of the conservation of the objects listed in the inventory, in particular fabrics, sculptures, and paintings, to create, alongside the prepared file, an inventory of movable items marking the number of each object, and to divide the file according to sections, groups of furniture, paintings, sculptures, carpets, fabrics, glassware, porcelain, gold artefacts, arms, and utilitarian objects*⁵.

*At the beginning of June the file was divided according to ownership titles. Owners include the Cracow collections (...), the Warsaw collections (...) followed by collections from Wilanów, Jabłonna, Sucha, Nieborów, Racot, Krzeszowice, Toruń, and Poznań and a large number of objects whose owners cannot be established*⁶.

From 26 July 1945 to 13 June 1946 these monuments were gradually handed over to the owners with the exception of the Warsaw museum pieces, which, owing to their origin, must be kept on Wawel Hill at the further disposal of the Head Office of Museums and Collection Protection (NDMiOZ)⁷.

At the same time, i.e. from 21 June 1945 to 9 December 1945, thirty transports from Lower Silesia were dispatched to Wawel Hill as the outcome of the so-called cartage campaign, including 17 transports from Świdnica (Schweidnitz)⁸, Rucewo (Ruckers), Luboradz (Lobris), and Zamek Grodziec (Graditzburg) and from the county of Złotoryja – Nowy Kościół (Neukirch), Cieplice (Warmbrunn), Wrocław (Breslau), Jelenia Góra (Hirschberg im Riesengebirge), Nysa (Neisse), Kochanów (Trautliebersdorf), Kłodzko (Kladzko, Glatz), Zgorzelec (Górlitz), Duszniki (Bad Reinerz), Szklarska Poręba (Schreiberhau), and Mietkowo (Mettkau) – a total of 680 chests, including 530 from Świdnica alone, as well as 13 triptychs, chests containing photographic films and five scrolls packed loosely, four paintings, and a carpet⁹. The transport supervisors were, respectively: Dr Stanisław Lorentz (21 June 1945)¹⁰, Dr Jan Zachwatowicz (23 and 25 June 1945), Dr Józef Dutkiewicz (28 June, 4 July, and 24 August), Dr Ksawery Piwocki and Janina Guzówna M.A. (10-11 July), Dr Ksawery Piwocki (15 July), engineers Antoni Łobos and Józef Lepiarczyk (21 July and 27 July). Stanisław Leo, M. Sc. Eng. (26 July), Seweryn Skrzyński (3 August), Jerzy Zanoziński M.A. (4 August, 27 August, 3 September, 14 September, 28 September, 9 December, 20 September), engineer Migura (9 August), Dr Witold Kieszkowski (14 August and 1 September), architect engineer Zdzisław Oleś (19 August), Stanisław Łojasiewicz (3 September), Jerzy Rayski and Joanna Rayska (4 September), Dr Józef Grabowski (8 October), and Felicja Potyńska (24 October).

In 1945-1949 Cracow was also the destination for transports with reclaimed property from abroad, travelling by railway from Nürnberg (2 May 1946): collections from the St. Mary church in Cracow, the Pauline monastery at Skalka in Cracow, the Jagiellonian University, the Jagiellonian Library, the Diocesan Museums in Tarnów and Sandomierz¹¹; from the American occupation zone in Germany (4 May 1946 and 21 June 1945) – works of art and archival material¹²;

from Munich (13 December 1946)¹³ – 121 paintings returned by the Central Collecting Point (in Munich)¹⁴, and also from Munich (22 April 1947) – *the so-called second reclamation transport containing in two carriages 407 packages/chests, sacks and packed furniture*¹⁵, including, i.a. drawings from the Zachęta Museum, carpets, tapestries, sculptures, arms, paintings, and books; from Czechoslovakia (21 June 1947)¹⁶ – carriages with reclaimed property; from Munich (1 October 1948) – the Archive of the Ministry of Justice¹⁷ and archival material on the engineering of the Vistula¹⁸; from Vienna (12 November 1949) – five chests: one with a statue of a highlander, two with stained glass designed by Henryk Uziębło from the House of Prayer in 24 Szpitalna Street in Cracow¹⁹ and two with stained glass from 22 Krupnicza Street, also in Cracow. During the 1950s these objects were handed over as deposits to the Tatra Museum in Zakopane²⁰ and the Jewish Religious Congregation in Cracow²¹ and left at the disposal of the Voivodeship Office in Cracow²². In the following years transports were sporadic, e.g. furniture from Gdańsk (Danzig), Karpacz (Krummhübel), and Bożków (Eckersdorf), intended for Pieskowa Skała and Wiślica castles²³.

The overseer of the majority of the reclamation transports from abroad was Dr Karol Estreicher. The chests were removed from railway carriages and placed in lorries under the supervision of Bronisław Miąkowski and Maria Grodzicka. The opening of the chests was attended by Director of PZSW Tadeusz Mańkowski, Adam Bochnak, conservator Marian Słonecki, and commissary architect engineer Jan Mozer.

Available documentation contains the following descriptions of Wawel interiors intended for storing the monuments: shelter²⁴, storehouses of the Royal Castle on Wawel Hill²⁵, building no. 5 on the first floor²⁶, treasury in building no. 5²⁷, room with a vault door²⁸, storerooms on Wawel Hill²⁹, cellars under Wawel Castle (so-called shelter) in the entrance [original spelling]–interior³⁰, cellar under the kitchens of the Royal Castle³¹, the northern cellar³², storeroom no. 1³³, ground floor of the Castle, north side, west wing³⁴, and conference rooms.³⁵

A letter of 3 November 1948 (69/48), addressed by the head of PZSW to NDMiOZ, is of interest for the history of the reclamation campaign and the role of the repository on Wawel Hill: *The Bureau for Restitution and Reparations of the Republic of Poland turned to us in a letter dated 23 October 1948 OP/2827 demanding that we confirm that we received reclamation transports recently brought over by Dr Estreicher. In view of the fact that PZSW Head Office does not remain in a professional relationship with the Bureau for Restitution and Reparations it regards it to be its duty not to correspond directly with the Bureau in question but to turn to NDMiOZ with an annotation that reclamation transports from Germany have been received at Wawel for temporary storage, and that we do not consider them to be our deposit. They remain at the disposal of MKiS [Ministry of Culture and Art], from which we await further pertinent instructions. [...]* Dr T. Mańkowski³⁶.

Upon the basis of a decision made by Dr Józef Kurkiewicz, the conservator of historical monuments of the Voivodeship of Cracow, acting in the name of the voivode, from April 1946 employees of Wawel Castle became directly involved in activity connected with the outcome of the land reform.

Manor houses containing ‘secured’ historical objects to be transported to the Wawel repository were designated in the counties of Cracow, Myślenice, Chrzanów, and Miechów. *The transported monuments of art should be stored separately until an additional decision regarding their further allocation is made*³⁷. The consequence of those decisions and activities calls for new research.

Warsaw repository

Parallel to transports forwarded to Wawel Hill, from 24 July 1947 additional transports destined for the National Museum in Warsaw arrived from Lower Silesia, Gdańsk Pomerania, Allied-occupied Germany, Austria, former Eastern Prussia, Land of Lubusz, Upper Silesia, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. Monuments stored on Wawel Hill were also transported as of 1946³⁸. The last transport reached the National Museum in Warsaw on 23 December 1952. The total of 59 transports was composed of 2 653 chests and crates as well as 1776 unpacked objects. *The number of chests included 68 of unknown derivation. These are probably chests originating from various transports, which lost their proper inventory numbers or had been prepared by the occupant to be taken from the National Museum but were ultimately never exported*³⁹.

In 1945 three transports reached MNW: two from Lower Silesia, including Jelenia Góra, with canvases by Jan Matejko, and one from Gdańsk with monuments packed in chests and two altars; altogether 34 listed items and books⁴⁰. In 1946 15 transports arrived from Lower Silesia, including six from Żąbkowice, two from Henryków, three from Głogów, and two from Jelenia Góra; a total of 738 chests – 9889 items, of which 6000 were books. 12 rail carriages from Salzburg contained 477 chests, 167 pieces of furniture, 31 sculptures, 17 carpets, and six painting frames – a total of 698 items.⁴¹

In addition, transports from Cracow, preceded by a decision made by Dr Stanisław Lorentz, Head Director of Museums and the Protection of Historical Monuments and Director of MNW, expressed in the form of an *authorization for MNW to accept from the directors of PZS on Wawel Hill the MNW collections and the collections of the pre-war Directors of the State Art Collection (PZS) in Warsaw, deposited on Wawel Hill, with the exception of those collections, which before the war were kept on Wawel Hill, the collections of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, Łazienki, PRM [Presidium of the Council of Ministers] and other collections in central office buildings in Warsaw, other public or private collections and works of art, which before the war were located in Warsaw, collections from Rogalin, graphic art collections brought over from Silesia to Wawel Hill, other collections and works of art with the exception of: works of art used as temporary outfitting of the interiors of the Royal Castle on Wawel Hill – additional regulations concerning these works of art will be issued later. Furthermore, the Ministry authorizes the National Museum to accept and transport to Warsaw furniture designated for MKiS, furnishing for three conference halls on the first floor of building no. 9, furniture, carpets and other utilitarian objects, which are not indispensable for administrative-utility interiors, ateliers, official accommodation, and guest rooms on Wawel Hill. The Director of PZS on Wawel Hill will*

define which objects will be accepted by MNW according to principles recently discussed with the Head Director of Museums and the Protection of Historical Monuments⁴². All told, from 29 May to 25 July 1946 12 transports from Cracow to Warsaw contained 501 chests with 9934 items mentioned on Reclamation Lists.

In 1947 successive 288 items in 186 chests arrived from Cracow, including 154 chests from the Archaeological Museum, followed by transports from Silesia: Bytom, Jelenia Góra – Paulinum, and Henryków: a total of 104 chests with 690 listed items. Successive transports from Jelenia Góra – Paulinum – contained 394 items, and again from Henryków – 69 items.

In 1945–1947 17 transports from Wilno were composed of assorted objects, of which MNW registered 1518 items purchased and donated in Wilno and 470 deposits from persons who used this opportunity to bring their artworks to Poland.⁴³

In 1948 transports arrived from Lower Silesia – Złotów and Braniewo, as well as from Poznań, Olsztyn, and Dylewo, and from Rome, Bavaria, Austria, and France – a total of 367 items, as well as from Narożno – 938 objects in 145 chests. Objects mentioned in nine items on the list came from Cracow. There is also information about transports from no one knows where.

In 1949 a successive transport from Wawel Hill contained books, paintings, drawings, and graphic works (a total of 30), decorative art, a secretaire, a console, a Gothic altar cabinet, and two predellas. Owing to the absence of suitable chests transport of unpacked objects was entrusted to the Hartwig forwarding company.⁴⁴

In 1950 a transport from the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic comprised 89 items⁴⁵, and in 1951 a transport of reclaimed objects from Moscow included 51 paintings, one bronze plaque, and one tapestry⁴⁶; 69 items from the list: paintings and decorative art, came from Bożkowo.⁴⁷

Record-keeping in repositories

As I mentioned in the previous article, in the majority of cases reclaimed objects in diocesan repositories were given the numbers of inventories in particular repositories or numbers from a list of objects comprising appendices to hand-over protocols. Such protocols accompanied each transport as indispensable documents required not only in the Western Territories. In the Wawel Hill and Warsaw repositories objects unpacked from the chests were granted successive numbers. On Wawel Hill objects brought over from Lower Silesia were marked in assorted ways: *Tymcz. Śląsk, Tymcz. Waw., Tymcz. Wawel, Nr. inw. tymcz., Wawel*. In turn, collections transported from Cracow to Warsaw received a new number at MNW – that of the reclamation record: *Rew.*⁴⁸. It must be emphasized that in the MNW repository objects were given ‘reclamation’ numbers regardless of their provenance. This record included, therefore, museum exhibits originating from pre-war MNW collections, monuments from pre-war Warsaw collections belonging both to institutions and private persons, from former German repositories, obtained from local landed estates⁴⁹, and objects found and ‘secured’⁵⁰ by assorted offices and private persons and handed over to MNW.

Reclamation Lists of objects transported to the Warsaw repository mention 22 329 items collected in 18 volumes,⁵¹

with graphic folios or other collections often listed together. Unfortunately, the documentation is not arranged in chronological order⁵². Furthermore, the accompanying index: *Wykaz numerów rewindykacyjnych*, which contains erroneous indications of volumes and corrections, is in places illegible. Finally, not all the transported museum objects have been listed. Reclamation Lists, for example, do not mention paintings by Jan Matejko: *Rejtan, Union of Lublin* or *Batory at Pskov*, brought by Director Stanisław Lorentz from Jelenia Góra on 6 August 1945, because they were unpacked in a conservation atelier. The Lists also do not refer to mediaeval monuments brought over by Professor Michał Walicki from Gdańsk in August and September 1945, as well as objects reclaimed from the USSR in 1951.

First reclamation numbers were granted to objects (discovered in Cieplice) repossessed from Jelenia Góra on 25 August 1945. This finding, described in an article by Witold Kieszkowski⁵³, was composed of collections looted by the Germans, who classified them as belonging to the most valuable group, the so-called *Erste Wahl*, and which originated from MNE, the State Art Collections, the Branicki collection from Wilanów, and other private collections. The first reclamation number – *Rew. 1* – belongs to a painting by Bernardo Belotto aka Canaletto: *Fantastic Architecture with Christ Driving Traders from the Temple*, no. 244 in the Krosnowski Department, today: in the collections of the Royal Castle in Warsaw.⁵⁴

A distinct way of record keeping was applied in the case of ‘reclaimed objects’ from Wilno, stored in the Warsaw repository. All listed objects from Wilno received call number *Wl*, a successive number, and a letter denoting one of the departments according to which they were arranged in groups while applying the ownership criterion: donations, purchases or deposits. The following marks were applied: *A* – paintings, watercolours, and pastels; *B* – sculptures; *C* – decorative art: fabrics, porcelain, furniture, gold artefacts; *D* – graphic art; *E* – numismatics; *F* – photographs and reproductions; *G* – books; *H* – archival material; *I* – frames; *K* – plates, photographic films, slides; *L* – excavations (prehistory); *M* – inventory measurements; *N* – technical objects.⁵⁵

The historical value of the ‘reclamation’ documentation would have been much greater had the contents of the chests been recorded systematically shortly after their arrival. Some of the chests from Jelenia Góra were delivered in December 1945 but their contents were not listed until 1947. In turn, while recording simultaneously the contents of chests reclaimed from Salzburg and those from Cracow the inventory numbers were duplicated. Nonetheless, it is possible to determine upon the basis of the reclamation lists how many chests were unpacked in successive years: 1946 – 482, 1947 – 213, 1948 – 782, 1949 – 1, 1950 – 14, 1951 – 41, 1952 – 4: a total of 1500 chests. This is not, however, the complete number. A major part of chests containing drawings and numismatic objects were handed over to the Department of Graphic Art or Numismatics, where they were supposed to be recorded in detail and upon the basis of the resultant lists included into the collective reclamation (‘repository’) inventory. For assorted reasons this duty was not fulfilled. Monuments from some of the chests, which arrived at the MNW repository already in 1945, were unpacked without being written down. The same holds true (although with

certain exceptions) for the contents of chests described as the property of institutions. Such chests were handed over, while observing the principle of opening them by a committee, directly to their owners: the Polish Army Museum, the National Library, the Warsaw University Library, the Central Archives of Historical Records, the State Zoological Museum, and the State Archaeological Museum.

Due to protocols made in the course of these activities we know which members of the Museum staff worked in the MNW repository. The recorded names include, i.a. Tadeusz Chojecki, Kazimierz Zawadowski, Irena Kołoszyńska, Julia Hornungowa, Maria Bogucka, and Wanda Drecka. It should be stressed that this institution also contained a parallel Inventory and Reclamation Workshop, employing various persons.

On Wawel Hill inventory work, the unpacking of chests, and the making of lists and inventories were entrusted to the following persons: commissary architect engineer Jan Mozer, Maria Grońska, Janina Gostwicka and Zbigniew Gostwicki, Adam Bochnak, Anna Bocheńska, Zbigniew Bocheński, Helena Bilczewska, Zofia Boczkowska, Olimpia Bukowska, Izabella Dobikówna, Senta Gondzikiewicz, Zbigniew Jarosz-Gostwicki, Rudolf Kozłowski, Helena Marconi, Wojciech Stanisław Turczyński, and Jerzy Zanoziński. (...) *The chests were opened [on Wawel Hill] in order to find out about their contents and then closed again and nailed down without a detailed examination and without writing down particular objects*⁵⁶. *The crates were gradually opened from 5 July to 4 August 1945. The segregation and conservation of paintings requiring conservation is under way. In due time we shall know whether this pertains also to paintings belonging to the National Museum in Warsaw.*⁵⁷

At times it became apparent that an opened chest did not contain any objects or only a few or else devastated items. Some of the monuments were subjected to conservation at the atelier on Wawel Hill ran by Dr Józef Dutkiewicz⁵⁸ or else it was decided to withdraw them from the inventory and storehouse due to their complete destruction.⁵⁹

Often, already at the stage of recording the reclaimed objects in the Wawel and Warsaw repositories they were handed over for the purpose of decorating assorted institutions. The loaned objects sometimes possessed reclamation marks but upon other occasions they were transferred in a hurry, without any records, a procedure that caused chaos in the documentation and gaps in the collections.⁶⁰

In MNW the reclaimed objects were recorded on Reclamation Lists and, subsequently, in Museum Inventory books⁶¹. Two additional books were created for this purpose: from number 186 001 to 189 000 and from 192 001 to 195 000. These special books contained records of paintings, sculptures, mediaeval monuments, and ornamental art. Despite the fact that the books belonged to the MNW Inventory, granting them the title (name): *Reclamation* meant that the monuments listed therein did not have the status of the Museum's own objects. They also did not receive the status of deposits because they were not listed in the deposit books and comprised a third 'ownership category'. The books in question were envisaged as documentation belonging to the Warsaw repository, and the objects recorded in them were a collection of that repository gained as a result of the so-called reclamation campaign. In reality, however, this did not take place

owing to an inconsistent recording of the objects. Those belonging to third parties, i.e. actual reclaimed objects, were mistakenly written down in the books of the MNW Inventory established before the war or in the deposit book. In other words, the records were haphazard. Moreover, overdue recording of reclaimed objects was the reason for deciding to conduct an 'inventorisation campaign'. In 1953 its outcome resulted in establishing new books of the MNW general inventory and so-called department books for decorative art (metal and ceramics), numismatics, and mediaeval art, in which objects from the repository (Rew.) and those totally unrecorded were written down, or else an ill-judged re-inventorisation was carried out by copying records about objects from revindication books into department or general books, often without preserving information about the origin of those objects.

In the aftermath of the completed activities resulting from the so-called reclamation campaign part of the regained objects were included into collections on Wawel Hill and at MNW. Some monuments, left behind in Cracow due to the absence of "Warsaw provenance", also enlarged the collection of the National Museum in Cracow and Collegium Maius. Apart from provenance criteria, decisions about leaving monuments in Cracow were made under the impact of local Cracow researchers. Karol Estreicher wrote in his diaries: *I dream of (...) establishing a Jagiellonian University Museum at Collegium Maius. A collection of some sort of globes, maps and old furniture, scientific instruments, works of art. (...) I shall also add quite a lot from the reclamation. There is an abundance of homeless silverware, valuables, carpets and furniture. I shall hand them over to Collegium Maius.*⁶²

On the other hand, owing to the lack of space in the MNW main building auxiliary storerooms-repositories were created already in 1945 in the Museum branches: the largest one was located in Wilanów (sculptures, paintings, statues, decorative art), followed by Nieborów (i.a. 15 000 reproductions of European paintings from the Wrocław collections,⁶³ book collections from Mała Wieś and Obory) and Łowicz (furniture and *militaria*).⁶⁴

In 1945 buildings of the palace-garden complex in Wilanów were in relatively good condition⁶⁵; hence objects obtained from the so-called cartage campaign were the first to be stored there: a book collection belonging to the Potulickis from Obory near Konstancin⁶⁶, from the Morawski family palace in Mała Wieś near Grójec⁶⁷, the Kwilecki collections from Wróblewo and Kwilcz found in 1945 in the palace in Mordy, and the Potocki collections from Krzeszowice and the 'Pałac pod Baranami' Potocki Palace in Cracow as well as former German collections. Preserved documentation from that period contains unambiguous descriptions indicating that buildings on the Wilanów landed estate fulfilled the function of a repository; we read in, i.a. a Report of the Reclamation and Reparations Bureau (first quarter of 1950): *All those statues [from Lwów] with sculptures on pedestals were placed in the National Museum repository located next to the palace in Wilanów.*⁶⁸

From 1946 Wilanów was the site of a storehouse of sculptures from the National Museum and plaster works from the collection of Stanisław August Poniatowski – the so-called royal glyptothek⁶⁹ – but was also used for storing salvaged sculptures from Warsaw, belonging to the State Art

Collections and before the war displayed at the Royal Castle and Royal Łazienki, as well as the property of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts and other collections. Furthermore, fragments of bronzes found by Dr Tadeusz Gostyński from the Polish Military Mission in Berlin among scrap metal stored by Norddeutsche Raffinerie and Zinkwerke, Freier Hafen, Reiherstieg Holzlager and Getreidelager Michael in Hamburg⁷⁰ were kept here. Wilanów was also the destination of another transport of bronze statues sent from Hamburg and including, i.a. sculptures by Tadeusz Rygiel from the statue of Adam Mickiewicz, soon transported to Cracow.⁷¹

For a certain time the earlier mentioned three statues reclaimed from Lwów: the likenesses of Jan III Sobieski by Tadeusz Barącz, of Kornel Ujejski by Antoni Popiel, and of Aleksander Fredro by Leonard Marconi, which found themselves in the Visual Arts Workshops in Warsaw where they were subjected to conservation,⁷² were soon sent to Gdańsk, Szczecin, and Wrocław.⁷³ A fragment of a pre-war statue of Prince Józef Poniatowski, at present a deposit at the Warsaw Uprising Museum, is a 'souvenir' of the Wilanów repository.

In 1957 it was decided to empty the storehouse at the Branch of the MNW in Łowicz and to transfer the furniture kept there to Nieborów and Wilanów.⁷⁴ Militaria were not handed over to the Army Museum until 1964.⁷⁵

Monuments often transported by random means of locomotion became damaged. The work performed by teams composed of a few persons employed for unpacking and recording was insufficient to deal with all objects up to date and with suitable care. An analysis of the preserved and accessible documentation confirms the inadequate support of MKiS, organiser of the widely conceived so-called reclamation campaign involving cultural property, both regarding financial input intended for the campaign and planning a practical realisation of particular undertakings.

The two institutions – in Cracow and Warsaw – gradually

lost the functions of repositories as a result of passing on objects accumulated by them to other museums and/or loaning them as long-term deposits. It appears that decision-makers did not foresee the outcome of a resolution to locate such a large number of monuments in two main repositories: on Wawel Hill and at MNW, while omitting smaller local ones. Indubitably, one of the reasons for those decisions was the wish cherished by heads of the institutions, whose professional position in the reclamation campaign was very strong, namely, to possess as many valuable objects as possible and to determine the location of the remaining collections. A significant role was played also by a strong feeling prevailing right after the war and concerning the temporary status of the so-called Western and Northern Territories; hence situating the retrieved collections in the central regions of the country was to guarantee their security and consolidate their new legal status. By accumulating such large and heterogeneous resources in the two museums the successive directors of PZSW and MNW carried and, it is worth stressing, carry up to this day the burden of responsibility for property subjected to various regulations. The regained objects, after all, represented all possible provenance sources.⁷⁶

Decisions about placing the majority of the collections first on Wawel Hill and, predominantly, at the MNW⁷⁷ were strictly political and became the reason for, i.a. decades-long heated discussions about the museum in which the objects should find themselves. Such debates were conducted while ignoring pre-war owners and usually discrediting them in the eyes of public opinion.

The policy of accumulating museum collections in the post-war reality of our country is an extremely complex problem, still awaiting thorough studies. The history of post-war museum repositories, including the largest ones, i.e. Wawel Hill and Warsaw, comprises an indispensable point of departure for such investigations.

Endnotes

¹ L. M. Kamińska, *Powojenne składnice przemieszczanych dóbr kultury w Polsce. Przyczynek do szerszego opracowania* [Post-War Repositories for Relocated Cultural Goods. Contribution to Broader Elaboration], in: 'Muzealnictwo' 2016, no. 57, pp. 74-80.

² More extensively in: L. M. Kamińska, R. Olkowski, *Akcja rewindykacyjna dóbr kultury po II wojnie światowej* [Action of Recovery of Cultural Goods Following WW II], commissioned by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, to appear soon.

³ Archive of the Wawel Royal Castle-State Art Collection (further as: Arch. PZSW), 31/45, Arch. PZSW 33/45, p. 28.

⁴ Arch. PZSW, 5/45, p. 17.

⁵ Arch. PZSW, 105/45, p. 69.

⁶ Arch. PZSW, 105/4, p. 72.

⁷ Arch. PZSW, 45/45, p. 33.

⁸ These were the collections transported from Warsaw by the Germans after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising as part of the so-called Pruszków action.

⁹ Due to the limited capacity of this article information is summary. Figures, dates of transports, and information about persons taking part in the work of the repositories were obtained from documentation at the Archive of the Wawel Royal Castle-State Art Collection and the Inventory Department at the National Museum in Warsaw (MNW, Inventory Department, Reclamation Material). Upon the basis of this documentation it is possible to prepare a catalogue of relocated cultural goods.

¹⁰ In brackets – dates of the arrival of the transports to Wawel Hill.

¹¹ Arch. PZSW, 188.

¹² Arch. PZSW, 383/46.

¹³ Arch. PZSW, 440; Arch. PZSW, 861/47.

¹⁴ Arch. PZSW, 383/46, p. 20.

¹⁵ Arch. PZSW, 235-236.

¹⁶ Arch. PZSW, protocol from 21 June 1947 – no pages.

- ¹⁷ Arch. PZSW, 579.
- ¹⁸ Arch. PZSW, 439.
- ¹⁹ Arch. PZSW, 558; Arch. PZSW, 582 – 583.
- ²⁰ Arch. PZSW, 586 – 587.
- ²¹ Arch. PZSW, 582.
- ²² AAN Central Archives of Modern Records. Fond: Ministry of Culture and Art (further as: AAN MKiS), 387/12, p. 6.
- ²³ Arch. PZSW, 647-649; Arch. PZSW, 691-693.
- ²⁴ Arch. PZSW, 31/45, p. 28.
- ²⁵ Arch. PZSW, 33/45, p. 28.
- ²⁶ Arch. PZSW, 63/45, s. 10.
- ²⁷ Protocol from 28 May 1946 recorded in: PZSW, Arch. PZSW, no pages.
- ²⁸ Arch. PZSW, 48/45, p. 1.
- ²⁹ Arch. PZSW, 137/45, p. 42.
- ³⁰ Arch. PZSW, 207/45, p. 103.
- ³¹ Arch. PZSW, 91/48.
- ³² Arch. PZSW, 33.
- ³³ Arch. PZSW, 35.
- ³⁴ Arch. PZSW, 43.
- ³⁵ Arch. PZSW, 175.
- ³⁶ Arch. PZSW, 403.
- ³⁷ Arch. PZSW, 108/46, p. 158.
- ³⁸ Arch. PZSW, 6/45, p. 17; Arch. PZSW, 10/45, p. 171, Arch. PZSW, 133/45, p. 82: the first monuments intended for Warsaw were transported from Wawel Hill already on 30 April 1945 for the 'Warsaw Accuses' exhibition opened at MNW on 3 May 1945.
- ³⁹ Upon the basis of the report: *Rewindykacja z dnia 10.02.1952* [Recovery of 10 February 1952] made by Irena Kołoszyńska. MNW, Inventory Department, Reclamation Material.
- ⁴⁰ Apart from historical monuments transported to Warsaw the rest remained in the care of the Department of Culture and Art at the Voivodeship Office in Gdańsk, and later of the Voivodeship Conservator in Gdańsk-Oliwa in the Abbots' Palace, after: M. Stryczyński, *Gdańsk w latach 1945-1948. Odbudowa organizmu miejskiego* [Gdańsk in 1945-1948. Restoration of the Urban Organism], in: *Studia i Materiały do dziejów Gdańska* [Studies and Materials for the History of Gdańsk], E. Cieślak (ed.), Wrocław 1981, p. 118; State Archive in Gdańsk, Voivodeship Office in Gdańsk, 1164/1250.
- ⁴¹ B. Urbanowicz, *Kronika Fischornu* [Fishorn Chronicle], in: 'Muzealnictwo' 1966, no. 13, p. 13; letter no. 1099/46 of 4 May 1946 from MNW to NDMiOZ indicates an error in the material prepared by Urbanowicz, which mentioned 618 items; after calculating the contents of the transport at the Museum this figure grew to 698. On 23 May-7 July 1946 MNW organised a reclamation exhibition featuring cultural goods brought over from Austria.
- ⁴² Arch. PZSW, 178/46.
- ⁴³ More extensively in: R. Olkowski, *Walka o tzw. rewindykację wileńskich dóbr kultury po II wojnie światowej* [Struggle for the So-Called Reclamation of the Cultural Goods in Vilnius after World War II], published in this issue of 'Muzealnictwo'.
- ⁴⁴ Arch. PZSW, 504, Arch. PZSW, 48/49, p. 456.
- ⁴⁵ MNW, Inventory Department, Reclamation Material, vol. XV, pp. 43-49 and vol. XVI, pp. 150-163.
- ⁴⁶ AMNW call no. 862, p. 61. Protocol from 28 November 1951 on unpacking seven chests; *Akt przejęcia dzieł sztuki z 29.1.1951 r.* [Act of the Reclamation of Art Works of 29 January 1951].
- ⁴⁷ MNW, Inventory Department, Reclamation Material, vol. XVI, pp. 165-171.
- ⁴⁸ MNW, Inventory Department, Reclamation Material.
- ⁴⁹ L. M. Karecka, *Mienie zwane podworskim w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie* [Former Manorial Goods at the National Museum in Warsaw], in: 'Muzealnictwo' 2012, no. 52, pp. 44-57.
- ⁵⁰ MNW, Inventory Department, Reclamation Material, vol. XIV.
- ⁵¹ MNW, Inventory Department, Reclamation Material, vol. I-XVIII.
- ⁵² Reclamation documentation was put in order and arranged in volumes during the 1970s by Maciej Piekarski, at the time Chief Inventory Keeper at the MNW.
- ⁵³ W. Kieszkowski, *Składnica Muzealna Paulinum i rewindykacja zabytków na Dolnym Śląsku* [The Paulinum Repository and Reclamation of Historic Monuments in Lower Silesia], Warszawa 1948.
- ⁵⁴ No. ZKW/3605: *Zamek Królewski w Warszawie. Malarstwo do 1900. Katalog zbiorów* [The Royal Castle in Warsaw. Painting until 1900. Collection Catalogue], D. Juszcak, H. Małachowicz (prep.), Warszawa 2007, pp. 140-143. No information about the circumstances of the reclamation.
- ⁵⁵ More in: R. Olkowski, *Akcja rewindykacyjna na terenie Wilna i Wileńszczyzny w latach 1944-1947* [Reclamation Action in Vilnius and the Vilnius Region in 1944-1947], Warszawa 2004, typescript (computer printout).
- ⁵⁶ Arch. PZSW, 58/45, pp. 39-40.
- ⁵⁷ MNW, Inventory Department, Reclamation Material, Letter of 16 August 1945 from the PZS Directors on Wawel Hill to the MNW Directors.
- ⁵⁸ Arch. PZSW, 357/47, p. 265; Arch. PZSW, 588.
- ⁵⁹ Arch. PZSW, 522/48, p. 132.
- ⁶⁰ More in: R. Olkowski, *O badaniu proveniencji muzealiów* [On Provenance Studies of Museum Objects], in: "Muzealnictwo" 2012, no. 52, pp. 27-37.
- ⁶¹ To 1939 the MNW Inventory was composed of 24 books: no. 1 – 144 000 own museum exhibits, including three deposit books (12 001-18 000, 30 001-36 000, 138 001-140 000). Additionally, outside this sequence, the Museum established a book from no. 180 001, which also included deposits, i.e. in 1945 the inventory totalled 25 books. Naturally, not all were completed. Books initiated before the war were used after 1945.
- ⁶² K. Estreicher, *Dziennik wypadków 1946-1960* [Chronicle of Developments 1946-1960], vol. 2, Kraków 2002, p. 52.

⁶³In 1998 they were presented to the National Museum in Wrocław.

⁶⁴R. Olkowski, *Geneza i funkcjonowanie składowiska muzealnej w zespole pałacowo-ogrodowym w Wilanowie od 1945 roku* [Genesis and Operation of the Repository at the Palace-and-Garden Ensemble at Wilanów from 1945], Warszawa 2000, typescript (computer printout).

⁶⁵*Kronika Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie od 18 stycznia 1945 r.*: [Chronicle of the National Museum in Warsaw as of 18 January 1945]: MNW, Iconographic and Photographic Collections, inventory no. Ms 2146, p. 2 (further as: Kronika MNW).

⁶⁶Kronika MNW, p. 34.

⁶⁷MNW, Inventory Department, File on Mała Wieś, note by custodian Benedykt Tyszkiewicz from 30 August 1948, containing a tally of the stock of the Wilanów library; the book collection at the Museum is composed of the Wilanów book collection and book collections from Obory and Mała Wieś.

⁶⁸AAN MKiS, 387/187, p. I.

⁶⁹D. Kaczmarzyk, *Wstęp* [Preface], in: *Rzeźba polska od XVI do początku XX wieku. Katalog zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* [Polish Sculpture from the 16th Century to the Early 20th Century. Catalogue of the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw] Warszawa 1973.

⁷⁰AAN MKiS, 387/179, p. 4, *Sprawozdanie Dr. T. Gostyńskiego, delegata do rewindykacji dzwonów i pomników z pobytu w Niemczech w okresie 18.XII.1947-8.VI.1948* [Report of Dr T. Gostyński Delegated to Reclaim Bells and Monuments on His Stay in Germany in 18 Dec 1947 – 8 June 1948], made on 10 June 1948.

⁷¹MNW, Inventory Department, File: Transfers.

⁷²AMNW, 1320, p. 4

⁷³The statue of Sobieski stands in Targ Drzewny in Gdańsk, the statue of Ujejski - in Zwycięstwa Square in Szczecin, and the statue of Fredro - in the Market Square in Wrocław.

⁷⁴Reports from 20 May, 14 June, 18 June, and 8 July of 1957 contain information about furniture to be transported to storage facilities in Wilanów. Lists from 14-15 June, 21 June, and 15 August 1957 provide, apart from data identifying monuments, also information about transports of monuments to Wilanów.

⁷⁵MNW, Inventory Department, File: Polish Army Museum. *Inwentarz Działu Wojskowego (Broni i Uzbrojenia) Muzeum w Łowiczu sporządzony w listopadzie 1953 r.* [Inventory of the Military Department (Weapons and Arms) of the Łowicz Museum Made in November 1953] contained records about *militaria* from the collections of MNW, the Polish Army Museum, and the Krasiński Estate Armoury as well as unidentified objects: AMNW, 878.

⁷⁶L. M. Karecka, *Akcja rewindykacyjna dóbr kultury po II wojnie światowej i jej wpływ na zbiory Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* [Reclamation Action of Cultural Goods after WW II and Its Impact on the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw], diploma dissertation written under Attorney-at-law A. Żółkiewski, SGH Warsaw School of Economics, Collegium of World Economy, Postgraduate Studies in Culture Management, Warszawa 2002.

⁷⁷Upon the basis of the Act of 7 May 1945 on the Nationalisation of MNW [Dziennik Ustaw, no. 18, item.98.] the Museum became recognised as a central museum institution in Poland; previously, it belonged to the Warsaw Magistrate.

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POLISH CENTRAL MUSEUM REPOSITORY FOR GDAŃSK VOIVODESHIP. PART 1. ORIGIN

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Abstract: The article – a successive text on this topic published in ‘Muzealnictwo’ – is the first part of a broader study on relocations of cultural goods after World War II, and in particular on the functioning of the repositories – established and operated by the Polish administration on territories liberated by the moving front – in which they were stored. This time the discussion concerns repositories in Gdańsk Pomerania, with the first part presenting issues connected with the geopolitical situation in Gdańsk voivodeship, especially the city of Gdańsk. The article outlines the historical circumstances in which Polish administration carried out the so-called recovery campaign. Attention is drawn to the emergence of Polish authorities and the impact of their activity upon the achievement of formulated objectives: the organisation of social life, the rescue of artworks

despite insufficient means and by penetrating areas outside towns in a search for hidden cultural goods, and the establishment of repositories, warehouses and lapidaria for cultural goods saved from the rubble left behind by the moving front and the Red Army and for those evacuated from towns by the German monument protection service. The article lists locations in Gdańsk voivodeship where the German administration deposited assorted monuments. Collections of concealed movable monuments of art survived wartime hostilities and – unless plundered by the local population or Soviet Army commands – were salvaged and transported to repositories set up by delegates of the Ministry of Culture and Art. The second part of the article will describe the organisation and functioning of Polish repositories and the fate of the monuments amassed in them.

Keywords: repositories of cultural goods, Polish repositories, German repositories, Gdańsk voivodeship, Polish administration, Jan Kilarski, Michał Walicki.

This article is a successive attempt at describing the activity of Polish museum and conservation repositories established after the Second World War.¹ The text pertains to the terrain of Gdańsk and Gdańsk Pomerania and is a synthetic presentation of events preceding the appearance of repositories in Sopot and Oliwa, whose characteristics, together with an examination of the results of the so-called transport campaign conducted in the voivodeship of Gdańsk, call for a separate discussion.

The campaign in question was – similarly as in, e.g. Silesia and other parts of the country within the new frontiers – an element of undertakings comprising a so-called recovery campaign conducted by the government.² On 31 March 1945, i.e. barely a day after the line of the front shifted beyond Gdańsk, its representatives, delegated by Edward Ochab,

Minister of Public Administration, arrived in Gdańsk via Toruń and Kartuzy to organise civilian ‘Polish authorities’.³ A decree on the establishment of the voivodeship of Gdańsk was issued on 30 March 1945, the day of the liberation of Gdańsk.⁴ This was also the date of the town’s incorporation into Poland.⁵

On the following day operational groups of assorted ministries,⁶ including that of the Ministry of Culture and Art, whose task was securing cultural goods,⁷ appeared in Gdańsk. *The Polish arriving population is passive. The majority is attracted by the port (...) there is a distinctive albeit slight influx of earnest and ideological people drawn by the conception of the Polishisation of Gdańsk and the creation of conditions enabling Poland to achieve firm footing along the Baltic coast as well as the establishment of a sensible Polish administration representing a high level and*

cultivating Polish culture, wrote the President of Gdańsk.⁸

Upon their arrival in Gdańsk representatives of the Polish administration discovered Red Army commands, from which they were to gradually take over power in accordance with an Act of the State Defence Committee of the USSR and an Act passed by the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland of 14 March 1945 on the Organisation of the Recovered Territories.⁹ Upon this foundation civilian authorities in Gdańsk were formally entrusted to President Franciszek Kotus-Jankowski.¹⁰ The Municipal Board was constituted at the end of April 1945. Owing to the scale of the damage incurred in Gdańsk¹¹ the Voivodeship Office and the County Starosta Office were located in Sopot¹² together with the main repository of secured monuments¹³. *On 29 April an act passed by the Council of the Municipal Board established the basic core of the municipal organisational status and initial rules for members of the Municipal Board. The two main established institutions were the Presidium and Control Departments and four offices: economical, technical, social, and police. The main institutions are directed by the President of the Town, and the offices – by four vice-presidents.*¹⁴

During the first post-liberation months Gdańsk was the site of three centres of authority: Soviet war commands, central administration operational groups, and emergent self-government authorities. *I established contact with Soviet military authorities immediately upon my arrival in Gdańsk. I maintain close and steady contact, both official and political, with them in an atmosphere of friendship. Upon the occasion of expanding official activity, however, I encountered great obstacles due to the attitude of the military authorities and managed to take over administration with great difficulty. The Russian authorities are slowly withdrawing from this terrain. Economic access, however, is still the domain of the Army, which considers all economic goods in Gdańsk to be wartime trophies. Food and all other commodities, machinery, tools, furniture and home outfitting are at the disposal of the Army, which grants the Municipal Board exemptions only in rare cases and, moreover, according to a complicated procedure. Military authorities carted away great amounts of this property from Gdańsk and even from houses taken over by the Poles upon the basis of permits issued by the Municipal Board, and they appropriated the most valuable furniture as well as other objects and equipment. It has become necessary for the central authorities to intervene for the sake of an exact determination what comprises war spoils, otherwise it is feared that even the equipment of public utility enterprises will be seized.*¹⁵

One of the first central administration operational groups to commence activity in Gdańsk and environs already on 5 April was the 'Cracow' Group of the Ministry of Education under Professor Stanisław Turski, accompanied by, i.a. Kazimierz Kopecki, Franciszek Otto, Marian Pelczar, and Jan Kilarski.¹⁶ The group's task involved establishing the Gdańsk Polytechnic, preserving library property, and organising a campaign of securing works of art and removing damages incurred to culture and art entrusted to Professor Jan Kilarski,¹⁷ appointed head of the Department of Culture and Art at the Municipal Board;¹⁸ subsequently, he also supervised the Municipal Museum,¹⁹ whose staff was at the time composed exclusively of employees of the German Stadtmuseum, whose director was Prof. Willy Drost.²⁰

The successive central administration team, this time known as 'Warsaw', was headed by Professor Dr Michał Walicki,²¹ custodian at the National Museum in Warsaw. Delegated to the voivodeship of Gdańsk on 13 April 1945 by Władysław Kowalski, Minister of Culture and Art, *to carry out activities mentioned in a written instruction issued by the Ministry of Culture and Art*, Prof. Walicki remained at the disposal of the voivode of Gdańsk.²² His task involved becoming familiar with the situation of monuments in Gdańsk Pomerania and eventually searching for German repositories.²³ The team headed by Prof. Michał Walicki was composed of Professor Jerzy Sienkiewicz, Dr Władysław Frąckiewicz, Bogusław Kopydłowski, Józef Kojecki, and Dr Ksawery Piwocki. Walicki, similarly to Kilarski, was *entitled to expropriate, transfer, and store all artworks in the county of Sopot.*²⁴ In this manner, two centres: that of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture, together with newly emergent Gdańsk self-government authorities commissioned their emissaries to carry out overlapping tasks, which caused competence chaos, rivalry, and mutual animosity.²⁵

The President of the City of Gdańsk recorded in his report of 1 May 1945: *While taking its first steps, the self-government in Gdańsk was compelled to pave a path in extremely unfavourable conditions. Initiating their activity, municipal institutions encountered assorted operational groups engaged in identical work and not revealing a tendency towards self-dissolution, and thus creating an undesired two-fold effect. Only the intervention of the Voivode of Gdańsk made it possible to start relieving those groups of their duties. Nonetheless, despite the accomplished dissolution material already accumulated by some groups had not been handed over to the Municipal Board, whose work, consequently, must be now conducted from the beginning.*²⁶

Regardless of the above-mentioned controversies, the greatest difficulty faced by the localisation and protection of movable monuments performed in the discussed terrain by Polish specialists was the competing activity of the Soviet team of the Committee of the Arts of the Council of Ministers of the USSR under Leoniy Denisov,²⁷ which searched – at the same time and in the same locations as the Poles – for cultural goods concealed by the German service for the protection of monuments and evacuated from Gdańsk and its environs.

Owing to the advancing Eastern Front, the Office of Prof. Erich Volmar – Gau-Konservator²⁸ for Gdańsk and West Pomerania²⁹ – ordered already in 1942³⁰ to prepare plans for the evacuation of movable cultural goods and to inaugurate the measurement and documentation of Gdańsk monuments. The campaign was supervised by the architect Jakub Dreuer together with Director W. Drost. The Municipal Museum collection and the collections and valuable outfitting of the Gdańsk Town Hall, the Artus Court, and local churches were placed in storerooms and lapidaria in Gdańsk Pomerania. After Gdańsk was captured and occupied by the Red Army, Volmar and Drost decided to stay and co-operate with the Polish authorities. They were to hand over documentation concerning places where movable monuments evacuated from the town had been concealed.³¹ Professor Willy Drost together with Erich Volmar, architect, and Dr Marietta Gölich also acted as consultants for the group under Leoniy Denisov.³²

In the above-cited report President Kotus-Jankowski referred directly to **securing former German property**: *In the*



1. Certificate issued by the Citizens' Militia headquarters in Sopot for Professor Michał Walicki

city of Gdańsk the campaign of protecting former German property was undertaken spontaneously by the Municipal Board, since up to now neither the Fiscal Chamber nor the Provisional State Administration Office³³ had embarked upon pertinent activity. The Municipal Board undertook those tasks by preserving former German property solely because – as the property of the State – it could have been damaged or plundered.³⁴ This task, however, encountered a number of obstacles, the first being the dependence of numerous economic decisions upon Russian military authorities, which reserved for themselves even minor resolutions in this domain. Not only the protection of public utility institutions and industry but even housing, food supplies, and transport are the domain of the Russian authorities, which do not always understand the interests of the State Treasury and the Town. The People's Militia's inadequate executive power also makes it impossible to protect abandoned and desolate property. The Russian authorities go on the assumption that the whole outfitting of Gdańsk is, for all practical purposes, part of war trophies, including not only industrial equipment and machines but also private homes of the inhabitants, furniture, bed linen, etc.³⁵ The author of the summary postulated: A/ Government pressure put on the Russian military authorities in Gdańsk so that they hand over to the Municipal Board all agendas and competences connected with the administration and economic life of the town (...).

The location of monuments concealed around Gdańsk by German professionals is mentioned in, i.a. three reports on operations carried out by the Polish administration: *The Register of secured monuments of culture and art in the*

county of Kartuzy,³⁶ Report on an inspection in the county of Gdańsk,³⁷ Report no. 2 on the preservation of monuments in the voivodeship of Gdańsk prepared for the Ministry of Culture and Art – Head Office of Museums and Monuments Protection of 6 September 1945, written by Michał Walicki.³⁸ The last document, based on the contents of the above-mentioned local reports, contains vast information about the localisation and contents of the caches. Walicki mentioned 65 repositories, whose list he made upon the basis of information collected confidentially and by means of expeditions to particular localities where the majority of the considerably devastated monuments were kept. The number of such expeditions in July and August 1945 totalled at least 14.³⁹ At the same time the Denisov group conducted searches in 21 localities.⁴⁰

The presented below list of German repositories-caches in Gdańsk Pomerania was made by Prof. Walicki and contains general information about their contents.⁴¹

Bahrendorf (Niedźwiedź, county of Wąbrzeźno) – manor house, until 1939 the property of Waclaw Mieczkowski: porcelain, furniture, weapons.

Barlomin (Barłomino, county of Wejherowo) – collections from the Municipal Museum in Gdańsk and Oliwa Cathedral.

Birkau near Rückenau and Neukirch-Höhe (Brzezina near Rychnów and Podgrodzie) – forester's lodge: furniture from the Carl Pudor Museum in Elbląg.

Borc (county of Kartuzy) – granary: armorial from the Municipal Museum in Gdańsk.

Brodnica (county of Wąbrzeźno) – town hall: collections from Bahrendorf.

Cadinen (Kadyny, county of Elbląg) – orangery in a former imperial estate; Protestant church: large altar, a small organs pulpit and an epitaph from the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in Gdańsk; other objects from the Carl Pudor Museum in Elbląg; large altar with the exception of a statue of the Madonna from the church of St. Bartholomew in Gdańsk.

Elbląg – storerooms in a Savings Bank treasury: prehistorical precious metal collections from the Museum in Grudziądz and a Municipal Bank treasury used for storing objects from the Carl Pudor Museum in Elbląg.

Fürstenweder (Żuławki, county of Nowy Dwór Gdański) – Protestant church: part of a baptismal fount from the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in Gdańsk; baptismal fount from the church of St. Catherine in Gdańsk; fragment of organs from the church of St. Barbara in Gdańsk.

Gdańsk⁴² – cellars of the Prehistorical Museum: archival material from the Carl Pudor Museum in Elbląg; town hall cellars and those in 3/4 św. Ducha Street: considerable part of the Lesser Giełdziński collection from the Gdańsk Hall (Dazniger Diele), part of the Artus Court, several fine examples of Old Gdańsk furniture, ornamental wrought iron objects, a tile collection, a faience collection and other small objects in more than ten chests; numerous pieces of furniture and mementos of Stanisław Leszczyński.

Gottswalde (Koszwały, county of Gdańsk) – Protestant church: minor objects from the Municipal Museum in Gdańsk.

Gross-Lessewitz (Lasowice Wielkie, county of Malbork) – barn belonging to the Catholic church rectory: organ pulpits, stalls, sculptures, paintings, outfitting from the sixteenth-

-seventeenth-century church of the Holy Trinity in Gdańsk.

Gross-Lichtenburg (Lichnowy, county of Malbork) – stable belonging to a Catholic parish church, a Lutheran church, and a presbytery shed containing objects from Gdańsk: wood sculptures and furniture, paintings, chests, sculptures, and church equipment from the sixteenth-eighteenth century.

Gross-Palau (Pawłowo, county of Gdańsk) – cabinets, carpets, chests containing amber from the Municipal Museum in Gdańsk.

Gross-Trampken (Trąbki Wielkie, county of Gdańsk) – Catholic church: Pietà from the church of St. Nicholas in Gdańsk.

Gross-Zünder (Cedry Wielkie, county of Gdańsk) – tower of a Protestant church: chests with arts and crafts, mainly brass, from the area of Gdańsk.

Grudziądz – Savings Bank treasury, town hall cellars, a safe: collections of prehistorical precious metal objects.

Herrengrebin (Grabiny-Zameczek, county of Gdańsk) – chests containing faience and porcelain from the Municipal Museum in Gdańsk.

Hoppendorf (Hopowo, county of Kartuzy) – Protestant church: fragment of the Ferber altar, a stone Madonna, a crucifix – objects from the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in Gdańsk and the church of St. Catherine in Gdańsk.

Kahlbude (Kolbudy, county of Gdańsk) – Neptune from Długi Targ Square in Gdańsk, bronze objects, and several decorative stone sculptures.

Kartuzy⁴³ – refectory next to the parish church and a Protestant church: fragment of the outfitting of Gdańsk churches - altars, a panel with the Ten Commandments, Salvator Mundi by

Sierstwo Powiatowe Kartuskie

Rejestr zabezpieczonychabytków kultury i sztuki na terenie powiatu kartuskiego.

Lp.	Miejscowość i lokal	Obiekt	Wymiary	Typowa kategoria	Wzrost
1.	Kaj. Borez szpilarski zbrojowy	Herbarium Masei Gdańskie	25 akroy 2 114x120 cm.	Inf. Rycki Stefan administrator	2 1/2 - obrazy niezakończony, restry prawy, akompleto- waniem
2.	Kukowo kościół paraf.	abytki sztuki pochodzące prze- waznie z Dworu Artusa	- 80 m ²	Pa. Ustalski proboszcz	2 spolek znow - bez kodyfikacji.
3.	Kartuzy refektarz przy kościółce paraf.	abytki sztuki pochodzące z kości- ółców wioskowych: św. Mikołaja, św. Bar- bary, św. Jana, z Do- mu Upłazana i Dworu Artusa	- 120 m ²	Pa. Bartoszewski proboszcz	abytki w kolekcji prawy do nieznajomości bez zabezpieczenia re- jestr aparatu
4.	Kaj. Łasno dom gospodarski folw. dom kowala folw.	fortepian	- 20x150 cm - 60x110 cm - 160x220 cm	Ob. Zielinski, Admi- nistrator	piórnok wykonany
	podłazna pałacu	2 plakaty olejny alabastrowe, 1 panel miedziany (olej)	- 40x20x120 cm - 70x120x30 cm		
		skrzynia z książkami (18cm i 10cm, wydawn. 18 w.)			

INSTRUKCJA
(-) S. Ustalski
B. Ustalski
p.o. Star. Pow. Kart. i Kart.

2. Register of secured cultural goods and artworks in the county of Kartuzy

134-134
 Dąpaty, 13. VI. 45.

S p r z e w o d z e n i e .

z inspekcji terenu powiatu gdańskiego przez ref. R. i St. Starostwa Powiatowego Gdańskiego, J. Sbrzeźniaka.

Po dokonaniu lustracji powiatu gdańskiego, odnaleziono i zabezpieczone dzieła kultury i sztuki, w niżej wymienionych miejscowościach, a mianowicie:

Gross Lichtenau.

W kościele luteranckim oraz na plebanji pastora w szopie znaleziono i oddane pod opiekę miejscowemu sołtysowi rzeszby, obrazy, skrzynie oraz rozmaite rodzaje urządzeń kościelne z okresu XVI-XVIII Nowy Dwór. /Tiagenhof/.

W domu burmistrza, ob. Wasilewskiego i pod jego opieką znajdują się szafa o motywach ludowych niemieckich oraz zegar ścienny pochodzący z XVIII w.

Gross Desowitz.

Na plebanji w stodole pod opieką miejscowego księdza katolickiego znajdują się rzeszby, obrazy oraz urządzenia kościelne z okresu XVI - XVIII w.

Nytych. /Neuteich/.

W gminie Delekaty starostwa zabezpieczono większą ilość dzieł naukowych oraz literatury w języku niemieckim.

Stangenwalde.

W leśniczówce w oborze, znajdują się rzeszby oraz akcesoria kościelne z okresu XVI - XVIII w., które oddane pod opiekę miejscowemu sołtysowi.

Mariensee.

W kościele luteranckim oraz u miejscowego woźny ob. Lewandewskiego i pod jego opieką znajdują się meble antyczne, stare księgi, ubiory świeckie i kościelne, obrazy oraz rozmaite drobiazgi: XV - XIII. Meisterswalde.

W kościele luteranckim oraz u miejscowego sołtysa i pod jego opieką znajdują się obrazy z okresu XVI - XVII w.

J. Sbrzeźniak

3. Report of a field inspection of the county of Gdańsk



4. Official delegation note for Professor Michał Walicki

(Photo: 1, 4 – Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences; 2, 3 – Archival acts of the Inventory Department at the National Museum in Warsaw)

Master Paul, fragments of the collections of the Uphagen House Museum, the Artus Court, and churches of St. Nicholas and St. John in Gdańsk.

Kładau (Kłodawa, county of Gdańsk) – Protestant church: part of the Ferber altar from the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in Gdańsk.

Kościerniza – Protestant church: altar of St. Reinhold and a chest containing small objects from the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in Gdańsk.

Leszno (county of Kartuzy) – home of the estate gardener: piano, two alabaster bas-reliefs, one painting (seascape), a fragment of a clock cabinet, a chest containing nineteenth-century German and English books.

Lublewo (county of Gdańsk) – Protestant church: (hanging on a wall) a small painted and carved altar with the Passion of the Lord from the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in Gdańsk.

Malbork – Castle cellars: City Savings Bank treasury, prehistorical bronze objects, precious metal objects.

Mariensee (Przywidz, county of Gdańsk) – Protestant church, in the matronea and at the house of the local voight: altar of St. Dorothy, an altar of St. Jadwiga/Hedwig, numerous chests containing glass objects, faience, furniture, paintings, assorted small objects from the fifteenth-eighteenth century from the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in Gdańsk and the Municipal Museum.

Meisterwalde (Mierzyszyn, county of Gdańsk) – Protestant church: i.a. the Jerusalem Altar, five paintings, including *The Tribute Money* by Anton Möller, other objects from the Municipal Museum and town hall in Gdańsk.

Nowy Dwór Gdański – house of the mayor: furniture from Gdańsk collections.

Oliwa – storerooms located in the cellars of the presbytery in a former monastic building, a former Cistercian library, and the home of Dr Kayser, former headmaster of the local secondary school in 4 Johanstrasse. Prof. Walicki wrote: *The main building of the Oliwa Museum – the so-called Abbots' Palace – burned down together with all the contents. The only surviving items from the vast Museum collections were those from the open-air museum – a windmill transferred from the Żuławy region, a treadmill, two ancient boats, and several machines from the City of Gdańsk, such as the first tram carriage, etc. The fire destroyed also the diocesan or rather the former Cistercian library situated in a historical chamber in which the Peace of Oliwa was signed; the interior, together with the table on which the treaty was signed, is untouched. The private library of Dr Kayser, director of the Oliwa Museum, also survived. At present, it comprises the living quarters of a high-ranking Soviet officer, which fully guarantees that the book collection will be treasured until its transference to a scientific library.*

Russotschin (Rusocin, county of Gdańsk)⁴⁴ – cabinets and carved objects Rzucewo (county of Puck) – manor house: chests containing paintings and sculptures from Pelplin Cathedral and Malbork.

Sopot⁴⁵ – house of Dr Ernst Volkman, ministerial counsellor: collection of engravings by Chodowiecki, and a storehouse in 20 Westerplatte Street used for keeping objects brought from, i.a. Malbork, Przywidz, and Hopowo.

Stüblau (Stemlewo, county of Gdańsk) – Protestant church: chests, chandeliers, the Kramer epitaph from Gdańsk collections.

Żukowo (county of Kartuzy) – upper Catholic church: part of belongings from the Uphagen House in Gdańsk – decorative fragments, furniture, partial outfitting of Gdańsk churches.

As has been mentioned at the onset of this article a description of the course of transporting movable

monuments from the above-listed German caches discovered by Polish search teams in the city of Gdańsk and Gdańsk Pomerania to depositories created in Sopot and Oliwa, and from 1946 described as the Polish Central Museum Repository of the Ministry of Culture and Art for Gdańsk Voivodeship,⁴⁶ as well as a characterisation of their functioning call for a separate presentation, to be published in 'Muzealnictwo' no. 60 in 2019.

Endnotes

- ¹ Cf. L. M. Kamińska, *Powojenne składnice przemieszczanych dóbr kultury w Polsce. Przyczynek do szerszego opracowania*, [Post-war Repositories for Relocated Cultural Goods in Poland. Contribution to Broader Elaboration], in: 'Muzealnictwo' 2016, no. 57, pp. 74-80; L. M. Kamińska, *Wawelska i Warszawska największe powojenne składnice przemieszczanych dóbr kultury w Polsce. Przyczynek do szerszego opracowania* [The Wavel and Warsaw Largest Repositories for Relocated Cultural Goods in Poland. Contribution to Broader Elaboration], in: 'Muzealnictwo' 2017, no. 58, pp. 249-256.
- ² The content of this part of the article is based on a study commissioned by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage: L. M. Karecka (today: Kamińska), R. Olkowski, *Akcja rewindykacyjna dóbr kultury po II wojnie światowej* [Recovery Campaign of Cultural Goods Following WW II], Warszawa 2015, unpublished text.
- ³ This was the 'Warsaw' group headed by engineer Stanisław Zralek and Bohdan Podhorski-Piotrowski. Several days later, Franciszek Kotus-Jankowski, head of a 16-strong 'self-government' group and appointed president of the town by Edward Ochab, arrived in Gdańsk together with Mieczysław Okęcki, the first voivode of Pomerania.
- ⁴ *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* [Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland] (further as: Dz.U.R.P.) of 1945, no. 11. item 57, art. 2, declares that the voivodeship of Gdańsk includes the whole territory of the former Free City of Danzig as well as the following counties: Gdynia, Kartuzy, Starogard, Kościerzyna, and Tczew, which, at the same time, are excluded from the voivodeship of Pomerania.
- ⁵ The peace treaty signed with Germany after the end of the First World War indicated regions, which Germany was to hand over from its heretofore terrain to neighbouring countries, including Poland. The decision not to grant the whole of Gdańsk Pomerania to Poland but only a strip of land with access to the sea and with the exclusion of Gdańsk/Danzig and environs was made due to the efforts of the British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, supported by US President Woodrow Wilson. Ultimately, the city of Gdańsk, together with a region of 1968 sq. km. and a population of ca. 333 000, was extracted from German territory, given the status of a Free City controlled by the League of Nations, and joined the Polish customs union. Poland won the right to represent Gdańsk externally. Authority in the Free City was wielded by an elected Senate, which on 23 August passed a resolution rendering the territory of the Free City of Danzig, together with its population, part of the Third Reich. The binding constitution was abolished, and legislative and executive power was entrusted to NSDAP Gauleiter Albert Forster, subsequently governor of the new Gdańsk-West Prussia (Danzig-Westpreussen) province. At the time of the outbreak of the Second World War the resolution about the incorporation of the Free City into the Reich became a fact. In this manner, the Free City of Danzig ceased to exist contrary to regulations issued by its founders. Consequently, in 1945 Polish obligations towards the non-existent Free City of Danzig and Germany - the outcome of art. 100-108 of the Versailles treaty – lapsed. Art. 3 of the Decree on the Forming of the Gdańsk Voivodeship declares: *With the taking effect of this decree all regulations [in the former Free City of Gdańsk] are vacated as incompatible with the system of the Democratic Polish State. [At the same time legislation in force] in the remaining part of the Gdańsk Voivodeship will be extended to this area;* cf. S. Mikos, *Wolne Miasto Gdańsk a Liga Narodów* [The Free City of Danzig and the League of Nations], Gdańsk 1979; *idem, Działalność Komisariatu Generalnego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Wolnym Mieście Gdańsku 1920-1939* [Activity of the General Commissioner of the Polish Republic in the Free City of Danzig 1920-1939], Warszawa 1971; M. Podlaszewski, *Ustrój polityczny Wolnego Miasta Gdańska w latach 1920-1933* [The Political System of the Free City of Danzig in 1920-1933], Gdynia 1966; *Sprawy polskie na konferencji pokojowej w Paryżu 1919 r.: dokumenty i materiały* [Polish Questions at the 1919 Peace Conference in Paris], R. Bierzanek and J. Kukułka (ed.), Warszawa 1967-1968, A. Ajnenkiel, *Od rządów ludowych do przewrotu majowego. Zarys dziejów politycznych Polski 1918-1926* [From the People's Rule to the May Coup. Outline of Poland's Political History 1918-1926], Warszawa 1978, p. 140.
- ⁶ Ministry of Public Security together with organisers of the Citizens' Militia, the Ministry of Education, the Office of Planning and Reconstruction, the State Repatriation Office, the curator from Białystok entrusted with organising the school system, and Maritime Operations Group intent on taking over and securing industrial and port objects.
- ⁷ Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences (further as: APAN), Michał Walicki material, inv. no. III-178/73.
- ⁸ State Archive in Gdańsk. Fond: Voivodeship Office in Gdańsk (further as: AP-G UWG), inv. no. 1164/20, p. 10; *Sprawozdanie Zarządu Miejskiego w Gdańsku za okres do dnia 1 maja 1945 r., podpisane przez Franciszka Kotus-Jankowskiego, Prezydenta Gdańska* [Report of the City Government in Gdansk from 1 May 1945 signed by Franciszek Kotus-Jankowski, President of Gdansk] - original Polish spelling. Report prep. by R. Wapiński, *Powstanie władzy ludowej w Gdańsku w świetle sprawozdania prezydenta Miasta Gdańska z 30.07.1945 r.* [Establishment of the People's Power in Gdansk in the Light of the Report of the President of Gdansk of 30 July 1945], 'Rocznik Gdański' 1962, vol. XXI, pp. 225-236.
- ⁹ M. Stryczyński, *Gdańsk w latach 1945–1948. Odbudowa organizmu miejskiego* [Gdansk in 1945-1948. Restoration of the Municipal Organism], E. Cieślak (ed.), in: 'Studia i materiały do dziejów Gdańska' 1981, vol. IX, p. 51. .
- ¹⁰ More extensively in: M. Andrzejewski, F. Kotus-Jankowski, *Słownik Biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego* [Biographical Dictionary of the Vistula Pomerania] (further as: SBPN), Z. Nowak (ed.), vol. II, Gdańsk 1998, pp. 478-479.
- ¹¹ Due to wartime hostilities 90% of the Gdańsk City centre was ruined. The entry of the 'victorious Red Army' inaugurated mass-scale devastation caused by arson, cf. *Wojna wyzwolenicza Narodu Polskiego w latach 1939–1945* [The Liberation War of the Polish People in 1939-1945], T. Rawski, Z. Stąpor, J. Zamojski (prep.), Warszawa 1966, pp. 699-700; J. Buszko, *Historia Polski* [History of Poland], Warszawa 1985, p. 401; M. Stryczyński, *Gdańsk w latach...*, p. 11; *Sprawozdanie Kardynała Augusta Hlonda, Prymasa Polski dla watykańskiego Sekretariatu Stanu w sprawie administracji kościelnej na Ziemiach Odzyskanych z 24.10.1946 r.* [Report of Cardinal August Hlond, Poland's Primate, for the Vatican Secretariat of State on the Church Administration in the

Regained Territories of 24 October 1946], after: S. Bogdanowicz, *Kościół gdański pod rządami komunizmu 1945-1964* [The Gdansk Church under Communism 1945-1964], Gdańsk 2000, pp. 24-25; Archive of the National Museum in Warsaw (further as: AMNW), Microfilms from the Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, fond: Ministry of Culture and Art. Polish War Reparations Bureau, microfilm no. B: *Wykaz strat i zniszczeń poniesionych przez Muzeum Miejskie w Gdańsku - Odpowiedź nad Kwestionariusz strat i zniszczeń w zakresie dzieł sztuki* [List of Losses and Damages Suffered by the City Museum in Gdansk: Response to the Survey on Losses and Damages in Art Works]; also: A. Przywuska, *50 lat Archiwum Państwowego w Gdańsku* [Fifty Years of the State Archive in Gdansk], 'Archeion' 1997, vol. 97; AP-G UWG, inv. no.1164/42, p. 13; AP-G, inv. no. 1164/1229, p. 59; B. Okoniewska, *Refleksje na rok 1945* [Reflecting on 1945], in: *Gdańsk 1945. Zbiór studiów* [Gdansk 1945. Collected Studies], M. Mroczek (ed.), Gdańsk 1996, p. 15.

¹²In the former Town Hall building, AP-G UWG, inv. no. 1164/2023, p. 3.

¹³In a spacious villa in 24 Abrahama Antoniego Street, present-day view, <https://sopot.fotopolska.eu/Abrahama24Sopot> [accessed on: 22 July 2018].

¹⁴AP-G UWG, inv. no. 1164/20, p. 12, at the time the vice-presidents of Gdańsk were Franciszek Chudoba and Waclaw Szwarzenberg-Czerny.

¹⁵AP-G UWG, inv. no. 1164/20, p. 11.

¹⁶E. and M. Kilarscy, *Czego już nie ma we wnętrzach zabytkowych budowli Gdańska* [What Is No Longer in the Interiors of Historic Buildings of Gdansk], in: *Gdańsk 1945. Zbiór studiów...*, p. 33; *Katalog wystawy przygotowanej przez T. Guć-Jednaszewską, Europejskie dziedzictwo rozproszone Gdańsk 1992-1993* [Catalogue of the Exhibition Prepared by T. Guć-Jednaszewska. European Heritage Dispersed Gdansk 1992-1993], Gdańsk 1993, p. 10; pertinent literature includes information that Kilarski was a delegate of the Ministry of Culture and Art, cf. M. Walicka, *Próba wspomnień Gdańsk 1945-1946* [Attempt at Recalling Gdansk 1945-1946], Gdańsk 1968, p. 159.

¹⁷Jan Kilarski (born 21 February 1882, Komarno, county of Rudki - died 7 January 1951, Gdańsk), pseudonym Wanda Ludwig, mother: Agata born Pisaniak, father: Michał Kilarski, wife: Wanda Ludwig, two children; historian of art, museum curator, architectural engineer, pedagogue, populariser of monuments, sightseeing activist and author, organiser of the Museum of Gdańsk, salvaged cultural goods after World War II. Posthumously awarded the Gold Badge of the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (1960). Studied mathematics and physics (1904-1908) at the Philosophy Faculty of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów. In March 1931 nominated professor. Discharged as a result of repressions carried out by Minister J. Jędrzejewicz. In 1932-1939 lectured at the College of Commerce (later: Academy of Commerce) in Poznań. Conducted courses on the methodology of physics at the University in Poznań. Examiner (didactics of physics) as member of the State Examination Commission Secondary School Teachers in Poznań. In 1933 and 1934 went on scientific journeys to Germany (Berlin, Jena, Dresden, Kiel, Hamburg) to learn about new methods of teaching physics. His concise *Przewodnik po Wielkopolsce* [Guide to Greater Poland] was published in 1938. From 1934 associated with the Poznań publishing house: Wydawnictwo Polskie R. Wegnera; editor of the *Cuda Polski* [Poland's Wonders] series of sightseeing-historical monographs, granting this publication a high editing level, particularly regarding illustrations. In the same series prepared *Gdańsk* [Gdansk] (1937), issued also in an English-language version by B. W. A. Massey. The book met with a lively reaction abroad and was attacked by German publicists. A few days prior to the outbreak of the Second World War assumed office of director of a branch of the Wydawnictwo Św. Wojciecha publishing house. Immediately after the liberation of Cracow applied for a post in the Recovered Territories. Left for Gdańsk with the first operational group of the Ministry of Education. His unquestioned merits include protecting against devastation and securing thousands of assorted historical objects. Legend has it that Jan Kilarski risked his life to save works of the visual arts and the crafts from art lovers. *I often met him busy amongst the ruins in search of art treasures with which he filled the interior of the Prison Tower, watched over by his trusted employee W. Sypniewski*, a true Argos protecting national cultural goods. As a member of the Gdańsk Branch of the Polish Sightseeing Society Kilarski trained guides, organised excursions, gave radio talks, and wrote to newspapers about Polish monuments and traditions in Gdańsk. Lectured on "Learning about Gdańsk (1946-1949)" at the Faculty of Architecture at the Polytechnic of Gdańsk, taught mathematics at a secondary school in Oliwa, the Higher Pedagogical School in Gdańsk, and the Gdańsk Technical Educational Centre. Organised a scientific station of the Baltic Institute in Sopot. Published first guidebooks on post-war Gdańsk: *Gdańsk miasto nasze* [Our City Gdansk] (Kraków 1947), *Mały przewodnik po Gdańsku* [A Little Guidebook to Gdansk] (1948), and *Poznaj Gdańsk* [Get to Know Gdansk], with plans of town districts (1949). Portrayed the historical past, monuments, and their wartime devastation and presented ideas for their reconstruction. Co-operated in the establishment of Polish names for the districts and streets of Gdańsk and Sopot. Accused of collaboration with the occupant in connection with his press activity in Lwów (1945); the court trial was discontinued in 1948. Subsequently published anonymously: *Gdańsk – Gateway of Poland* (1949) or using the pseudonym Wanda Ludwig: *Ziemia Kłodzka* [The Kłodzko Region] (1950). Died of heart failure.

¹⁸In 1951 Kilarski's son, Maciej, wrote about the difficulties encountered by his father while fulfilling assorted entrusted duties: *My father did his best for Gdańsk although it remains a fact that owing to the absence of suitable funds and employees Gdańsk could not afford suitable inventorisation both of architectural monuments lost as a result of demolition and of movable monuments; suffice to recall that in the course of several years the cartage of fragments of historical architecture - at the time the most important streets in the city centre were cleaned of rubble - was entrusted to an ailing man assisted by a frail woman, whom upon a certain occasion he was forced to take home in an ambulance.* AMNW, microfilm B -1184, letter by Maciej Kilarski to the Directorate of Museums and the Preservation of Cultural Monuments (NDMiOZ), 26 October 1951.

¹⁹Losses suffered by the Municipal Museum included, i.a. about 560 paintings in its possession: 80 pillaged by the Germans, 51 – by unknown perpetrators, and 301 lost in a fire caused by Soviet Army artillery, after: AAN MKIS, inv. no. 387/25, cf. also E. and M. Kilarscy, *Czego już nie ma...*, p. 48; for newest findings see: H. Kowalska, *Straty wojenne Muzeum Miejskiego (Stadtmuseum) w Gdańsku* [War Losses of the City Museum (Stadtmuseum) in Gdansk], new series, vol. 1 *Malarstwo* [Painting], National Museum in Gdańsk, Gdańsk 2017.

²⁰More extensively in: Z. Kruszelnicki, *Drost Willy*, SBPN 1992, vol. I, p. 354.

²¹Michał Walicki (b. 8 August 1904, St. Petersburg - d. 22 August 1966, Warsaw), pseudonym: Jerzy, son of Leon Walicki and Maria Walicka born Manteuffel; father of Andrzej Walicki, half-brother of Marek Walicki; historian of art, expert on seventeenth-century Dutch painting and Polish Gothic painting; member of the Resistance during the Nazi occupation; reclaimant of cultural goods after World War II; arrested and imprisoned in 1949-1953. Curator of the Gallery of Foreign Painting at the National Museum in Warsaw, professor at the University of Warsaw. Author, co-author, and initiator of numerous publications on painting. In 1947 awarded the Order of Polonia Restituta, Officer's Cross. In 1929 presented a Ph.D. thesis: *Malowidła ścienne kościoła św. Trójcy w Lublinie* [Murals in the Lublin Church of the Holy Trinity], and in the following year - a habilitation dissertation: *Stilstufen der Gotischen Tafelmalerei in Polen in XIV Jhdt.* In 1923-1929 secretary of the conservator of monuments of the voivodeships of Warsaw and Białystok; assistant at the Department of Polish Architecture at the Warsaw Technical University, in 1929-1936 assistant professor. In 1931-1932 lecturer at the University of Warsaw; in 1932-1939 and 1945-1949 lecturer at the Chair of History of Art at the Academy of Fine Arts. In 1934 received a habilitation degree in mediaeval art. In 1937 nominated

associate professor at the Academy of Fine Arts. In 1936-1941 and 1945-1949 contract custodian at the Gallery of Foreign Painting and Mediaeval Art at the National Museum in Warsaw. Dealt with the protection of museum collections threatened by an outbreak of war. In September 1939, together with other Museum employees, took part in the civil defence of the Polish capital; commander of Anti-Aircraft Defence of the National Museum building. Member of a special Commissariat for Monument Salvage at the Technical Rescue Service in Warsaw established by President Starzyński on 20 September. After capitulation Prof. Walicki took an active part together with the National Museum staff in clandestine securing and recording of monuments of art and culture. Member of the Programme Board incorporated in March 1942 into the Home Army. Employee of the information department in the Bureau of Information and Propaganda of the Headquarters of the Union of Armed Struggle/Home Army. In March 1941 transferred together with his unit to the 2nd Department of the Headquarters of the Union of Armed Struggle/Home Army. The unit in question, known as office '999', collected information about the situation in communist and left-wing organisations. Social activist. During the initial stage of the occupation chairman of the Qualification Commission of the Museum of the City of Warsaw, which supported (self-help campaign) museum employees-victims of the September 1939 campaign, and in particular families of those staff members who perished or were taken into captivity. In 1941 discharged from the Museum as a result of re-organisation announced by the German Municipal Board of Warsaw. In 1941-1944 lectured on the history of art at the Clandestine University of Warsaw replacing, and with the knowledge of, Prof. Z. Batowski. At the same time edited 'Wiadomości Polskie', a clandestine periodical issued by the Bureau of Information and Propaganda. In 1942-1944 fulfilled the function of head of the history of art section at the Clandestine University of Warsaw. The knowledge and scientific experience of Prof. Walicki were noticed also by the occupants who wished to employ him at Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit in Cracow – the Professor courageously refused the offer. Together with Prof. J. Zachwatowicz secured the miraculous painting of Our Lady of Częstochowa at the Jasna Góra monastery. Took part in the so-called Pruszków action; for two months fulfilled the function of unofficial vice-director of the National Museum in Warsaw up to the entry of the Soviet Army into the Polish capital. Envisioned the range of the work of the Polish War Reparations Bureau - one of the Central Directorate of Museums and the Preservation of Cultural Monuments Departments. In 1945 appointed member of the Committee of Experts for Restitution and Compensation by Vice-Minister of Culture and Art Leon Kruczkowski. Together with Krystyna Sroczyńska and Zdzisław Kępiński prepared *Instrukcja dla formacji Wojsk Polskich wkraczających na tereny przywrócone Polsce* [Instruction for the Units of the Polish Army Entering the Territories Restored to Poland]. Active participant of the so-called reclamation campaign. In 1946 nominated full professor. On 29 November 1946 resigned from his post at the Academy of Fine Arts and joined the Ministry of Education. On 1 February 1947 nominated, upon the motion of the Senate, contract professor of history of art - the nomination was confirmed by the Ministry. On 20 April 1949, at the bidding of the Minister, dismissed from his post as contract professor at the Academy of Fine Arts, arrested for conspiracy activity in the Home Army, and imprisoned until 1953. On 13 June 1958 the Senate of the Academy of Fine Arts passed a resolution about the unjust discharge of the Professor and rehabilitated him. After release from prison and rehabilitation, from 1953 Prof. Walicki worked at the Institute of Art at the Polish Academy of Sciences. More extensively in: R. Lwowski, *Sylwetka Michała Walickiego* [Michał Walicki's Profile], paper presented at the SHS on the 40th anniversary of the Professor's death, printed as a manuscript.

²² APAN, inv. no. III-178/73, p. 2 – Business trip on 13 April 1945, l.dz.1460/4.

²³ At the time of the first delegation, i.e. 14 April – 1 June 1945.

²⁴ APAN, inv. no. III-178/73, p. 3 – *Zaświadczenie Powiatowej Komendy MO w Sopocie z dnia 20.04.1945*. [Certificate of the County Citizens' Militia Headquarters in Sopot of 20 April 1945].

²⁵ AP-G UWG, inv. no. 1164/1225, pp. 109–110. Walicki mentioned *unforeseen difficulties created by the local administration in Gdańsk attempting, for reasons of local patriotism, to thwart (...) the conducted campaign*. This was probably the reason why Prof. Walicki's mission in Gdańsk ended already in September 1945.

²⁶ AP-G UWG, inv. no. 1164/20, p. 10.

²⁷ After: M. Korzon, *Przyczynek do historii gdańskich zbiorów artystycznych* [Contribution to the History of Gdansk Artistic Collections], part 1, <http://old.nimoz.pl/wydawnictwa/wydawnictwa-nimoz/cenne-bezcenne-utracone-1/cenne-bezcenne-utracone-archiwum/2000/nr-12000/przyczynek-do-historii-Gdańskich-zbiorow-artystycznych> [accessed on: 22 July 2018].

²⁸ The Gdańsk Office of the Regional Conservator (Gau-Konsevator) participated also in the export to the Reich of monuments from subordinate Polish terrains.

²⁹ Pertinent literature informs that he was a municipal conservator, cf. *Europejskie dziedzictwo...*, p. 10.

³⁰ E. and M. Kilarscy, *Czego już nie ma...*, p. 32.

³¹ Mirosława Walicka was of a different opinion: *The search was carried out at random although this could have been avoided. Dr Drost, the Museum director, lived next door to the Museum and possessed a list of exhibits and places where the Germans concealed them. He knew how much effort, sometimes needless, Polish museum professionals dedicated to searching for those objects and how they were overjoyed after finding them. Nonetheless, he did not betray the fact that he knew the whereabouts of the stored treasures and maintained that their lists were lost in a flooded cellar. Only after Dr Drost's departure to Germany were they discovered in his flat... many more treasures of culture could have been saved had it not been for the "discretion" of Dr Drost, decidedly hostile towards the Poles. M. Walicka, *Próba wspomnień...*, p. 158. Resemblance of names is coincidental.*

³² After: M. Korzon, *Przyczynek do historii...*, part 1... [accessed on: 22 July 2018].

³³ Cf. content of Decree of 2 March 1945, Dz.U.R.P. no. 9, item 45.

³⁴ AP-G UWG, inv. no. 1164/20, p.16.

³⁵ AP-G UWG, inv. no. 1164/20, p. 17.

³⁶ Archival acts in the Inventory Department at the National Museum in Warsaw – fasc. Gdańsk; Register probably from May/June 1945, prepared by E. Ogórek, acting head of the Culture and Art Office.

³⁷ *Ibidem*; Report by office clerk J. Zbrzeźniak, 13 July 1945.

³⁸ *Ibidem*; Report no. 2 by Prof. Walicki. Unfortunately, Report no. 1 on Walicki's work performed in May, i.e. the first period of the securing campaign, is missing.

³⁹ Upon the basis of a list of completed journeys attached to a petrol bill, cf. R. Olkowski, *Przemieszczenia gdańskich dóbr kultury* [Relocations of Gdansk Cultural Goods], Warszawa 2000, printed as a manuscript, p. 5.

⁴⁰ After: M. Korzon, *Przyczynek do historii...*, part 2, <http://old.nimoz.pl/wydawnictwa/wydawnictwa-nimoz/cenne-bezcenne-utracone-1/cenne-bezcenne-utracone-archiwum/2000/nr-22000/przyczynek-do-historii-Gdańskich-zbiorow-artystycznych-ii> [accessed on: 22 July 2018].

⁴¹ In brackets – Polish names of localities.

⁴² Searched also by the Denisov group.

⁴³ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁵ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁶ AP-G UWG, inv. no. 1164/1249, p. 549.

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POLISH CENTRAL MUSEUM REPOSITORY IN THE GDAŃSK VOIVODESHIP. PART 2: IN SOPOT AND IN OLIWA

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Abstract: The second part of the paper on the repositories located in Sopot and Gdańsk-Oliwa refers to the articles on Polish conservation and museum repositories published in the previous issues of the 'Muzealnictwo' Annual, particularly in the 2018 issue No. 59. The paper covers the period 1945–1949, in which the first stage of the transport of the artistic collections to the Polish Central Museum Repository in the Gdańsk Voivodeship (PCZM) took place. Established in 1945 by the Ministry of Culture and Art (MKiS) and the Central Directorate of Museums and Collection Protection (NDMiOZ), the institution was meant to collect moveable heritage that on the grounds of the decrees issued at the time was becoming property of the Treasury of State. The main PCZM's seat was located in Sopot, the second in Gdańsk-Oliwa. The activity of the

Repository is described, and so are the responsibilities of its staff and management, number of monuments collected at a given period, operation principles, administrative reporting, financing, outlays on the edifices of the Repository buildings. Furthermore, legal and political conditioning for PCZM's operations are given. The issued decrees and ordinances changing the political regime in the country are given; they had a direct impact on the property collected at the Repository: *abandoned, former German, and former manorial* and on its ownership transfer. Moreover, extracts from instructions, orders, and circulars issued by the then administration, and affecting PCZM's goals and operating are quoted; additionally, localities from which objects were transferred to PCZM are given, and sources to further investigate the topic are pointed to.

Keywords: Polish Central Museum Repository (PCZM), Gdańsk Voivodeship, Ministry of Culture and Art (MKiS) and Central Directorate of Museums and Collection Protection (NDMiOZ), transport campaign, Sopot Repository, Oliwa Repository, former manorial property, former German property, protection of movable monuments.

The present article is the second part of the overview of the Polish museum and conservation repository established in the wake of WW II whose activity covers Gdansk Pomerania.¹ Making reference to the Author's earlier studies published in the previous issues of the 'Muzealnictwo' Annual,² it covers 1945–48 when the first transportation campaigns of heritage objects took place. Not exhausting the topic, it allowed the Author to point out to motifs and sources for further more thorough studies.

The Polish Central Museum Repository of artistic collections for the Gdansk Voivodeship (PCZM), as it was referred to, a state administration institution, was created in 1945 by the Voivodeship Office in Gdansk (UWG) as commissioned

by the Ministry of Culture and Art (MKiS) and the Central Directorate of Museums and Collection Protection (NDMiOZ). It was established in order to collect movable heritage items from the territory of the Gdansk Voivodeship.

Three buildings were allocated to serve PCZM's purposes. The Head Office was located in Sopot, in the villa at 24 Abrahama Street. This address³ was to house *paintings, furniture, and small pieces of art*.⁴ What was transported there was *more valuable material requiring direct care and a dry neat interior*.⁵ The villa taken over by MKiS served at the same time as the seat of the Baltic Institute, this causing inconvenience for the residents and employees of both institutions, particularly due to the growing number of historic movable

objects brought to the villa by operational groups. As of 1948, the edifice was exclusively the property of MKiS. A part of the buildings was assigned to serve as flats of MKiS's delegates, and it also housed a small reference library with books on art history and a conservation workshop.⁶

The second PCZM building, serving the purpose until 1980, was the former Abbots' Granary⁷ in Gdansk-Oliwa, in the Oliwa Park, not far from the former Cistercian Convent, whose address at the time was 12c Opacka Street. The Repository could use five storeys of the granary. Collections amassed for PCZM were also deposited in the two-storeyed and two-winged former stable building, adjacent to the Granary in the southern part of the Oliwa Park, as well as in the 18th-century Abbots' coachhouse

From 1928 the Monastery housed the 'Oliwa Museum': State Regional Museum of the History of Gdansk (Staatliches Landesmuseum für Danziger Geschichte⁸). It was in the above-mentioned facilities that the German Conservator Office had collected heritage pieces evacuated from Gdansk.

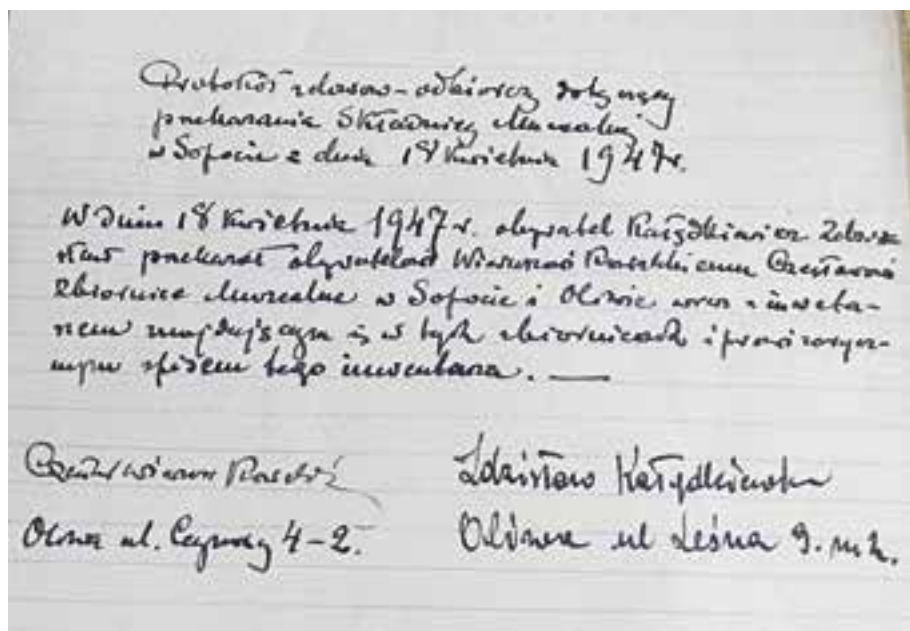
The Oliwa Museum Repository was to receive church wood and larger pieces of art as well as more precious objects from the Gdansk Museum that did not have appropriate conditions (...) and plaster casts, artistic iron grating, tiles, historical objects of folk households, boats, canoes from early historical period.⁹ The objects collected there also included parts of church inventories transported from communes and official Gdansk listed buildings, from Gdansk historic houses. In the words of the Department Head Janusz Urbański in the report from October 1945, the Campaign to Protect Movable Historic Objects¹⁰ it was the historic monuments previously taken away by Germans, by us already partially saved and preserved that were placed there.¹¹ In July 1946, the concept of yet another location for the Repository was suggested; this time it was the refectory of the Oliwa Abbey.¹² The collected fragments of historic buildings, fragments from tidied streets and edifices, and apart from stone sculpture also iron elements, as well as candle holders left over in churches, apart

from the two main PCZM seats, were gradually placed in ten lapidaria throughout Gdansk and Sopot.¹³

Exerting the function until 29 July 1946,¹⁴ Prof. Jan Kilarski was the first PCZM's Manager. He was succeeded by Zdzisław Kałedkiewicz,¹⁵ (holding the position until April 1947), who took over PCZM museum objects from Prof. Jan Kilarski in the presence of a commission. From 18 April 1947 to 25 October 1948, PCZM was run by Czesław Wierusz-Kowalski.¹⁶ Edward Falkowski¹⁷ and Jan Olesiuk¹⁸ were PCZM's caretakers, lodging in the Oliwa Repository building. The head authorities of PCZM directly reported to the Office of the Gdansk Voivodeship Monument Conservator. Currently, the Repository which is still housed in the former coachhouse in Oliwa and since 2014 in St Gertrude Bastion, continues within the structure of the Gdansk Voivodeship Office for Preservation of Objects of Cultural Heritage.

Administratively, PCZM operated analogically to other institutions that were being established within the new urban tissue of Gdansk. Provision of the essential materials for the Repository were possible only once appropriate applications had been submitted to respective offices, for example the allotment of coal for heating, a motorbike, a telephone line, vehicles to transport the objects.¹⁹ In 1946, refurbishing of the Oliwa PCZM buildings was conducted. Windows were renovated, fire extinguishers placed, and an emergency telephone line was connected.²⁰ Plans for 1947 foresaw the completion of the refurbishing of the Repository buildings and connection of the city telephone landline.²¹

The financing of the transportation campaigns, at the time conducted throughout the whole country, was managed by NDMiOZ whose Director, having approved each application, would issue an instruction in writing to pay out the resources to cover the costs of a definite transportation, to the Head of the National Campaign for Preserving Movable Monuments at the Culture Department of the Voivodeship Office in Wrocław. The latter, in the event of transportation campaigns conducted by PCZM staff,



1. Hand-over protocol of transferring the Museum Repository in Sopot; Archives of the Monument Conservator in Gdańsk



2. Business trip document of Prof. Michał Walicki issued on 13 April 1945; Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw

addressed correspondence to the Voivodeship Conservator of Monuments in Gdansk (UKWG), recommending the paying out of the sum applied for from the resources that had been allocated to the Voivodeship Office in Gdansk (UWG).²² Meanwhile, objects' packaging, loading, unloading, and transportation were covered from the budget of the Department of Culture and Art (WKiS). The used financing was accounted for after the objects had been transported to PCZM.²³ Furthermore, financing coming from WKiS was allocated to refurbishing, equipment purchases, and to the salaries of the full-time staff and individuals employed occasionally, as well as to kindergarten costs of the children of the staff. From the beginning of its existence on 31 December 1946, UWG WKiS, using the financing from MKiS subsidies, allocated 410.000 PLN to museums, 950.000 to PCZM, and 900.000 to the City Museum of Gdańsk.²⁴ From this balance it is clear that the costs of the Central Repository did constitute quite a substantial sum in the Department's budget. However, they were not sums that could suffice to cover the basic needs, particularly to secure the collected works. The condition for receiving a monthly subsidy to conduct the activity of WKiS, including the Repository, was to submit financial reports in reference to work plans, accompanied by a factual justification.

The creation, goal, and operation modes of repositories, apart from decrees and regulations, were decided upon by guidelines, instructions, ordinances, and circulars of the central and local governments. They actually defined the course of their activity. The first of such documents that was of impact for the presently discussed topic was the detailed Instruction for the operational group headed by Prof. Walicki, and signed by the Deputy Minister of Culture and Art. The instruction must have been created just before 13 April 1945, since it is the date borne on the preserved business-trip document of Prof. Walicki.²⁵

The Instruction formulates goals and means of implementation of this operational group. It is worthwhile to quote the entire Instruction for being so detailed within different art areas.

Instruction for Citizen Prof. Michał Walicki PhD, Zbigniew TurSKI²⁶ and Feliks Smosarski,²⁷ delegated by the Ministry of Culture and Art to the territory of the Gdansk Voivodeship upon the request of Citizen Voivode.

1. Citizen Walicki PhD is the Group Head.
2. Upon arrival, Group Head shall report to Citizen Voivode to receive detailed instructions and guidelines as for the means of performing Group's tasks within the scope commissioned by the Minister.
3. Group members shall provide mutual assistance to each other in performing tasks that do not strictly fall within their expertise. If a need arises for them to be joined by experts in theatre and literature, they shall inform Minister of that instantly.
4. Group members shall establish close contacts with the delegates of the Minister of Education²⁸ for the purpose of preserving libraries and archives.
5. Within the scope of monument protection, the most urgent tasks include:
 - a) wherever possible, introduce temporary protection of immovable monuments and their furnishing;
 - b) investigate the state of public and private collections;
 - c) preliminarily secure these collections: a/ in situ, b/ by transporting them to museums or collection centres;
 - d) elaborate conclusions as for further preservation and conservation actions necessary for the conservation of immovable monuments, prioritizing the necessary works in relation to monuments' value and the degree of threat, as well as museums and collections;
6. As for music-related issues the tasks include:
 - a) secure instruments, musical libraries, and premises for:
 - a) musical school in Gdansk and possibly in other localities in the Gdansk Voivodeship, b/concert movement (concert auditorium), c/Association of Musicians;
 - b) collect overall approximate data related to the network of musical schools and musical movement;
 - c) provide care to local musicians;

d) establish Organisational Committee of the Association of Musicians.

7. As for theatre-related issues the tasks include:

a) investigate whether theatre buildings in Gdansk, Gdynia and other places have survived; and if usable, secure them to prevent destruction and looting of the remaining assets and theatre devices;

b) secure preserved theatre assets (...) with particular care;

c) subsequently, inventory theatre assets and submit relevant report to the Ministry of Culture and Art.

8. With respect to fine arts, the following should be done:

a) investigate whether any works and art collections have survived, where they have been relocated; if found, secure them;

b) investigate what artistic schools used to operate and what has happened to their equipment and collections; secure any found movable equipment and interiors;

c) find Polish visual artists who have survived and provide them with care;

d) investigate whether there is any available accommodation for a permanent or temporary settlement of groups of artists interested in Pomerania, Gdansk, and the sea;

e) secure stores of painting equipment, paints, etc.

f) investigate the possibility of finding a house for the future Trade Association of Musicians, Writers, and Artists and of resort premises at the seaside; the premises to allow working environment for artists, writers, and musicians should have a canteen and guest rooms for visiting artists and writers.

9. With respect to works related to the Literature Department the following should be done:

a) investigate if and how soon a Polish literary magazine as a Polishness propaganda organ could be launched in Gdansk (printing house, paper resources, etc.). An appropriate group of writers could be dispatched there to deal with the question;

b) investigate and inform the Ministry when and whether to send writers to the Gdansk Voivodeship so that there is accommodation and food available for them to collect impressions and materials to write reports and literary pieces on Gdansk: to be published in Polish literary and general magazines, possibly in a book;

10. Group members shall run activity logs and upon return shall submit a detailed report. If an opportunity arises, they shall send in brief updates. Signed Minister.²⁹

The next document, important for the further course of events and amassing PCZM's collections, is the letter of Gdansk Voivode of October 1945³⁰ and addressed to his subordinate offices within the Gdansk Voivodeship on the necessity to register monuments present within the Voivodeship. It contains recommendation to consult the provisions of the pre-war Act on the Protection of Monuments, and particularly those of its articles which defined the concept of 'movable monuments' when³¹ qualifying an object as a monument. In November 1945, Gdansk Voivode Mieczysław Szczyński Eng.³² worded the content of the poster *To Citizens Poles Returning to the Homeland from former German territories and other European countries.* (...) *To you, Citizens, who are returning from the territories to which our national properties have been relocated, who were frequently forced to transport them, or who when*

*passing through different countries had the chance to come across objects which in your opinion could be of Polish provenance, it is you, Citizens, that the whole Polish Nation is requesting to reveal such locations without undue delay, since there is still opportunity to regain the property relocated from Poland. There shall be 5% object's value fee paid to those who disclose necessary information (...).*³³

In early March 1946, the Head of the UWG Department of Culture and Art Janusz Urbański issued a circular referring to the frequent at the time procedure of destroying trees and parks. The circular also contained the paragraph referring to the 'Deposits from Gdansk': *not everything that the German authorities evacuated from Gdansk has been found. Please, instruct commune offices to conduct investigation and search for the purpose.*

In May 1946, the Ministry of Regained Territories instructed voivodes active within the Claimed Territories³⁴ for state institutions to submit to cultural departments of respective Voivodeship offices *lists of objects of artistic, historical, or cultural worth that can be found in their territory.*³⁵ *All the organs of state authorities which have information on depositories or single art works from former German property, abandoned, or from centres that underwent the agrarian reform (...) which have not been covered with state organ supervision are requested to send written information about them to respective UWG WKiS in whose territory these are found.* As the legal grounds for such an activity the Ordinance of the President of the Council of Ministers (PRM) Edward Osóbka-Morawski was given.³⁶ In the following months the Ministries: of Regained Territories, Culture and Art, and of Public Administration tried to outpace each other in sending around PRM's Ordinance, reminding of the obligation to enact it.

It was also in May 1946 that NDMiOZ recommended that Voivodeship Offices, including UWG WKiS, should put together reports on the state of the protection of former manorial monuments³⁷ within their Voivodeship, filed together with a detailed action plan to protect and transport them, which should be conducted in summer and autumn months. *The following shall be provided and marked on the enclosed map: localities from which post-manorial property will need to be transported, as well as the type and weight of the portion of monuments to be picked up from that locality. Museums and larger repositories foreseen as collecting centres with approximate interior size. Routes that need to be covered with the total number of kilometres stated, and foreseen transportation activities within a given month; staff Team meant to take part in the process; transportation means available to the Voivodeship Office that can be used for the transportation. Financial resources that the Voivodeship Office and museums cooperating with it can allocate to the process; What needs to be provided are estimations of additional transportation and financial resources that could be necessary to implement the presented programme. Subvention applications shall be based on detailed cost estimates. Furthermore, all the potential obstacles and difficulties that might arise in the field in the course of the campaign of protecting and transporting of former manorial property shall be pointed to. This year's transportation campaign should aim at an entire protection of former-manorial property within the Voivodeship. MKiS instructs for the above to be treated as urgent and with utmost urgency.*³⁸

A month later, also MKiS issued a circular, this one with respect to the *transfer of objects*, on this occasion *historic and artistic* that read the following: *all the fine arts works, or objects of artistic, historical, or cultural value, coming from abandoned, former-German or former-manorial property, which are currently in the possession or administration of the Voivodeship Culture and Art Departments or offices reporting to them, as well as in museums, depositories, collecting centres, can be transferred or made available exclusively upon a written instruction to do so by NDMiOZ at MKiS. This also applies to the cases when the recipients of such art works or objects are authority unities as well as offices and institutions.*³⁹

The content of the below circular was criticized by the Museum and Monument Protection Office at UWG who were of the opinion that putting in force the instruction contained there will cause *an immeasurable increase in difficulties in the transportation of museum objects, since such offices as on a commune or county level, as well as Land and Liquidation Offices which are predominantly in charge of the art works and their Repositories, basing themselves on the quoted circular will expect in agreement with the circular a written instruction from NDMiOZ. The circular may be effective in two cases only, namely: a/ restriction of the activity of City Management in the transportation campaign of museum objects, and b/ parishes applying to WKiS for the return of church refurbishing.* This criticism was accepted. WKiS Head Janusz Urbański decided to temporarily interrupt sending out the circular.⁴⁰

From the legal acts it seems clear that the implementation of the Campaign of Protecting Movable Monuments proclaimed by NDMiOZ at MKiS was reserved only for this governmental agency. However, documentation preserved from the period illustrates its faulty organization: superposing of competences, competition for the dispersed collections between local and central authorities, and in many a case also lack of will of the representative of both to cooperate.

Let us resort to one example here: the letter of Gdansk Voivode Janusz Urbański to the Mayor of the City of Gdansk dated 19 Aug. 1946 informing that *the Municipal WKiS without prior communication with the Voivode WKiS is conducting transportation of liturgical and museum equipment, placing transported objects in the building of the City Museum. As much as understanding the intention to thus enrich the Museum's collection, I am, however, obliged to point to the incorrect procedure in this respect, since according to NDMiOZ's Ordinance, the exclusive right to manage the preserved monuments is with the Voivodeship WKiS or Voivodeship Conservator. The campaign conducted by the Municipal WKiS causes confusion in commune and county offices, therefore not objecting to the assistance that comes on the part of the Municipal WKiS, having at its disposal as can be seen appropriate means to conduct the campaign in question, I am, nevertheless, obliged to draw the attention to the need to comply in this respect with the issued ordinances, particularly as certain cases have been witnessed of incorrect depositing of church objects in the building of the City Museum instead of Repositories established for the purpose.*⁴¹

PCZM employees, complying with the quoted rules and directives, gathered monuments, art works, artistic objects, collecting them not only from where they had

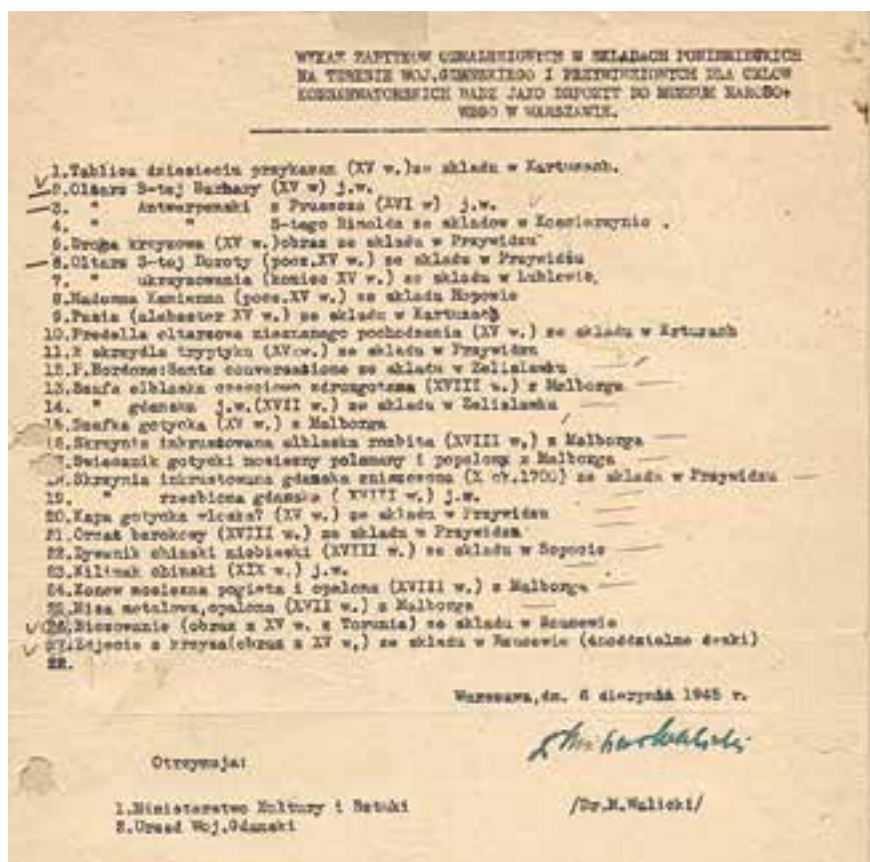
been hidden by the German administration, but also from land estates used by the institutions that were being formed at the time. They collected objects found on the premises these institutions occupied, and also collected them from abandoned private flats and houses now occupied by new residents.⁴² Collecting of the movables was possible upon the presentation of a document authorizing either a definite individual or the bearer.⁴³ Such authorizations were issued by: NDMiOZ Director, Voivodeship Conservator, Voivode, or the WKiS Head. When the objects were handed out, a hand-over protocol was prepared. The transportation from the Voivodeship territory to PCZM could be conducted upon a prior permit from the Ministry of Regained Territories.

In 1945, across the Gdansk Voivodeship territory there still existed almost 40 repositories, depositories, in the care of Voivodeship commune eldership, earlier arranged by the German administration.⁴⁴ In May 1946, there still remained 34. These repositories contained, among others, refurbishing of Gdansk churches, the Artus Manor, the Uphagen House, the Town Hall, as well as the collections of the Oliwa Museum.

Given the difficulties in transporting collections to PCZM from the entire territory of the Gdansk Voivodeship, apart from the former German repositories, also smaller repositories were arranged at relatively safe locations.⁴⁵ They were the destination to which objects were transported from so-called collection centres, e.g. manors, flats, institutions. This was done, since transportation to the Central Repository was difficult, in some cases even impossible due to the state of roads, bridges, and shortage of transportation and financial means. An average route from the collection centre to a given locality with minor repositories and back amounted to 200 km. However, as reported in a May 1946 document written by the WKiS Head, not all of the collection centres had been reached by UWG officials.⁴⁶ Let us quote here the Elbląg repository: *Historic objects found with local forces under the rubble of the former historic museum and garden at 4 Wigilijna Street were taken to the storage of the Municipal Department of Sanitation in Wolności Street in Elbląg, following which they were transported to the Museum Repository in Łączności Street in Elbląg.*⁴⁷ In 1946, 50% of movables were transported from minor repositories to PCZM.⁴⁸

Over the first months, and in some cases even years, the museums: the regional one in Darłowo, 49 Słupsk, Kwidzyń, and the City Museum in Gdansk, played the role of depositories, repositories. The museums in question, sometimes without harmonizing their activities with UWG,⁵⁰ were also involved in the transportation of objects. Due to the shortage of qualified staff and sufficient financial means, it was difficult to provide sufficient care to the objects collected at the museums and repositories, and prevent them from being robbed.

The supervision of local repositories, care for the security of historic objects collected there, and also in churches, both those in use and unused, ranked among the responsibilities of UWG WKiS, and theoretically also PCZM staff. In the documentation from the period there are sufficiently many admonitions and guidelines addressed to the local authorities to show the least of care for the amassed collections.⁵¹ Already in June 1945, UWG WKiS issued a circular addressed



3. List of monuments found in former German repositories within the Gdańsk Voivodeship transferred to the National Museum in Warsaw; State Archives in Gdańsk

to Commune Elderships and Municipalities: *in order to protect precious monuments of church art abundant in churches/ both Catholic and Evangelical/ within the Gdansk Voivodeship, and also in order to prevent looting of valuable deposits from Gdansk museums and churches often kept in those churches, instruction has to be given for the churches to remain closed outside the service hours, namely for unused churches to remain closed at all time (...).*⁵²

Repositories and museums performed the same functions: they were to collect, store, register, and conserve.⁵³ It is likely that precisely for this very reason state and local administration treated them both as equal. This can be illustrated with the NDMiOZ correspondence addressed to PCZM, containing, similarly as that sent to museums, questions for their financial plans for 1947-49 related to: construction, reconstruction, alterations, adaptations, buildings' refurbishing, equipment, purchase of museum objects, publications, as well as costs of the transportation of former manorial and former German property, or related to the collection exchange and costs incurred for organizational, administrative, and personnel purposes.⁵⁴ Following the years of intense transportation campaigns, and a relative ordering of the resources, exhibitions were organized at PCZM; also supervision was provided over the objects transferred to other institutions for use.

In the reports submitted to NDMiOZ there is frequent mention of the inventorying of the resources as an activity consuming the majority of the time. From the 1947 monthly reports, it can be seen that throughout the whole year the activities conducted at PCZM focused on *inventorying of*

*collections, ordering the museum inventory transported from respective localities.*⁵⁵

The collected monuments underwent some conservation procedures which were originally conducted at the Central Conservation Laboratory in Warsaw,⁵⁶ as of 1946, at its branch located at the Sopot Repository,⁵⁷ while as of 1947, in Gdansk-Wrzeszcz.⁵⁸ It was already in 1945 that Prof. Jan Borowski appealed to NDMiOZ to establish a conservation laboratory *in view of a poor state of polychromes and polychrome sculptures in Gdansk historic buildings and the disastrous state of sculptures brought to museum repositories which require instant preservation.* His proposal implied for the conservation laboratory in Gdansk to be a branch of the Central Laboratory in Warsaw, pointing to the necessity to conduct works locally, given the works' state and size. The situation like this continued in 1945 and 1946, however the 1947 report reads: *at the instigation of NDMiOZ at MKiS, in the person of the MiOZ General Director Prof. St. Lorentz and General Conservator Prof. J. Zachwatowicz, State Conservation Laboratory for Monuments of Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture, as a branch of the Warsaw Laboratory, with its seat in Wrzeszcz, was established.*

Prof. Borowski's plans came true. The established Conservation Laboratory *covered the whole Gdansk Voivodeship, while its task was to preserve art works scattered throughout the whole territory which following warfare remained unattended under unacceptable conditions threatening with their total destruction.*⁵⁹

The objects collected at PCZM were transferred as deposits to varied institutions, also to decorate newly established offices.⁶⁰ Moreover, works of art or architectural elements

coming from historic buildings, including churches, were given as deposits to the administrators of those buildings. Such procedures are continued to date (sic!).

In some cases, depositories, repositories were transformed into museums, and out of the objects collected at PCZM monuments were transferred to museums. Interestingly, not only did the City Museum of Gdansk recover from PCZM museum objects that had belonged to its collections, but it also received objects of other provenance.⁶¹

When objects from PCZM were transferred to other entities, a hand-over protocol was prepared, this signed by the Repository Manager and representative of the institution that was collecting them.⁶² The protocols provided clauses related to security rules and care for the preservation state of the loaned objects. In certain cases, a passage was added signalling the necessity to conduct conservation preservation works. All the works on the monuments were to be carried out exclusively in communication with the Voivode Conservator. The content of the preserved hand-over protocols made when movables were collected, similarly as the preserved lists of objects that were kept at lapidaria and the Repository, as incomplete as they are, constitutes a priceless source of knowledge for conducting provenance research.

In 1945–48, movable monuments transported to PCZM came from the following localities and estates: Krokowa, Charbrowa, Jodłowna, Kończewice, Rzucew, Mierzeszyn, Kadyn, Hopowo, Kłodawa, Radziejew, Bietowo, Bytowo, Wielbrandow, Szpęgawsk, Sobowidz, Lichnowy, Lisowice, Nowy Kościół, Wejherowo, Sierakowice, Jurandowo, Bolszewo, Wandzin, Kregg, Kopytkowo, Zajączkowo, Rokocin, as well as Kartuzy, Elbląg, Malbork, Kwidzyń, and Słupsk⁶³.

The present outline does not allow for a full list of

movable objects that were first collect at PCZM, and later handed out.⁶⁴ Recreation of collection transfers goes well beyond the paper's scope. Scattered and incomplete source material has been partly preserved in the archival resources of the Voivodeship Gdank Conservator, partly in the State Archive in Gdansk in the followings sets: Gdansk Voivodeship Office, Gdansk Municipality, and Gdansk Municipal National Council; also possibly amidst the archival material collected in respective museums. The outlined topic requires a more thorough analysis of the mentioned archival sets, as well as further preliminary searches and investigation. All the more so, as today the purpose of a repository is most frequently understood as a place of temporary storage. Meanwhile, those repositories managed by NDMiOZ were devised as agencies exerting ownership and management functions over collections of movables which, abiding by the acts and decrees formulated at the time,⁶⁵ became property of the Treasury of State. Such was the plan, however its implementation requires further investigation.

Overall, however, the conclusion seems irrefutable that had it not been for the effort to organize museum and conservation repositories for the objects of old culture in Gdansk Pomerania and in other voivodeships located just beyond the front line, under the changing political circumstances, and given the peculiar activity of the Red Army war commands⁶⁶ as well as the exchange of the population, many more cultural assets would have been looted by different entities. As imperfect as the Campaign might have been, it is to it that museums owe the objects in their collections that are of German and Polish provenance, and also those that come from church collections, religious associations, and others.

Endnotes

¹ See L.M. Kamińska, *Polska Centralna Zbiornica Muzealna na Województwo Gdańskie. Część 1. Geneza powstania* [Polish Central Museum Repository for the Gdansk Voivodeship. Part I. Genesis of Its Creation], in: 'Muzealnictwo' 2018, No. 59, pp. 175-84; the article was based, among others, on the material collected in the course of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage Grant, and came from the collections of State Archives in Gdansk (AP-G), Archives of the Voivodeship Conservator in Gdansk (AKW-G), Central Archives of Modern Records (AAN), Archives of the State Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (APAN), and National Museum in Warsaw (MNW).

² See: L.M. Kamińska, *ibidem*.

³ AKW-G, Portfolio: Repository – Correspondence, no pagination: villa reaching 138 sq m, fenced in, located on the land of 17 ares; intabulated owner Dorothea Lukowski, née Clericus.

⁴ AP-G, Set of the Gdansk Voivodeship Office (UWG), ACNO 1164/1229, p. 19.

⁵ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/58.2, p. 3 – Report of the Head of the Culture Department of October 1946.

⁶ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/58.2, p. 2.

⁷ Currently Ethnographic Branch of the National Museum in Gdansk is located here.

⁸ <https://www.gdansk.pl/historia/muzeum-w-oliwskim-palacu,a,102802> [Accessed: 13 July 2019].

⁹ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/58.1, p. 21 and AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1229, p. 19 – Report on WkiS Accomplishments from 14 April 1945 to 8 May 1946 signed by the Department Head Janusz Urbański.

¹⁰ National Campaign for Preserving Movable Monuments was part of the so-called Restitution Campaign conducted by the post-WW II Polish administration.

¹¹ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/58.2, p. 3.

¹² Gdansk Voivodeship Conservator Prof. Jan Borowski Eng., referring to the conversation with Bishop Wronka PhD, addressed the proposal to organize a repository in the Oliwa Convent refectory for church monuments to the Bishop's Curia in Oliwa: *in a longer-term perspective the collections gathered here will create a diocese museum of sacral art, revealing all the beauty of the artistic heritage of the past centuries of church art on the Coast*. The plan was accepted by MKiS, AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1248, pp. 149, 193. The Diocese Museum was established only in 1975 at the instigation of the Bishop of the Gdansk Diocese Lech Kaczmarek. It was opened by the Cracow Bishop Cardinal Karol Wojtyła. The Museum presented collections of sacral art: painting, sculpture, and artistic crafts in the former refectory and the Oliwa Peace Room, after: https://www.gedanopedia.pl/gdansk/?title=MUZEUUM_ARCHIDIECZJI_W_OLIWIE [Accessed: 13 July 2019].

¹³ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/58.1, p. 22.

- ¹⁴AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1248, p. 195 – hand-over act of the Museum Repository in Sopot.
- ¹⁵Zdzisław Kałędkiewicz (b. 1913 in Częstochowa, d. 2005 in Bojan/Bojano), Polish painter and poet; in 1937, he began studies at the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, and continued under Władysław Lam in Lvov. His paintings were displayed at the first post-WW II Exhibition: 1954 Spring Salon. Having studied at the State Higher School of Fine Arts in Gdansk, he became junior lecturer at the Chair of Drawing and Painting, Faculty of Architecture, Gdansk University of Technology. Having graduated in 1955, he became teacher at the State Secondary School of Fine Arts in Gdynia, as of 1964 serving for 2 years as its Head-master. He ran courses in painting and composition at the Gdansk Higher School of Fine Arts. He was buried at the Oliwa Cemetery. https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zdzis%C5%82aw_Ka%C5%82%C4%99dkiewicz [Accessed: 13 July 2019]; AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1249, p. 425.
- ¹⁶Czesław Wierusz-Kowalski (b. 1882 in Munich, d. 1984 in Warsaw): a Polish painter, mainly of portraits and landscapes. In 1932, his one-man exhibition was held at the Warsaw Zachęta Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts. In 1945, he moved to Gdansk; as the PCZM Manager, he was also responsible for the organization of the Kartuzi museum; in 1957, he moved to Warsaw where he lived until his death. See: E. Ptaszyńska, *Trzy pokolenia Wieruszów-Kowalskich. Style, epoki, kraje* [Three Generations of the Wierusz-Kowalskis. Styles, Eras, Countries], in: 'Muzealnictwo' 2007, No. 48, pp. 95-109 and AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1249, p. 813; AKZ-G, Portfolio: Repository – Correspondence: Hand-Over Protocol related to handing over the Museum Repository in Sopot dated 18 April 1947 and letter dated 25 Oct.1948.
- ¹⁷AKZ-G, Portfolio: Repository – Correspondence: letter of the Gdansk Voivodeship Conservator of 1 Dec.1948.
- ¹⁸AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1249, p. 299.
- ¹⁹Jan Borowski (born February 25, 1890 in St. Petersburg, died October 25, 1966 in Gdańsk), architect, monument conservator. In 1917 he graduated from the Architecture Department of the Institute of Civil Engineers in St. Petersburg. From 1924, he worked at the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Vilnius, in 1939 he obtained habilitation. From 1929, he simultaneously lectured at the Construction Department of the Vilnius State Technical School, where he worked until June 1, 1945. He designed many churches in the Vilnius region (e.g. in Nowa Wilejka and Soleczniki), schools, monuments, and conducted conservation works, among others in the church of St. Kazimierz and the Gate of Dawn in Vilnius, in the castles of Vilnius, Trakai and Kreva. From 1934, he was entrusted with the adaptation and reconstruction of buildings in Zułów, the property of Józef Piłsudski, intended for the Museum of National Remembrance. On 16.08.1945 he started working in Warsaw as a conservator at the National Studio for the Conservation of Architectural Monuments. From August to September 1945, he participated in the work of the commission assessing the destruction of Wrocław's monuments. Then on October 5, 1945, together with his wife Halina Szumska-Szuman de domo, he settled in Gdańsk. From 15.10.1945 he started working as the head of the Department of Universal Architecture History at the Gdańsk University of Technology. He lectured on the history of architecture, from 1953 on the conservation of monuments. From 1950, he lectured in parallel on the history of architecture at the State College of Fine Arts in Gdańsk. From March 1946 to resigning from this function on April 30, 1951, he was the first post-war Provincial Conservator of Gdańsk. He developed a register of monuments of Gdańsk and the province to be protected; he created conservation workshops. He developed his own architectural designs and supervised the reconstruction and conservation works in Gdańsk, including Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (reconstruction of vaults and roofs), Main Town Hall (reconstruction of the body and helmet design), Royal Chapel (reconstruction after destruction), church of St. Elżbieta (conservation and reconstruction project), Green Gate (reconstruction project), Great Armory (reconstruction project for the needs of the city museum). His merits include securing the ruins of the castle in Malbork. With Leopold Taraszkiewicz, he was the author of a construction project (completed in 1961) for a new church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Gdynia. Decorated incl. Gold Cross of Merit, Medal of the 10th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, badge "For merits to Gdańsk", laureate of the State Award. Buried in the Oliwa cemetery, for: http://pawet.net/zl/zl/2006_71/4.html [access: 13.07.2019]; https://www.gedanopedia.pl/index.php?title=BOROWSKI_JAN [access: 13.07.2019].
- ²⁰AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1248, p.53, 761; AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1249, pp. 289, 491, 497, 505, 589, 741.
- ²¹AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1248, p. 685: UWG WKiS Report for November 1946.
- ²²AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1229, p. 223: UWG WKiS work agenda for 1st quarter of 1947.
- ²³AKZ-G, Portfolio: Repository – Correspondence: in 1949, the Head of the National Campaign for Preserving Movable Monuments was Andrzej Domaszewski.
- ²⁴AKZ-G, Portfolio: Repository – Correspondence.
- ²⁵AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1229, pp. 75-7 – UWG WKiS Report.
- ²⁶APAN, ACNO 292 (formerly APAN III-178/73, p. 2): business trip document ref. no. 1460/4; See: Fig. 2 in this paper.
- ²⁷Zbigniew Turski (b. 21 July 1908 in Konstancin, d. 6 Jan.1979 in Warsaw): a Polish composer and conductor, served as Director of the Baltic Philharmonic until Dec. 1946. Participating in the operational group, he was responsible for music-related issues.
- ²⁸Feliks Smosarski (b. 1902, d. 1967); a painter, one of the organizers of the Gdansk circle of fine artists in 1945, he was Head of the Culture Department at the Voivodeship Council; participating in the operational group, he was responsible for fine arts-related issues.
- ²⁹AAN, MKiS, ACNO 387/23 – in this volume there are *Materials on Gdansk*, worked out by the operational group of the Ministry of Education of the City of Gdansk, speaking of Polish mementoes in Gdansk removed during the partitions in the 19th century or by the Nazis, and also of the Polish institutions active in Gdansk in the inter-war Period and heritage objects that classified for preservation.
- ³⁰AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1225, pp. 109-10.
- ³¹AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1222, pp. 83-5.
- ³²Ordinance of the President of the Republic of Poland on the Care for Monuments, Journal of Laws No. 29, of 6 March 1928, Item 265: Arts.1, 2, 5, 13-17, 24.
- ³³Mieczysław Szczepny Okęcki, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], Vol. XXIII, Wrocław 1978, pp. 657-59.
- ³⁴AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/264, p. 29 – this is a draft of the poster. There is no confirmation whether it was popularized.
- ³⁵The territories on the Oder and Baltic which fell within Poland's borders following WW II bore various names: Claimed Territories (in the documents of the Government Delegation for Poland), Returning Territories (as of 1943), New Territories (term used in army conspiracy, e.g. in the name: Army Administration of New Territories, WAZN), as of 1944: Regained Territories, the latter term used by the Government Delegation for Poland, later also by the authorities of Communist Poland, and the Western Territories following 1956, after: S. Zwoliński, *Stanowisko Rządu Polskiego na obczyźnie i działalność Delegatury Krajowej w zakresie przejęcia i zagospodarowania Ziemi Postulowanych w czasie wojny* [Position of the Polish Government in Exile and the Activity of the Government Delegation for Poland with Respect to Taking over and Developing Claimed Territories During the War], in: *Ziemie Odzyskane pod wojskową administracją radziecką po II wojnie światowej* [Regained Territories under Soviet Military Administration Following WW II], S. Łach (ed.), Słupsk 2000, p.

9. In the Instruction for Polish military formations entering the territories returned to Poland, attached to the NDMiOZ letter dated 23 March 1945 to the Office of Western Territories, the term 'territories returned to Poland' is used – AAN, MKiS Set, ACNO 387/23, pp. 19-23. There exists no administrative unit, or set of units, or any other type of a separate organism that would accurately correspond with the Western Territories, after: W. Markiewicz, *Zasiedlenie i zagospodarowanie ziem zachodnich (1945–1964)* [Settlement and Development of the Western Territories (1945–1964)], 'Przegląd Zachodni' 1964, Vol 20, No. 4, pp. 232-33.
- ³⁶ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1250, pp. 169-73.
- ³⁷ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1248, p. 125; AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1250, pp. 109-10.
- ³⁸ See: L.M. Karecka, *Mienie zwane podworskim w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie* [So-Called Manorial Property at the National Museum in Warsaw], in: 'Muzealnictwo' 2012, No. 52, pp. 44-57.
- ³⁹ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164 /1249, pp. 419-21.
- ⁴⁰ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1248, p. 287 – Circular No. 20 dated 10 July 1946, signed by Minister Władysław Kowalski and MiOZ General Director Stanisław Lorentz PhD. It was addressed to all the Voivodeship Culture Departments in Poland.
- ⁴¹ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164 /1248, p. 285 – letter of UWG MiOZ Office dated 20 August 1946.
- ⁴² AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164 /1249, p. 559.
- ⁴³ In compliance with the law in force former German property could not remain in private hands – See: footnote 68 in the present paper.
- ⁴⁴ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1249, pp. 593, 595 – authorization to transfer good issued to the bearer; AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1248, p. 543 – authorization issued by Kieszkowski to Urbański; AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1250, p. 1 – authorization issued to Frąckiewicz; AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1249, p. 425 – authorization issued to Kałędkiewicz; AKW-G, Portfolio: Repository – Correspondence – authorization issued to Bronisław Mor- Mieszkowski.
- ⁴⁵ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164 /1229, p. 61 – report of the Voivodeship Conservator for 1945-1946.
- ⁴⁶ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1250, pp. 299-320.
- ⁴⁷ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1249, p. 429 – letter of the WKiS Head Janusz Urbański to NDMiOZ at MKiS dated 31 May 1946.
- ⁴⁸ AKW-G, Portfolio: Repository – Correspondence.
- ⁴⁹ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1248, p. 499 – report of the Voivodeship Conservator for Sept. 1946.
- ⁵⁰ Genuine spelling: Derłowo.
- ⁵¹ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1250, pp. 89-95, 117, 121, 133, 197, 213, 215, 221, 243 – 1946 reports and opinions on museums in the Gdansk Voivodeship, unsigned.
- ⁵² AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1248, p. 275 – letter of Voivodeship Conservator Prof. Borowski recommending art works in churches to be padlocked.
- ⁵³ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1222, p. 11; An interesting quote: WKiS Head released in March 1946 the following official announcement – (...) *the museum collections gathered in the Kończewice Evangelical Church are the property of the state, in the management of MKiS, and indirectly of the UWG WKiS. The individuals responsible for the securing of the collections are: the local Catholic priest, local Alderman, and local Militia Commander* [emphasis L.M. K.], AKW-G, Portfolio: Repository – Correspondence.
- ⁵⁴ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1223, p. 157.
- ⁵⁵ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1248, p. 545 – NDMiOZ letter dated 29 Oct. 1946.
- ⁵⁶ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1230, p. 21 – Report of the Gdansk Voivodeship Conservator Prof. Borowski on the works of the Culture and Art Department at the Voivodeship Office – Museums and Monument Preservation, in the Section: Museums and Museum Repositories.
- ⁵⁷ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1250, p. 13 – *Wykaz zabytków odnalezionych w składach poniemieckich na terenie województwa gdańskiego i przywiezionych do dla celów konserwatorskich bądź jako depozyt do MNW* [List of Monuments Found in Former German Repositories in Gdansk Voivodeship and Brought to the National Museum in Warsaw For Conservation or as Deposit], See: Fig.3 in the present paper; Robert Jarocki, *Rozmowy z Lorentzem* [Talking to Lorentz], Warszawa 198, p. 343 – *In the case of the collections that Michał Walicki found and preserved, I had to immediately accept them in Warsaw. Despite the difficulties, we managed to organize storage space for the collections in the MNW cellars, and we grouped them there. It was closer from Gdansk to Warsaw than to Cracow.*
- ⁵⁸ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1229, p. 63 – Report on conservation works in Gdansk and within the Gdansk Voivodeship in 1945-1946.
- ⁵⁹ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1230, p. 109 – Report from the Conservation Laboratory for Painting and Sculpture in Wrzeszcz for November 1947.
- ⁶⁰ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1229, pp. 275-81 – Report from the activity of the State Conservation Laboratory for Architecture, Painting and Sculpture, Branch in Gdansk; the Laboratory was headed by the painter and conservator Maria Orthwein, the artist Piotr Żyngiel served as her.
- ⁶¹ Also the Pieskowa Skała and Wiśnicz Castles – See: L.M. Kamińska, *Wawelska i Warszawska największe powojenne składnice przemieszczanych dóbr kultury w Polsce. Przyczynek do szerszego opracowania* [Wavel and Warsaw Post-War Largest Repositories for Relocated Cultural Goods in Poland. Contribution to a Broader Elaboration], in: 'Muzealnictwo' 2017, No. 58, pp. 249-256, footnote 23.
- ⁶² AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1250, p. 113.
- ⁶³ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1250, p. 291 – MKiS letter dated 20 Nov. 1946.
- ⁶⁴ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/1250, pp. 301-322, 337-345; AKZ-G, Portfolio: Repository – Correspondence.
- ⁶⁵ AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164-1229, p. 321 – *Gdansk cannot become a line of Repositories, namely only of dead museum objects: amidst living people old walls will come to life*, wrote Janusz Urbański, Head of UWG WKiS in the summing up of the study from Nov. 1947 *Issues Dealt with by the Ministry of Culture and Art in the Gdansk Voivodeship*.
- ⁶⁶ It relates to the following: Decree of 2 March 1945 on Deserted and Abandoned Estates, Journal of Laws No. 9. Item 45, Act of 6 May 1945 on Deserted and Abandoned Estates, Journal of Laws No. 17, Item 97, with amendments No. 30, Item 179; Decree of 13 Nov. 1945 on Administration over the Regained Territories, Journal of Laws of 1945, No. 51, Item 295; Decree of 8 March 1946 on Deserted and Former German Estates, Journal of Laws of 1946, No. 13, Item 87, with later amendments; Ordinance of the Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform of 1 March 1945 on the Enforcement of the Decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation of 6 Sept. 1944 on Implementing the Agrarian Reform, Journal of Laws of 1945, No. 10, Item 51. With the Decree of 2 March 1945 the Office for Temporary State Administration was established to exclusively deal with former German property and abandoned property in the Gdansk Voivodeship; the Act on Deserted and Abandoned Property of 6 May 1945 was supplanted by the Decree of 8 March 1946 on Deserted and

Former German Property. Similarly as the Act, the Decree provided for post-war property, accounting for the specificity of the property remaining in the Western Territories, defining deserted property, similarly as the previous Act. It does not apply the notion of abandoned property; instead it names property that by force of law becomes property of the Treasury of State. Thus the property that by law becomes the property of the Treasury of State is that: a) of the German Reich and the former Free City of Gdansk, b) of the citizens of the German Reich and the former free City of Gdansk, with exception of the individuals of Polish nationality or other nationality persecuted by Germans, c) of German and Gdansk legal persons, with the exceptions of legal persons of public law, d) of companies controlled by German or Gdansk citizens or by German or Gdansk law, e) of individuals who fled to the enemy. Thus the object of the Decree is abandoned property which by force of law becomes property of the Treasury of the Polish State or other legal persons of public law, namely as was defined in the Decree's title: Former German Property. No possibility is mentioned for private persons to become owners of these objects. Therefore, monuments of German provenance by force of law become property of the Treasury of State. Art. 2.4.c of the discussed Decree excludes property of legal persons of public law as that which automatically becomes property of the Treasury of State. This provision is of major importance for the consideration of the ownership issue of former German heritage items. The Polish legislator formulates special provisions with respect to the property of German and Gdansk legal persons of public law. This covers, among others, the property of the Protestant Church as a church legal person that has the character of a legal person of public law. Interestingly, in the light of the German legislation of the time, church legal persons had the character of a legal person of public law. The Decree provides for this property by force of law not to become property of the Treasury of State, but respective Polish legal persons. The regulation covered with the analysed Decree was final, thus in force today and in the future. The Decree does not distinguish between former German property that came from the Western Territories and that which ended up in those territories as a result of warfare.

⁶⁷See: In compliance with the Yalta Conference decisions the current western and northern territories of Poland were treated as a part of the Soviet occupation zone, despite the fact that already at that stage the decision had been made to incorporate these lands into the Polish territory. Therefore, in the eyes of some historians the legal grounds for the operation of the Soviet war commands are not really defined, and it resembles more occupation with certain modifications, such as admitting Polish administration. In order to confirm this thesis, let us resort to the Resolution of the State Defense Committee of the USSR regulating the acting of the Polish administration over Poland's western and northern territories, which, nevertheless, allowed unrestrained prerogatives to the command of the Red Army. Furthermore, there also exist documents describing different situations in which Soviet troops actually collaborated with the German population, e.g. making it impossible for Poles to settle down in the estates allocated to them by the Polish administration, or they looted either property or farming produce. The truth is that such a solution permitted the Soviet Union to satisfy their compensation claims from German property remaining within the territory given to Poland, by exporting appropriate objects from the Soviet occupation zone and the German property beyond the border; such was the regarded status of the property in Silesia and Pomerania. In the old counties the relocation of property formally ended on 10 June 1945, while in the new ones on 16 Aug. 1945. Practically, however, the relocation of property continued throughout next months, which, according to Baziur, was looting. Despite the frontline moving in the occupied territories, war commands stayed behind, which allowed not only to implement the goals of the Soviet policy towards the newly established authorities of the Polish state, but first of all to satisfy Soviet economic needs, and to keep the position of a world superpower exerting uncontrolled power. The only power there was in the taken territories was that of the organs of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN), thus the commands actually served the purpose of fighting against the structures of the Polish Underground State, deporting members of the Polish Underground State, as well as Polish, German, and Kashubian native population to the USSR, after: G. Baziur, *Wpływ stacjonujących jednostek armii radzieckiej na sytuację społeczno-polityczną i ekonomiczną województwa gdańskiego w latach 1945-1947. Próba oceny historycznej* [Impact of the Stationed Soviet Troops on the Socio-Political and Economic Situation of the Gdansk Voivodeship in 1945-47. Attempt at a Historical Assessment], 'Rocznik Gdański' 2000, Vol. LX; See: AP-G, UWG, ACNO 1164/369, 1164/370 as well as AAN Set: Ministry of Regained Territories 196/1007.

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Workshop 'Flowers or squares?' as part of a training programme 'Creativity in museum education. Educator as a representative of the audience', Art Museum in Łódź, photo J. Wojciechowska

EDUCATION IN MUSEUMS



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ENCOUNTERING THE OTHERS AS AN EXAMPLE OF GLOBAL EDUCATION WITHIN THE MUSEUM SPACE

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Abstract: In the face of the migration crisis in Europe in 2015, discussions on refugees and emigrants who live in Poland have been dominated by stereotypes and negative images presented by the media, and the division into supporters and opponents of the 'Others' have also become highly visible in schools. The lack of topics in the field of global education and of knowledge about the current situation of African countries has contributed to the increase in xenophobic attitudes among pupils, and to all sorts of manifestations of verbal and physical violence motivated by prejudices against people who stand out because of their appearance or origin. The Encountering the Other project, which has been run by the Artykuł 25 Foundation and the National Museum in Szczecin since 2014, attempts to reply to the lack in Poland of a social basis of sensitivity, respect and solidarity with people of different geographical and cultural backgrounds. Its main aim is to allow primary, middle and secondary school pupils to acquire knowledge about the Countries of the Global South, which may encourage them to revise their attitudes. The basis of the project is classes in school which are based on our own script prepared from a lecture by Ryszard Kapuściński, Encountering the Other: the challenge for the 21st century, which he gave upon receiving the title of doctor honoris causa

from the Jagiellonian University. The National Museum in Szczecin plays an important role in the project. It runs classes for students which show them the old art and culture of West-African countries and their influence on European art, but also presents works by contemporary artists from Benin, Nigeria and the Republic of South Africa. As part of the Week of Global Education, the museum presents documentaries for children and teens from the Docs Against Gravity Festival, and there are workshops using the kamishibai theatre and discussions on mutual understanding and global interdependence. The project is complemented by a conference targeted at teachers and representatives of organisations working with children and teens, whose main aim is to provide knowledge on the contemporary culture and art of African countries, and to show good practices for counteracting discrimination and violence motivated by prejudice.

The *Encountering the Other* project aims to counteract prejudice and stereotypes, to show a different image of the Countries of the Global South, to convince children, teenagers and teachers to make their social attitudes more responsible, which would be of key importance on shaping trends today or in the future, and to incorporate global issues into mainstream discussions.

Keywords: global education, counteracting prejudice and stereotypes, human rights, contemporary art and culture of African countries, Ryszard Kapuściński, *kamishibai* theatre.

The European Union (EU) is a relatively young organisation in most recent history. It exists from since 1993 upon the basis of the Maastricht Treaty, but obtained legal personality as a result of signing the Lisbon Treaty in 2007.¹ Its initial status as a power was the outcome predominantly of the economic, cultural, and legal attractiveness, which it offered to other states wishing to join and benefit from all the resultant advantages. The image of Europe as a paradise became the dream of many people for whom up to this day it remains a symbol of freedom, security, health, and prosperity. Present-day Union institutions and particular member states are seeking a solution to the greatest migration crisis in recent years. Problems of war refugees and economic immigrants, chiefly from Africa and the Middle East (Syria), who are leaving their former places of residence on a mass scale and are following all possible routes leading to the European Continent, particularly the prosperous European Union, are the reason why Europeans are compelled to build new relations with the arrivals.²

A survey conducted in 2016 by the Pew Research Centre in Washington³ shows that the citizens of ten European countries: Poland, Germany, Sweden, The Netherlands, the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Italy, Greece, and Hungary are afraid of refugees. The prime reason for their anxiety is apprehension of terrorism and the conviction that refugees are a burden for local society because they take over workplaces and receive social assistance. 40% of Poles recognised that cultural diversity is the reason why Poland is becoming a worse place to live in, and only 13% of the surveyed persons expressed the opinion that the country is developing better. This study is especially interesting considering that Polish society is rather mono-cultural and thus such views are based not on personal experiences but on an image presented chiefly in the media. Numerous fears are dictated by prejudices and stereotypes as well as the absence of suitable education on all levels of schooling, which should emphasize multi-cultural qualities and dominating cultural and economic co-dependencies between the population of Europe and the communities (population) of the countries of the Global South, from which the majority of refugees and economic immigrants arrive. The German historian Wolfgang Benz stressed that education and welfare are required in order to be tolerant, and that the lower the education the larger the number of social problems and people becoming susceptible to simple solutions. Among those seeking an explanation for problems and not receiving rational remedies the conviction that the others – and thus the unentitled – are offered something that is due to us is becoming popular.⁴ This is the way in which stereotypes change into images of the enemy: a Gypsy becomes a thief, a Pole – an alcoholic, a Jew – a moneylender, a Moslem – a terrorist, while an African relies solely on our social benefits. According to Walter Lipmann our surrounding is much too large, too complex, and is changing much too rapidly for us to get to know it well. A stereotype allows people to preserve a feeling of identity and affiliation to a social group and own values, frequently by becoming antagonistic towards other groups.⁵ It is difficult to change stereotypes since they become disseminated without requiring our reflection and, in the majority of instances, give rise to negative emotions.

The rate of the transformations of the contemporary world calls for a constant modification of numerous institutions responsible for preparing citizens for consciously functioning in society and tackling problems concerning not only the country in which they live but the entire Earth. Here a special role is played by global education, which is part of a civic education that expands its range by creating an awareness of the existence of phenomena and co-dependencies linking people and places. Its purpose is to prepare the recipient for facing challenges affecting all mankind. Co-dependencies signify mutual connections and the permeation of cultural, environmental, economic, social, political, and technological systems.⁶

Małgorzata Świderek wrote: *Have you ever wondered why education is to be global? Ask any seven year-old about the inhabitants of Africa or Asia. On the one hand, it will become apparent that contemporary children brought up on cartoons and books addressed to the youngest readers, who have contact with the media and commercials, and who listen to their parents' conversations possess enormous knowledge about the world. They know about interesting facts, animals, and elements of culture from assorted parts of the world. On the other hand, knowledge presented in fairy tales or children's books is often stereotypical, extracted from the cultural context or outright untrue. The most essential is that such knowledge only to a small degree teaches closeness or makes it possible to understand co-dependencies existing in the world. (...) On a daily basis children do not feel that they have contact with the rest of the world and depend on it, and, finally, that they too affect inhabitants of distant lands, e.g. by means of the food they eat, clothes, mass culture or the air they breathe. We, the adults, also forget this. Brought up within the European 'cocoon' we do not ask ourselves who sewed our slacks or produced coffee, what is the source of the raw material used for making our cell phone, where does our refuse go, and why are there so many hungry people in the world if so much food is being produced, etc. (...) For years we learned at school about the history and culture of Poland and Europe, and even if contents concerning the more distant, from our point of view, corners of the Earth did appear they were brushed off. If Asian or African motifs did emerge during history lessons, then only because they were connected with Europe. We did not analyse Latin American literature and did not learn about African art or Asian music, and if so then they were regarded as insignificant curios. We did not analyse economic relations. But in the last decades the world has changed a lot. (...) Due to globalisation the distance not only between particular states, but between people has become drastically reduced. Each one of us, by means of our daily choices, has a chance to actually influence the life of the people of the North and South. By making various decisions in our daily life, by supporting some sort of political activity, one can act for or against the environment, respect for human rights, rising poverty, and the appropriation of natural resources belonging to other societies.*⁷

The dissemination of global education calls for its inclusion into the system of formal education. For several years primary schools and kindergartens conducted assorted campaigns, lessons, and workshops, but the majority were additional classes not included into the school curriculum. This is why the introduction of elements of global education also

into the didactic activities held in a museum is of such great importance.

A museum is certainly testimony of our culture, a place for demonstrating values either shared or recognised, a presentation of certain types of objects (e.g. historical, ethnographic, artistic) but also a domain for shaping attitudes, cognitive and aesthetic activity, as well as a place for fun and relaxation. An increasingly great part is played in the work performed by museums by globalisation (the process of accentuating in global space own uniqueness, idiosyncrasies or singularities).⁸ It is precisely a museum that often becomes a space unifying assorted cultures and – following the trend of thought proposed by Professor Nikitorowicz – not merely ethnic, language, or religious differences but also one of the ways of interpreting the intercultural quality as distinctive personal values, life choices, and a multiplicity of lifestyles.⁹ Art in the museum does not necessarily speak the language of beauty but, for instance, of reflection on the present-day state of culture; on the one hand, it demands the increasing involvement of the recipient and, on the other hand, it accommodates him by operating with codes and signs of phenomena known from everyday life.

The region of Western Pomerania – together with its diversity and the complicated historical and cultural legacy of numerous generations – is a place where the problems of multiculturalism assume special significance. The dramatic plight of the population settling down in Western Pomerania in the wake of the Second World War, the influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe or Asia, and problems characteristic for so-called borderland territories force to embark upon the task of building a society capable of self-development. In its capacity as a port, a sea trade and academic centre, and a site of the encounters of numerous peoples and cultures Szczecin is one of those towns that found it easier to open up towards the world. The presence of African collections at the National Museum in Szczecin (MNS) became a fact when 55 years ago a group of aficionados of that continent, enthusiasts, and, according to some, 'mad men' (members of the Museum staff and not only) reached the Dark Continent. In the course of more than half a century Museum employees collected numerous interesting exhibits. Today, the African collections of the Non-European Cultures Department are one of the largest in Poland, and are distinguished by the fact that to a great extent they were created after 1945. The collections show, i.a. a cross-section of the culture of such people as the Dogon in Mali, the Kirdi in Cameroon, the Moro Nuba in Sudan, the Somba in Benin, the Lobi in Burkina Faso, the Kagou on the Ivory Coast, and the Malinke in Guinea. In 2007 the National Museum in Szczecin obtained thanks to the kindness of donors: Lenka Darkowska-Nidzgorska and Denis Nidzgorski-Gordier, i.a. collection of African puppets and marionettes.¹⁰

Part of the African collection was presented at three successive permanent exhibitions: 'In an African village', 'The art of Africa – between the mask and the fetish', and 'Children of magic. African puppets and marionettes'. The latter event, opened in the spring of 2016, displays, in staged spectacles, about 200 African theatrical puppets originating from almost the entire continent. The title of the exhibition is by no means accidental – in the Hausa language, one of the most popular in Africa, the word for 'puppets' is: *diyan dabo*, i.e.

children of magic. The African puppet theatre has a very long history, as testified by archaeological and historical sources as well as copious oral tradition.

Puppets may possess assorted forms and sizes, spanning from small to huge, the latter being animated by several puppeteers. They fulfil various functions in the African community: puppets accompany important events (life and death) and entertain, take part in solving conflicts, act as intermediaries between the gods, mortals, and ancestors, appear in numerous rituals and funeral rites, and assist in the passing of verdicts, medical treatment, predicting the future, and guaranteeing good crops. Apart from permanent expositions the Museum assured that its space would feature a temporary display connected with such African themes as: 'African fabrics. Tradition and change'. This particular exposition presented traditional and contemporary fabrics and costumes. The enormously popular event attracted museum visitors drawn to extraordinary colours and patterns: eye-catching magnificent *kente* from Ghana, *bogolan* from Mali, indigo-dyed fabrics from Mali and Cameroon, *korhogo* from the Ivory Coast, and calicos and batik from Benin. The exhibits included everyday and festive women's and men's clothes of selected peoples (e.g. Hausa, Fulbe, Ashanti, Bambara, Herero, and Amhara).¹¹

When in 2014 we asked at a method conference for teachers, inaugurating the new school year and organised by the Western Pomeranian Teacher Training Centre in Szczecin, a question about organisations and institutions capable of assisting educators in the difficult task of global and multi-cultural education it became apparent that the National Museum in Szczecin is ideal for tackling this difficult task. MNS, which at the time created the regional, national, and European identity of Western Pomerania and its population in the spirit of a multicultural and trans-border dialogue, a task undertaken in cooperation with Fundacja Artykuł 25 (Foundation Article 25), which works for the sake of the co-dependence and balanced development of countries of the Global North and South,¹² was engaged in the realisation of an auteur programme: 'Encountering the Other', a combination of museum and global education. The project was addressed to children and adolescents, pedagogues, teachers, and educators from the commune and town of Szczecin. Co-financed within a programme of Polish development work conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it has been realised since 2014 and up to this day meets with great interest. Each successive edition was enhanced with new forms of activity addressed to the beneficiaries, which contributed to a growing number of participants. The above-mentioned project was an attempt at responding to the Polish deficit of social tolerance, sensitivity, respect, and solidarity with people from other geographical and cultural regions. The educational undertakings pursued as part of the project were a novelty among all ventures dealing with difficult and, at the same time, extremely topical questions concerning interpersonal relations in the contemporary world.¹³

A particular target of the cycle of educational activities involved enabling primary and secondary school pupils to learn about countries of the Global South, as well as presenting less popular points of view, which might encourage pupils to verify their views and to assess social phenomena. The project was intended primarily for school children and



1, 2. Exhibition 'Children of magic. African dolls and puppets' presented by the National Museum in Szczecin

teachers because it is specifically in schools that the topic of refugees and immigrants has been dominated by stereotypes and negative images shown in the media. They contributed to a rise of xenophobia among schoolchildren as well as all sorts of symptoms of verbal and physical violence motivated by prejudices towards persons different due to their appearance or origin.

The 'Encountering the Other' project was realised in numerous stages and encompassed several modules. Some of the meetings took place in schools and others – at the MNS. They were composed of didactic courses in the form of workshops, film projections combined with a discussion, multi-media presentations, and museum lessons held in the African exhibition showrooms. The project also arranged a special conference for teachers and persons working with children and adolescents, as well as an exposition of 'histories' featuring photographs by Paweł Zgrzebnicki. This display showed portraits of persons encountered in the course of ten years of voyages to the most distant corners of the world. Their author attempted to answer the question: what links people living in various parts of our globe? In what respect are we similar? How do we differ? How do we live? Are we really divided by so much? Looking at the photographs members of the public became acquainted with distant cultures and, at the same time, went on an intimate journey by establishing a close relation with each presented figure. The title and topic of the exposition places it on the borderline between ethnography, reportage, personal confession, and a *sui generis* manifesto postulating respect for man, his culture and tradition.¹⁴

The foundation of the 'Encountering the Other' project was composed of courses addressed to secondary school pupils based on a scenario prepared by Aleksandra Antonowicz-Cyglicka from Foundation Article 25, inspired by the lecture: *Encountering the Other: the challenge for the 21st century*,¹⁵ read by Ryszard Kapuściński in 2004 upon the occasion of receiving a *honoris causa* doctorate at the Jagiellonian University. The scenario contained elements of philosophy (Emmanuel Levinas – the encounter with the Other as the 'fundamental event' in human life), anthropology (Bronisław Malinowski – the thesis about cultural relativism as an expression of the equal rights of all cultures), and journalism (Ryszard Kapuściński – the image of the unfamiliar Continent as seen by a reporter). The courses provoked the pupils to embark upon critical reflections and to reach a conclusion while debating on such phenomena as globalisation, migration, or cultural differences and similarities. While discussing and taking part in drama games, in which they assumed the roles of people from other countries, the participants of the project often became aware how difficult it is to be 'the other' in Poland and that something, which appears to be obvious to us, can be astonishing for others. The courses attempted to reverse the situation and to assign to the pupils the part of the 'Others' so that they could see how stereotypes and prejudices work and whether they are really justified. Ryszard Kapuściński wrote that in a certain sense we all share the same plight. All inhabitants of our planet are Others *vis a vis* Others – *I versus Them, They versus Me*.¹⁶ Confronting school students with reality proved to be an important experience since it became apparent that refugees and immigrants are people

forced to resign from their heretofore life: home, friends, family, hometown, language, work, property, security, and dreams. This certainly was not a scenario of easy or entertaining activities but, contrary to appearances, at school their participants rarely have an opportunity to discuss topics that affect them to such a large extent and stir so much emotion. The courses taught respect for cultural diversity as well as openness towards people from different cultural circles; first and foremost, they showed dependencies between Europe and the Global South.

Each group of students participating in the school courses as part of the project was invited to attend their continuation at the Museum. Here, space filled with numerous exhibits constituted an essential link in the processes of education. The merit of the courses lay in the fact that they were conducted against the background of concrete expositions and involved 'selecting' that, which proved essential in the sequence of the realised project. Young people took part in presenting exhibitions showing the life of the Lobi and Somba communities and the art of West Africa ('In an African village' 'The art of Africa – between the mask and the fetish', 'Children of magic. African puppets and marionettes', 'African fabrics. Tradition and change') and in workshops. The purpose of the courses was to bring the project participants closer to the culture and art of West African countries and their impact upon Europe. In the course of the workshops young participants were shown the works of contemporary artists from Benin, Niger or the Republic of South Africa as a counterbalance to the image of Africa enrooted in the media and depicted as a cultural monolith exemplifying primitive art. The authors of the project tried to show also certain elements of fashion or music characteristic exclusively for African countries but exerting a great influence on global trends. A tour of the Museum assisted in presenting the diversity of values resulting from the multiplicity of cultures studied by ethnographers, archaeologists, and historians of art.¹⁷

While working with adolescents and children the authors of the project became aware that controlling and minimizing the impact of stereotypes upon attitudes should become one of the prime aims of school education. First and foremost, the teacher should be capable of perceiving the quality of otherness, to remember the Tischnerian saying: *Neither a Catholic, a Pole, or anyone else can enjoy greater rights in the state than those of man*. It is they who thanks to their daily efforts greatly impact the shaping of the views, stands, and behaviour of their students both towards each other and foreigners. Their competence and skills are of key importance in the struggle waged against xenophobic attitudes. Numerous examples indicate that hatred not prevented on time escalates and ultimately results in tragedy.

A conference addressed to teachers: 'Encountering the other – together against prejudices and stereotypes', held in November 2017, not only supplied fundamental knowledge about global education and the lands of the Global South, but also discussed ways of dealing with the language of hatred and schoolchildren discriminating others due to their origin, colour of skin, religion, etc. The conference also showed examples of good practices preventing discrimination and violence motivated by prejudices. The invited guests included persons who for many years have been involved in topics associated with anti-discrimination



3. Exhibition 'Children of magic. African dolls and puppets' presented by the National Museum in Szczecin



4. Workshops for the youngest kids at the exhibition 'Children of magic. African dolls and puppets'

education, i.a. Mamadou Diouf (Foundation Africa Another Way),¹⁸ Joanna Grabarczyk (Project Hate Stop),¹⁹ Łukasz Bartosik (Polish Humanitarian Action – PAH)²⁰ or Joanna Wojtarowicz (German Red Cross).²¹

Global Education Week (TEG), a special event held at MNS, is attended by more a 1000 persons each year, taking part in film shows combined with discussions and workshops. Documentary films presented within TEG²² come from the Docs Against Gravity Film Festival, one of the largest documentary film festivals in the world, and are winners of prestigious awards presented by the Polish Film Institute in the 'most important international film event in Poland' category. The screenings were dedicated to children, adolescents, and adults.

The Salt of the Earth, directed by Julian Ribeiro Salgado and Wim Wenders, is a film addressed to secondary school children and grown-ups. It tells the story of Sebastian Salgado – a Brazilian photographer who travelled all over the world documenting mankind at the time of dramatic transformations and witnessed the most important events: war conflicts, famine, and enforced emigration. He became celebrated for a series of photographs dedicated to the condition of man, in which he took a look at humanity's heart of darkness. In this new photographic project on the beauty of the Earth Salgado for the first time abandoned social photography for the sake of documenting terrains untouched by Western civilisation, where the world of plants and animals continues to develop without encountering obstacles, and where one may see landscapes as if taken straight out of the Book of Genesis. In *The Salt of the Earth* we get to know Salgado seen from the perspective of his son, Juliano, and



5. Workshops for the youngest kids at the exhibition 'Children of magic. African dolls and puppets'

Wim Wenders, co-director and photographer, but also the history of conflicts raging in the Global South.

Young participants of the project could watch *The Quiet One*, directed by Emelie Wallgren and Ina Holmqvist. This documentary tells the story of six year-old Maryam, who, together with her mother, left Iran in search for a better life in Sweden. The protagonist reaches one of the districts of Stockholm and there starts attending a school for foreigners offering an initial stage of education aimed at learning Swedish and becoming acquainted with the history and culture of the country. Next, the children go to local schools. Maryam is the last to join her class and before she is capable of building a thread of understanding with her peers and finds her place she experiences some difficult moments.

The protagonist of *The Quiet One* produced a greatly emotional reaction among her Polish contemporaries. The overwhelming majority of the children wanted to come to her assistance, to get to know her better, and even to become friends. Nonetheless, in individual cases they remained totally indifferent to Maryam's fate, declaring that she should be ignored. In order to better understand this rather complicated situation, and after some often extremely intense conversations, we created a 'Helping hands' map. Each of the course participants, depending in his mood and individual predilections, chose a piece of paper in his favourite colour.

Next, he traced his hand on it and cut out the result. Inside the card he added his name. On another piece of paper he presented in a graphic form (drawing, comic strip) or a text his ideas for improvement – solutions to the question: what can I do to get to know a Southerner and to make him feel comfortable with me? What would I like others to do so that I would find it easier to adjust to a new environment? The gamut of proposals was enormous: it turned out that pupils who at first glance were uninterested in Maryam's situation and were asked: what could the 'Others' do for you if you found yourself in the situation of the film's protagonist? had a lot of ideas. Asked the next question: perhaps we should ignore certain people and simply not notice them? they rapidly and decidedly replied: *We cannot be ignored*. The following stage of the work consisted of the workshop participants gluing onto a large sheet of paper, with a photograph of the film's protagonist in the centre, tracings of their hands together with a drawing or a written description. All the hands faced towards Maryam. The children then read aloud their proposals, lifted the completed map and placed it vertically so that each one of them could stand next to it. The empty space left by the photograph of Maryam now showed their faces.

Thanks to this manoeuvre the youngest children found it easier to understand that we are all the same and that we



6, 7. Anti-discriminatory workshops for middle-school and secondary-school teachers carried out by Magdalena Sambor-Reinhardt within the conference 'Encountering the Other – together against prejudice and stereotypes'



8. A still from the film *The Salt of the Earth* by Juliano Ribeiro Salgado and Wim Wenders presented during the Global Education Week in the National Museum in Szczecin

have similar priorities, dreams, and expectations concerning the world and people (peers). One of girls attending the meeting declared: *Wow, it's just as if I were seeing myself, we have different coloured skin and hair (...) but the rest is the same (...) even our jackets are identical, and I too have a friend named Maya. We didn't like each other at first but now they call us lovebirds.*

Both documentaries carry a huge emotional load, supply a large dose of knowledge, and urge to re-verify opinions. By doing so, they mould the ability to interpret the world and to develop civic awareness and the capacity for assessing social phenomena. Moreover, they grant complicated political and social stories a human face, bring the viewer closer to a person from a different part of the world, and make it possible to better comprehend his situation. Both films often provoke talking about complex problems, such as whether the world is always and everywhere the same for everyone and are all aspects of reality as they seem to be. Finally, the documentaries show that the key to understanding another person is an attempt to see the world through his eyes.

Part of the workshops addressed to younger and older children featured also the *kamishibai* theatre. Work with the 'theatre of narration' produced a magical ambience. In an age of multimedia paper 'slides' are quite exceptional: the presentation hypnotises, calms, and concentrates attention. While reading the text the narrator puts successive prompt cards aside and the audience is shown consecutive illustrations maintaining interest in an aura of the unusual. The story follows a slow course and the children have enough time for arranging their reflections – an extremely valuable procedure at a time when even the youngest are expected



9. Workshops conducted in the museum with primary school children after the screening of *The Quiet One* as part of the Week of Global Education



10. Workshops conducted in the museum with primary school children after the screening of *The Quiet One* as part of the Week of Global Education

(Photos: 1-7 – M. Wojtarowicz; 8 – shared with permission of the Documentary Academy 9, 10 – D. Baumgarten-Szczyrska)

to hurry and make decisions quickly. The participant of the spectacle does not remain passive but is emotionally engaged in the fate of the *dramatis personae*. It might seem that all this is too much for the young recipient... nothing could be more wrong! *Kamishibai* renders the spectator sensitive, opens him up, and forces him to think and seek. Often the children created their own stories: presented with the main theme and without being told the end they were asked to continue the motif and to add their vision of events. This form enjoyed enormous interest and facilitated work with the youngest participants. The museum meetings used tales by Joanna Mueller: *Szkola Czi-tam*, and Anna Onimichowska: *Po drugiej stronie gór*.

Both for the authors and the presenters the *Encountering the Other* project proved to be an extremely important experience. By conducting it we learned how to prepare pupils for multiculturalism. First, we became convinced about the necessity of knowledge, which fills existing gaps that give rise to stereotypes. We also learned the value of encounters with the 'Other', and this turned out to be the key element of our programme. We found out that the topics with which we dealt in assorted forms of work with children, adolescents, and adults, are difficult, but essential in the praxis of bringing up. Unfortunately, they are often relegated to the margin of daily education processes. Conversations held with

educators – teachers and coaches – showed that the need for this type of activity is large, while tools and training that facilitate pertinent work are still insufficient. Work on the 'Encountering the Other' project revealed numerous problems connected with communication, dialogue, and cultural identity. The introduction of children and young people to the world of 'the Other' is necessary and invaluable in the process of learning how to accept distinctness and variety. Mutual contacts and understanding offer a chance for peaceful co-existence and shape an attitude of sensitivity, comprehension, tolerance, acceptance, and solidarity with other societies, traits that favour facing current global processes and overcoming stereotypes. *Man is the sort of tree that experiences goodness and thus does not want to bear evil fruit.*²³ The important role of the 'gardener' who will take suitable care of that tree in order that we all may live better awaits pedagogues, teachers, and parents alike.

We live at a time when migration movements are a natural phenomenon, typical for the contemporary open world. They are a source of inspiration and experiences for the 'old-familiar' and 'new-other' inhabitants of a given region. Very often they point out that tolerance and openness are

an asset despite certain incidents. Following stereotypes leads to the emergence of prejudices and becomes the reason why people different from others are relegated to the margin and stigmatised. Only conscientious knowledge about 'the Others' becomes the reason why we strive towards understanding and accepting them. Such mutual relations, however, are not always easy. Frequently, they demand involvement and willingness on both sides, as well as better familiarity. That, which is not comprehensible, obvious, and lucid produces fear and anxiety, an emotional state, which, in turn, becomes the cause of negative reception and aggression. Aleksandra Antonowicz-Cyglicka

from Foundation Article 25 stressed: *Education focused on building respect for all people regardless of race, culture, religion or economic status, as well as shaping an attitude of positive curiosity towards diversity is indispensable for survival in the present-day world. It is just as imperative for this diverse world to survive for successive generations. Encouraging children and adolescents to embrace tolerance and respect for the inhabitants of the poorest corners of the world, their culture and beliefs, is tantamount to constructing a feeling of global responsibility. Today's children will live in a world in which thus formulated responsibility will be the condition for welfare.*²⁴

Endnotes

- ¹ Official Journal of the European Union (Dz. U. UE), C 3906, 17.12.2017, art. 46.a, p. 38.
- ² M. Gawryszczak, *Unie polityczne – przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, [Political Unions: the Past and the Present], in: 'Wiadomości Historyczne z Wiedzą o Społeczeństwie' 2016, no. 5, pp. 35-40.
- ³ Pew Research Center is an American fact tank with a seat in Washington, which publishes reports on social issues, public opinion, and demographic trends in the United States and the world. Report accessible on: <http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/07/11/europeans-fear-wave-of-refugees-will-mean-more-terrorism-fewer-jobs/> [accessed on: 18 April 2017].
- ⁴ K. Brinkbaumer, *Afrykańska Odyseja*, [The African Odyssey], Wołowiec 2009, p. 241.
- ⁵ Stephan & Stephan, *Wywieranie wpływu przez grupy*, [Influence Exerted by Groups], GWP 2003, pp. 9-42.
- ⁶ Definition of global education conceived in 2010 by an inter-ministerial team composed of teachers, advisers, and method consultants as well as representatives of the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, educational authorities, schools of higher learning, and NGOs.
- ⁷ http://www.globalna.edu.pl/edukacja_globalna/ [Accessed on: 20 April 2017]
- ⁸ After: *Edukacja globalna dla najmłodszych, pakiet edukacyjny dla szkół podstawowych i przedszkoli*, [Global Education for the Youngest Students: Educational Package for Primary and Play Schools], M. Nowaczyk, G. Świderek, M. Karbowski (ed.), Ośrodek Działań Ekologicznych Źródła, Łódź 2016, p. 9; see also: A. Musiał-Gąsiorowska, *Muzeum jako przestrzeń edukacji wielokulturowej* [Museum as Space of Multicultural Education], in: 'Refleksje: Zachodniopomorski Miesięcznik Oświatowy' 2008, no. 12, pp. 12-15.
- ⁹ J. Nikitorowicz, *Edukacja międzykulturowa - kreowanie tożsamości dziecka* [Multicultural Education: Creating Child's Identity], Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk 2007, p. 37; see also: B. Śliwowski, *Współczesne teorie i nurty wychowania* [Contemporary Theories and Upbringing Trends], Impuls, Kraków 2015, pp. 291-293 – *Culture is an orientation system generalised for a given society, organisation or social group, and moulded out of symbols specific for them and passed on from generation for generation. It affects the perception, reflections, values, and conduct of all members of society, thus defining their identity, making it possible to govern the surrounding, and influencing the way in which people steer their development*; see also: J. Nikitorowicz, *Pogranicze, tożsamość, edukacja międzykulturowa* [Borderland, Identity, Cross-Cultural Education], Trans Humana, Białystok 1995, p. 68.
- ¹⁰ E. Prądyńska, M. Tobota, *Afrykańskie nabytki Muzeum Narodowego w Szczecinie w ostatniej dekadzie – krótkie podsumowanie* [African Acquisitions of the National Museum in Szczecin in the Last Decade: a Brief Summary], in: *Afryka* [Africa], J. Łopot, E. Prądyńska, M. Tobota (ed.), Wydanie Specjalne, Szczecin 2012, p. 138; D. Baumgarten-Szczyrska, *Afryka na wyciągnięcie ręki: działania dydaktyczne w przestrzeni wystaw Afrykańskich Muzeum Narodowego w Szczecinie* [Africa within Reach: Didactic Actions within the Space of the African Exhibitions at the National Museum in Szczecin], in: 'Muzealnictwo' 2010, no. 51, pp. 104-112.
- ¹¹ D. Baumgarten-Szczyrska, *Apetyt na...Afrykę! Propozycje Muzeum Narodowego w Szczecinie* [Appetite for...Africa! Proposals of the National Museum in Szczecin], in: 'Refleksje: Zachodniopomorski Dwumiesięcznik Oświatowy' 2016, no. 6, pp. 32-33.
- ¹² The intention of the Article 25 Foundation is activity for the sake of a just co-dependence and balanced development of countries of the Global North and South. The principle of balanced development, i.e. involving respect for the right of future generations to live in welfare, is a prescription for the durability of the positive effects of the struggle against poverty, particularly at a time when the outcome of climatic changes affects, first and foremost, the poorest societies. The Foundation focuses on building from the very foundations a world of equal possibilities and responsible activity guaranteeing stability for future generations.
- ¹³ D. Baumgarten-Szczyrska, D. Obalek, *Garść dobrych chęci. 'Spotkanie z innym' w przestrzeni Muzeum Narodowego w Szczecinie*, in: 'Refleksje: Zachodniopomorski Dwumiesięcznik Oświatowy' 2016, no. 2, pp. 60-62.
- ¹⁴ P. Zgrzebnicki, *Historie*, Poznań 2016, pp. 5-6.
- ¹⁵ The scenario is accessible on: http://www.artykul25.pl/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/SCENARIUSZ-zaj%C4%99C%C4%87_Spotkanie-z-innym-jako-wyzwanie-XXI-wieku_final.pdf [Accessed on: 22 April 2017].
- ¹⁶ R. Kapuściński, *Spotkanie z innym jako wyzwanie XXI wieku*, lecture given in 2004 upon the occasion of presenting the author the title of doctor *honoris causa* at the Jagiellonian University.
- ¹⁷ A. Nadolska-Styczyńska, *Pokazać kultury, czyli o wykorzystaniu zabytków w nauczaniu etnografii pozaeuropejskiej* [Showing Cultures, Namely on Using Historic Monuments in Teaching Non-European Ethnography], in: *Muzeum sztuki od Luwru do Bilbao* [Art. Museum from the Louvre to Bilbao], M. Popczyk (ed.), Katowice 2006, pp. 254-255; W. Zaczynski, *Uczenie się przez przeżywanie* [Learning through Experiencing], WSIP, Warszawa 1990, p. 74.
- ¹⁸ Mamadou Diouf – a Senegalese vocalist, journalist, and social activist living in Warsaw for the past 33 years. Co-founder of Foundation Africa Another Way, musician and presenter at Polish Radio RDC. Author of a number of publications, i.a. *Afrykański Spacerownik po Warszawie, Mała książka o rasizmie* addressed to children, and co-author of: *Afryka w Warszawie*. Writes a blog on: afryka.org, commenting current events in Poland, mainly from the viewpoint

of the situation of the African community. Cultural coordinator at the Multicultural Centre in Warsaw. In 2013-2015 member of the first term-in-office of the Social Council for Culture working alongside the President of the capital city of Warsaw.

¹⁹ Joanna Grabarczyk – member of the Project Poland Association. Coordinator of the Hate Stop campaign, whose purpose is waging a battle against anti-Semitism, homophobia, xenophobia, racism, and every form of hatred appearing in public space. The Stop Hate Campaign was distinguished with the S3KTOR 2014 award for the best NGO initiative in the civic society and human rights category. The Campaign urges to inform about hate-filled contents and to remove them independently both from city walls and the Internet.

²⁰ Łukasz Bartosik – head of the Polish Humanitarian Action (PAH) education team, coordinator of the GLEN programme in Poland. Experienced coach conducting courses for PAH coaches and activists as well as pupils and teachers taking part in PAH programmes. Co-author of PAH educational publications and numerous live action games (i.a. *Królestwo UBÓ*), training and large-format educational games (i.a. Global Reporters).

²¹ Joanna Wojtarowicz – inter-cultural competence coach, conducts workshops dealing with the animation of culture as well as cultural and inter-cultural education by co-working with cultural institutions and organisations in Poland and Germany. Coordinator of such projects as: *Brave Kids Szczecin* and *Biblio-Feel*, or an international workcamp at Trebnitz Castle, realised with the participation of children of migrants and refugees. Co-founder of an informal anti-hate group Refugees Szczecin assisting refugees from Syria. Collaborated with refugee centres along the Polish-German border; currently works with refugees at the German Red Cross in Berlin.

²² Global Education Week (TEG) is an annual international educational action organised to draw the attention of Europeans to global problems. TEG takes place in November under the patronage of the European Centre for Global Interdependence and Solidarity – North-South Center). Assorted educational actions are organised by schools, student study circles, libraries, NGOs, and various institutions.

²³ J. Tischner, *Myślenie według wartości*, Kraków 2011, p. 508. study circles, libraries, NGOs, and various institutions.

²⁴ <http://www.globalna.edu.pl/globalnie3/> [Accessed on: 3 May 2017].

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DEAF AND HARD OF HEARING PEOPLE AS AWARE RECIPIENTS AND CREATORS OF THE CULTURAL OFFER

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Abstract: The article attempts to interpret accessing culture for people with hearing impairment from a perspective that takes into account social, cultural, and linguistic issues. The most important questions discussed in the first part of the article are the history of sign language and Deaf culture in Poland as well as ambiguities associated with distinguishing two methods of communication: sign language and signed system. Upon the basis of the above reflections the article considers the following issues: the role of the sign language interpreter in accessing culture

and the part played by the Polish language as a precarious medium for conveying information to people with hearing impairment. The theoretical stratum of the text alternates with practical guidelines and solutions, which might facilitate creating an offer addressed to this particular type of museum visitor. The summary contains a list of the most interesting projects being conducted in Poland, which could provide valuable inspiration for beginners involved in organising events dedicated to the deaf and hard of hearing.

Keywords: sign language, signed system, contact signing, Deaf culture.

About 900 000 Poles suffer from serious hearing impairment¹ – this is a highly differentiated group depending on the intensity of the dysfunction, preferred method of communication or personal decisions as well as identification with a concrete milieu. In our work, therefore, we encounter such definitions as: hearing impaired, hard of hearing, hearing disability, deaf, and many others. Regardless of this terminology, and thanks to the development of modern technology and widely comprehended social awareness, such persons increasingly often become guests of cultural institutions in which they seek and expect attractive events.

The accessibility of the educational-cultural offer addressed to this social group is systematically considered at pertinent conferences and in special-theme publications. In the course of recent years certain systemic solutions, excellently

described by Anna Żórawska from the Culture Without Barriers Foundation, have been conceived. The author of this article accentuated the most significant question, i.e. the differentiation of the needs of the titular milieu and the reason why we cannot be content solely with technological solutions.² The fundamental problem to be examined in this particular case deals with difficulties associated with linguistic barriers, resulting not only from familiarity (to a lesser or greater degree) with the Polish language but also from assorted variants of sign language communication.

Signed system or sign language?

The year 2017 marked the 200th anniversary of the Deaf and Dumb Institute in Warsaw, the first Polish school for children and adolescents with hearing impairment. This

date is identified with the origin of the Polish sign language,³ i.e. a natural visual-spatial language with grammar different from the Polish phonic language. In 1880, upon the basis of resolutions passed at the Second International Congress on Education of the Deaf, special schools introduced the oral method, which assumed that with suitable didactic rigour deaf and hard of hearing pupils are capable of fluently mastering speaking and lip reading, and thus officially banned the use of sign language. The low level of special teaching, however, brought about a successive turnabout in deaf education and the introduction in the 1960s of a method of communication situated between phonic language and visual-spatial speech, namely the signed system. This literal translation of the Polish sign language preserves grammatical word order and inflexions as well as obligatory speech. Both forms of communication: sign language (PJM) and signed system (SJM)⁴ function up to this day – at least theoretically – among people with hearing impairment.

Despite its long history Polish sign language still continues to be insufficiently studied. Researchers base themselves predominantly on knowledge transmitted by its native users, but despite their hard work they do not possess representative data demonstrating the official version of PJM, understood by all Poles suffering from deafness.⁵ Depending on a given region, milieu, age, and even the family environment in which a given person was brought up his/her lexical resource is different – sign language is full of variants and signs, which often complicate communication between its users. In addition, it contains neologisms and borrowings from foreign sign languages and remains under the impact of the Polish language and SJM. It is difficult, therefore, to speak about a “pure” or official variant of PJM because even at language courses succumbing to standardisation it is possible to notice differences in transmitted signs and information. The sign-language system has been simplified from the time of its origin because its complete form (with inflexions and speech) proved to be wasteful; thus, it has grown slightly similar to sign language. We are, therefore, dealing with a certain language spectrum spanning between two points: PJM with visual-spatial grammar and SJM with Polish-language grammar. Individuals using sign language will situate themselves nearer to or further from those extremities depending on the sort of communication strategy they formed during their lifetime.

In the face of such a linguistic situation we ought to ask whether it is good practice to proclaim that an event organised by us will be translated into PJM or SJM so that our recipients could decide independently which form they regard to be more suitable. Linguists specialising in sign language stress that a declaration made by a deaf person about the method of communication used by him could be at odds with reality.⁶ The differentiation claiming that the Deaf (i.e. the culturally deaf) use the Polish sign language while the (ordinary) deaf opt for the signed system is misleading. Statistically, only 10% of children⁷ with hearing impairment are born in deaf families, and actually only they are capable of naturally mastering sign language. The remaining children learn it later – usually when they are of school age – from their peers, while their earlier form of communication depends predominantly upon the parents and the methods of treatment selected by them.⁸ If one

were to define the culturally Deaf only *via* the earliest mastered language, then this group would be relatively small. If, however, we add the identity category then the group in question expands considerably.

The culture of the Deaf, specific for Poland but also similar to others across the world, came into being around sign language conceived as the binder of a certain community. Persons taking an active part in it declare that they are Deaf, with the capital letter accentuating that they consider themselves to be members of a linguistic minority.⁹ This is why it is possible to observe a fashion for nobilitating the natural sign language: many people are willing to proclaim that they use PJM and do not recognize SJM because the latter is at odds with their culture despite the fact that they grew up in families deaf for generations and their way of signing is decidedly closer to the signed system. The culture of the Deaf possesses certain motifs disclosed in, i.a. the visual arts, the most popular being hands, the ear, and the ‘family dog’ – an idea initiated by Susan Dupor and her celebrated canvas: *Family Dog*.¹⁰ Just as frequent is the motif of audism, i.e. the inappropriate attitude of those with normal hearing towards the deaf, with the former wrongly claiming the right to decide about the latter’s needs, contrasted with the pride in their distinctness demonstrated by the Deaf. Just as necessary is an awareness of the existence of persons harbouring radical views and creating around sign language an elite of the ‘purebred Deaf’ hostile towards bilingual persons and functioning among those with normal hearing.¹¹

The process of distinguishing recipients of cultural events organised by us into those using PJM and SJM is by no means obvious or, apparently, necessary. The deaf are accustomed to the fact that their milieu uses different sign languages according to the given region, age, and origin, and, as rule, are familiar with numerous variants of signs and willing to learn new ones. Contacts with those of normal hearing demands flexibility so that communicating could be effective and efficient. In sporadic situations someone wants to accuse us of incompetence and disrespect for the culture of the Deaf. Thanks to an enormous differentiation caused by the degree of hearing loss and mode of communication this milieu devised not only linguistic tolerance but also the skill of negotiating a code with the interlocutor. (...) *Contact between two different languages, between those of normal hearing and Deaf users of sign language always leads to a simultaneous emergence of (...) contact signing, i.e. signing in a situation of linguistic contact when assorted forms of the sign language system are used interchangeably depending on the given situation.*¹² The most important is to show initiative, to open up towards visitors using a different language in our cultural institution, to prepare ourselves professionally for their visit, and not to pay attention to the textbook form of sign language or the signed system.

Role of interpreters in accessing culture

The foundation of the activity pursued by the majority of accessible institutions are sign language interpreters but finding a suitable person with whom it would be possible to establish co-operation on a permanent basis proves to be extremely difficult. The first reason is the direct result of the status of PJM mentioned in the previous paragraph: the

Polish sign language is not as yet systematised and signs are differentiated not only regionally but also due to generations, professions, and families; in addition, it is affected by assorted interferences by the Polish language and the signed system. It is thus difficult to create concrete solutions and standards of the work conducted by interpreters. Practice shows that a good interpreter is not only a person who fluently masters the material taught at a language course (be it PJM or SJM), but who will also demonstrate a flexible approach to his tasks and remain constantly in touch with people using sign language. Consequently, the interpreter will be capable of adapting his manner of signing to the group with which he co-operates at the given movement and of controlling on a daily basis whether this group understands the transmitted communications. For the less experienced interpreter such rapid insight into the linguistic situation of his recipients and awareness whether he is being understood can pose an extremely demanding task. A solution could involve requesting that groups planning to visit our institution guarantee their own interpreter (as a rule, associations of this sort have such a permanent co-worker). If we are unable to cover the costs of a specialist, then it seems polite to propose reduced costs of the guided tour or to ensure free of charge entry.

A successive difficulty in finding a professional sign language interpreter is the outcome of the history of this profession, which evolved quite differently than that of the phonic language interpreter.¹³ Initially, work performed by the sign language interpreter was conceived predominantly as a way of compensating the disability – a task undertaken mainly by members of the closest family without suitable training. Signing, therefore, was not connected with any sort of social prestige. Only when sign language was recognized as a foreign language did the situation change and professionalisation followed.

We should remain aware of the fact that sign language interpreters work on a daily basis primarily in schools, offices, courts or medical institutions because these are the domains in which they are needed by members of those communities or the clients of those subjects. A few co-operate regularly with cultural institutions and thus possess a suitable vocabulary and sufficient general knowledge to undertake more difficult translations. Upon several occasions the author of this text experienced situations when an interpreter recommended by the deaf refused to co-operate because he felt incompetent in a given field. A lack of specialists is the reason why work on accessibility becomes extremely complex and requires time – searching for an interpreter is decidedly not enough and it is worthwhile making it easier for him to prepare himself for a concrete commissioned task by devising a brief scenario (of the lecture, the art exhibition preview, etc.) upon whose basis he would be able to find suitable signs ahead of time. In the case of a museum exhibition guided tour we can propose a list of professional terms connected with our institution and make it possible for the interpreter to meet a staff member so as to become acquainted with the exposition and to dispel eventual doubts. Such consultations not only facilitate preparation as regards terminology but also suitable organisation. The custodians of a given exhibition or museum educators have their favourite spots where they stop in the course of a tour – and are often unaware that this could become a spatial problem for the accompanying

interpreter. The person using sign language should never stand with his back to sources of light (e.g. a window) for two reasons: so that his face could be seen and because watching the interpreter against the light is uncomfortable and makes it decidedly difficult to observe him. Just as troublesome are shaded places or those, which distract (e.g. a large backdrop) – the background behind the interpreter should be as uniform as possible. Arranging consultations prior to the tour will cause all those present to feel more comfortable (including those staff members who rarely deal with so-called special needs groups).

Language preparations can be also made easier by recommending to the interpreter credible publications and dictionaries written in recent years with the co-operation of the cultural institution and the deaf. The first such aid is a lexicon conceived by the Group of Deaf Artists (GAG)¹⁴, containing signs from the domain of the fine arts, including highly specialised ones, which occur in the Polish sign language, and those borrowed from foreign sign languages or created specially for the needs of the lexicon. GAG is also the co-author (together with the Zachęta National Gallery of Art and the National Museum in Warsaw) of *Encyklopedia Sztuki w PJM*,¹⁵ in which we find brief definitions of terms from this range. A similar initiative, albeit encompassing a different thematic category, is *Minisłownik pojęć historycznych w PJM*, written upon the basis of workshops involving two editions of a historical project coordinated by the Culture Without Barriers Foundation.¹⁶ The purpose of those initiatives was the creation of educational material allowing persons with hearing impairment to enjoy full participation in cultural life; in my opinion, they are also a valuable source of knowledge for interpreters and facilitate their work not only owing to familiarity with signs but also by making possible descriptive translations should such a need arise.

Significance of the Polish language in the community of the deaf

In order to function efficiently and independently persons hard of hearing must be bilingual. The natural communication method is sign language corresponding to the visual-spatial order of thought, but the Polish language – at least its written variant – is indispensable for establishing contact with the majority of people: civil servants, teachers, co-workers, and frequently members of one's closest family. The Polish language is also a carrier of national heritage – the values that are the reason why we consider ourselves to be Poles. The national anthem, the literary canon, patriotic songs, proverbs – all are written down for the Deaf in a language, which they absorb as a second and thus foreign language. Despite the fact that they use the Polish language for many years the level of mastering it remains extremely divergent and, as a rule, low. This is due, predominantly, to a hampered attainment of the phonic language, which, for obvious reasons, is inaccessible. The universal conviction that lip reading suffices to understand those of normal hearing is untrue, because the majority of consonants in the Polish language are articulated inside the oral cavity – this method, therefore, does not make it feasible to immerse oneself fully in the language.

The model of bilingual teaching is only now being introduced into special schools, since the methodology of

teaching Polish calls for changes. Glottodidactics instructors and linguists stress the existence of a vicious circle *revealed in the fact that if a deaf person does not understand a given structure then it becomes simplified at school, but such simplification does not offer the deaf a chance for linguistic development, which, as a consequence, results in not understanding successive structures.*¹⁷ The outcome of this situation is mastering the Polish language upon an elementary level, which does not permit fluid communication with those of normal hearing via writing. This is also the reason why it is incorrect to assume that the Deaf do not require any special facilities because they can read descriptions of the exhibits or the programme contained in the catalogue. In such instances the ability to read does not denote total comprehension of texts often written in an official and sophisticated language. If, however, we change the perspective of viewing the deaf and see them not as 'silent strangers' then we could create aids that – when we do not have at our disposal a sign language interpreter – will make it easier for them to make their way in our institution. It suffices to introduce into communication the principles of plain language adopted to deaf Poles¹⁸ and to devise information texts, e.g. exhibition guidebooks, brochures, and folders according to those rules.

Involvement of the deaf into accessing culture – summary

The creation by cultural institutions, including museums, of an educational-cultural offer adapted to the needs of visitors suffering from hearing impairment constitutes an immense challenge based on the task of interpreting not only words into gestures but also phonic and linear culture into visual and simultaneous culture. Practice shows that those solutions and projects whose realisation directly engages the deaf and hard of hearing pass the test best of all. The author of this article cited examples which she found to be the most interesting, although she also urged to embark upon independent quests – especially in the closest environment and on the websites of the Culture Without Barriers Foundation and the Foundation for Audiodescription Progress 'Katarynka', working for years for the sake of accessing culture to the disabled.

One of the best-known and recognizable initiatives of

this sort are monthly meetings held as part of the Zachęta Signs! cycle¹⁹ organised by the Zachęta National Gallery of Art. A deaf educator – Daniel Kotowski – acts as a guide at currently presented exhibitions and is translated into the Polish phonic language. Such a reversal of the scheme is an extremely interesting experience not only for the deaf, who eagerly make use of this opportunity, but also for those of normal hearing, who interact with contemporary art from the perspective of an unfamiliar language. A similar undertaking was broached by the Pan Tadeusz Museum in Wrocław, where four deaf artists interpreted selected fragments of the Pan Tadeusz national epic poem in accordance with the principles of sign language.²⁰ This event possessed dual merits – on the one hand, it brought persons with hearing impairment closer to one of the best-known works in Polish literature, and, on the other hand, it promoted the language and culture of the Deaf among those of normal hearing. An exceptional initiative placing the deaf in the very centre of the artistic message was realised in 2016 at Nowy Teatr in Warsaw. Wojtek Ziemilski and Wojciech Pustoła directed the spectacle: *Jeden gest* (One Gesture),²¹ in which the hard of hearing chief protagonists tell about their life and linguistic experiences. Four narrators represented assorted approaches to the culture of the Deaf as well as PJM and SJM, which could comprise thought-provoking educational material for persons interested in this topic. Finally, it is worth mentioning activity pursued in Lublin as part of the 'Give me a sign' project,²² whose program is co-created by the interested parties. The title evokes the phenomenon of the deaf becoming accustomed to cultural institutions, which up to now they had visited rarely, by granting them their own sign – a proper name in sign language.

Preparing a programme in co-operation with the deaf is the reason why planned events become two-directional: on the one hand, they open up culture to persons with hampered access to it, and, on the other hand, they make it possible for them to propose its unique reinterpretation by applying a new medium, i.e. sign language. Such meetings and events are an interesting experience not only for persons with hearing impairment but also for those of normal hearing, who via contact with works of art, different from the heretofore one, now look at them from another perspective, discover their new meanings, and become better acquainted with the culture of the Deaf.

Endnotes

¹ *Raport o osobach niepełnosprawnych w Polsce, przygotowany przez Biuro Prasowe Kongresu Kobiet w 2011 r. w Warszawie* [Report on Persons with Disabilities in Poland Prepared by the Press Office of the Congress of Women (Warsaw 2011)].

² A. Żurawska, *Gość z niepełnosprawnością słuchu w muzeum*, [Museum Visitor with Hearing Impairment], in: ABC. *Gość niepełnosprawny w muzeum* [ABC. Museum Visitors with Disabilities], 'Szkolenia Narodowego Instytutu Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zbiorów' 2013, no. 2, p. 53.

³ A new worldwide phenomenon involves dependence between the emergence of special schools and that of national sign languages; in a widely recorded case of a school in Nicaragua scientists could observe the evolution of sign language in the course of about 40 years. This process is a natural consequence of gathering in one spot persons with impaired hearing who create a new way of communicating. More information on: <http://www.niepełnosprawni.pl/ledge/x/10004>, *Gluche dzieci stworzyły własny język* [accessed on: 5 June 2018].

⁴ The article intentionally omits a detailed description of methods of communication since this is an extremely extensive topic. More information in: M. Czajkowska-Kisil, *Głusi, ich język i kultura* [The Deaf, Their Language and Culture], in: *Lingwistyka przestrzeni i ruchu. Komunikacja migowa a metody korpusowe* [Linguistic of Space and Movement. Sign Communication versus Corpus Methods], P. Rutkowski, S. Łozińska (ed.), Wydział Polonistyki UW, Warszawa 2014, pp. 17-37; P. Wojda, *Język migowy w Polsce – jeden czy w wielu odmianach. Przesłanki do badań nad głuchotą* [Sign Language in Poland: One Or in Many Variants. Assumptions for Deaf Studies], in: *Deaf Studies w Polsce* [Deaf Studies in Poland], M. Sak (ed.), Polski Związek Głuchych Oddział Łódzki, 2014, pp. 201-216.

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- ⁸ M. Dunaj, *GŁUCHY-ŚWIAT. Gluchota...*, p. 45.
- ⁹ <https://adfalkiewicz.com/?p=2584>, *O niesłyszącym rodzinnym psie, który chce oglądać Misia z napisami* [On a Family Dog with Hearing Impairment Who Wants to Watch the Teddy Cartoon with Captions] [Accessed on: 21 May 2018].
- ¹⁰ This canvas depicts a deaf person brought up among persons of normal hearing and reduced to the role of a pet animal that, although a member of the family, is treated differently than the others. The dog demands attention, does not understand what is said to it, and asks to be accepted and praised by its family.
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Sächsisches Industriemuseum, Industriemuseum Chemnitz, photo R. Pasieczny

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MARITIME MUSEUMS AND MONUMENTS' PROTECTION IN CHINA

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National Maritime Museum in Gdańsk

Abstract: The article presents the latest tendencies in museology in China, with emphasis placed on institutions dealing with maritime cultural heritage. The author discusses various forms of communication and narration in museums, and mentions the issue of the so-called virtual and interactive exhibition forms. He presents the so-called Cultural Revolution in China in the 1950s against its historical background, when priceless architectural monuments and works of art were destroyed. Later in the article the author focuses on the protection of maritime heritage and highlights the role of shipwrecks. The latter are devoted a lot of space and the author presents the potential which is hidden at the bottom of the South China Sea. Brought wrecks

undergo conservation treatment and are again exhibited in newly-built museums. Exhibitions are at a very high level and technical solutions used, in terms of methods of exploring and exhibiting, attract experts from all over the world. Not all of the institutions built in China in the 21st century may boast rich monument collections. The majority of museums resemble rather science parks and experimental centres where new technologies prevail and interactive exhibitions have nothing to do with traditional museums with exhibits. It is this lack of original monuments that is a distinctive feature of Chinese museums. The state is trying to fill those gaps with archaeological artefacts gained from land and underwater excavations.

Keywords: maritime museology, China, historic monument protection, archaeology knowledge.

Virtual or real?

Forms of conveying messages have for several years decades been undergoing a constant evolution. Had we asked 20 years ago the question whether a museum could exist without monuments, the answer would have been unequivocal. There are no museums without genuine exhibits, a monument is the 'essence' and content of a museum. Similarly as in the question of a so-called virtual museum. A portal can be virtual, so can a database with monuments, but can a museum be virtual? After all, it is nothing else but a kind of a website, a portal one can visit and view various virtually created beings on the screen. Today nobody is surprised hearing the term 'virtual museum'. The concepts: visualization, digitalization, modelling, 3D, augmented reality, an Oculus-type device transferring us into such augmented reality – all having sneaked into our language in the recent years, have settled

in well. Museum professionals do not have the least doubt that all the 'virtual beings' (digitalized museum objects) should be complementary to real monuments that do exist in reality. Does everybody, however, want to see the originals and commune with them? What do young people expect: those surfing in the net, not reading books, only PDF files posted online, or eagerly listening to audio books? Maybe a museum in the future will be to a greater extent virtual rather than real, just like a great number of our museum collections which we have been digitizing year after year, posting them online. Most likely serious studies on the topic are being written.¹

Two years ago an application was submitted to the International Congress of Maritime Museums (ICMM) for a virtual maritime museum from Finland to be admitted as a Congress member. In this case, the 'virtual' meant entirely online, without any real monuments. What added a piquancy



1. Oculus device which transfers the viewer into the so-called augmented reality – in Poland one of the first devices of this kind was used during a temporary exhibition entitled 'Ships – our passion' organised by the Remontowa Holding in Gdańsk

to the application was the fact that the group of people behind was in litigation with the Finnish government and the Office for Monument Protection in Helsinki for the rights to the real monuments of the eighteenth-century wreck of the *Vrouw Maria* that sank on the Baltic Sea filled with art pieces and jewellery for Tsarina Catherine I. The monuments that lie on the seabed! Unable to obtain the authorization to take over the cargo, the discoverers of the wreck decided to create a virtual museum online presenting the 'treasures' of this unique archaeological site. The ICM Board did not agree to violate their fundamental rule of accepting as members only those museums which own real actual monuments. The application was rejected.

The above reflections are an introduction to analysing an interesting phenomenon of mounting exhibitions and building new museums in the People's Republic of China, namely in the country in which we could expect an abundance of exhibits and artefacts related to China's century-long rich culture. The Republic of Poland became the People's Republic of Poland after WW II, thus the country run by 'the people', identified with the working class. However our culture survived that challenging period. The price we paid was very high, yet the national identity, monuments, museums survived. Actually, even new museums were established over the period, among them the institution that I work for on daily basis. In China, however, culture and museology lived a totally different history in the 1970s than in Poland.

Cultural Revolution

In the mid-1950s, Mao Zedong proposed his own concept of the Communist system, which differed from the Soviet one, and was later referred to as Maoism. The regime was to be based, not on the working class, as in the Soviet Union, since in China this class was not sufficiently educated and numerous, but on peasants who dominated that huge rural country. Mao decided to industrialize it. His belief was that when mobilizing millions of poorly qualified labour, he would succeed in transforming China. Regrettably, this led to a widespread crisis and famine; Mao's opponents tried to remove him from the leading position, yet he decided to deal with them resorting to the army that was loyal to him. He then proclaimed the so-called Cultural Revolution meant to create a new model of the state, an entirely new democracy and new culture. It all began in May 1966 with purges and revolts at universities. Young students and workers began organizing themselves in Red Guard units, blindly obedient to the leader. Millions of young members of the Red Guard began a rebellion and eradicating of the old ideas, culture, habits, monuments, The country immersed itself in a revolutionary chaos. 'Bourgeois' architecture, monuments, temples, museums were destroyed. Not even the Great Wall was spared, from which millions of bricks were robbed. Scientists and artists

were persecuted. It can be concluded that over 10 years the extremely rich and unique Chinese culture was annihilated. The country was brought to the brink of civil war. Mao died, yet the effects of his activity within culture could still be felt in the country for years to come. Despite the traumatic experience the Chinese suffered under Mao's leadership, there are still places in the country where he is as worshipped as Buddha. In many chapels and shrines peasants, missing the people's commune, place the photo of the 'Great Helmsman' next to other deities. Recently, his several-metre high statue has been erected in the Gansu Province.

When the Communist Party took control over the country in 1949, China boasted merely 49 museums. During the Revolution, many of them were destroyed. Still, it has to be borne in mind that opening collections to the public has never been a Chinese tradition. The most precious art and jewellery collections were kept away from the people, in the Summer Palace not far from the so-called Forbidden City in Beijing. Since the reforms launched after 1978 the number of museums has been showing a snowball effect. The capital in each province desires to raise a new museum building, even if inside there is hardly anything to display. In the five-year development strategy adopted in 2009, culture was upgraded to the level of a 'strategic industry'. It is to be 'the nation's spirit and soul', and yield at least 5 per cent of the domestic GDP.²

The museum building boom started in China in ca 2000, the country featuring at the time 1.198 museums. Over the next 12 years, the number almost tripled. Several reasons account for that, among them the desire to symbolically emphasize the country's history and consolidate the national pride. Multi-million projects, often resulting in architectural gems on a world scale, are earnestly supported by the government. As observed by Andrzej Rottermund in the previous issue of 'Muzealnictwo' (No. 56), there have been no habit of museum visiting in the recent decades. These institutions may thus soon face problems with an insufficient number of visitors.³ There should be no concern as for their financing, however, if the government continues to generously support them, and as long as they develop different forms of commercial activity. The latter, as the matter of fact, often seems to be more successful than in European museums. Time will show to what extent those Chinese institutions have become tools of the state's 'soft policies' and the country's cultural ambassadors.

Dispersed monuments

In this context it is necessary to realize that China's material legacy has been dispersed throughout the world. Parts of the priceless collections have been illegally taken to Europe and the United States, and have continued objects for sale. In 2015, there was quite an outcry because of the mummified Buddhist monk, stolen in 1995 from a small shrine in the village of Yangchun, Fujian Province (south-eastern China). This unique monument, decorated with gold, is about 1.000 years old. In March, the object appeared in an exhibition at the Hungarian Natural History Museum in Budapest. In the course of the conducted investigation it was difficult to retrace the robbery. The object belongs to a private collector from the Netherlands, who purchased it in 1995 from

another collector, who, in his turn, had got it from a Hong-Kong dealer.

Provided good will is shown by the parties, and the case enjoys the media support, robbed works can sometimes be recovered. The Christie's Auction House has put on sale two historic Chinese bronze heads worth about \$ 38 million.⁴ In order to save face and clients in China, where Christie's had just opened the first in the country licensed Western auction house, the company's owners bought the exhibits in 2013, and donated them to the National Museum of China.⁵

Maritime cultural legacy

The 17th International Congress of Maritime Museums held in the Chinese cities of Hong Kong and Macau in November 2015, provided an opportunity for a closer look at the Asian recipe to regain the lost national identity, at the reconstruction of museums, and the policy of monuments' protection. The Congress was organized by the maritime museums located in those cities, now forming centres of Special Administrative Regions, actually governed by China as of 1997.

The Congress was attended by ca 110 individuals from 22 countries and 6 continents, e.g. from Canada, US, Australia, New Zealand, South America, and obviously Europe. The Congress's overall topic was 'The East Meeting the West', though some papers were dedicated to saving the maritime cultural legacy in China.

In order to bring ancient Chinese sailing legacy closer to the worldwide public, last year an organization resembling ICMM, and grouping about 20 Chinese maritime museums was founded. Its official members already included the two above-mentioned maritime museums: the private museum in Ningbo, and the largest China Maritime Museum in Shanghai. The online newsletter of the Chinese network of maritime museums will have a special column dedicated to international issues and the International Congress of Maritime Museums. Thanks to this establishments from the distant corners of the world will be given an opportunity to get to know each other better, to exchange information, exhibitions, and to conduct shared research.

Projects aimed at preserving the maritime, underwater included, cultural heritage have been hitting stumbling blocks in Asia. Let us illustrate this with the example of the display of extremely precious monuments acquired from the *Belitung* wreck (9th century) discovered off the coast of Indonesia.⁶ The monuments, mainly ceramics, but also rich silver and gold jewellery, were excavated by a private exploration company, practically without any archaeological supervision. The collection, in the form of a temporary travelling exhibit, has been offered as a commercial project to many prestigious museums, e.g. Washington D.C.'s Smithsonian Institution in 2011 and the Hong Kong Maritime Museum in 2013. The collection owner was sued in Indonesian court. ICMM Board authorized the Congress's President to issue a written opinion on the collection. Following consultation with underwater archaeologists, ICMM issued a negative recommendation not to rent the collection that had been acquired violating the UNESCO regulations related to underwater archaeological sites. Before this was formulated, the Hong Kong Maritime Museum had undertaken endeavours meant to acquire the Exhibition. It



2. Junk model, *Lu Meimao (Green Eyebrow)*, depicts the most distinctive features of old junks of the Ningbo City, Zhejiang Province in China

took several months and a lot of determination to convince the Museum's Board and Management to change this decision. ICMM even resorted to claiming that if they refused, the 2015 ICMM would not be held in China. Fortunately, the compromise was worked out in time. This very case and similar alike, e.g. of the commercial exploration company excavating monuments from the famous *Titanic* in 2014, made ICMM reactivate the once suspended Maritime Archaeology Committee meant to provide their opinion on similar cases, and comprising five experts from Europe and the United States.⁷

The above-described example of the unique *Belitung* wreck collection had one more major repercussion for Chinese museology. The vessel on the Java Sea seabed was identified as an Arab *dhau*. This is the oldest Arab ship of the type discovered in the Asian waters, which confirmed scholars' theory of some intense maritime trade contacts within Asia. This fact serves as one more proof for the existence of the so-called Maritime Silk Road that operated parallel to the much better investigated one on land. Thus Chinese museum professionals decided to mount an exhibition that would make the European public acquainted with the topic, meant to be shown in major maritime museums around

Europe, this including the National Maritime Museum in Gdansk. Unfortunately, the exhibition was to lack any genuine monuments, however it was meant to feature mainly models of Chinese merchant boats (the largest 5.5 m long and over 3 m high), copies of maps, boatbuilding tools, and visualizations. Just the very transportation of a substantial number of large-scale models was a logistic challenge in itself. The Ningbo Maritime Museum that was implementing the project is one of the newly-established maritime museums in China. A private institution, it was set up by the local businessman Feijun You about 10 years ago. The collection of the Museum are ship models from different periods, built presently by a team of model makers, co-working with the Museum, who also offer models for sale to other museums, domestically and abroad. So far, they have created over 150 of such objects. The high-profile models are based on history knowledge and research of a group of scholars associated in the Institute of Old Chinese Ships, affiliated to the Ningbo Maritime Museum, and established by the same individual who founded the Museum. This is a very pragmatic solution which brings together various forms of museum's commercial activities under one logo: a museum, a model-making workshop, and a research institute. A large



3. Maritime Museum building in Hong Kong – initially one of 8 ferry terminals built in 2006 which replaced earlier generations of ferry harbours which had existed there from 1890; the majority of those terminals serve shipping objectives

company, as it writes about itself in information leaflets, it brings together China's best specialists in the history of sailing in the past, which is an undeniable fact.⁸ Its goal is to promote the idea of the 'Maritime Silk Road', research into the maritime cultural legacy, and its presentation to the world.⁹ However, in the Ningbo Museum no genuine historic models or monuments, in the traditional meaning of the word, are to be found.

The idea of the development of the 'Maritime Silk Road' is being implemented in the broadly conceived economic terms before our eyes. This translates into definite economic and political activities between China and Europe, including Poland. In 2014, the 'Silk Road Fund' was established, with \$ 40 billion reserved to establish new economic ties between the countries located along the ancient route. Interestingly, Poland is to be the key country, safeguarding the success of the project. It is in Poland that new logistics centres will be placed for the further distribution into the remaining European countries of commodities and goods produced in the Middle Kingdom. Enormous money will follow for servicing the transit and the strategic economic alliance between Warsaw and Beijing. In the vicinity of Łódź plans have been made for the main logistics centre. Poland is thus to play the role of the main hub at the western end of the Road.

Maritime museology

The China Maritime Museum in Shanghai is a flagship national institution dedicated to maritime history, maritime trade, shipbuilding, and activities alike. A state establishment, it amazes with extraordinary architecture, resembling two

abstract sails, and was ceremoniously opened in 2010, with the construction process having cost ca \$ 74 million. History-focused exhibition area is housed on 3 storeys, their space totalling over 46.000 sq m. Next to obligatory dozens of models of different eras, replicas of navigational instruments, stories of the national hero, explorer, diplomat, Admiral Zheng He (1371–1435) are to be found; the display is also to boost patriotism by showing the past, the present, and the future of Chinese maritime industry. The Museum's central part features a huge life-size boat model that visitors can go aboard of. The display is completed with a 3 D cinema and various navigating simulators. A substantial part of the display is targeted at children providing interactive display that prevents young visitors from getting bored.

The Hong Kong Maritime Museum presents a totally different type institution. It was launched, among others, on the initiative of rich navigation companies that had been consolidating their power over the past century when the region was controlled by Great Britain. A cosy building of the ferry pier, it is located along possibly the most beautiful embankment worldwide called 'Victoria Harbour'. A two-floor building, it houses exhibitions on three storeys. On the 2nd floor, a picturesque restaurant with a vast terrace overlooking the port can be found. The main topic of the display is the history of Chinese navigation, divided into: the ground-floor covering the ancient history and the Middle Ages, with contemporary navigation occupying the 1st and the 2nd floor. Among these topics displayed over the space of 4.000 sq m, tourists are all inevitably attracted by the topic of piracy on the South China Sea. The exhibitions are professionally produced, aesthetical, and in view of the amount of information provided as well

as the number of the displayed exhibits, quite well balanced. Among the presented objects, it is almost impossible to find exhibits that are over 50 years old. Justice, however, has to be done to the concept and narrative of the exhibition, since they really render well the idea of the originators of the display, which aimed at emphasizing the twentieth-century navigation, maritime commerce, development of ferry terminals, and types of ships built in Hong Kong. There is a large conference hall on the first floor, which served as the venue for the main part of the ICMM Congress. The only awkward experience was the visit to the Museum Shop where one can purchase genuine monuments that come... from ship wrecks. As it turns out, trading the monuments excavated from the wrecks of the ships sunk in south-eastern Asia is by no means controlled. Underwater excavations in China, Indonesia, or the Philippines, are conducted by private exploring companies, which can keep 75 per cent of the monuments' substance, with only 25 per cent reaching the state. Private companies can legally resell monuments in free market. Thus the process is legal, however not ethical with regard to the UNESCO Underwater Cultural Heritage Convention of 2001 and ICOM Code of Ethics.¹⁰ In view of this, ICMM Board is preparing a special note on the need to comply with the standards of trade of monuments acquired from underwater archaeological research by maritime museums. The special ICMM Maritime Archaeology Committee is to work out a document identifying the peculiar role of depositaries of this type of cultural heritage by maritime museums. Regrettably, in the above-mentioned 2001 UNESCO Convention the role of maritime museums is practically unnoticed, and except for one case, almost entirely neglected.

Meanwhile, it is maritime archaeology that is a really a hot topic in China right now. In an attempt to make up for the

years-long backwardness in culture, and to acquire genuine monuments, extensive archaeological excavations are conducted. Among them mention can be made of the world-format investigation of the *Nanhai No. 1* wreck discovered in the western part of the Pearl River (Zhu Jiang) estuary which marked the commencement of the 'Maritime Silk Road'.¹¹ Sunk in the period of the Song Dynasty in 1127–1279, it is now displayed in a purposefully built museum. Discovered by accident in 1987 by an Anglo-Chinese expedition in search of another wreck of a Dutch ship of the West India Company, it is exceptionally well preserved. Assessment has been made that it had on board between 60.000 and 80.000 precious monuments, particularly ceramic pieces. After a preliminary archaeological investigation an unusual excavation method was chosen, as the decision was made to excavate the whole vessel as it was. It was raised in a steel container that had been placed under the wreck. The container was closed from the bottom and the whole was lifted in 2007. In order to display this unique object a huge Maritime Silk Road Museum was built, its glazed walls directly overlooking the beaches of the South China Sea.

Only two complete shipwrecks of exceptional importance for Europe's history have been excavated in their entirety and have been displayed. The older of them is the famous English flagship *Mary Rose*, the pride of Henry VIII, which sunk in the Solent Straits in July 1545. The rediscovered ship was raised in its entirety in 1982. She is now on display at the newly-opened museum in Portsmouth designed purposefully for her. Another case of raising an entire ship's hull of a very important ship took place in Sweden. In 1628, the *Vasa* ship, pride of the Swedish navy, was launched, and was to be admired by the King and a crowd of spectators during her maiden voyage. Engineering errors and an unlucky coincidence



4. Maritime Silk Route Museum was built to present a unique exhibition of the *Nanhai 1* wreck; huge windows overlook the beach of the South China Sea



5. Thousands of dishes lingering between the bulkheads of the wreck used to be one of the main commodity – in 2010 preliminary excavation works were carried out before filling the tank with water



6. China Port Museum in Ningbo is connected with one of three National Centres of Underwater Cultural Heritage Protection

were the reason why the heavily overburdened vessel, having received a side gust of wind, inclined badly enough for water to have entered through its open gunports. Instead of the expected triumph, the King was humiliated watching the flagship of his navy sink before a crowd of spectators. In

1961, the ship was raised following excavations, and right now she ranks among Stockholm's greatest attractions. In 2014, the number of the visitors to the Vasa Museum went over 1 million, this causing the need to alter a part of the infrastructure, unprepared to welcome so many people.

The two above cases of raising famous ships resembled slightly. Before the raising, the vessels had been thoroughly investigated while still on the seabed. A detailed documentation was prepared, monuments were raised, and the hulls were lifted only after bigger monuments had been removed. The Chinese method was completely different. The on-site exploration of the wreck was not conducted, as the researchers did not want to disturb the ship's structure or to conduct works with limited visibility underwater. Therefore the wreck was raised with the fragment of the seabed that surrounded it. After the wreck had been placed in the museum, it was again under water and it can be watched from higher galleries, and so can be the... maritime archaeologists working on it. This unusual solution is greatly praised worldwide, while experts, among others those from the Portsmouth and Stockholm Museums, point out to the advantages of the method. The vessel is explored with no time pressure, in its natural environment, yet under the roof and in comfortable conditions. However, care has been taken for water around the monument to have the same temperature and chemical composition as the water that had surrounded the wreck for the last centuries. The extracted monuments, following conservation, are displayed at the Museum. The building itself, called 'The Crystal Palace', has been raised on an epic scale to ultimately house about 300.000 monuments. It is not as swarmed with tourists as the Vasa in Stockholm, since it is located away from large cities, on the Island of Hailing Yangjiang, Guangdong Province.

The discovery of the Nanhai 1 wreck (No. 1 to distinguish it from other wrecks identified on the seabed in the area) is comparable to the discovery of the famous Chinese

terracotta army unearthed in the tomb of the first Chinese Emperor Qin Shi Huang (210 B.C.).¹² With it the Maritime Silk Road Museum has turned into one of the most important museums of maritime heritage worldwide.

Realising that no contemporary models of ancient vessels can replace authentic monuments, Chinese archaeologists, in order to acquire genuine exhibits, have begun further large-scale underwater excavations. In 2008, Ningbo Historic Museum was opened; showing the history of the city and harbour of Ningbo, it goes back almost 7.000 years. Currently, Ningbo is a large booming port. Some tourists claim, however, that just the Museum's unique architecture is more impressive than the exhibition inside. Which is not surprising, since the designer of the extraordinary building that resembles a ship, Wang Shu, was awarded the Pritzker Architecture Prize in 2012.¹³ On the other hand, this unusual building was raised with recycled materials from the old districts of the town, so it has a historic value in itself. Moreover, the new China Port Museum in Ningbo launched in October 2014 is quite unique as well. It is connected with one of the three National Underwater Cultural Heritage Protection Bases. Apart from the exhibition showing the history of navigation and the port of Ningbo, it also features conserved relics of shipwrecks and a small display dedicated to maritime archaeology. Otherwise, the building loaded with electronics and modern multimedia features no genuine monuments. The Museum is closer in its profile to a scientific centre than to an institution collecting monuments. Maritime archaeologists in China will shortly be given a new tool, namely a modern research ship with a displacement of 580 tons. Additionally, two more National Underwater Cultural Heritage Protection Bases are planned: in Shanghai and Xiamen.



7. *Nanhai 1* wreck currently rests in a pool filled with sea water



8. Maritime Museum in Macau – a several metres long model of a paddle-wheel riverboat propelled by muscle; such technically advanced ships built from the times of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) provided the then China with geopolitical dominance in this part of the world

(Photos: 1, 3, 8 – R. Domżał; 2 – B. Gallus, from the NMM collection in Gdańsk; 4, 5, 6 – C. Dobbs; 7 – L. Guocong, courtesy of the National Center for the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage in Ningbo)

The most European in style displays can be found at the Maritime Museum in Macau, raised on the site where Portuguese explorers landed in 1553. The three-floor building resembling a sailing ship, houses exhibitions speaking of the maritime history of Macau, China, and Portugal. Divided into 5 sections, the exhibitions tell the story of the local fishing, geographic discoveries, and Portuguese exploration, as well as marine transport and navigation. The basement features large tanks with different Asian fish species and a rich collection of exotic shells. This institution boasts far more museum exhibits than the previously described museums. The central part of the display features a several-metre long model of a muscle-powered river sidewheeler. Such technologically advanced ships, built from the times of the Tang Dynasty (618–907) and throughout the next centuries, were the basis of China’s maritime domination in this part of the world.

Résumé

All the exhibitions I have seen at the Chinese museums are of high factual and aesthetical profile. It should be borne in mind, however, that the institutions mentioned have been established over the last decade. The museum exhibits they display are placed in specially prepared and lit showcases. Clear and not extremely long texts are both in Chinese and English, in Macau additionally in Portuguese. The English translations of the Chinese texts are of high quality. Overall, the displays are modern, quit simple, in keeping with the world standards.

An interesting solution has been adopted at the Maritime Museum in Macau where short texts in the showcases are complemented with more extensive explanations in the form of large printed and folded brochures placed near the showcase, these containing texts in Chinese and English.

Contemporary Chinese museums are generally large modern centres built with educational purposes in mind, oriented to provide spectators with varied knowledge both in the form of traditional exhibitions and modern multimedia. Monuments and genuine artefacts are not always present there. Despite this, they are extremely popular with the local community, and are positively assessed by foreign visitors travelling in family. Such views are expressed in social media posts and reviews that can be found e.g. on the TripAdvisor website, the largest worldwide tourist online service.¹⁴ The admission fees that need to be paid to visit the Museums do not differ from such average prices in Europe. The displayed exhibits are usually shown in an appropriate context and setting, well fitting into the main narrative. The prestigious museum buildings raised in the recent years are a tourist attraction in the themselves, while their designers are usually world-renowned architects. Of impact is also Chinese national pride and the aspiration to match adequate Western institutions.

The same applies to maritime museums. Apart from the implementation of broadly conceived educational tasks, they present historical exhibitions related to navigation, navigational science, and shipbuilding over the last 2.000 years. The traditional exhibitions are accompanied by 3D

and 4D simulators that allow visitors to feel like on a container ship's captain bridge in a storm or a blizzard. Small touch screens that expand to show larger exhibition labels are widely available. Information provided is clear, concise, and informative thanks to historical research, actually too informative to master over a single visit. In museums there are souvenir shops and cafés which stay open beyond exhibition opening hours.

Regardless of the number of genuine monuments collected, one shall never be bored in a Chinese museum, particularly if you are visiting with children who are offered

a substantial portion of knowledge and entertainment. In larger institutions, of more space, play rooms for the youngest visitors are very popular. We are bound to still hear a lot about the museology boom in China. The speed at which new establishments are raised is astounding and incomparable even with the construction boom of new museums in Europe and the US that could be observed in the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁵ However, it is important to remember that when raising new dazzling edifices, one has to fill them with appropriate content. It is the latter that seems today to be the greatest challenge faced by Chinese museology.

Endnotes

- ¹ Recently, digitalization in museums was tackled in the 'Muzealnictwo' Annual No. 56 by M. Mondzelewski, *Po co nam digitalizacja? Katalogi internetowe i wirtualne muzea. Nowe metodologie* [What Do We Need Digitalization for? Online Catalogues and Virtual Museums. New Methodologies], 'Muzealnictwo' 2015, No. 56, pp. 150-159. Also the author of the present paper has tackled the issue: R. Domżał, *Nowoczesne techniki dokumentacji zabytkowych łodzi i statków* [Modern Technology for Documenting Historic Boats and Ships], 'Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej', No. 3/ 2015, pp. 535-540.
- ² <http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21591710-china-building-thousands-new-museums-how-will-it-fill-them-mad-about-museums> [Accessed: 14 December 2015].
- ³ A. Rottermund, *Muzea – Perspektywy* [Museums – Perspectives], 'Muzealnictwo' 2015, No. 56, pp. 15-27.
- ⁴ <http://www.economist.com/news/china/21647655-china-seeks-gather-up-its-scattered-treasures-relics-plunder> [Accessed: 15 Dec. 2015].
- ⁵ The same Auction House has for 20 years had its branch also in Russia.
- ⁶ The name of the archaeological site is derived from the island close to which the wreck was found.
- ⁷ The Author of the present article is also a Committee member.
- ⁸ http://www.ioacs.org/Our_Uniqueness.html [Accessed: 21 Nov. 2015].
- ⁹ On the Maritime Silk Road see: L. Qingxin, *Maritime Silk Road*, Beijing 2006. On the history of this Route and its maritime aspects: H. Uhlig, *Jedwabny Szlak. Kultury Antyku między Chinami a Rzymem* [The Silk Road. Antique Cultures between China and Rome], Katowice 2007, pp. 11-120 and others, and A. Kajdańska, E. Kajdański, *Jedwab. Szlakami dżonek i karawan* [Silk. Along the Route of Junks and Caravans], Warszawa 2007, pp. 61-73, 195-205 and other.
- ¹⁰ <http://eurofundsnews.eu/wazne/chinska-wizja-nowego-jedwabnego-szlaku-z-polska-za-40-ml-dolarow> [Accessed: 22.12.2015]; see also L. Cigui, *Reflections on Maritime Partnership: Building the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road*, http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/2014-09/15/content_7231376.htm [Accessed: 08.03.2016].
- ¹¹ <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/underwater-cultural-heritage/2001-convention/official-text/> [Accessed: 7 Dec. 2015].
- ¹² Nanhai is the Chinese name for the South China Sea.
- ¹³ This famous archaeological site was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1987.
- ¹⁴ The most prestigious award presented to living architects who have contributed to the development of the human environment, also called the 'Nobel Prize of architecture', <http://www.pritzkerprize.com/2012/works> [Accessed: 21 Nov. 2015].
- ¹⁵ https://pl.tripadvisor.com/pages/about_us.html [Accessed: 7 Dec. 2015].
- ¹⁶ Por. R. Domżał, *Morskie dziedzictwo kulturowe w Stanach Zjednoczonych na tle wybranych problemów amerykańskiego Muzealnictwa* [Maritime Cultural Heritage of the United States against the Background of the Selected Problems of American Museums], 'Muzealnictwo' 2012, No. 53, pp. 171-172.

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NEW BUILDING OF THE WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART IN NEW YORK

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Abstract: The new building of the Whitney Museum of American Art was opened on 1 May 2015 in the Meatpacking District of West Manhattan. This is already the fourth location of the acclaimed New York museum, established by Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney in 1930. The Whitney possesses the world's largest collection of American modern art and focuses on promoting living artists. Its unique and industrial architecture designed by the Renzo Piano studio met with mixed reactions. Despite the fact that

the building is functional and excellently connected with its post-industrial context not everyone appreciated it. A similar situation took place forty years ago when Centre Georges Pompidou, designed by Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers, pioneers of *high-tech* contemporary architecture, was criticised. Popularity, high attendance, and the commercial success of the famous Paris 'oil refinery' changed those negative assessments. Will the same take place in the case of the new Whitney? Time will tell.

Keywords: Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (1875–1942), Renzo Piano, museum architecture.

Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney – artist and collector

Gertrude Vanderbilt was born on 9 January 1875 as the great granddaughter of Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794–1877), an industrial magnate nicknamed 'The Commodore', who by the time he died was the richest man in the United States. She grew up in the family mansion on Fifth Avenue (New York) and spent summer holidays at 'The Breakers', a magnificent Classicist residence in Newport on the Atlantic coast. Carefully educated and fluent in French and German, Gertrude travelled with her parents, became familiar with European towns, museums, and opera houses and was particularly fond of the artistic ambiance of Paris.

In 1896, at the age of 21, Gertrude Vanderbilt married Harry P. Whitney, lawyer and scion of a wealthy family of industrialists. The marriage was not a success and ended in

1903, after the birth of the third child. Harry led the vibrant life of a representative of American high society: he was dedicated to sport and breeding horses. Abandoned, Gertrude decided to find something with which to occupy herself – her interests propelled her towards the arts. She enrolled in a class conducted by James Earl Fraser at the Art Students League of New York and subsequently left for Paris, where she attended the Andrew O'Connor studio; here her sculptures were noticed by no less than August Rodin.¹ From that time she divided her life into three currents: family, social, and artistic. This was by no means an easy feat since her person gave rise to extreme feelings: Gertrude's relatives were shocked by the fact that she worked manually and, *horrible dictu*, dealt on a daily basis with nudity; artists accused the heiress to a fortune of divesting them of commissions; and reporters mockingly informed about the poor rich girl and



1. Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, November 17, 1931, <http://whitney.org/About/History>

her art: Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney wishes to be a sculptor without starving to death in an attic studio.²

From 1905 Whitney concentrated on monumental sculpture – art produced the desired therapeutic effect and allowed her to forget about the failed marriage. In 1910 she started to exhibit under her name and enjoyed increasingly great successes. Her sculpture: *Paganisme Immortel* was accepted for an exhibition at the National Academy of Design, a year later the Paris Salon showed her *Head of a Spanish Peasant*, and in 1915 the sculpture: *Aztec Fountain* won a bronze medal at an exhibition held in San Francisco. Monuments and statues designed by Gloria Whitney were featured in numerous towns across the United States as well as in Canada, Spain, and France. An artistic career led to a varied social life furthered by the sensuality of her works, the aura of mystery surrounding a solitary woman, and the easy-going atmosphere of New York Bohemian circles.

In 1907 Whitney moved to Greenwich Village in Manhattan, where she arranged a studio in MacDougal Alley. In 1914 she purchased an adjoining house in 8 West Eighth Street in which she opened a modern art gallery. In a building located nearby, in 147 West 4th Street, she founded the Whitney Studio Club – from 1918 it offered exhibition space and shelter as well as financial aid to American artists adversely affected by difficult wartime years. The Club organised exhibitions, discussions, lectures, and music concerts. Growing needs resulted in an expansion of the Club's seat by taking over successive town houses on 10 and 12 West Eighth Street. In 1928 the Club, at the time with 400 members, was closed. It had played its role and



2. Robert Henri, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 1916, Whitney Museum of American Art, Wikimedia.commons

Whitney replaced it with Studio Galleries, later renamed the Whitney Museum.

In 1929 Gertrude Whitney was the owner of a modern American art collection totalling over 500 works, chiefly graphic art and paintings by friends and acquaintances: Edward Hopper, George Bellows, Maurice Brazil Prendergast, John Sloan et al. This was the time when she decided to donate it to the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, together with a sum of 5 million dollars for erecting the Museum's new wing. Edward Robinson, the then director of the Metropolitan, rejected the offer maintaining that the value of the collection was unfitting for his institution. In response Whitney decided to create her own museum, whose mission was to accumulate works of modern American art and to help living artists. This resolution was facilitated by the fact that after the death of her husband in 1930 she inherited part of his fortune, which allowed her to become a grand patron of the arts.

Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney died on 18 April 1942 as an acclaimed member of the New York world of the arts. She became a model modern American woman, strong and admired, and similarly to Mary Pickford³ or Amelia Earhart⁴ she achieved great unconventional success. Female entrepreneurship, repressed in the past, now won recognition and sympathy, becoming a symbol of new times – the inter-war Jazz Age. In the history of American collections Gertrude Vanderbilt had an outstanding predecessor – Isabella Stewart Gardner, but in contrast to the majority of collectors worshipping and amassing Old Masters she opted for new art, inviting it into museums, actively supporting artists, and, at the same time, transforming the traditional role of the collector into that of a patron and creator of culture. It was Gertrude Vanderbilt who initiated a discussion about the significance of American art and freed it from appalling provincialism. Thanks to Whitney museums across the United States, which in the past tended to sacralise Old European art, are now wide open to contemporary American artists. Her ideas were continued by successive generations of female relatives: daughter – Flora Whitney Miller, and granddaughter – Flora Miller Biddle, who fulfilled leading functions at the Whitney Museum of American Art. At present, the Museum Board of Trustees includes her great granddaughter Fiona Donovan.⁵

Three New York seats of the Whitney Museum

The Whitney Museum of American Art was opened on 17 November 1931. The gathered 4000 guests applauded a letter from President Hoover wishing the new institution accomplishments in cultivating national awareness of beauty and pride in native culture.⁶ The impact exerted by the Museum was intensified by the personalities of the two women running it. Gertrude Whitney was capable of ingeniously attracting the attention of the press and making use of her social life position for the purpose of drawing the most renowned artists and generous sponsors. Juliana Force, at the time the Museum director, was an outstandingly talented organiser and the first American impresario active on such a large scale.

In 1932 the buildings in West Eighth Street were redesigned according to a project proposed by the Noel &

Miller architectural studio. The former three town houses were now supplanted by a building featuring salmon pink stucco and standing unaltered to this day.⁷ Its most characteristic feature was an entrance portal carved in white marble and topped with a bas-relief of a metal eagle symbolising America, executed by Karl Free.⁸ The Whitney Museum played a crucial role not only in the promotion of American art but also in understanding its significance for moulding American pride and national identity, a fact of great importance considering that those were the Great Depression days of doubt and poverty.

After the death of the founder the Museum continued to develop dynamically. In 1954 its seat was transferred to Central Manhattan – a building located next to the Museum of Modern Art (MoMa) in West 54th Street. The new five-storey Whitney Museum was erected on a plot donated by MoMa. Both institutions were formally independent and connected only by an extant garden courtyard designed by Philip Johnson⁹ and used for presenting masterpieces of contemporary sculpture. The Modernist Whitney Museum, with a great metal eagle on the façade, was designed by the same artists who were responsible for the project of the first seat in Greenwich Village: architect August L. Noel and interior designer Bruce Butterfield. Its modern interior stirred a sensation: the ceilings were made of milky glass panes concealing modern light installations, the gallery partition walls on wheels were totally movable, and the floor – an absolute novelty in museum buildings of the period – was made of wooden parquet coloured blue and green. As a result, the interiors produced a somewhat Oriental impression and were compared to a Japanese home.¹⁰

In 1963, after barely eight years of functioning next to MoMA, the board of the Whitney Museum foundation decided to move once again. This step was motivated both by the necessity of possessing a larger building and a wish to free the Museum from the domination of the close-by Museum of Modern Art. The selected plot was located in the wealthy Upper East Side in Central Manhattan, at the corner of Madison Avenue and 75th Street, near the famous Museum Mile, where a kilometre-long stretch of Fifth Avenue includes, i.a. the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Guggenheim Museum, and the Frick Collection. Four outstanding architects: Marcel Breuer, Philip Johnson, Louis Kahn, and Ieoh Ming Pei were invited to propose projects for the new building. The winners of this informal competition were Marcel Breuer and his conception.

Marcel Breuer (1902–1981), born in Hungary and a graduate of the famous Bauhaus, came to the United States in 1937 upon the invitation of Walter Gropius and lectured at the Harvard Graduate School of Design. The Whitney Museum project is his lifetime achievement – the creation of a new typology of architectural form: a reversed ziggurat soaring dramatically above Madison Avenue. The form of an inverted spiral pyramid is also that of the nearby Guggenheim Museum, designed more than a decade earlier by Frank Lloyd Wright. Contrary to the latter's lightweight white ribbon the massive and angular solid of the Whitney Museum is covered by panels of dark granite. The façade is crowned by a 'Cyclops' eye' skylight opening the space of the highest gallery onto the New York skyline – in it the town is presented as a work of art. The building is separated from



3. Interior of the Whitney Studio Club, 10 West 8 Street, circa 1928, Whitney Museum of American Art, http://whitney.org/image_columns/0069/4068/93_24_2_sheelerc_resized_1140.jpg?1436981733



4. Second building of the Whitney Museum, West 54th Street, <http://designobserver.com/media/images/whitney2a.JPG>

the street by a moat and reached by a concrete footbridge comparable to a drawbridge. The intention inspiring the architect was most probably to separate the art museum from street commerce and the clamour of the big city.

The building is not a work of pure Modernism; on the contrary, it was erected already as a sign of critical opposition and antithesis in relation to the Bauhaus aesthetic and was created upon the tide of Brutalism – the *béton brut* period in architecture initiated by the works of Le Corbusier. Quite possibly, Breuer benefitted from the experiences of Minimalist sculpture appearing in the 1960s. The pyramid-like stone solid is separated from adjoining houses by vertical walls made of concrete. Raw concrete also appears in the interiors, whose most characteristic element are coffer ceilings and hammered texture walls. The imposing architecture of the entrance hall included a sculpted footbridge across a moat one storey below the level of the street and great glass panes casting light into the interior – the whole object appears to levitate in space. Just as in the second seat of the Whitney Museum so here too the dividing walls are movable, and the floors are covered with wooden parquet. The attention of the visitors was attracted by the original lighting and in particular the rhythm of several hundred round white lamps suspended above the entrance hall. The object gave rise to great emotions and defied popular taste. Ada Louise Huxtable, critic of 'The New York Times', described it as *the most disliked building in New York*, but admitted that it has class and elevates a practical museum building to the rank of an architectural work of art.¹¹ Artists adored it and with time – when its form became part of the landscape of Madison Avenue – it turned into one of the best-known examples of contemporary architecture in New York.

The Museum continued to develop, and its collections grew constantly. Demands made of the Museum buildings also changed and the latter were increasingly often granted new functions: temporary exposition galleries, auditoria,

clubrooms and didactic halls, restaurants, cafés, and museum shops. For twenty years the authorities of the foundation administering Whitney Museum embarked upon attempts at expanding the seat in Madison Avenue at the cost of adjoining buildings. Expansion conceptions were commissioned from, i.a. Michael Graves (1985), Rem Koolhaas (2001), and Renzo Piano (2004). The main obstacle upon the path of their realisations was created by the New York Landmark Commission, which determinedly protested against the demolition of adjacent buildings regarded as historical objects. The influential community of the residents of Upper East Side, a district inhabited by the wealthiest New Yorkers, also opposed the idea of expanding Whitney Museum.



5. Third building of the Whitney Museum by Madison Avenue, now the Met Breuer Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.inexhibit.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/The-Met-Breuer-facade-Madison-Avenue.jpg>



6. New building of the Whitney Museum on the banks of the Hudson River, in the background the Lower Manhattan skyscrapers



7. New building of the Whitney Museum seen from the east, along Gansevoort Street

The new Whitney Museum building

A successive breakthrough took place in 2006 when the Whitney Museum foundation decided that it had become necessary to build a new seat. A search for a suitable plot was initiated. The foundation turned for help to the city authorities, who proposed a site in Gansevoort Street, immediately next to an entrance to the newly-opened High Line Park laid out on a closed railway viaduct, whose several kilometres long route runs across the fashionable and dynamically developing post-industrial districts of West Manhattan: from Meatpacking District and Chelsea all the way to Hudson Yards. In the meantime, Chelsea became a world centre of modern art with more than 200 private galleries, which moved here at the turn of the twentieth century to escape increasingly rising rents in The Soho district, at the time undergoing gentrification. The assets of Chelsea included the presence of large garages and other low industrial buildings, easily adapted for exhibitions. The wealthiest art dealers could afford to buy them up, adjust them to their needs, and safely take root on a permanent basis.¹² To the south of Meatpacking District there stretches another celebrated New York district – Greenwich Village, popular among artists and home to New York University.

The corner plot (ca. 3300 sq. metres) made it possible to realise the assumptive plan by almost doubling the exhibition space, erecting an auditorium, and concentrating all the curators and museum staff under a single roof in a building some 20 000 sq. metres large. This is the way Renzo Piano described his work: *The design for the new museum emerges equally from a close study of the Whitney's needs and from a response to this remarkable site. We wanted to draw on its vitality and at the same time enhance its rich character. The first big gesture, then, is the cantilevered entrance, which transforms the area outside the building into a large, sheltered public space. At this gathering place beneath the High Line, visitors will see through the building entrance and the large windows on the west side to the Hudson River beyond. Here, all at once, you have the water, the park, the powerful industrial structures and the exciting mix of people, brought together and focused by this new building and the experience of art.*¹³

The building was designed 'from the inside' and its form was the outcome of a purely practical decision – the Museum was to be transparent, opened, and egalitarian. In contrast to Breuer, who surrounded his building with a moat Piano wanted to create in front of it a square teeming with life. This purpose was served by a functional character – the entire ground floor of the new building was to be occupied by generally accessible facilities, including a glassed-in entrance lobby with an exhibition gallery open to the public and presenting part of the permanent collections, a bookshop, and a restaurant. Above the ground floor the designer situated an auditorium and administrative facilities. The galleries are stacked on the highest storeys and encircled by curators' offices. The largest and tallest gallery, situated on the last storey, is additionally lit from the top by daylight from the north and offers almost 2000 sq. metres of open column-free space.

The architectural composition, a fact that Piano does not conceal,¹⁴ makes several references to the Breuer building – there are characteristic tiers as well as four large elevators and a central staircase comprising the composition core of the Museum, alongside movable dividing walls and wooden floors. Nevertheless, there are also basic differences – the Piano building is light and copiously glassed-in, offering numerous views of the urban landscape and the curators' offices surrounding the galleries. Its most characteristic feature is a cascade of terraces suspended above High Line Park and combined with walkways. They create, on the one hand, a legible allusion to adjoining buildings full of metal roofs and fire escapes, and, on the other hand, the fascinating space of an open-air sculpture gallery with spectacular views of Manhattan and Staten Island. The outlines of the World Trade Centre as well as street life and numerous construction sites in the proximity of the new Museum are to be seen at a glance. On fair days this is the route chosen by the majority of visitors moving between the three levels of the Museum galleries.

The architecture of Whitney Museum is diverse – each side of the building, covered with a façade made of pale blue-grey enamel steel panels,¹⁵ is different. From the east it is composed of tracery with terraces suspended



8. Main entrance to the museum, on the right the High Line Park



9. New building of the Whitney Museum seen from the north, in the foreground the meat wholesale Gansevoort Market



10. Outer staircases and terraces are used by the public as the main way of communication between museum galleries



11. Daylighted gallery at the highest level of the museum building



12. Museum class in front of the portrait of Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney



13. George Bellows, *Dempsey and Fripo*, 1924, Whitney Museum of American Art, <http://collection.whitney.org/object/214>



14. Edward Hopper, *South Carolina Morning*, 1955, Whitney Museum of American Art, <http://collection.whitney.org/object/789>

(Photos: 1 – E. Steichen;
3 – Ch. Sheeler; 5 – E. Lederman;
6-12 – A. Jasiński)

above the woody High Line. From the north it resembles a factory criss-crossed by chimneys, pipes, and strips of narrow windows, and topped with machinery placed on the roof. From this side it is surrounded by meatpacking plants preserved by the New York authorities as a relic of the original function of this area and situated in halls with low rent guaranteed for years. From the west and the Hudson River the building resembles a ship loaded with containers, and from the south its large glassed-in hall thrusts above the entrance square. It also discloses certain similarities with

the famous Centre Pompidou: in both cases a public square – a *sui generis* urban stage – was arranged in front of the building, while expressive architecture brings to mind an industrial construction rather than a museum.

Victoria Newhouse, an expert on the subject, claims that Renzo Piano possesses the gift of creating unpretentious museum buildings in which elegant and well-lit exhibition galleries do not compete with the works of art displayed within. This architecture – deprived of glamorous sophistication – features a balanced *sacrum and profanum*

element. Newhouse is of the opinion that the Parisian work by Piano and Rogers was the first museum building in the world to break with the tradition of a mystification of culture, and to alter the way of perceiving a contemporary museum and its functioning from a fortified and closed temple of art to an opened and inviting space offering the public an opportunity for meetings, interaction, and entertainment.¹⁶ This is also what is happening at the new Whitney.

At present the Whitney Museum permanent collections total some 22 000 exhibits by more than 3000 most outstanding American authors, including an unequalled set of 3155 paintings and drawings by Edward Hopper, and continue to be enlarged by numerous purchases and donations. Masterpieces in the Museum resources include works by Jasper Johns, Georgia O'Keeffe, Willem de Kooning, and Mark Rothko, graphic works and films by Andy Warhol, and sculptures by Alexander Calder, Eva Hesse, and Jeff Koons. The Whitney Museum strategy concentrates on the promotion of the *oeuvre* of living American artists and is realised by cyclical biennials, which comprise the most reliable survey of the accomplishments of American modern art, a rotating permanent exhibition, monographic exhibitions, presentations, publications, and scholarship campaigns. The Museum building also contains a library of 50 000 volumes accessible to researchers, and vast archives documenting the entire period of the Museum's activity.

The opening of the new Whitney reinforced the artistic position of West Manhattan – together with the open-air modern art exhibition into which High Line Park ultimately turned¹⁷ and the exciting offer of hundreds of commercial art galleries in Chelsea, this area became the most significant

centre of modern art in the world, promoting chiefly American art. Big city attractions draw creative firms – the Google company established its New York seat in a nearby old building of the port authorities, Renzo Piano has his second studio *vis à vis* Whitney Museum, and new, spectacular buildings designed by world famous architects: Frank Gehry, Jean Nouvel, and Shigeru Ban are springing up along High Line like mushrooms after the rain.

Manhattan, which on 11 September 2001 became the victim of the largest terrorist attack in the history of mankind, resulting in the death of almost 3000 persons in the ruins of the World Trade Centre, has risen again – rebuilt and even mightier. Already today it is perceived not solely as a global tourist attraction and a business or metropolis centre teeming with life, but also as an extremely popular residential area. Attention is drawn by new high-rise apartment buildings displaying impressive architectural solutions. Embankments are transformed into parks and promenades, and the town is crossed by a network of bike paths. Large-city life is flourishing as is art, in particular contemporary, of which New Yorkers are so fond. Even the conservative Metropolitan Museum of Art, which years ago rejected the offer to take over the Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney collections, has now rented from Whitney Museum the Breuer building in Madison Avenue, spent 15 million dollars on its meticulous restoration,¹⁸ and presents temporary modern art exhibitions under a new logo – The Met Breuer. In this manner Whitney Museum became a *sui generis* incubator of art – all its heretofore seats now contain museum and art institutions enhancing the cultural offer of New York.

Endnotes

¹ K.D. McCarthy, *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830–1930*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London 1991, p. 221.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Mary Pickford, wł. Gladys Marie Smith (1892–1979), American actress, star of silent movies, co-founder of the United Artists film studio.

⁴ Amelia Mary Earhart (1897–1937?), American pilot, journalist and poet, first woman to fly alone across the Atlantic.

⁵ F. Miller Biddle, *The Whitney Women and the Museum They Made*, Arcade Publishing, New York 2012.

⁶ K.D. McCarthy, *Women's Culture...*, p. 238.

⁷ The New York Studio of Drawing, Painting and Sculpture, featuring a meticulously restored portal and a salmon pink stucco façade, was opened in the building of the first Whitney Museum in July 2015, after: D. Dunlap, *Trace of the Whitney Museum Birthplace Reappears in the Village*, 'The New York Times' 1 August 2015.

⁸ Ch. Gray, *New York Streetscapes, Tales of Manhattan's Significant Buildings and Landmarks*, Harry N. Abrams, New York 2003.

⁹ Currently, the building occupied by the Whitney Museum in 1954–1966 houses the didactic wing of the Museum of Modern Art.

¹⁰ S. Knox, *Whitney Museum Reopening Today*, 'The New York Times' 26 October 1956; lecture 22 November 2016.

¹¹ Cited after: M. Kimmelman, *A New Whitney*, 'The New York Times' 19 April 2015.

¹² D. Halle, E. Tiso, *New York's New Edge. Contemporary Art, the High Line, and Urban Megaprojects on the Far West Side*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago-London 2016, p. 21.

¹³ Cited after: <http://whitney.org/About/NewBuilding> [Accessed on: 22 November 2016].

¹⁴ R. Piano, *Whitney Museum of American Art*, Fondazione Renzo Piano, Genova 2015, p. 188.

¹⁵ Originally, the building was to have stone façades, but this concept was abandoned due to their heaviness and high costs; after: R. Piano, *ibidem*, p. 190.

¹⁶ V. Newhouse, *Balancing Sacred and Profane*, wł. Renzo Piano Museums, The Monacelli Press, New York 2007.

¹⁷ In 2009 the management of High Line Park inaugurated the High Line Art program, within which works of art are presented in the Park. The year 2013 marked the inauguration of another program - the so-called Arts Corridor, after: D. Halle, E. Tiso, *New York's New Edge...*, p. 175.

¹⁸ The author of the renovation projects and the conservation of the building was Beyer Blinder Belle Architects & Planners, New York office. Design work was commenced in 2014 and the building was opened to the public in March 2016.

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MUSEUMS IN EUROPE: GENESIS AND PROFILE

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Abstract: In the last decades of the 20th c. and following 2000, a real 'boom' in founding Jewish museums throughout Europe could be observed. A lot of new institutions were established, and old ones were modernized. All this resulting from the growing urge to overcome silence over the Holocaust, to square up with the past, and to open the debate on the multiethnicity of the history of Europe. This, in turn, was favoured by the occurring phenomena: Europe's integration, the fall of the Iron Curtain, and the development of democratic civil societies.

New Jewish museums established in Europe, though inevitably making a reference to the Shoah, are not Holocaust museums as such, and they do not tell the story of the genocide. Their goal is mainly to restore the memory of the centuries of the Jewish presence in a given country, region, and town: they tell this story as part of the history of the given place, and aim at having it incorporated into the official national

history. Moreover, their mission is to show the presence and importance of the Jewish heritage in today's world, as well as to ask questions related to Jewish identity in contemporary Europe. The civilizational conflicts that arose after the relatively peaceful 1990s, outlined a new framework for the activity of Jewish museums which, interestingly, gradually go beyond the peculiar Jewish experience in order to reach a universal level. With such activities they try to promote pluralism and multicultural experience, shape inclusive attitudes, give voice to minorities, speak out against all the manifestations of discrimination and exclusion. Since these museums deal with such sensitive challenging issues, they have to well master the structure of their message on every level: that of architecture, script, exhibition layout, and accompanying programmes, thanks to which they unquestionably contribute to creating new standards and marking out new trends in today's museology as well as in museum learning.

Keywords: Jewish museums, new museology, narrative exhibition, Holocaust, commemoration, multiculturalism, pluralism.

The oldest Jewish museums in Europe began emerging in the late 19th century. The first was launched in Vienna in 1896; two years later the museums in Frankfurt and Hamburg were opened; the one in Prague was initiated in 1906, in Warsaw in 1910 (the Mathias Berson Museum of Jewish Antiquities), and the one in Budapest in 1916. Next such museums were established in the inter-war period: in Berlin (1932), Lvov (1935), and in Vilnius (1935). Founded by the Jewish community, these pre-WW II museums were first and foremost addressed to its members. Although the contexts of the establishment and operation of respective institutions differed, their overall goal was to preserve and record the world of the Jewish tradition that was becoming the thing of the past, as well as to consolidate the Jewish identity in the changing world. To a degree they were also to present the Jewish culture and tradition to the non-Jewish circles.¹ The museums principally collected and displayed items related to the Jewish tradition, yet also works by

Jewish artists. The end to those institutions was put by the invasion of Europe by Nazi Germany and the extermination of the Jewish population, this automatically eradicating any symptoms of Jewish cultural life. The museums were wound down, while their collections were either taken over or dispersed; in some cases they were successfully hidden, taken away, or preserved in a different way.² Only few of those institutions attempted to continue their activity following WW II. Initiated and launched only by very scarce communities of those who had survived the Holocaust, such museums served as depositories of memory during the post-WW II decades of silence: they were to preserve the remnants and pay tribute to those who had perished.³ In the subsequent post-WW II decades, Jewish questions remained uncomfortable topics, and were not tackled. In the countries under Communism what predominated was the Stalin heroic interpretation of the War, putting stronger emphasis on the martyrology of the local nations, with the

issue of Jews as victims of the Shoah being marginalized. Moreover, the topic of the collaboration of certain countries with Nazi Germany remained untackled. On the other side of the Iron Curtain many countries claimed to have been victims of Nazism, not really bringing up the debate over the role played by their own collaborating regimes in promoting Fascism. For this very reason the few operating Jewish museums, e.g. in Budapest, Prague, Warsaw, Amsterdam, Rome, Toledo, and Athens, were marginally active, and did not play any significant social role.

Breaking the silence around the Holocaust, which in the majority of countries consisted in settling accounts with the past and admitting participation, if only passive, of their own citizens in the Holocaust, was a very slow process. The breakthrough took place in the 1970s and 80s, finally after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989. In Poland, the debate on Jewish victims and the role of Poland not only as the war's victim, but also perpetrator of violence, developed only after the fall of Communism in the 1990s. Together with these changes there began activities meant to restore the memory and create platforms for debate on topics related to Jewish culture and its place in contemporary Europe. The initiatives that were related to minority groups, until then marginalized, were favoured by the European integration process, the development of liberal democracies in the West, and democratic transformations in the former Communist countries. Jewish topics gained momentum, they became symbol of democratic transformations and development of open civil societies. Numerous publications on Jewish issues were released, while universities launched chairs and institutes dedicated to Jewish studies.

All these developments did not only pave the way, but actually created demand for establishing Jewish museums. In the last two decades of the previous century and in the 2000s, in the majority of European countries new Jewish-related museums were founded. In the 1980s they were opened in e.g. Frankfurt (1987), Stockholm (1987), Vienna (1986). It was, however, the 1990s that were crucial: it was then that works, in many a case lasting for many years, were begun on major institutions opened to the public either just before or after 2000, these including: Museum of Jewish Art and History in Paris (1998), Jewish Museum in Berlin (initial concept: 1998, opened: 2001), Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw (initial concept: 1994, opened: 2013), Museum of Italian Judaism and the Shoah in Ferrara (2003), Danish Jewish Museum in Copenhagen (2004), Jewish Museum in Munich (2007), Oslo Jewish Museum (2008), Jewish Museum in Erfurt (2009), Museum of the Jewish People in Speyer (2010), Centre of Tolerance in Moscow (2015). Moreover, beginning as of the 1990s many museums operating by then were redesigned and transferred to new premises, acquiring in this way a new nationwide or European-wide prestige, e.g. the Jewish Museum of Greece in Athens (1993), Jewish Museum London (1995), Jewish Museum in Prague (1994), Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam (the first reorganization: 1989, subsequent renovation completed in 2007), Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archive in Budapest (2018).⁴

This Jewish museum boom coincided with the extension of functions and development of modern museology, putting emphasis on storytelling, message construction strategies,

and public's experience.⁵ For various social groups new museums have become tools for communicating their vision of the world, society, history.⁶ The contexts: social and political, proved to be particularly important in the case of Jewish museums which tackle tough controversial topics, additionally related to new Europe's challenges, such as migration and multiculturalism.

The goal of the present paper is to take a closer look at modern Jewish museums operating in Europe: to present their social mission and role in more detail, and to show how these translate into their character, premises, exhibitions, collections, and the overall programme activity.

In Europe, Jewish museums come to existence and operate in a totally different context than outside Europe, mainly in the USA, but also in Australia and South Africa, namely in locations where the history of the Jewish Diaspora has been relatively brief, and where the main Jewish centres developed after the Shoah. There they are most generally founded by the Jewish community and with it in mind: they are to consolidate identity, secure the tradition continuity: to a large degree, they tell the story of successful migration, the migrants' culture and values in new society.⁷ Another case can be found in Jewish museums in Israel, where they are national. As distinct from Israeli and American museums, European Jewish ones are in their majority established by non-Jews. Many are created as the result of Public-Private Partnership (PPP), at the instigation of the local Jewish community, a group of researchers, or fans of Jewish culture, supported by state or city authorities. The projects are usually implemented by a team of employers and experts who, when doing so, have a wide public in mind (residents of the city, country, international tourists), among whom only a fraction are representatives of the local Jewish community or Jewish tourists.

As much as in Jewish museums outside Europe the success of migrants is presented as if contradicting the story of the Jews in Europe, the latter perceived as the history of failure closed forever by the Holocaust, Jewish museums on the Old Continent have been founded to a degree in opposition to such a vision of history. Their establishment became a response to the growing need of breaking silence surrounding the Shoah, opening of the social debate, and of pondering over the place of Jewish history and culture in today's Europe. These museums' mission is principally to restore the memory of the centuries of the Jewish life in a given town, region, or country, and to demonstrate that despite the Shoah, this history has not ended, but contrariwise, it constitutes 'an open question' for the future.⁸ For this reason the majority of them in their exhibitions and relevant communiqués emphasize the idea of the century-long continuity: e.g. the POLIN Museum speaks of the *thousand year history of the Jews on the Polish territory*, the Jewish Museum in Berlin speaks of *2,000 years of the history of the German Jews*; the Jewish Museum in Oslo, of *400 years of the history of Jews in Norway*. When emphasizing this long-lasting presence of Jews, the museums desire to inscribe the Jewish history into the official national narratives. Therefore, many of the new Jewish museums bear names that bestow



1. Reconstruction of the Gwoździec Synagogue in the core exhibition at the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw

nationwide proportions upon them: e.g. Jewish Museum of Belgium, Danish Jewish Museum, Museum of the History of Polish Jews; or possibly relating it to the history of a town or a region, e.g. Jewish Museum Berlin or Jewish Museum of Westphalia. Historically, the displays at those institutions reveal the Jewish history as part of the history of a given place, emphasizing the centuries of coexistence, covering both conflicts and crises, as well as peaceful coexistence and mutual influences. A representative example of the trend can be seen in the narrative of the Core Exhibition at the POLIN Museum. Its main Curator Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes the history presented there as *relational and shared* covering the whole range of relations: from the best to the worst; the Exhibition's protagonists are not referred to by her as *Jews from Poland*, but *Jews of Poland*, while the shown Jewish culture, as *from within the Jewish category, and Polish in particular*.⁹

It is noteworthy that all the Jewish museums are created in Europe partially in the context of the Shoah, and have to inevitably relate to the Holocaust. They are, however, something completely different than Holocaust museums and the martyrology ones founded on Holocaust sites, which are genocide museums, and generally not typically Jewish ones. The story of the Shoah is not merely Jewish history; it has actually stigmatized whole communities and nations. Jewish museums in Europe, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett observes, do commemorate the Holocaust, however in a completely different way: by showing what Jewish life and culture had looked like before the Shoah.¹⁰ At the same time, these museums are in a way founded in opposition to the trauma caused by the Holocaust: they are an attempt

to open up to the future, they are meant to express hope for the possibility of improvement and renewal. For many museums it is of major importance for the history before the Holocaust not to be told as a chain of events directly leading to it, but for it to avoid the martyrology, nostalgic undertones, and to be rendered in all its richness, complexity, as well as multitude of aspects, while for the present time to be shown as renewal and new life. Museums communicate it not only through their exhibitions and programmes, but also through their location or architectural form.

In view of this aspiration to 'open history', in many European Jewish museums a particularly important role is played by the post-WW II and contemporary period.¹¹ Their exhibitions and programme activity are meant to demonstrate the endurance of Jewish past and its role even today despite the Holocaust. In some cases the entire exhibition narrative is subordinated to this strategy, e.g. in the Jewish Museum Munich the *Voices, Places, Times* Exhibition is set in the present topography of the city (interactive pawns, when placed at a definite point of the city map spread on the floor, activate audiovisual presentations dedicated to the history of the given location). The Jewish Museum in Vienna has titled its new permanent exhibition 'Our City! Jewish Vienna – Then to Now!'. The museums pose questions regarding the lesson learnt from the Holocaust, the meaning of Jewish heritage to contemporary society, as well as being a Jew and Jewishness in contemporary world (the question about the contemporary sense of 'Jewishness' is particularly relevant in Europe where Jewish communities are being built anew on the rubble of the past). For example, the Core Exhibition at the POLIN Museum concludes with the presentation of

several individuals telling the viewers what it is to them being a Jew in today's Poland. It seems that the newer the museum, the more emphasis is put on formulating such questions. The departure point for the permanent exhibition at the Jewish Museum Frankfurt currently being reconstructed is to be found in contemporary problems bothering both Jewish and non-Jewish city residents: *How can exclusion be prevented? How can the family traditions, which are not shared by the majority surrounding us, be preserved?*¹²

The complicated, multifaceted message of European Jewish museums is reflected in the buildings which house them, and in their location. Their premises are most frequently raised on the sites where Jewish history went on for centuries. Wherever possible, they have been housed in old synagogues (e.g. Erfurt, Prague, Budapest, Toledo, Rome, Venice, Amsterdam), or in other buildings that are connected with the Jewish community, e.g. the Frankfurt Museum is located on the site of archaeological remains of the old Judengasse and on the premises of the restored Rothschild Palace; the Museum in Hohenems is housed in the 19th–century villa that once belonged to the wealthy family of industrialists, the Heimann-Rosenthals. It is particularly Western Europe, boasting more such historic brick buildings, whose devastation in World War II happened on a much smaller scale than in East-Central Europe, that features such a museum type. To illustrate this point let us mention the museum in the Synagogue in Erfurt, opened in 2009, in the oldest preserved Jewish house of prayer in Central Europe, whose fragments date back to the 11th century, or the Museum in Speyer which, together with Worms and Mainz, was the cradle of the Ashkenazi Jews' culture; there the Museum has been built around three archaeological exhibitions in the places of the old synagogue, ritual bath, and the cemetery. It sometimes happens that a museum is

placed in a partially destroyed building, which turns it at the same time into a tool of commemorating the past and settling with it. As such an instance let us point to the Jewish Alsatian Museum, housed in the synagogue damaged during WW II by the Nazis, or the Berlin Centrum Judaicum located in the ruins of the New Synagogue in Oranienstrasse damaged during the Crystal Night. The frequent practice while constructing Jewish museums is to add new buildings to old architecture, which allows to emphasize the idea of 'continuity', 'repair', and of connecting the past with the present day.

Moreover, there are obviously also museums housed in edifices raised contemporarily. Some constitute architectural works of the highest rank, standing out with symbolical architecture, establishing a dialogue with history and culture. This 'Jewish architectural context' is to be found in the designs of Daniel Libeskind, mainly in the Jewish Museum Berlin launched in 2001. In the architect's concept, already the very crossing the building is meant to make the visitor personally confront the history and the Museum's message. The entrance to it and the non-display public section of the premises are located in the little Baroque palace of the former Prussian Court from the 18th century, reminding of how Jewish history is rooted in Germany's history, and of the era of the Enlightenment, revolutionary for the history of German Jews, namely the period when emancipation and reformatory ideas were born. Adjacent to this building, Libeskind-designed extremely expressive architectural structure houses the permanent exhibition, based on a zigzagging layout resembling shattered Star of David or a thunderbolt, in reality inspired by the topography of Berlin sites related to Jewish-German history. Stunning and intriguing with its metallic anti-structural façade slashed with diagonal elongated skylights, it also stirs similar emotions with so-called voids in its interiors, i.e. empty spaces arousing



2. 'Voices, Places, Times' – permanent exhibition at the Jewish Museum Munich



3. Entrance to the Jewish Museum Berlin



4. Façade fragment of the Jewish Museum Berlin



5. Garden of Exile, Jewish Museum Berlin

anxiety. Juxtaposed with the Baroque palace, the new edifice expresses the tough emotional character of German-Jewish history. As argued by the building's analysts, its form relates to the Holocaust and destruction, while at the same time expressing hope for renewal and repair.¹³ Visitors entering the exhibition have to first go underground, as if immersing into the past and confronting it. Three passageways await them there; they symbolize three different destinies of the German Jews: the Holocaust Axis leading to the Holocaust Tower; the Exile Axis leading to the Garden of Exile; and the Continuity Axis leading to the permanent exhibition, thus paradoxically taking the visitor back into history. In order to enter it, one 'ascends' stairs, which can suggest redemption and reconciliation.¹⁴ Joining an old building with a new expressionist structure, and basing the architecture on numerous historical, cultural, and literary references, was also the method Libeskind applied in the Jewish Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen, opened in 2004. The Museum is housed in a building inserted in the edifice mounted inside the old Royal Library building in Copenhagen's centre.

As the strongest emphasis of the permanent exhibition 'Space and Spatiality' is put on the history of saving the Jewish community by Danes in 1943, Libeskind selected as the departure point for his 'dense' symbolical architecture the concept of 'mitzvah', in Jewish tradition meaning 'a good deed' resulting from following God's commandments. The form, structure, and the light alike are to symbolize this human commitment.¹⁵ An equally interesting example of expressive architecture, relating to the place and communicating the message of its Core Exhibition, can be seen in the POLIN Museum designed by Rainer Mahlamäki. Glazed and light-immersed cubic building symbolizing 'life', dialogues with the Monument to the Ghetto Heroes opposite, speaking of the Holocaust, as well as with the post-WW II Muranów housing estate, symbolizing the post-war silence around it. The dynamic architecture of the Museum's interior, emphasized by the monumental curved hall ripping through the whole, together with numerous passageways, bridges, and skylights, expresses the history drama, but also the concept of change, transition, and voyage from the past into the future, from

bondage to freedom; in this case, the architect resorted to the metaphor of Israel's Departure from Egypt and the crossing of the Red Sea.¹⁶ The huge glazed window closing the back façade, overlooking a park, symbolizes hope and the building's rooting in the life of today's city.¹⁷

Furthermore, another widespread practise consists in placing Jewish museums at several locations. They can, for instance, include an old synagogue, a separate building housing a historical exhibition, occasionally a separate section dedicated to the Holocaust, an art gallery, a learning centre, etc. The largest such institution in Europe is to be found in the Jewish Museum in Prague, covering four historical synagogues, a ceremonial hall, and an old vast Jewish cemetery (plus an archive, gallery, library, learning and cultural activities centre). Another example of such an attitude is featured in Amsterdam; the institution's proper name is Jewish Cultural Quarter, made up of the Jewish Historical Museum (housed in 4 buildings of the former synagogue), Children's Museum (with the display showing the religious tradition), majestic Portuguese Synagogue (used for religious services), and the branch of the Holocaust Museum housed in the building where people were gathered before deportation. Additionally, the Ets Haim Library, in operation continuously from the 17th century, and boasting an enormous collection of Jewish manuscripts and prints, forms part of the Museum. Interestingly, though not all the museums have such a rich 'infrastructure', Jewish ones in Europe, due to their commemorative mission, marking the traces, recapturing the forgotten past, have a tendency of entering city space and their surroundings. A unique form of such an 'opening' can be seen in the project authored by the POLIN Museum, namely the Museum on Wheels, a travelling display which together with its animators and educators travels from town to town throughout Poland, at each destination adjusting the programme accompanying the display to the location's history and specificity.

In the majority of the museums created or redesigned over the last two decades the axis is to be found in a historical narrative exhibition, telling the century-long history of Jews in a given region, emphasizing their belonging to the place and the shared destiny of the communities living alongside. What Jewish museums find extremely useful is the narrative exhibition concept, popular in new museology, in which the script is the story that the museum wishes to tell. Firstly, due to a substantial destruction of the material culture of European Jews such museums are hardly ever able to construct their display around a collection; instead, they willingly reach out for all the additional sources and media: records of spoken history, source quotes, reconstructions, or stage sets based on the references to the period. Secondly, Jewish museums predominantly want to tell stories of history. Obviously, by doing so they present an interpretation of history, thus they as if adopt some kind of a meta-historical perspective.¹⁸ As Moshe Rossman, the historian co-creating the Core Exhibition at the POLIN Museum says, the exhibition at a narrative museum needs to have a meta-story that builds up above the facts, namely a bigger narrative that gives them a certain sense and meaning. At the same time, however, a well-arranged display should provide the public with the possibility to criticize the narrative and to take their own position.¹⁹ As much as they differ in several elements among themselves,

in the historical displays of Jewish museums several shared metahistoric assumptions can be identified: pointing to the relations of Jewish history with a given country, region, or town; presenting history as shared by Jews and other communities living there, in which periods of cooperation and mutual influences interlaced with moments of crisis and fall; emphasising the specificity of Jewish culture developed in a given country. What also matters in the narratives of those museums is the presentation of cultural pluralism and various points of view: they show both the internal differentiation of Judaism, and means of self-defining of Jewish communities, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as various forms of cooperation and relations between the Jews and their non-Jewish environment. Such phenomena as 'change', 'influences', and 'cross-cultural borderland' are shown as positive, yielding development and progress. In these exhibitions an important role is also played by individual stories, showing complex lives, complex identities, individual choices. Apart from historical displays, many museums also feature exhibitions dedicated to the Jewish traditions and religion: at times shown in a narrative format, at others based on an impressive collection. The displays are conceived to a great degree with the public who are not acquainted with Jewish tradition in mind; they are instructive, introducing into the intricacies of Jewish rituals, while in the case of



6. Entrance and main hall in the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews



7. POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews: view of the park side

(Photos: 1 – M. Starowieyska, MHŻP POLIN; 2 – Jüdisches Museum München; 3-5 – Nobel-Nobielki; 6 – M. Jeżyk, MHŻP POLIN; 7 – W. Kryński, MHŻP POLIN)

precious collections, they present the material wealth and Jewish artistic traditions. Sometimes located in old synagogues or on sites of archaeological remains of the buildings connected with the former Jewish communities (ritual baths, house remains, etc.), they are sometimes enriched with reconstructions and virtual presentations (e.g. the Jewish Museum Vienna boasts its branch called Judenplatz located on the site of uncovered foundations of a mediaeval synagogue, where apart from archaeological remains a computer reconstruction of the synagogue and a virtual trip through the mediaeval Jewish district have been presented). Due to a high degree of destruction of the monuments of Jewish culture, merely a small part of the Jewish museums are created on the grounds of a collection. Mention in this respect has to be made, however, of the Jewish Museum in Prague (a copious collection of synagogue artefacts and domestic utensils, textiles and metal objects, as well as visual art), Museum of Jewish Art and History in Paris (next to religious items, textiles, manuscripts, and archive records, it boasts a major art collection, e.g. works by Chagall, Modigliani, Soutine showing the role of Jews in 20th-century art), Jewish Museum Frankfurt (manuscripts and everyday objects), Jewish Museum of Rome (synagogue art), Jewish Museum of Greece in Athens, Jewish Museum Vienna (basing on the collection of the pre-war museum closed down in 1938), Old Synagogue in Erfurt (displaying the so-called Treasure of Erfurt, possibly buried during the 1349 pogrom), and Jewish Museums in Vilnius, London, and in Budapest (the latter three based on the collections of their pre-war counterparts). Contrasting with them, nevertheless, are those new Jewish museums which did not possess any collection at the stage of being founded (e.g. the POLIN Museum): these institutions carry out public programmes of collecting mementoes, and develop their collections through searches and purchases; at the same time, they collect intangible historical heritage, particularly records of

oral history. It is worth remembering that although Jewish museums are not essentially art museums, several of them: in Paris, Amsterdam, Vilnius, that of the Jewish Historical Institute (ŻIH) in Warsaw, or London's Ben Uri Gallery own impressive collections of works by Jewish artists. However, also in those of a much more historical profile art plays an important role: as expression of the material richness of former Jewish culture (synagogue art, Judaica), as expression of identity (works of modern Jewish artists), and finally as today's comment on the topics presented by the museum (contemporary art by both Jewish and non-Jewish artists).

Interestingly, regardless of the location, character of the building, or display format, all the Jewish museums put much emphasis on their current programme activity. Temporary exhibitions and other educational and cultural activities are important for the implementation of the mission of these museums which aspire to be venues of a social dialogue. This has been extremely important over the last years when together with migrations and the transformation of Europe's population as its result, the questions of multiculturalism and inter-religious dialogue have become increasingly more pressing. The new civilizational conflicts that have arisen after the relatively calmer 1990s, have demarcated new frameworks for the activity of Jewish museums, which are more and more going beyond the specifically Jewish experience onto the universal level. With their activity, they want to promote pluralism and multiculturalism, shape an inclusive civic state; they want to give the floor to minorities; they oppose different manifestations of discrimination, exclusion, and hate speech. For example, the Jewish Museum of Belgium in Brussels has recently mounted the Exhibition *Brussels Has a Safe Haven?* (13 Oct. 2017–18 March 2018), presenting various waves of immigrants coming to the city. The Exhibition posed questions as for their reasons for abandoning their home countries, how they had been welcomed to Brussels, and how they had found their place in

today's city.²⁰ In this context the fact that the London Ben Uri Gallery&Museum have changed the collection strategy, and have for the last several years been collecting not just works by Jewish artists, but also by other ones who have arrived in England as migrants, seems really symbolic.

How can thus the activity and impact of Jewish museums in Europe be summed up briefly? They have been created in response to the urgency of the times: they were the response to the social need of settling down with the past, overcoming silence around the Holocaust, and of restoring the forgotten history. They were also meant to play an active role in the process of 'repair' and 'renewal', learning a lesson from the past, overcoming silence around the Holocaust, overcoming

stereotypes, taming the word 'Jew'. Due to the fact that according to their assumptions they are to 'open history' and reach into the future, their function and mission are dynamic, and alter under new social and political circumstances. Amidst today's world tormented by subsequent crises, these museums promote the idea of civic society, and consolidate the attitude open to dialogue, diversity, multiculturalism. As they handle sensitive and tough issues, they have to master well the structure of their message on every level: display's architecture, scenarios, and arrangement, as well as the accompanying programmes, thanks to which they contribute significantly to setting new standards and demarcating new trends in today's museology and museum learning.

Endnotes

- ¹ More on the first Jewish museums: R. Piątkowska, „Skarby naszej przeszłości”. *Muzea żydowskie w Polsce* [‘Treasures of Our Past’. Jewish Museums in Poland], M. Adamczyk-Garbowska, A. Markowski, A. Trzciniński, M. Wodziński (ed.), ‘Studia Judaica’ 2013, Vol. 16, No. 2(32), pp. 3-45; on the topic of beginning of museum collections, exhibitions, as well as Jewish museums and their social context see: R. Cohen, *Jewish Icons. Arts and Society in Modern Europe*, University of California Press, Oakland 1998.
- ² A part of the collection of the JIWO Institute for Jewish Research was transferred to New York. The collections of the Jewish Museum in Prague were preserved on site, as in 1942 the invading Nazis created on its premises the Central Jewish Museum meant to serve in the future as an exotic museum testifying to an extinct race.
- ³ The museums in Prague and Budapest were nationalized, their activity was limited, they were not given the opportunity to conduct research. In Paris in 1948, a small Jewish museum meant to commemorate Jewish artists active just prior to WW II was set up. In 1948, within the structure of Warsaw's Jewish Historical Institute a museum was founded; it initiated its activity with e.g. the Exhibition: ‘Activity of Jewish Artists, Martyrs of Nazi Occupation in 1939-45’, see: M. Sieramska, *Muzeum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego – zbiory i działalność* [Museum of the Jewish Historical Institute: Collections and Activity], in: *Żydowski Instytut Historyczny. 50 lat działalności* [Jewish Historical Institute. 50 Years of Activity], Warszawa 1996.
- ⁴ European Jewish museums have had a common platform since 1989: the Association of European Jewish Museums, allowing predominantly experience exchange and cooperation among them, <http://www.aejm.org>
- ⁵ On the methodological level these transformations were manifested in the book *The New Museology*, P. Vergo (ed.), Reaktion Books, London 1989. Its editor Peter Vergo (as well as other essay authors invited by him), spoke in it of the need to change the attitude to museums, and of the shift of focus from methodical aspects related to museums’ operating to the aspects connected with the museums’ goals and tasks (P. Vergo, *Introduction*, *Ibid*, p. 3). In his essay published in the volume (*Reticent Object*, *Ibid*, pp. 41-59) he called on museologists to consciously define and analyse contexts and assumptions of exhibitions, and to consciously search for and master display means meant to allow to implement these assumptions.
- ⁶ P. Kowal, *Spoleczny, cywilizacyjny i polityczny kontekst polskiego boomu muzealnego*, [Social, Civilisational, and Political Context of Polish Museum Boom], in: *Muzeum i zmiana. Losy muzeów narracyjnych* [Museum and Change. History of Narrative Museums], K. Wolska-Pabian, P. Kowal (ed.), Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2019, p. 32.
- ⁷ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Why Jewish Museums? An International Perspective*, M. Adamczyk-Garbowska, A. Markowski, A. Trzciniński, M. Wodziński (ed.), ‘Studia Judaica’..., pp. 77-78, 81.
- ⁸ *Ibid*, s. 84.
- ⁹ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Jak powstawała wystawa*, [How the Exhibition Was Created], in: *Polin. 1.000 Year History of Polish Jews – catalogue for the Core Exhibition*, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, A. Polonsky (ed.), Warszawa 2014, p. 32.
- ¹⁰ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Why Jewish museums?...*, pp. 85-56: B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett emphasises that the only museums in which the Holocaust is at the same time national history are the Yad Vashem Museum in Jerusalem and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC.
- ¹¹ *Ibid*, s. 84.
- ¹² Information on the new exhibition with planned opening in late 2019 to be found on the Jewish Museum Frankfurt website: <https://www.juedischesmuseum.de/en/visit/detail/new-permanent-exhibition-in-the-rothschild-palais-1/>
- ¹³ A. Kamczycy, *Muzeum Libeskinda w Berlinie. Żydowski kontekst architektury*, [The Libeskind Museum in Berlin. Jewish Context of the Architecture], Poznań 2015.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid*, s. 83-91.
- ¹⁵ Description and analysis of the architecture of the Jewish Museum in Copenhagen to be found on the Museum's website: <https://jewmus.dk/en/the-danish-jewish-museum/>.
- ¹⁶ See also interview with Rainer Mahlamäki in the video accompanying the Exhibition ‘How to Make a Museum’, available at: <https://www.polin.pl/pl/wydarzenie/jak-zrobic-muzeum>.
- ¹⁷ More on the architecture of the POLIN Museum by the architect, museologists, and critics: ‘Architektura’ 2013, No. 03/09, ‘Arch’ (SARP’s Architectural Periodical) 2013, No. 3(17), ‘Ark’ (Finnish Architecture Review) 2014, no 4. Marcin Ferenc’s text from ‘Architektura’ 2013, No. 03/09 available also on the NIMOZ website: <https://architektura.nimoz.pl/2013/03/09/konstrukcja-muzeum-historii-zydow-polskich/>
- ¹⁸ According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, *metahistory is the enquiry into the principles governing historical events; the study of the philosophy of history, or of historiography; specifically the study of the structure of historical narrative*.
- ¹⁹ M. Rossman, *Zdecydowanie żydowskie, wyraźnie polskie – Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich a nowa polsko-żydowska metahistoria*, [Definitely Jewish, Clearly Polish: the Museum of the History of Polish Jews versus New Polish-Jewish Metahistory], M. Adamczyk-Garbowska, A. Markowski, A. Trzciniński, M. Wodziński

(ed.) 'Studia Judaica'... pp. 50-51.

²⁰Information on the Exhibition on the Museum's website: <http://www.mjb-jmb.org/expositions/expositions-passees/>.

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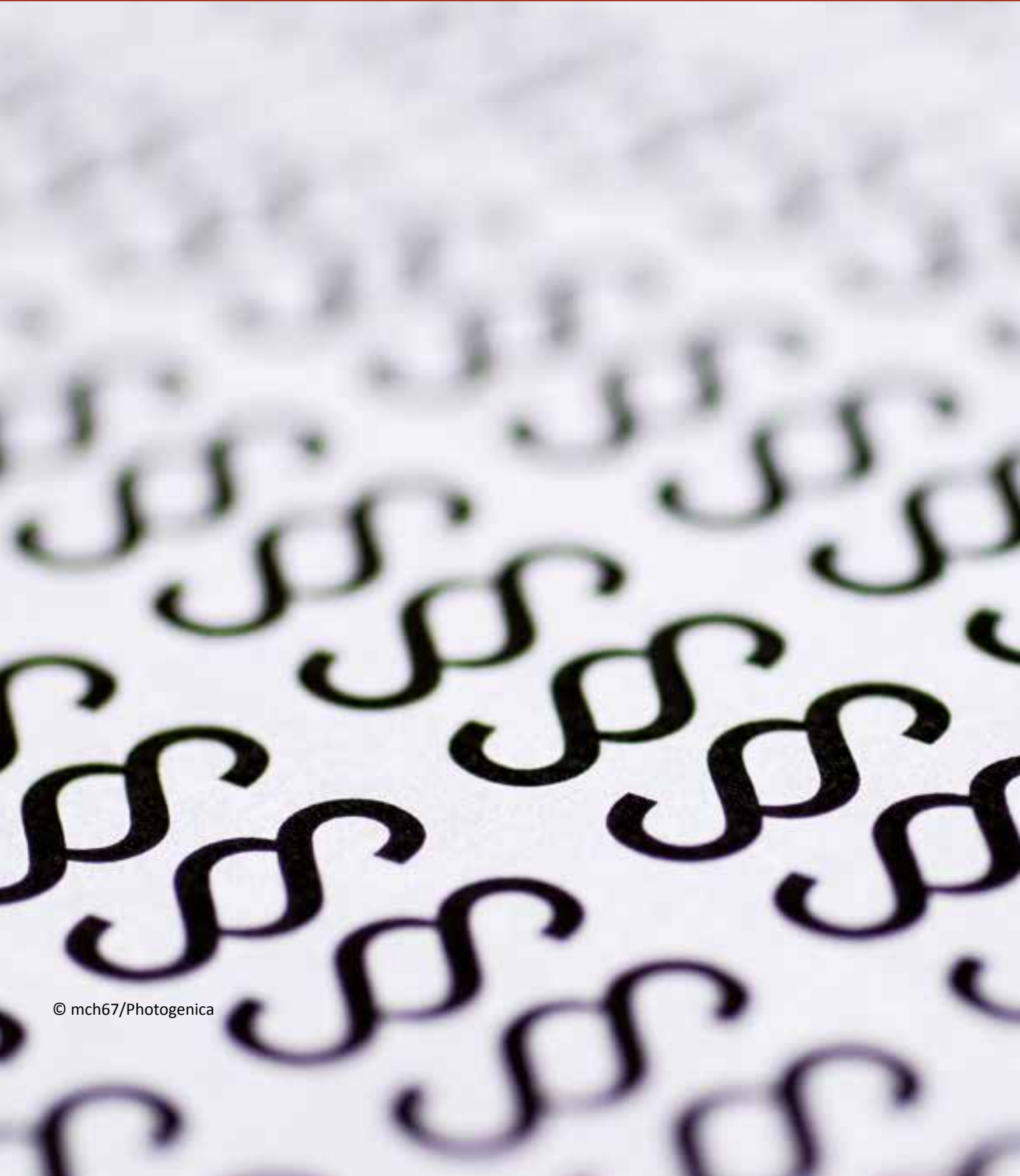
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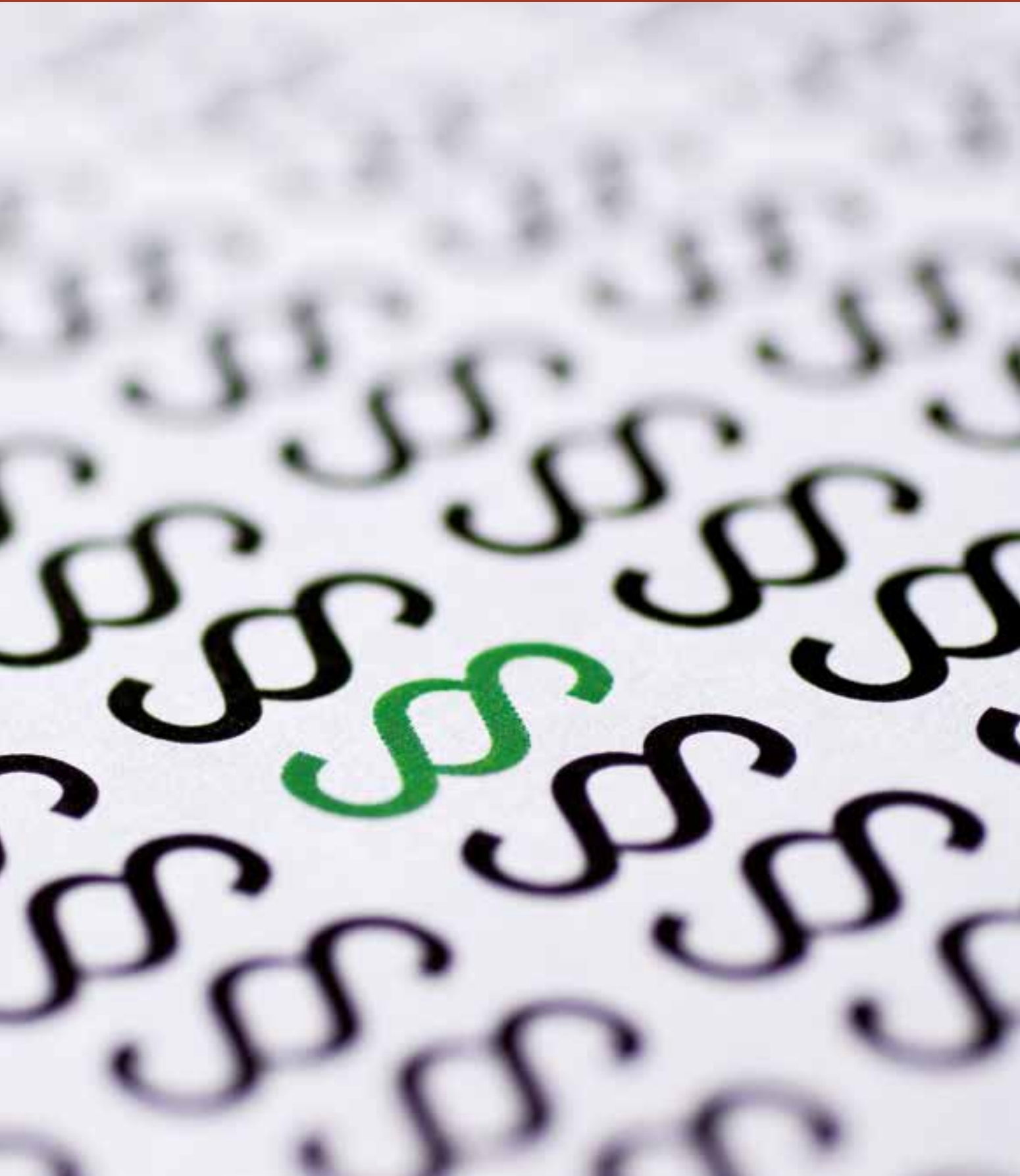
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HIGH STANDARD – WHAT KIND, THEN? THE NEED TO INTRODUCE AN ACCREDITATION SCHEME FOR POLISH MUSEUMS

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Abstract: In the Act on Museums, chapter 3, the National Register of Museums is described as an official list of institutions representing both a high standard of their activity and extremely important collections. In accordance with the Act a relevant Regulation concerning the Register is to specify the manner in which the Register should be kept, the application form for candidates, the mode and conditions of making entries, and control circumstances. However, the Regulation does not indicate either the requirements to be met by museums or the criteria of their assessment; only in the case of the application form does it mention the range of analysed issues. This situation resembles taking part in a contest devoid of rules: the evaluated categories are known from the application form, but there is no reference to the goals toward which museums should strive, or to criteria according to which a given institution will be assessed positively or negatively.

Even though members of the classification committee are distinguished specialists undoubtedly capable of assessing the standard of a given museum, evaluation deprived of criteria becomes purely subjective and indeterminate. Such countries as the United Kingdom use accreditation systems that make it possible to apply for a certification of the high standard of museum activity. Binding accreditation schemes clearly specify requirements addressed to museums, leaving no doubt which element is being assessed and according to what sort of criterion. This process also has a positive impact on the unification of museum management and delineates the direction museums should take in order to improve the quality of their work. Such standards refer both to strategic issues associated with the management of the museum as an organisation and its collections, and to the offer addressed to the public.

Keywords: museum management, high standard of performance, importance of collections, National Register of Museums, British accreditation scheme, Accreditation Scheme for Museums and Galleries in the United Kingdom, Arts Council England.

Principles of the functioning of museums in Poland

The general purposes of museums and their tasks are defined and recorded in the Act on Museums.¹ In accordance of art. 1 museums collect and preserve natural and cultural heritage (both tangible and intangible), inform about the values and contents of their collections and diffuse them,

foster cognitive and aesthetic sensitivity, and provide access to their collections. These objectives are realised by means of multiple activities listed in art. 2, such as the cataloguing and scientific classification of collections, maintaining accumulated monuments in conditions safeguarding their proper and secure preservation and conservation, arranging exhibitions as well as educational and promotion activities,

etc. Regulations intent on rendering precise the functioning of museums had been formulated for the purpose of elaborating demands pertaining to some of the tasks. In the domain of collection management they concern, i.a. the range and course of protecting museum collections against fires, robberies and other threats of damage or loss of exhibits,² the range, forms, and manners of recording museum objects,³ the course of documentation of the terms, manner, and procedure of transferring museum exhibits outside the seat of the museum⁴, as well as questions connected with obtaining permission for temporary export of objects abroad⁵ and the legal protection of movables borrowed from abroad for a temporary exhibition (so-called museum immunity).⁶ The Act in question also regulates certain problems connected with staff management, such as conditions necessary for holding particular posts in a museum.⁷ The majority of legal regulations, however, outline only a general framework of the functioning of museums and are to a considerable extent insufficient (and often excessively ambiguous) to be recognised as an indicator of the standards of the functioning of a museum. Regulations are particularly laconic in the case of recording collections and their relocation, and do not provide guidelines allowing complex management of the collections and their documentation. As a rule, museums work in accordance with their years-long practice frequently founded on already annulled regulations – they base themselves on the so-called blue line book, i.e. a collation of legal acts together with a presentation of the year 1967 and an expanded edition from 1970.⁸ In turn, museums with a short history and devoid of own experiences borrow from the not always good practices of other museums or attempt to solve problems on their own, sooner or later colliding with an absence of unambiguity and contradictory regulations. Consequently, we cannot speak about a joint scheme of the functioning of museums or a homogenous standardised model of activity addressed to them.

Requirements of the National Register of Museums

The National Register of Museums (further as: Register) was established for the purpose of confirming the high standard of activity and the significance of collections in museum institutions in Poland.⁹ Listing in the Register depends in particular on the importance of the collections, the employment of a team of well-qualified employees, an adequate building for the collections, and a permanent source of financing.¹⁰ In accordance with the Act on Museums – *a registered museum shall benefit from a special protection and financial assistance of the state*.¹¹ The Act grants the registered museum *the pre-emptive right to purchase from entities whose activity is based on offering artwork items for sale*¹² and *the pre-emptive right to buy directly at auctions*.¹³ At present, the Register includes 127 institutions, which received the special status of a Registered Museum.¹⁴

In accordance with the Act on Museums, the Regulation of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 13 May 2008 on the way of keeping the National Register of Museums (further as: Regulation) is to define the Register inscription

application form, the conditions and procedure for inscriptions, and the circumstances under which an audit can be ordered to verify whether a museum still meets conditions for being listed in the Register.¹⁵ In accordance with the Regulation museums are inscribed into the Register upon a motion filed by the organiser of a museum and a decision made by the Minister of Culture and the Protection of National Heritage, after gaining the opinion of a ten-person classification commission established by the Minister from among outstanding specialists dealing with museology and affiliated sciences.¹⁶ An example of the inscription application form was defined in the Regulation – the museum adds documents, such as a copy of the foundation act of the museum, its statute and organisation rules, most recent financial report, etc.

The Regulation does not indicate the requirements, which a museum must meet or the criteria of the assessment of applications. Premises contained in the Act on Museums are to be generally observed, but the qualitative standard indispensable for a museum to be classified as suitable for the Register is not indicated. One can find out what sort of categories are assessed upon the basis of information, which the given museum is obligated to present in the submitted application – nonetheless, mention is made only of the range of problems to be analysed by the commission. The majority of questions contained in the application form accumulate typical account data, such as the number of publications, exhibitions, museum exhibits, etc.; more extensive descriptive information (e.g. a characteristic of exhibitions) is also partly required. Nonetheless, these issues refer only to a small degree to the management of the institution – procedures, policies or strategies of activity. In the case of certain questions it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which information is connected with the high standard of activity, as in the case of questions about possessing a photography studio or commissioning this type of work outside the museum; this depends on the sort of institution, the number of collections, spatial conditions, and economic justification, and does not have to be linked with the good or inferior quality of the activity of the institution as such. Apart from asking about the principles of accumulating collections, which could provide a certain vision of the future growth of collections, the application does not take into account questions connected with plans or strategies for the future activity of the given institution.

The above situation is the reason why institutions aspiring to the rank of a registered museum are not informed what is expected of them or how and upon what basis will assessment take place. The Regulation concentrates on the technical aspect of inclusion into the Register and the eventual removal from it but does not define requirements and conditions to be successfully tackled by the museum nor does it render precise criteria of the assessment made by the classification commission. Despite the fact that such a commission is composed of persons who are outstanding specialists and who are without doubt capable of judging the level of a museum upon the basis of their experience and the information contained in the application, an assessment deprived of uniform criteria becomes purely subjective and inestimable.

The accreditation system and museums

Accreditation systems function in numerous domains. Their purpose is to attest that a given organisation fulfils its tasks on a level that meets specific high standards. By way of example, the evaluation of the quality of education at schools of higher learning, carried out by the Polish Accreditation Committee,¹⁷ decides whether a given school of higher learning will obtain the right to conduct a certain course or not. Importantly, such an assessment is pro-quality and periodically verified.

Standardised systems of museum accreditation exist in such countries as the United Kingdom or the USA. Associated obligatory schemes clearly define requirements to be met by an accredited museum, leaving no doubt as to which element of its activity is evaluated and according to what sort of criterion. Moreover, criteria contained in accreditation schemes offer distinct information about the way in which an exemplary museum should function, and what exerts a positive impact on the standardisation of managing a museum and delineates the direction that institutions should follow for the sake of improving quality. Such standards refer both to strategic questions connected with managing a museum conceived as an organisation, museum collections, and the offer proposed by the institution to the public.

The Museum Accreditation Scheme in Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The first version of the Museum Accreditation Scheme in Great Britain and Northern Ireland was created already in 1988 in order to support museums in the implementation of standards and the identification of domains of development. The original name of the scheme is highly characteristic – this was to be a register of museums representing a confirmed high level. In 2004 the name of the scheme was changed to ‘Accreditation’ in order to better depict its purpose, which entailed not so much the selection of a small and exclusively registered group of institutions as universally raising the level of the functioning of museums.

An updated version of the Museum Accreditation Scheme, recognised as the British standard, was issued in 2011.¹⁸ Support for the standard, its development as well as conferring accreditation are the responsibility of the Arts Council England,¹⁹ cooperating with the Welsh Government, Museums Galleries Scotland, and the Northern Ireland Museums Council.

The standard takes into account different types, dimensions, and ranges of the activity of museums; consequently, large and prosperous museums are not judged with the same yardstick as small ones with a limited budget, thanks to which the latter are not excluded from the possibility of obtaining accreditation. Main emphasis was placed on increasing an awareness of professional standards and encouraging museums to pursue development based on effective planning, responsible collection management, and taking social needs into consideration. In addition, in 2014 this scheme was supplemented by detailed guidebooks concerning particular groups of criteria supporting the achievement of the standard.²⁰ The guidebooks in question assist in completing accreditation both from the technical

point of view – by explaining the way in which a museum should prepare its application as well as the fashion in which accreditation takes place, and from the viewpoint of contents – by referring outright to accreditation requirements, with due attention paid to demands made of assorted types of museums. Furthermore, the Arts Council successively publishes on its website such additional documents supporting museums in achieving accreditation as lists of sources – guidebooks, textbooks, regulations, standards concurrent with accreditation requirements, advice provided by inspectors assessing museums, or models of the applied policy.²¹ Significantly, while creating the Scheme its authors did not devise requirements from scratch but made use of already functioning solutions – e.g. in the case of numerous questions concerning the management of collections it is outright demanded that the SPECTRUM standard should be applied.²²

The foremost element of the accreditation program is a document containing a list of requirements necessary for accreditation and divided into three categories: **Organisational health, Collections, and Users and their experiences**. Each category contains numerous requisites described in detail, which correspond to points in the accreditation application. The purpose of the first category is to demonstrate the heretofore and, predominantly, future stability of the institution from the financial and organisational viewpoint. The second is to guarantee stability in the maintenance of the collection within the accumulation of collections and their protection, conservation, and suitable documentation. The third indicates the extent to which the museum offer focuses on serving society by means of high-quality amenities (encompassing both exhibition and educational activity and accompanying facilities concentrated on the needs of the users).

Significantly, prime emphasis has been placed not such much on report information, such as the number of organised exhibitions or the recording of collections, as on strategy, e.g. devising policies and plans of functioning and the evaluation of heretofore work – by way of example, does the museum analyse the degree to which its exhibitions reach visitors, and does it draw pertinent conclusions while planning its activity. As regards collection records the Polish application concerning entry into the Register contains a question about the number of insufficiently documented collections (a problem occurring, for all practical purposes, in all museums with a longer history) while the British accreditation scheme focuses on the requirement of possessing written lists of policies, plans, and procedures concerning the supplementation of insufficient documentation.

The accreditation process is multi-stage and encompasses – after filing the application – several visits paid by inspectors affiliated with one of the institutions entitled to grant accreditation. In a situation when a museum does not meet all the accreditation requirements the application is rejected, although if the museum reveals activity aimed at attaining the delineated standards it might be granted Provisional Accreditation for 12 months. This period can be prolonged by another 12 months if the museum demonstrates distinct progress and the extension of the process is the result of a situation, which the institution does not impact. Full accreditation is granted for a period of three

years, after which the institution is obligated to apply for another assessment enabling it to retain the status of an accredited museum.

Accreditation systems in Ireland and the USA are similar. The former – modelled on its British counterpart – was introduced in 2014 by the Heritage Council in Ireland.²³ Here too the fundamental division of requirements addressed to museums is composed of three categories: general management (policies, plans, guarantees of financial stability), collection management (care for the collections and their documentation), and public services; the third group deals with policies and plans connected with exhibitions and education to a degree much more detailed than the British scheme. In the case of the USA, accreditation is a fragment of a widely delineated Continuum of Excellence program conducted by the American Alliance of Museums.²⁴ American accreditation is granted for ten years.

A characteristic feature of the above-outlined accreditation systems is the fact that they focus not on museum reports on attained indices but on showing the institution's stability, well-conceived mission, and associated program. The Polish Register calls for, predominantly, demonstrating heretofore undertakings, but the above-mentioned foreign programs expect a presentation of information concerning the existing museum and its future.

Would this make sense in Poland?

It could be said that the general premise of the Polish Register of museums and the British accreditation system are rather concurrent – both are interested in confirming a high standard of functioning and take into account suitable staff, seat, and stable financing of the institution. That which in the Polish Register comprises the entire required information is in the Accreditation Scheme barely an introduction to a detailed and complete description of qualitative demands.

It is easy to notice that within the range of data analysed in the course of the assessment of museums the Polish and British systems differ, first and foremost, as regards their approach to management issues and those connected with society's expectations of museums. While comparing Polish questions and problems indicated in the discussed accreditation system it becomes obvious that in Poland small emphasis is placed on requirements pertaining to the creation of policies and strategies associated with the development of a museum. In the Accreditation Scheme a whole section concerning collections consists, for all practical purposes, of demonstrating cohesive principles of collection management (presentation of policies and plans concerning the accumulation, preservation, and documentation of collections), which in the Polish application is limited to numerical data about the collection, a description, and general principles of collection accumulation. Significantly – the British standard does not render the obtaining of accreditation dependent on the special importance of possessed collections, and thus does not exclude local museums, which cannot boast of collections on par with those of national museums, but without doubt are institutions functioning on a high level.²⁵ In the case of the Polish Register the significance of possessed collections is the first to be mentioned, but

here too there is no explanation of how and in what sort of context is this importance assessed (e.g. can collections essential only on a local scale be recognised as collections of sufficiently large impact?).

Changes of regulations occurring in Poland in the wake of systemic transformation resulted in a situation in which numerous aspects of the functioning of museums are not regulated in detail. Quite possibly, authors of currently functioning regulations intended to offer museums more freedom in shaping their policies, but the outcome means that in the majority of cases any sort of a standard is absent as a point of reference. In some instances the restriction of attention paid to detail generated contradictions between particular regulations, as in the case of, e.g. principles controlling the concurrence of collection documentation with the actual state of things – in the past attention was paid to obligatory methods of inventorisation, which was the direct consequence of the specificity of museum collections calling for other methods than those applied in the case of objects inventoried in ordinary institutions.²⁶ Today, there is no indication how museum inventorisation compares to the Accounting Act, which it contradicts²⁷ and museums are left to face this problem on their own. For quite some time members of the museum staff have been postulating the introduction of changes in the regulations, which would instil uniformity and establish a certain standard. It seems, however, that it is impossible to regulate every aspect of the functioning of a museum by means of a regulation, and that a sound solution would be to introduce an accreditation system imposing standards based on good practices and subjected to constant evaluation and development – in principle more flexible than legal regulations, which do not keep up with transformations occurring in the world. The point of departure for such a system could be precisely a National Register of Museums containing exemplary institutions representing the highest standard in the country.

It could be recognised that the targets of the British accreditation system and the Polish Register are slightly different – the purpose of the Register is to select a narrow and exclusive group of the best museums, which enjoy certain special privileges (such as the pre-emptive right to make purchases or special financial support, which for purely economic reasons cannot encompass a very wide group of museums), and not to be merely a system confirming the high standard of activity in such a large group of institutions.²⁸ Even a situation in which registered museums were to remain a confined group of the best does not alter the fact that in order to evaluate the outstanding or satisfactory level of the professionalism of a given museum it is necessary to define criteria eliminating the subjectivism of opinions. A preparation of a scheme defining requirements to be met by top museums can provide exactly such criteria.

This article is merely an outline of problems resulting from the absence of designated standards of museum management – the majority of the cited examples referred only to issues associated with the management and documentation of collections, although this is but one of many aspects of the functioning of museums, which lack qualitative standards.

The accreditation system functioning in the United Kingdom is an example of a solution to a problem of this kind. Although the United Kingdom is a state in which museums function in a slightly different organisational and financial reality it seems that it would be easy to transfer such a solution to Polish conditions owing to its scalability (the attainment of accreditation does not depend on the prosperity of a given institution and whether it, for instance, purchases valuable objects or organises exhibitions brimming with impetus) and the fact that it bases assessment criteria upon the standard of managing the institution.

The intention of this article was not to doubt the correctness of listing particular Polish museums in the

Register, but merely to indicate the need for a standardisation of the requirements made of museums and the creation of a *sui generis* 'classification framework' allowing an objective and tangible assessment of the level of the activity of those institutions. As has been mentioned earlier, at present the National Register of Museums includes 127 institutions from all over the country: state and self-government museums, large and small, with considerable or modest budgets at their disposal. It would be highly favourable for Polish museology if these institutions were to become actual models for others in their categories. Striving towards this goal could be indubitably facilitated by the creation of a quality standard lucid for all museums in Poland and characterising the best.

Endnotes

- ¹ Act on Museums of 21 November 1996 (*Dziennik Ustaw* Journal of Laws, [further as: Dz.U.] of 1997, no. 5, item 24), art. 1-2 (further as: Act on Museums).
- ² Regulation of the Minister of Culture of 15 October 2003 on the protection of collections in museums against fires, robberies and other threats of damage or loss of exhibits as well as the methods of exhibits' readiness for evacuation in case of a threat (Dz.U. of 2003, no. 193, item 1892).
- ³ Regulation of the Minister of Culture of 30 August 2004 on the scope, forms and methods of cataloguing historical objects in museums (Dz.U. of 2004, no. 202, item 2073).
- ⁴ Regulation of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 15 May 2008 on the conditions, method and procedures of transferring museum collection objects (Dz.U. of 2008, no. 91, item 569).
- ⁵ Regulation of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 16 August 2017 on permissions for temporary export of museum exhibits, which are not monuments and are entered in museum inventories in museums that are cultural institutions (Dz.U. of 2017, item 1693).
- ⁶ Regulation of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 14 October 2015 on the application for legal protection granted to a movable of historic or artistic or scientific value loaned from abroad for a temporary exhibition organised in the territory of the Republic of Poland (Dz.U. of 2015, item 1749); Regulation of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 14 October 2015 on a notification form concerning import into the territory of the Republic of Poland and a notification form concerning export from the territory of the Republic of Poland of a movable of historic or artistic or scientific value loaned from abroad for a temporary exhibition organised in the territory of the Republic of Poland, provided legal protection (Dz.U. of 2015, item 1769); Regulation of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 14 October 2015 on the inventory file of a movable of historic or artistic or scientific value loaned from abroad for a temporary exhibition organised in the territory of the Republic of Poland, provided legal protection (Dz.U. of 2015, item 1719).
- ⁷ Act on Museums, art. 32-34.
- ⁸ S. Łazarowicz, W. Sieroszewski, *Przepisy prawne dotyczące ochrony dóbr kultury oraz muzeów* [Legal Regulations Related to the Preservation of Cultural Goods and Museums], 'Biblioteka Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków' 1967, series B, vol. 20; the publication was brought up to date by adding commentaries: S. Łazarowicz, W. Sieroszewski, *Przepisy prawne dotyczące ochrony dóbr kultury oraz muzeów*, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged, 'Biblioteka Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków' 1970, series B, vol. 28; a supplement was issued in 1978: W. Sieroszewski, A. Żółkiewski, *Przepisy prawne dotyczące ochrony dóbr kultury oraz muzeów. (Suplement do II wydania)* [Legal Regulations Related to the Preservation of Cultural Goods and Museums (Supplement to the 2nd Edition)], 'Biblioteka Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków' 1978, series B, vol. 50.
- ⁹ Act on Museums, art. 13, par. 1.
- ¹⁰ Act on Museums, art. 13, par. 3.
- ¹¹ Act on Museums, art. 13, par. 5.
- ¹² Act on Museums, art. 20, par. 1.
- ¹³ Act on Museums, art. 20, par. 2.
- ¹⁴ On 7 February 2018 the National Register of Museums totalled 127 institutions (129 items, of which two were deleted as a consequence of the closure of the museums).
- ¹⁵ Regulation of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 13 May 2008 on the way of keeping the National Register of Museums, the Register inscription application form, the conditions and procedure for inscriptions and circumstances under which an audit can be ordered to verify whether a museum still meets conditions for being listed in the Register (Dz.U. of 2008, no. 91, item 567), (further as: Regulation).
- ¹⁶ Regulation, item. 3, par 2.
- ¹⁷ <http://www.pka.edu.pl/> [Accessed on: 10 May 2018]
- ¹⁸ Accreditation Scheme for Museums and Galleries in the United Kingdom: Accreditation Scheme, October 2011, <https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-file/Accreditationstandard.pdf> [Accessed on: 3 July 2018].
- ¹⁹ Arts Council England is an institution acting on the part of the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and supporting museums, libraries, and widely comprehended culture and art, <https://www.artscouncil.org.uk> [Accessed on: 3 May 2018].
- ²⁰ Accreditation guidance. An introduction, June 2014; Accreditation guidance. Section one: Organisational health, June 2014; Accreditation guidance. Section two: Collections, June 2014; Accreditation guidance. Section three: Users and their experience, June 2014; on the Art Council website, <https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/accreditation-scheme/about-accreditation> [Accessed on: 30 April 2018].
- ²¹ <https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/accreditation-scheme/support-and-advice#section-2> [Accessed on: 30 April 2018].
- ²² SPECTRUM is an increasingly popular British collection management standard encompassing 21 procedures enabling a complex management of objects

located in museums (both own and belonging to others), starting from their introduction into the museum to their eventual disposal or return. The standard in question contains a list of information units serving both a description of the collections as such and processes associated with managing them. The non-commercial use of the standard is free-of-charge. The accessible Polish-language version is SPECTRUM 4.0, downloadable on the National Institute for Museums and Public Collections website: <https://nimosz.pl/baza-wiedzy/zarzadzanie-zbiorami/spectrum> [Accessed on: 26 June 2018].

²³ Museum Standards Programme for Ireland. Standards and guidelines, An Chomhairle Oidhreachta/The Heritage Council, <https://www.heritagecouncil.ie/content/files/museumstandardsprogrammestandardsguidelines1mb.pdf> [Accessed on: 3 July 2018].

²⁴ <https://www.aam-us.org/programs/accreditation-excellence-programs/> [Accessed on: 2 May 2018].

²⁵ *Accreditation guidance. An introduction* contains a table differentiating demands depending on the type and scale of the museum; e.g. regional museums with a budget lower than 100 000 GBP are obligated to provide a much less expanded educational offer than university museums with a budget exceeding 250 000 GBP. In turn, national museums, funded directly by the government and holding national significance, must complete additional questions and offer visitor facilities appropriate to a national organisation; in addition, they will provide expertise [...] to other museums, galleries and collections.

²⁶ Regulation of the Minister of Culture and Art of 18 April 1964 on inventory of exhibits (Dz.U. no 17, item, 101, par. 13); S. Łazarowicz, W. Sieroszewski, *Przepisy prawne...*, 1970, p. 116.

²⁷ For years museums have been engaged in a discussion intent on resolving the following questions: which regulations are paramount, how often should collection inventorisation take place, and should both types of inventorisation be treated as identical control?

²⁸ There are 2500 museums in the United Kingdom, of which almost 1800, i.e. ca. 70%, are accredited. In Poland registered museums comprise not quite 17% of museums mentioned on the Ministry list.

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MUSEOLOGIST VERSUS COMMUNITY OF MEMORY. ATTEMPT AT DEFINING TERMS FOR THE SAKE OF LEGISLATIVE AMENDMENTS

Michał Niezabitowski

Historical Museum of the City of Cracow

Abstract: The contemporary role of museum reaches far beyond the traditional understanding of the institution's role to be played in the preservation of tangible culture monuments. It is currently a creative institution on various levels of man's activity, a centre for continuous learning, community and creative hub of healthy social relations. Museums continue to cover with their interests newer and newer domains of human activity, among which art and history remain essentially important, though not the only ones. Traditional factual competences that we used to find in museums: a historian of art, a historian, an archaeologist, an ethnologist, continue to be needed, however far insufficient. Today museums have a need of staff who represent a wide range of competences, both to work on the 'collections', and on the intangible heritage as well as contacts with the public. Today's museums expect from the

staff the competence in so-called 2nd grade history, namely these who do not only identify and document the past, but also explain what and why we remember from the past.

Looking from such a perspective at museums, whose activity seems to be described in the Act on Museums of 21 November 1996 (with later amendments), and in the implementation regulations to the Act, the employee relations require a prompt legislative intervention. The distinction of the staff of museums and around them into 'museologists' and 'non-museologists' is today unquestionably anachronistic and inefficient, impeding the implementation of the tasks facing these institutions. Furthermore, the source of the name 'museologist' is sought, and the analysis of the legislative contradiction in this respect is conducted, while new solutions adjusted to the social needs are provided.

Keywords: museologist, curator, museum staff, functions, positions, collections, tangible and intangible heritage, legislation.

A **museologist** (*muzealnik*) is a concept in Polish whose actual birth is difficult to pinpoint. This word is one of the thousand of proofs of the fact that the language is an element. New words are created from the need to name some phenomena, following which they are 'regulated', while their fluid meaning specified. The word 'museologist' had been first used before it was defined, while the coining of such a word, and not other understanding of the word, resulted from the fact that in 1947 the collective work edited by Stefan Komornicki

and Tadeusz Dobrowolski titled *Muzealnictwo* [Museology] was published.¹ This was the first Polish compendium of knowledge of museums, a kind of a textbook defining and describing the principles of museum functioning, and also modes of work of their staff. What staff? As we are talking about 'museology', then the natural anthropomorphisation of the concept will yield 'museologists'. And thus consistently, however slowly, the term was popularized through literature, e.g. in the papers by Stanisław Lorentz, whose authority within

the museum-related circles was at the time unquestionable.² Nevertheless, many years passed before 'museologist' was formally and legally confirmed. The date for that moment can be easily ascertained: 21 November 1996, when Poland's Parliament, the Sejm, adopted the Act on Museums. The name 'museologist' had not been used in any of the earlier legal regulations, which I had meticulously tried to verify. The word does not appear in standards defining the systemic position of museums and their staff which had been in force before the Act on Museums³ in question (Act of 15 February 1962 on Preserving Cultural Goods and on Museums,⁴ or any implementing regulations to this Act⁵).

What were museologists first called? They were called by different names. When on 3–4 April 1914, the first congress of Polish museums was held in Cracow, a Delegation of Polish **Museologists**⁶ was then organized. However, in the article *On Museum Unions...* of 1930, Kazimierz Buczkowski wrote: *Statues of unions effectively represent museum officials both in defending their material rights and in controlling their responsibility fulfilment*⁷ [all emphases in quotes by M.N.]. Meanwhile, the minutes of the 1922 Congress in Poznań feature the following: *with reference to education, the issue discussed was the remuneration of museum clerks and services*.⁸ Generally, however, the word museologist dominated in the inter-war period, and it became popular particularly after 1934, following the conference held in Madrid by the Office International des Musées.⁹ The awareness of the professional identity of that group of individuals was in the Poland of the time quite limited. It is enough to realize that the pre-WW II Association of Polish Museums was of clearly institutional character, though there did occur attempts to make it more an association of individuals. However, the very attempts undertaken on the grounds of terminology show how vague the awareness of the professional distinction of the group was.

The demand for the union to transform into an association of museologists, and not museums, was voiced in 1922,¹⁰ during the Congress in Cracow. Nonetheless, it yielded no results. It would only be in 1935 that in the statute there appeared an extremely enigmatic provision claiming that members of the Association of Polish Museums can be also *natural persons known from the activity in the field of museology*.¹¹ A strange character of this provision corresponds with the actual implementation, since by 1939 only four people had expressed the desire to be individual members in the Association. A simple conclusion can be reached: museologists as a professional group did not have adequate awareness to emerge out of the institutional representation. At the time, obviously, there existed yet another name that enjoyed high prestige, namely **curator**. However, it was unanimously applied not only to individuals performing museum-related functions, but also managerial museum functions. In a sense, a curator was an *alter ego* of the museum director or someone on a managerial position responsible for the collections.

Following WW II, the word *muzealnik*, as said above, did not appear in official documents. In the Ordinance of the 19 September 1958 on the Remuneration of Museum Services¹² the pre-war terminology reappeared. Interestingly, the concept of Museum Services included all: curators, conservators, interior designers, as well as functions of the museum director,

museum dispatcher, museum technician, museum assistant, namely all those whom the 1996 Act put outside the brackets of the group legally defined as museologists. In other words, 'museum services' were the entire group of the museum staff.

In the Ordinance of the Council of Ministers of 27 November 1996 on the Remuneration of Staff Employed at State Museums,¹³ the professional group in question was consistently called 'museum services' or alternately 'museum staff'. The term *muzealnik* (museologist) was not used when the new principles of museum operating were introduced with the Act of 26 April 1984 on Promoting Culture and on the Rights and Responsibilities of Culture Dissemination Employees.¹⁴ The logic of the used terminology was later repeated in the implementing acts. In the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Art of 14 November 1985 on the Qualification Requirements, Principles and Modes of Verifying Qualifications, and Qualification Assessment Allowing to be Assigned to Specific Positions in Culture-Disseminating Institutions and Units, the only term used to denote the discussed professional group is 'museum staff'.

Meanwhile, the word *muzealnik* was gradually more colloquially and more widely used. The Author of the present paper can resort to his recollections for the proof. In September 1985, I began working for the Historical Museum of the City of Cracow, and from elder colleagues from whom I was learning the profession I had only just started gaining practical knowledge of, I frequently heard that we were 'museologists' (*muzealnicy*). Regardless of that, in Cracow the doyen of Polish museology Zdzisław Żygulski Jr would often use the word 'museologist' in a slightly different Polish version, namely *muzeolog* pronounced with his peculiar Lvov accent. Prof. Zdzisław Żygulski, whose lectures I had the privilege of attending at the post-graduate museological studies at the Jagiellonian University at the threshold of the 21st century, claimed that the word *muzealnik* was linguistically incorrect. Passionate about Greek Antiquity, he, as it turned out in vain, preferred the word *muzeolog*. It did not, however, stick to define the professional group of the museum staff. It happened so, since it corresponded to a young, but gradually marking its presence more vividly scientific discipline: museology, understood as the science of museums. We owe the precise and thorough analysis of the meanings of this name to Dorota Folga-Januszewska in the paper that I sincerely recommend.¹⁵ My remarks on the senses contained in the word museologist – *muzealnik* are, in a way, a continuation of her analysis.

The word museologist was introduced into legal circulation by the legislator together with the adoption by the Sejm of the Act on Museums of 21 November 1996. From the people participating in the legislative process which led to the adoption of this Act we can learn that it was Bożena Steinborn PhD who suggested to use this name. Soon afterwards, as already in 1997–98, in reaction to this new legislative order in Cracow the Association of Polish Museologists (SMP) was established; its members defined the essence of their organization as an association of natural persons, in which institutional membership could only be of supportive character. An important step in the process of consolidating the circle's awareness can undoubtedly be seen in the First Congress of Polish

Museologists held in Łódź on 25–27 April 2015.¹⁶ It was not by accident that the Congress initiated the debate trying to respond to: what is today's museologist? Who falls within the professional group of museologists? As can be seen over almost twenty years that have passed since the adoption of the Act on Museums, these questions are not so easily answered in the face of law. More importantly, however, it could be observed at the same time that the very posing of those questions yielded a conflict centred around the values grouping their respective supporters. We thus have to do, if the Readers pardon my generalization, with those who are the supporters of the idea of the elitist corporation of defenders of collections of timeless value. On the other hand, there are those who perceive the need to delineate the limits of our group reaching far due to the perception of museum as a shared good of all the staff as well as the museum public. The first will consider their banner to be the T-shirt featuring St George and the caption reading: *St George of Collections*, the latter will be satisfied with an elitist pin reading: *Museum – I Am Coming in!* Between the elitist and missionary defensiveness of the first (as it is known, St George fights with a dragon) and the egalitarian and communal-creative idea of the latter the differences are razor-sharp. For the sake of being honest let me add that I am not neutral in this dispute, resolutely claiming that from the perspective of museum staff teams, *We are all museologists!*

I am perfectly aware that raising the question of ontology, semiotics, and semantics of 'museologists' at the Congress caused a greatly emotional reaction. The atmosphere did not favour further solutions. Allow me, however, to point to a publication released in the wake of the Congress, which is a set of interviews of middle-generation museologists with those of a strong position and extensive accomplishments.¹⁷ In the talks conducted in the format: 'master – disciple', I had the pleasure of listening to the experience of Zofia Gołubiew and Jan Ostrowski, and asking both about that antagonism. Without any undue commentary, I shall only quote the words spoken on the question by Jan Ostrowski: (...). *Meanwhile, talking about the issue in most simple terms, who works at a museum and wants to consider him- or herself a museologist, is one. (...) Dividing employees of one institution into those are and those who are not members of the professional group of museologists seems to me harmful. Such an activity introduces divisions among the staff team, dividing them into groups between which controversies can arise. Some become better, other worse. Some regard themselves to be privileged, others treated unjustly. (...) Conducting the debate 'who is a museologist, and who is not' in museum, in my opinion is pointless and harmful. Harmful in the sense that the group deprived of the museologist status could feel detached from the work they do. Such an individual could suddenly feel like hired labour, working from 8 am to 4 pm, not feeling any closer bond with their institution.*¹⁸

In relation to Jan Ostrowski's last quoted words, particularly those observing how damaging it is to discuss obvious things, I can only remark that this discussion is spontaneously being continued. It keeps smouldering, and comes up with living fire anew, which implies that the definition of our job requires new reflection over it.

Why is defining the museologist's job important?

The answer to this question can be formulated in several points:

- This owing to the fact that the job was introduced into legal circulation in a faulty manner (which I will try to demonstrate below), and the range of qualities defining its character is difficult to describe on the grounds of legal regulations.
- This owing to the fact that museums develop at an unusually rapid pace, and museologizing keeps covering new spheres of life. This requires a growing number of interdisciplinary activities and engaging in museum work specialists who do not directly work on 'museum objects', but who are indispensable for contemporary museum. We must not allow for the situation in which a museum employs individuals who are essential for its operation in contemporary shape, of whom a part are 'museologists' and the other part are 'non-museologists' (in the worst conceptual version: 'factual' versus 'non-factual').
- This owing to the fact that contemporary organizations, particularly cultural institutions, boast creative potential, which less and less frequently stems from individual work, while more from team work. True works, such as museum exhibitions, require creative and dynamic teams. In my understanding, today the basic task of museum directors is to create conditions for implementing team visions. Structural divisions within working teams do not benefit this.
- Finally owing to the fact, of which I am deeply convinced, that contemporary museums are institutions of peculiar character, institutions of knowledge and development, whose specificity is no longer collections only. Museums amass collections so that the public can group around them. An obvious conclusion from this is that a 'museologist' cannot only be an individual who contributes to amassing and elaborating the collections, but should also be the one who contributes to bringing together the public around the collections.

Therefore, I am perfectly confident that before a new museum-related law enters the legislative procedure, it is essential to define the scope of the 'museologist's' job, which was successfully achieved at the Congress, though in the form of a compromise and through majority voting, but not by a consensual process, the latter much closer to my heart. In order to conduct the process, a semantic and logical analyses of legal acts need to be conducted, which, as much as ignorant I am on legal matters, I decided to conduct, since this is voicing an opinion on absolutely essential issues. Let me emphasize, furthermore, that all those legal acts extremely rich in content, have been analysed by me only for the purpose of one essential question: **What is a museologist?** I pose this basic question, since in my view all the available legal acts do not define this concept sufficiently, which continues one of the reasons for misunderstandings within the museum circles. Therefore, essentially, I have skipped all the other elements related to the regulations of employment rights at museums to focus on this most important question.

The most important concepts on the legal level

The most becoming start for our considerations would be the Act on Museums of 21 November 1996 mentioned at

the beginning of the present paper (Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 5, Item 24) which reads:

Section 5, Art. 32:

1. *Employees holding the positions related to the museum's **basic activity** constitute a professional group of **museologists**, this including assistants, adjuncts, curators, and certified curators.*
2. *The employees enumerated in 1 should have **museological qualifications**.*
3. *Museums can employ experts in other professions related to the museum's activity.*

Since the above fragment should be regarded as the origin of the formal existence of the professional group of museologists, when reading through it, one formulates the following question: what is museum's **basic activity**? Its range is not precisely defined in the Act, therefore in practice it was most frequently derived from Chapter 1, Arts. 1 and 2 of the Act on Museums. Regrettably, the spheres of museums' activity are described there in an extremely broad as well as general sense.

It is essential to quote both articles of the discussed Act here in extenso:

Art. 1 Museum is a non-profit organizational unit whose goal is to preserve cultural heritage objects, inform on the values and content of the amassed collections, disseminate basic values of Polish and world history, science, and culture, shape cognitive and aesthetical sensitivity, and enable contact with the collections through the activities as defined in Art. 2.2. Museum objects are movable and immovable goods entered in the museum-object inventories. Museum objects are assets belonging to all society.

Art. 2 Museum achieves goals as defined in Art. 1, particularly through:

1. *collecting museum objects within the scope as defined by the statute;*
2. *cataloguing and scientifically elaborating the collected museum objects;*
3. *keeping the collected cultural heritage objects under conditions safeguarding their proper preservation and security, and storing them so that they are available for scientific investigation;*
4. *preserving and conserving museum objects, and wherever possible, preserving non-movable archaeological heritage objects, as well as other immovable objects of tangible culture and nature;*
5. *organizing exhibitions;*
6. *organizing scientific research and expeditions, also archaeological ones;*
7. *running educational activities;*
8. *making museums available for learning;*
9. *securing proper conditions for visiting and benefitting the collections;*
10. *running publication activity.*

Furthermore, the second question arises: what are the **museological qualifications** that are not mentioned at any other point of the discussed Act?

Logically thinking, one could state that museological qualifications are represented by those who can professionally perform work within the basic activity of museum. Meanwhile, as the qualifications as such were not described, while the basic activity was not convincingly defined, from the very first days of the Act on Museums in force, great discrepancies in museum

employment structures could be observed. In order to illustrate this claim without, however, referring to any definite institutions (interestingly, it would make sense to collect personnel data from numerous museums to provide a comparable material), let us point to the size of this inconsistency.

Individuals employed in editing departments, in many museums hold museologist positions (Assistant Curators), while in others they are employed as 'non-museologists' (Experts, Clerks, etc.). The same applies to educators, guides, artists, museum library and archive employees, photographers, promotion department employees, and many other specialists. In Cracow alone I am acquainted with cases when in two museums across the street from each other, in one the library employee is holding the position of a Curator (thus being a museologist), while in the other such employee is a Documentalist (therefore a non-museologist). It is hard to judge this situation as perfectly normal, and I perceive the reason for this abnormality in the lack of precision in the legislation. As much as it was not controversial that when creating the personnel structure the individuals performing jobs related to collecting and investigating the collections were unquestionably museologists (this being a view obviously connected with the traditional 19th-century and even 18th-century understanding of work at a museum), any other activity was already related to the interpretation and customary ways at a given institution. This eventually led to creating the system that nationwide has to be regarded as the least possibly coherent.

In principle, legal imprecision should have been dispelled through implementation legislation issued by the Ministry of Culture and Art. Such regulation was foreseen in the Act on Museums of 21 November 1996 in Section 5, Art. 32.4, which reads as follows: *Minister of Culture and Art shall define the required qualifications allowing to take on museum positions and the mode of their verification by way of regulation.*

The relevant Ordinance was issued on 26 June 1998, and dealt with the required qualifications allowing to take on museum positions and the mode of their verification.¹⁹ Regrettably, it did not dissipate the arisen doubts. Although in Art. 1.1 of the Ordinance it is stated that: *Qualification requirements entitling to hold positions related to museum's basic activity are defined in the Annex to the Ordinance*, while in Art. 1.2 employees who can be employed at museums on positions unrelated to museum's basic activity are mentioned, nowhere in the Ordinance the concept of museum's basic activity is either more extensively described or specified in more detail. Neither are the doubts dispelled in the Annex referred to in Art. 1.1, as it actually merely defines new lowered placement periods, and education required for a given position, specifying the problem by adding one enigmatic claim that candidate's education should be related (...) *to one of the disciplines presented in the museum's collections (...)*. Given that an enormous number of Polish museums: district, regional, municipal, or national, are extremely interdisciplinary, the reference to one of the disciplines may just as well be a reference to anything.

The discussed Ordinance actually caused essential chaos in the museology legal order for two reasons. Firstly, out of the professional group of museologists, it excluded museum conservators, which has to be regarded as incomprehensible to a great extent, and in further consequences, actually ruining

the institution's essence. Since, if in compliance with the intention of the legislator the professional group of museologists is made up of individuals implementing tasks related to museum's basic activity, and if its range is understood as defined in Art. 2, in 2.4 the following can be read: *museum implements its goals defined in Art. 1 through (...)*

4. preserving and conserving museum objects, and wherever possible, preserving non-movable archaeological heritage objects, as well as other immovable objects of tangible culture and of nature.

Therefore, assuming a rational activity of the legislator, it is incomprehensible why a conservator, actually performing basic tasks is not a museologist? I obviously skip questions that arise on the grounds of logic and common sense: how is it possible not to regard conservators as museologists?! Is this merely a theoretical analysis, or does it really affect museum employees? Allow me only to quote at the point an e-mail I received as President of SMP, without pointing to its real source. *Dear President of the Association of Polish Museologists, I have the following question: have I stopped being SMP member because of having been transferred from the Education Department at the Museum (...), where I was employed as a Curator, to the Department of Textile Conservation to hold the Conservator position there? Is not the conservator taking care of museum collections a museologist? Is it that with such a change of my position within the same museum I cease being a museologist? In the opinion of our attorney, a Curator is a position not a professional title (to which I am entitled in view of my education and work experience). Regards, (...)*

And since in our debate I have quoted an anonymous female colleague, let me refer to her remark in reaction to the consequences of introducing the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Art of 26 June 1998. Actually, in the period spanning the adoption of the Act on Museums and the issuing of the Ordinance, something really bad happened. The legislator, introducing the term of 'museologist' into the legal circulation, claimed, as can be remembered, in Art. 32.1: Employees holding the positions related to the museum's basic activity constitute a professional group of museologists, this including Assistants, Adjuncts, Curators, and Certified Curators.

Please, remark, that museologists, specified as such, 'enter' the professional group of museologists. But what do they enter as? On the Minister's Ordinance level, assistant, adjunct, curator, and certified curator are defined as 'positions'. In the linguistic logic there is a 'dissonance' here. Positions, for being what they are, are occupied for a definite period of time. Thus the person occupying the position of a curator enters the professional group of museologists, however does he or she stop being a museologist after they have lost the position? A physician is a member of the professional group of doctors, holding, for example, the position of a senior registrar. Losing the position, does he or she cease being a doctor? A teacher holds the position of a class tutor, but despite that does not stop being a teacher. Does a major, losing the position of the battalion commander, lose the rank, and stop being a soldier? Similar examples could be multiplied.

Therefore, when referring to the quoted legal acts, one would have to embarrassingly observe that a curator, and adjunct, an assistant are positions, not degrees. Simultaneously, the legislator introduces the concept of 'function'. Thus the

Director executes his/her function holding the Curator position. It is the position that actually has a greater impact on the degree, title, than on the function more related to the full-time employment contract. Is it thus so that when losing the position, I also lose the title, therefore the right to rank among the professional circle of museologists? Further on, if Curator is a position, and the Ordinance does not mention function, what is the manager? Director? Storage clerk? Main cataloguer? As I have checked, in the majority of museums, in a logical impulse and not contradicting common sense, however not in compliance with the Act, positions like the following have been created: 'Main Cataloguer – Senior Curator', or 'Head of the Graphics Department – Curator'. Since in the case of employing the director, although it is the museum that is director's employer, the entity that employs him/her is the organizer; and thus depending on the meticulousness and scrupulousness of the latter, some directors have stayed 'Directors – Curators', others have been deprived of the 'title'. The issue of the relation between the museologist and position which he/she occupies will be retackled further on in the paper.

Continuing the discussion of the legal issue of locating museologists as a professional group, it has to be added that the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Art of 26 June 1998 dealing with their status was repealed by the next one, namely the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Art of 9 March 1999 on the Qualification Requirements of the Employees Forming the Professional Group of Museologists Entitling Them to Hold Positions Related to Museum's Basic Activity and the Mode of Their Verification.²⁰ (Journal of Laws of 1999, No. 26, Item 233).

It is thus the Ordinance of the *lex specialis* type, dedicated directly to the professional group of museologists and positions related to their basic activity. As far as the legal act itself did not introduce any definite solutions, the Annex to the Ordinance in question (Qualification Requirements Entitling to Occupy Positions Related to Museums' Basic Activity for Employees Forming the Professional Group of Museologists, Item 233), twice witnessed provisions which can be regarded an important guideline for legislative interpretation. Thus when defining qualification requirements for the positions of Certified Curator and Curator, it is said that one of the elements is (...) *professional accomplishments within the range pointed to by Art. 2 of the Act on Museums*. (...) This should be understood as a clear guidance that the catalogue of the basic activity components (thus museological qualifications) is listed in this Article. Although there seems to be lack of logic in another element specifying qualification requirements, listed in the very same Annex, stating that in order to occupy the same positions a doctoral degree (Certified Curator, Senior Curator) (...) *in the discipline related to the museum's basic activity* constitutes a prerequisite.

On the grounds of logic and alleged rationality of the legislator, this confuses the understanding of the whole structure of requirements, since it could imply that if the doctoral degree should be related to museum's basic activity, while the accomplishments to the list in Art. 2 of the Act on Museums, the two seem different and not necessarily overlapping. All the more so, since in the case of the remaining positions to occupy which the requirement of higher specialist or professional education is required, Notes in the Annex emphasize that: (...)

1. *Higher professional education means studies at a Bachelor's Degree tertiary-education institution completed with the Bachelor's Degree in one of the areas related to museum's basic activity.*
2. *Higher specialist education is completion of Master's Degree studies and Master's Degree in one of the areas related to museum's basic activity.*

Tautologically weary one could conclude that the museum's basic activity that decides upon 'being' a museologist is the activity that is... basic.

I have purposefully omitted one important element in both MKiS's Ordinances (of 26 June 1998 and of 9 March 1999), however secondary in view of my analysis, namely the questions of qualification commissions established in order to verify adequate qualifications or formulate opinions on the accomplishments for the purpose of occupying the position of a Curator. Let us be clear, however, that in view of the unclear scopes of both: *basic activity* and *museological qualifications* (this concept included in the Act on Museums is not resumed in MKiS's Ordinance), one should really pose the questions what criteria such commission members are supposed to apply? Regardless of them undoubtedly working to the best of their will and knowledge, they must have been discretionary.

There is no doubt that the quoted Ordinance contributed more to the 'professional' confusion. I would be tempted to believe that in the majority of museums the traditional understanding of the word museologist was retained: as of an employee connected with cataloguing and scientific elaboration of the collections (Art. 2.1 and 2.2 of the Act on Museums), and that connected with holding exhibitions (Art. 2.5 of the Act). In certain museums guides and educators remained museologists, too; in others, also editors or individuals related to the organizational or promotional activity when mounting exhibitions or implementing other projects did. (Arts. 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, and 2.10 of the Act). As a consequence, in some museums, this professional group of museologists was also joined by individuals dealing with a broadly understood keeping (storing) of the collections (Art. 2.3 of the Act).

When closing up this fragment of the analysis, let us recapitulate. The period 1996–99 has to be considered as extremely important for museological legislation. For the first time ever Polish museums were given their *lex specialis* (Act on Museums of 21 November 1996), which on the whole, as a legal act, should be judged positively. It strengthened the role of museum; additionally, many legal tools the Act introduced should be regarded as effective. However, as far as the regulations for the terminology meant to call museum personnel with I am of the opinion that the Act caused negative effects, these particularly visible from the perspective of the past 20 years. Imprecise definitions of the professional group led to a far-reaching disarray in the employment structures in Polish museums. The actual division of the circle into the 'noble' and 'hard-working' ones seems to constitute the most serious problem, while the vague line marking the division evokes worrisome tendencies. Essentially, we do not know who a museologist is, thus loud voices spoke of educators and cataloguers who should establish their own separate professional groups. And that is what actually happened,²¹ which testifies to the need expressed by those separate professional groups. Thus

the Act in reality fragmented the museological potential. In my opinion, in view of the overall chaos and confusion, respective museum specialists are doomed to seek their own stability and their own goals. In consequence, each group will be defending their own respective professional interests, thus weakening the phenomenon of a museum as shared good. This will consolidate harmful tendencies. Since it is always necessary to distinguish between the need to decentralize and harmful fragmentation. However, fortunately, as it seems to me, before our very eyes, the concentration of capital is taking place.²²

Continuation of legislative events

For the sake of chronological order let us emphasize that the above-described Ordinance of MKiS was annexed and slightly modified through the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture of 13 December 2004 amending the Ordinance on the Qualification Requirements of the Employees Forming the Professional Group of Museologists Entitling Them to Hold Positions Related to Museum's Basic Activity and the Mode of Their Verification.²³ Since this piece of legislation did not introduce anything important as for our terminology considerations, it can be omitted.

On 29 June 2007, the *Sejm* adopted the Act on the Amendment to the Act on Museums.²⁴ The Amendment that introduced essential alterations to the current legislation (status of museum object, prerogatives of museum council, etc.), as for the issue that is of our interest, namely the content that refers to the definition of the profession of a museologist, introduces minor, however, meaningful changes. Firstly, Art. 1 of the Act on Museums was amended essentially; secondly, also was its Art. 2, although seemingly the amendments were cosmetic only. The Table below juxtaposes these changes, since if we continue assuming that Arts. 1 and 2 define basic activity (constituting a museologist), these changes have to be regarded as important.

When analyzing the above juxtaposition, it is worth remarking that the 2007 Amendments introduced the following:

- In Art. 1: introduction of an extremely important element of museums' responsibility for non-tangible heritage consisting in distinguishing the goods cared for by museums into cultural and natural, which quite unequivocally points to the need for museum staff to boast both humanistic and natural competences.
- In Art. 2.5: distinction between permanent and temporary exhibitions is introduced.
- In Art. 2.7a: attention is drawn to museum's responsibility with respect to *supporting and running artistic activity disseminating culture*. This issue is important, since for the first time it points to museum, thus a museologist, not only as to an art protector, but directly as an artist.
- In Art. 2.8: the added element of 'investigation', since in the provision: *making museums available for education and investigation*, it also emphasizes the creative role of museum;
- In Art. 2.9 an addition: *securing proper conditions for visiting and benefitting the collections and collected information*. This element, too, is important, since it perceives museum not merely as a repository of things, but also a capital of knowledge. Thus pointing to a museologist as an administrator of data collected at the museum.

Act on Museums of 21 Nov. 1996

Art. 1. Museum is a non-profit organizational unit whose goal is to preserve cultural heritage objects, inform on the values and content of the amassed collections, disseminate basic values of Polish and world history, science, and culture, shape cognitive and aesthetical sensitivity, and enable contact with the collections through the activities as defined in Art. 2.

2. Museum objects are movable and immovable goods entered in the museum-object inventories. Museum objects are assets belonging to all society.

Art. 2. Museum achieves goals as defined in Art. 1, particularly through:

- 1) collecting museum objects within the scope as defined by the statute;*
- 2) cataloguing and scientifically elaborating the collected museum objects;*
- 3) keeping the collected cultural heritage objects under conditions safeguarding their proper preservation and security, and storing them so that they are available for scientific investigation;*
- 4) preserving and conserving museum objects, and wherever possible, preserving non-movable archaeological heritage objects, as well as other immovable objects of tangible culture and nature;*
- 5) organizing exhibitions;*
- 6) organizing scientific research and expeditions, also archaeological;*
- 7) running educational activities;*

8) making museums available for education;

9) securing proper conditions for visiting and benefitting the collections;

10) running publication activity.

Act on Museums of 21 Nov. 1996 with amendments of 26 Sept. 2007

Art. 1. Museum is a non-profit organizational unit whose goal is to collect and permanently preserve mankind's natural and cultural heritage of tangible and non-tangible character, inform on the values and content of the amassed collections, disseminate basic values of Polish and world history, science, and culture, shape cognitive and aesthetical sensitivity, and enable contact with the amassed collections.

Art. 2. Museum achieves goals as defined in Art. 1, particularly through:

- 1) collecting museum objects within the scope as defined by the statute;*
- 2) cataloguing and scientifically elaborating the collected museum objects;*
- 3) keeping the collected cultural heritage objects under conditions safeguarding their proper preservation and security, and storing them so that they are available for scientific investigation;*
- 4) preserving and conserving museum objects, and wherever possible, preserving non-movable archaeological heritage objects, as well as other immovable objects of tangible culture and nature;*
- 5) organizing permanent and temporary exhibitions;*
- 6) organizing scientific research and expeditions, also archaeological;*
- 7) conducting educational activities;*
- 7a) supporting and running artistic activity disseminating culture;*
- 8) making museums available for education and investigation;*
- 9) securing proper conditions for visiting and benefitting the collections and collected information;*

10) running publication activity.

Within the remaining amended Act practically speaking only one new provision was added, amending Art. 32.4 to the following phrasing:

The minister responsible for culture and preservation of national cultural heritage defines by way of regulation the required qualifications entitling to occupy the positions as specified in 1 as well as their verification securing a professional task fulfilment.

This provision in a slightly amended version forecast a new regulation issued by the Minister of Culture and National Heritage on qualification requirements for the professional group of museologists. It was implemented not fully a year later when the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 13 May 2008 on the Qualification Requirements Entitling Employees Forming the Professional Group of Museologists to Occupy Positions Connected to Museums' Basic Activity and Their Verification Mode entered into force.²⁵

Regrettably, this regulation copied all the errors of the vague descriptions and references to the basic activity and list

of activities from Art. 2 of the Act on Museums. The novelty was the shortening of museologist's career by eliminating the positions of Senior Curator and Senior Assistant. From the very beginning strongly criticized by museum-related circles, the decision has neither a comprehensible nor beneficial impact. The decision to shorten the training period in museums which are institutions of experience and long, meticulous, and often multi-generational procedures, is not justifiable. Let us add at this point with much bitterness that numerous, serious, and consistent negative opinions of the museum circles on the introduced change did not, speaking briefly, have any impact on the legislator. Even when the opinion was voiced by 1.200 delegates of the First Congress of Polish Museologists in Lodz in April 2015.²⁶

The next ministerial regulation took place four years later with the Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Cultural Heritage of 7 August 2012 on the Qualifications Required to Occupy Certain Positions in Museums and the Mode of their Verification.²⁷

As can be read from the Act's title, its task was to generally normalize the whole range of museum personnel issues, this pointed to by Art.1 of the Ordinance reading:

Art.1. The Ordinance defines:

1. *qualification requirements entitling to occupy the following positions at museums:*
 - a) *of museologists*
 - b) *other positions related to museum activity;*
2. *mode of verifying the qualifications required for respective positions at museums.*

When it comes to the principal question: What is a museologist? The Ordinance in question constitutes, in my opinion, a step backward. In the table juxtaposing the required qualifications and the assessment of professional accomplishments, there persistently returns the academic degree connected with the enigmatic 'museum's basic activity' and the achievements connected with the statutory museum activity. Such a distinction edited in two subsequent lines seems to suggest again that there is a certain essential difference between the basic activity and statutory activity of museums, however difficult to comprehend and describe.

And again this persistent note implying the following questions: since museologists perform the basic activity, while the Ordinance also refers to other employees connected with museum activity, what is the difference in the performed work: which is *basic* or related to *museum activity*? Based on the knowledge of the work in a museum, can one remain indifferent to the separation of the positions of a Curator and Conservator, so strongly bonded through the museum essence? Is it comprehensible that based on the regulations one of them is a museologist, and the other is not? Further still, how can the concept of museologist be thus defined in such a perspective? This does not exhaust all the questions. A question can be, for example, asked why in the discussed Ordinance making reference to museum's statutory activity (see Art. 2 quoted on several occasions), either in the basic range or in that related to museum activity, there is no mention of editor? Educator? Layout designer?

Almost parallel to the time of the introduction of the quoted Ordinance Poland was amidst a heated debate on the so-called profession deregulation. Obviously, the present paper does not provide enough space for the analysis of the issue. It is, however, worthwhile to emphasize that in the Bill containing so-called 3rd tranche of deregulated professions it contained the profession of a museologist. Interestingly, this fact, besides many others, yielded the circle's initiative to hold the First Congress of Polish Museologists. It was not by accident that the Association of Polish Museologists served as the event's instigator. The question of the definition of the profession of a museologist and of delineating its scope became one of the axes of the pre-Congress debates. Within SMP it was debated widely and emotionally. Evidently, it can be seen that the debate introduced deep divisions in our organisation into the supporters (excuse the simplification) of a narrow understanding of the essence of the profession (a museologist is a museum employee working 'on the collections'), and adherents of a substantial extending of the scope. The limits of the acceptable extension were understood variedly in the debate. From the provision that a museologist is someone connected with the basic activity, the latter being extensively derived from Art. 2 of the Act

on Museums, up to those arguing that all museum staff, as museum professionals, are museologists.

In February 2015, a two-day meeting of the SMP Main Board in Cracow allowed for a broad and exhaustive debate focused on the definition of the profession of a museologist, since by then the Bill on Deregulation (3rd tranche) had been tabled to the Speaker of the Sejm. In consequence, a domination of the desire to extend the range of the professional group to include the specialists listed in the discussed Bill (on which below) was observed. Grounded in the elaborated formula, supported considerably by ICOM Poland and the Association of Open Air Museums in Poland, the Programme Committee together with the Resolution Committee of the First Congress of Polish Museologists, adopted the draft of the Congress Resolution No. 1, which in the part dedicated to the essence of the museologist's profession claims the following:

Resolution No. 1 of the First Congress of Polish Museologists, Łódź 25–27 April 2015

*(...) Museologists are a professional group of public trust related directly to the implementation of museum's mission, learning throughout the whole period of working at a museum, not subject to political and commercial pressures, acting in compliance with the principles of knowledge, ethics, and with due diligence while taking care of museum objects and fulfilling the assigned tasks. The essence of the profession is marked out by relevant education, experience, and high competences. Central and local authorities, as well as museum organizers have the responsibility to support museologists in their work, by providing education and promotion opportunities adjusted to the requirements of varied specialty museums, and by providing them with decent remuneration not lower than the National Average Wage. Museum directors recruited from among professionals boasting sufficient experience in work at a museum or other institutions centred around cultural heritage, are expected to represent the highest museological qualifications (...).*²⁸

However, the social voice expressed at the Congress, particularly with respect to Resolution No. 3, was not taken into account. On 5 August 2015, the *Sejm* adopted the unaltered wording of the Act on the Amendments to the Act on Regulating Access to Certain Professions,²⁹ as a matter of fact amending once again the Act on Museums of 21 November 1996. The amendments of interest to us, namely those related to museum professional groups, are contained in Art. 5 of the discussed Act, essentially amending its Arts. 32 and 33. What strikes is the introduction of the range of regulations that had previously (from the end of WW II) been implemented by way of regulation into the content of the Act on Museums.

The detailed and complex content referring to the qualifications for positions, career accomplishments, qualification commissions, specifying of positions and training periods, had been transferred into the Act provisions, gaining higher importance, and thus significantly impeding any potential amendments to the content in question. The Act on Museums as such was substantially extended, however the detailed content related to civil service did not really require the interest of such an important institution as the Polish Parliament. As much as the act is called 'deregulation', the overwhelming impression is that

with reference to museum staff, the Act as such introduces regulations. Even though qualification requirements had been reduced, training periods shortened, requirements related to career accomplishments diminished (through these the legislator intending to increase access to the profession), the museologist essentially remained a regulated profession. Moreover, with utmost concern and regret it has to be concluded that the job of a museum conservator remained excluded from the museologist profession. The most essential and extremely important amendment can be found in Arts. 31.1, 32.2, and 32.3 (subsection added). Due to the impact of the amendments, let us quote this fragment in extenso.

Art. 32.

1. *Museum employees on positions which perform tasks related to:*

- 1) *collecting and scientifically elaborating collections,*
- 2) *mounting exhibitions and making collections available for teaching and scientific purposes,*
- 3) *organizing research and scientific expeditions, including archaeological ones,*
- 4) *conducting educational, artistic, culture-disseminating, or publishing activities, constitute the professional group of museologists.*

2. *Employees forming the professional group of museologists, are employed on the positions of Certified Curator, Curator, Adjunct Curator, and Assistant.*

3. *Employee who ranks among the professional group of museologists, assigned with the task of mounting an exhibition consisting in authoring and organizing the exhibition together with the factual supervision of it, serves as the exhibition's curator.*

What has to be considered the most essential and positive amendment is the rejection of the vague and undefined 'basic activity' concept in return for elaborating on the range of this activity in four subsections; the activities whose performing is decisive for being included in the professional group of museologists. Regardless of whether we agree with its content, such a wording should be regarded as optimizing the understanding of the profession's essence. Below, the analysis what museum positions the quoted four points refer to will be presented. At this very stage the conclusion has to be reached that the legislator had extended the range of museologist's job. Such wording undeniably reveals that since the Act's entry into force (30 November 2015) there has been no reason for inferring the range of these activities constituting the essence of a museologist's profession from Arts. 1 and 2 of the Act on Museums through interpretation (at times truly reckless).

However, unanswered questions have remained. Wherever as of 1996 we used to pose them in relation to the 'basic activity' and 'museum qualifications', they now need to be formulated with respect to Art. 32.2 where the legislator claims that museologists, are employed on the positions of Assistant, Adjunct Curator, Curator, and Certified Curator. Since, in as much as the traditional understanding of the word curator (collections' keeper, this Polish meaning of the word to be found in *the Polish Language Online Dictionary of the Polish Academy of Sciences*) unquestionably covers the scope of point 1 in Art. 32.1 (*collecting and scientifically investigating collections*), it does not logically fully cover the scope of points 2 and 3 of

Art. 32.1. (2) *mounting exhibitions and making collections available for teaching and scientific purposes, 3) organizing research and scientific expeditions, including archaeological ones, and certainly does not lead to 32.1.4 (4) conducting educational, artistic, culture-disseminating, or publishing activities*). One finds it hard to refrain from asking several exemplary questions, perfectly aware that dozens of similar ones could be posed.

Are editors, copy editors museologists? In compliance with Art. 2.1, they undoubtedly are. Should thus an editor be employed on the position of a Curator? And how about an artist? Designer? Educator? Webmaster of the museum website who undoubtedly disseminate culture? A guide? Moving further on, however at the same time returning to 31.1.2: is the museum employee mounting an exhibition and its author a museologist? Certainly so. Thus a Curator. However, mounting does not mean creating. Is thus the assembly worker putting it up a museologist? Based on Polish language, he or she is. Are they thus Curators? How about the ones who promote it? Produce it from the organizational point of view? Physically put it up? As naïve as these questions might be, they could be multiplied here, and there is no doubt that the Act should be helpful in providing answers to them. Unfortunately, it is not. Since as we move on towards Art. 32.b.1, the Act begins to resemble Swiss cheese full of holes. Let us therefore quote here the further part of the Act:

Art. 32b.

1. *Museums can employ specialists in the jobs related to museum activity, performing tasks related to:*

- 1) *keeping and cataloguing the amassed collections;*
- 2) *preserving and conserving the collections, including non-movable objects of tangible culture and of nature;*
- 3) *safeguarding proper conditions for visiting museum and benefitting the collections.*

2. *The specialists are employed on the positions:*

- 1) *Senior Conservator;*
- 2) *Conservator;*
- 3) *Adjunct Conservator;*
- 4) *Senior Assistant Conservator;*
- 5) *Assistant Conservator;*
- 6) *Senior Documentalist;*
- 8) *Junior Documentalist;*
- 9) *Senior Restorer;*
- 10) *Restorer;*
- 11) *Apprenticed Restorer;*
- 12) *Junior Restorer;*
- 13) *Museum Guide.*

It seems extremely challenging to translate this regulation into the language of experience and logic in museum activity. Firstly, what results from the above is that no storage services in museums belong to the museologist line (their employees are not museologists), which is absurd, as it is precisely in storage spaces that the most important activities related to collections are conducted. Separating collecting from storing (keeping) is a misunderstanding to say the least. However, if one was to even swallow this pill, there emerges a subsequent question. What position should I employ the staff member (manager) of collection storage on? For example of the Coin Cabinet? As a Senior Documentalist? The semantics of museum specialists shows great inconsistencies at this point.

Let us move one. Out of respect for the legislator, no non-gradable adjectives should be used. However, how else than with the term of casualness can you call the fact that the legislator considers *elaborating collections* an activity that can make an employee be regarded as a museologist, while cataloguing collections should be an activity defining a specialist whose profession does not relate to a museological activity? One can hardly hide embarrassment that the legislator shows no understanding of the fact that cataloguing is one of the most essential parts of the very process of scientific elaboration.

One has to suspect that the phrase used in 32b.1.3: *safeguarding proper conditions for visiting museum and benefitting the collections* refers to museum services, namely display's carers. Obviously, it could be appropriate to ask whether this professional group does not perform tasks as defined in Art. 32.1 (*making collections available*), yet, however, bypassing this otherwise important issue, let us pose the following question: what position should the display's carer be employed on? As a renovator?

While continuing, somewhat to our surprise, among specialists, museum guides are found. What is the key allowing to distinguish between individuals *running educational or culture-disseminating activity*, who rank among museologists according to the Act, and guides who are specialists? Not to mention, obviously, that brain's logics objects to having guides excluded from the educational-disseminating processes.

The subsequent amendment adopted in 2019, to-date the last one, does not introduce any new regulations to the discussed matters.³⁰

The above are merely several of many questions that are yielded after the reading of the Act on Museums, and more precisely of those of its fragments which apply to the professional group of museologists. Undoubtedly, since 1996, when the legislator decided to introduce that professional category into the legal circulation, the way of defining it has been far from perfect to say the least. What requires some reflection is the answer to the question why in the later legislation the concept of 'museum services', as museum staff used to be called in the Ordinance of the Council of Ministers of 19 September 1958, was rejected. In the following decades the term of 'museum staff' was applied, this corresponding to the term 'museum professionals' in general use in Europe at the time. Finding a new accurate term in Polish (previously in use), namely *muzealnik* (museologist) yielded in effect the division of museum staff into two groups. Currently it is quite clear that this division which is trying to artificially delineate borderlines across museum structures, does not withstand confrontation with the reality. Since there is no logical principle that allows to appropriate museum collections by only one professional group, similarly as there is no moral justification for one professional group only to consider themselves 'priests' while the others should be treated merely as 'altar servers'. The conciliary responsibility is to be aware of the equal-term 'priesthood' of all the museum services, which does not go to say that they are all the same. While an increasing number of museums are extending the range of their specialists,

loud voices sounding in unison should be heard: *we are all museologists!*, though we do not all do the same work. With all the errors of the 2015 amendment, I guess one can attempt to define the profession of a museologist on the grounds of Art. 32.1, and while resorting to a broad margin covering all the museum staff, to introduce the concept of different specialists. In my wording it would read as follows:

Art. 32.1. Staff employed at museums form the professional group of museologists. In view of the character of the mission museologists are entrusted with, they form a group of public trust. The essence of the museologist's job is the utmost care for the museum objects he/she is entrusted with, and the skill to share the capital of knowledge and experience gathered in the museum with the public. Depending on the function performed at the museum and competences, museologists are specialists in the following areas:

1.a. Specialists in curatorship. The Curatorship Department at a museum is made up of employees dealing with collecting, elaborating, cataloguing, and keeping museum objects.

1.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Curatorship Department can have the following museum degrees: Certified Curator, Senior Curator, Curator, Adjunct Curator, Senior Assistant, Assistant.

2.a. Specialists in conservation. The Conservation Department in a museum is composed of employees dealing with preventive, preservative, and full conservation of museum objects.

2.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Conservation Department can have the following museum degrees: Certified Conservator, Senior Conservator, Conservator, Adjunct Conservator, Senior Assistant Conservator, Assistant Conservator.

3.a. Specialists in education. The Educational Department is composed of employees dealing with education and dissemination among the public.

3.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Educational Department can have the following museum degrees: a Certified Curator, Senior Curator, Curator, Adjunct Curator, Senior Assistant, Assistant.

4.a. Specialists in publishing. The Publishing Department is composed of employees dealing with museum's publishing activity.

4.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Publishing Department can have the following museum degrees: a Certified Curator, Senior Curator, Curator, Adjunct Curator, Senior Assistant, Assistant.

5.a. Specialists in artistic designing. The Art Department is composed of employees dealing with designing and any other artistic activity.

5.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Art Department can have the following museum degrees: Certified Museum Designer, Senior Museum Designer, Museum Designer, Adjunct Museum Designer, Senior Assistant Museum Designer, Assistant Museum Designer.

6.a. Specialists in organisation and production. The Organizational and Production Department is composed of employees dealing with organization of scientific research,

including archaeological research, production of exhibitions and of other museum events.

6.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Organizational and Production Department can have the following museum degrees: Certified Museum Inspector, Senior Museum Inspector, Museum Inspector, Senior Museum Clerk, Museum Clerk, Junior Museum Clerk.

7.a. Specialists in management and organizations. The Management and Organization Department is composed of employees responsible for creating and implementing strategic plans, supporting management processes, particularly project ones (project implementation) and within the institution's management control.

7.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Management and Organizational Department can have the following museum degrees: Certified Museum Inspector, Senior Museum Inspector, Museum Inspector, Senior Museum Clerk, Museum Clerk, Junior Museum Clerk.

8.a. Specialists in promotion and marketing. The Promotion and Marketing Department is composed of employees who deal with the promotion of museum's product and brand, sales, and with acquiring financing.

8.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Promotion and Marketing Department can have the following museum degrees: Certified Museum Inspector, Senior Museum Inspector, Museum Inspector, Senior Museum Clerk, Museum Clerk, Junior Museum Clerk.

9.a. Specialists in finance and business. The Finance and Business Department is composed of employees who deal with financial planning, financial reporting, internal financial auditing, accountancy, budget plan monitoring, public tendering.

9.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Finance and Business Department can have the following museum degrees: Certified Museum Accountant, Senior Museum Accountant, Museum Accountant, Senior Museum Financial Clerk, Museum Financial Clerk, Junior Museum Financial Clerk.

10.a. Specialists in law. The Legal Department is composed of employees who deal with a comprehensive legal service provided to the museum, with the exclusion of the activity conducted by legal advisors in compliance with separate regulations.

10.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Legal Department can have the following museum degrees: Certified Museum Inspector, Senior Museum Inspector, Museum Inspector, Senior Museum Clerk, Museum Clerk, Junior Museum Clerk.

11.a. Specialists in administrative and technical services. The Administration and Technical Service Department is composed of employees who deal with the administration of the museum estate, providing efficient operation of the technical infrastructure of the museum, and run investment projects.

11.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Administration and Technical Service Department can have the following museum degrees: Certified Museum

Inspector, Senior Museum Inspector, Museum Inspector, Senior Museum Clerk, Museum Clerk, Junior Museum Clerk.

12.a. Specialists in services. The Service Department is composed of employees who provide necessary service to exhibitions and other museum events.

12.b. Depending on the current and acquired qualifications and professional accomplishments, employees of the Service Department can have museum degrees of: Certified Museum Carer/ Opiekun?, Qualified Museum Carer, Senior Museum Carer, Museum Carer.

13. Museologist who is entrusted with the task of organizing an exhibition consisting in autorski copyrighted/author's preparation, organizing, and factual supervision over the exhibition, exerts the function of the Exhibition Curator.

14. The fact that a museologist is listed among one of the groups of museum specialists does not free him/her from boasting basic competences required for other museologist specialist groups. Within the scope of acquired and documented qualifications as well as the scope of responsibilities, museum director can entrust a museologist with a task that does not coincide with the specialist group he/she has been qualified for.

Art. 32.2.

1. Museologists are employed at museums on positions defined by the institution's statute and structure.

2. Within internal regulations museum directors shall define career opportunities and promotion rules within each of the museum departments as listed in Art. 32.2.1.–11.

3. Minister of Culture and National Heritage shall define threshold qualifications, professional accomplishments, and mode entitling museologists to museum degrees by way of regulation. In the same regulation the Minister of Culture and National Heritage shall define the museologists' rights resulting from the respective museum degrees.

4. Polish Museology Forum shall be the social organization entitled to provide opinion on the regulation in question.

As can be clearly seen, I consistently and with much conviction introduce the concept of the 'degree' in my proposal. It has not been used so far, though I consider it highly accurate. What I find essential is the separation of the function: namely the currently done work, from competences and qualifications. It would be surprising if I, serving as the President of the Association of Polish Museologists, were not claiming such a change, since in compliance with the provisions that the occupied position testifies to being a museologist, only those who have one of the four positions entitling them the be called 'museologists' can legally become members of our Association. However, what if they lose their position? Will they also lose their professional identity, skills, and 'name', which actually is a title? My position is confirmed by the article *Adjunct and Curator are Museologists' Professional Titles, not Positions. The Name Depends on Qualifications* by Łukasz Chruściel published in 'Rzeczpospolita' on 4 Sept. 2014. The author analyses the actual status quo, basing himself not only on his high legal qualifications, but firstly on the Supreme Court ruling of 3 September 2013 (I PK 37/13). Anyone going through this reading will find it a decisive argument in favour of a new and coherent definition of the professional group of museologists.

Endnotes

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- ¹⁶ *I Kongres Muzealników Polskich* [The First Congress of Polish Museologists], M. Niezabitowski, M. Wysocki (ed.), Warszawa 2015.
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- ¹⁹ Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Art of 26 June 1998 on the Required Qualifications Allowing to Take on Museum Positions and the Mode of Their Verification, Journal of Laws of 1998, No. 122, Item 804.
- ²⁰ Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and Art of 9 March 1999 on the Qualification Requirements of the Employees Forming the Professional Group of Museologists Entitling Them to Hold Positions Related to Museum's Basic Activity and the Mode of Their Verification, Journal of Laws of 1999, No. 26, Item 233.
- ²¹ On 4-5 Nov. 2015, the Polish Association of Museum Cataloguers was established; on 18 June 2018, the Forum of Museum Educators Association was created.
- ²² On 4 October 2018, the Column Hall of the History Faculty at the University of Warsaw, witnessed the event of signing a cooperation agreement of the Forum of Polish Museology. The event was participated by representatives of 8 Polish museum organizations. The following entities confirmed their membership in the social organization associating museologists and individuals contributing to Polish museology, declaring the the readiness to achieve shared implementation of its goals:
- Association of Polish Museologists
 - ICOM Poland
 - Association of Open-Air Museums
 - Association of University Museums
 - Foundation of Greater Poland Museums
 - Association of Museums of Engineering
 - Association of Ars Sacra Museums and Church Treasuries
 - Forum of Museum Educators Association.
- ²³ Ordinance of the Minister of Culture of 13 Dec. 2004 amending the Ordinance on the Qualification Requirements of the Employees Forming the Professional Group of Museologists Entitling Them to Hold Positions Related to Museum's Basic Activity and the Mode of Their Verification, Journal of Laws of 2004, No. 272, Item 2695.
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- ²⁵ Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 13 May 2008 on Qualification Requirements of the Employees Forming the Professional Group of Museologists Entitling Them to Hold Positions Related to Museum's Basic Activity and the Mode of Their Verification, Journal of Laws of 2008 r. No. 91, Item 568.
- ²⁶ A relevant subsection of Resolution No. 3 of the First Congress of Polish Museologists claims that *career path of Polish museologists should be optimized by restoring the positions of Senior Assistant and Senior Curator, as well as by restoring training periods required at every museologist position in compliance with the rules in force prior to 2008, in the face of which an application should be filed to the Sejm to introduce necessary changes in the Bill on so-called Deregulation of the Profession of Museologist.*
- ²⁷ Ordinance of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 7 Aug. 2012 on the Qualifications Required to Occupy Certain Positions in Museums and the Mode of their Verification, Journal of Laws of 2012, Item 93.
- ²⁸ Let me add that this wording could be adopted only thanks to a wise intervention of Prof. Stanisław Waltoś who, having proposed the combining of the Resolution's content with museum's mission, harmonized the discrepancies on a certain level of generalizing.
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STARTING EVERYTHING ANEW... FRANK STELLA AND WOODEN SYNAGOGUES AT THE POLIN MUSEUM OF THE HISTORY OF POLISH JEWS IN WARSAW

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Abstract: The author of the review of the 'Frank Stella and Synagogues of Historic Poland' Exhibition at the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews from 19 February until 20 June 2016 (curator Artur Tanikowski, scenography Jan Strumiłło) reflects upon the category of 'rescue history' which she believes is adequate to the description of the Polish museum as *a model of constructive engagement and a place of critical reflection* (B. Kirshenblatt-Gimbelt). She also discusses its context: the main narrative exhibition, whose most effective element is a wooden roof of the vanished 17th-century synagogue in Gwoździec, re-erected in 2010–2012 by an international team of students, architects and art historians, led by American artists specialising in wooden crafts. It resulted in *an object of a new kind whose value is connected with 'intangible heritage'*, which in turn was retrieved

thanks to a return to traditional techniques of building and materials. The review's author considers the category of 'embodied knowledge' proposed by Prof. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimbelt as useful in analysing Frank Stella's creative process in the cycle *Polish Village*. This was created in 1971–1973, inspired by an English translation published in 1957 of a monograph entitled *Bożnice drewniane* [Wooden synagogues] by Kazimierz and Maria Piechotka, prepared on the basis of archival materials gathered in the Department of Wooden Architecture at the Faculty of Architecture of the Warsaw University of Technology. The incorporation of pre-war photographs of vanished wooden synagogues reminds us of the Jewish roots of the avant-garde and of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Central and Eastern Europe as *a relational space of communication and translation* (M. Csáky).

Keywords: Frank Stella, Kazimierz and Maria Piechotka, heritage of wooden architecture, synagogue, minimalism, contemporary and historic architecture, cultural capital.

The photographs documenting art exhibitions, showing cold white spaces: white cubes deprived of people filled with colourful objects, are not free from Modernist fascination with the objectivism of an unengaged eye and an apparent neutrality of the lens.¹ The first to see his or her own exhibition as an image is most often its own author, namely curator, frequently struck by the fact that this inanimate landscape is so alien.

Contrary to what the title says, the protagonist of the Exhibition *Frank Stella and Synagogues of Historic Poland*² is not that spontaneous last representative of the living Avant-garde, while the 'territory of images' is not the photographic resources of the Archive of the Wooden Architecture Department at the Warsaw University of Technology, decimated by WW II. The common ground being the monograph titled *Bożnice drewniane* [Wooden Synagogues] by the architect duo Kazimierz and Maria Piechotka, prepared on the grounds of archival materials collected at the Department and at the National Centre for Monument Register. They are, first of all, photographs by Jan Zajczyk who ran the School of Jewish Art at the Faculty of Architecture Unit headed by Oskar Sosnowski at the Warsaw University of Technology. The richly illustrated publication, whose re-edition is available at the Polin Museum of the History of Polish Jews bookshop,³ was possible thanks to the programme of registering wooden architecture launched already by Oskar Sosnowski, and after WW II carried out by his successor and continuator Jan Zachwatowicz. The 1959 English edition of *Wooden*

Synagogues prefaced by Stephen S. Kayser, the then curator of the Jewish Museum in New York, featuring photographs by Zajczyk, and survey drawings by Stefan Żywno, inspired the artist Frank Stella to create the breakthrough cycle in his output, namely the *Polish Village*.

If a museum is always a certain discourse, while an exhibition is a statement made within this discourse,⁴ and the gesture of inscribing into the discursive practice strips the museum activity of innocence and imposes responsibility on it, I would like to take a closer look at the Exhibition *Frank Stella and Synagogues of Historic Poland* not only because I find it to be one of the more important displays that I have recently had the opportunity to see in Warsaw, or even more: almost a model exhibition of contemporary art exploring the areas of history and memory. What interests me too is its context, permanently and inevitably co-created by the *theatre of history*⁵ of the so-called POLIN's Core Exhibition, stretching out below the visitors on Level '-1' of the Museum building.

The visitors entering the Museum of the History of Polish Jews are attracted by the view of a wooden structure encapsulated within a glass tank. In order to reach it, they have to enter the Core Exhibition: this real and material facility, to use the words of the Chief Curator of the Core Exhibition at the POLIN Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimbel, *is not a copy, a reconstruction, a restoration*,⁶ it is the roof of a non-extant seventeenth-century Gwoździec Synagogue burnt down in 1941, the most important element of the 'Shtetl' Gallery.



1. View of the 'Frank Stella and Synagogues of Historic Poland' Exhibition at the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw; on the right *Bogoria IV*, 1971, mixed technique, from the Ralph DeLuka collection



2. Frank Stella, *Bogoria IV*, 1971, mixed technique, from the Ralph DeLuka collection



3. Frank Stella, *Makieta do Bogorii*, 1971–1974, Bristol board, 38.1×47.6×2.5 cm, private property

The structure that does not exist today, raised on an irregular polygonal layout of log construction, was originally 15 m high, and it featured a Polish stepped hip roof (so-called Cracow roof), as well as a dome over the central part.⁷ Its exceptional importance for Jewish wooden sacral architecture on the territories of former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth stemmed mainly from the polychromes of a rich iconographic programme designed by Icchak Ber, continued by his son Izrael ben Mordechaj Liśnicki (Lissnitzki) of Jaryczów from ca 1652 r., and later by Izrael ben Mordechaj Szen, restored by Icchak ben Jehuda ha-Kohen of Jaryczów in 1729.⁸ At the POLIN we view the roof from above, from Level 'O', for the roof framing not to hide any secrets from us. It actually has slightly different proportions, since it covers a decisively smaller interior. In order to view the polychrome and the ornamented bimah, we have to walk down to the Core Exhibition in which this object, smelling of wood and novelty, is the highlight.

The other thing that can also be seen on Level 'O' is the stand that circles the glazed walls with a photographic documentation of wooden synagogues on the Polish territories from the first edition of the Piechotkas' *Wooden Synagogues*.

Talking about the Core Exhibition and its concept. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimbel emphasizes the importance of intangible heritage. The roof of the Gwoździec Synagogue built anew, whose creation was contributed to by e.g. students of artistic schools, architects, and historians of art from Poland, Western Europe, and the USA, as well as American artists

specializing in wooden handcraft,⁹ forms part of that heritage. As a result of that 2-years' long shared experience, an object of a new kind was created; its value is related to intangible heritage which was restored thanks to the return to traditional building techniques and materials. *It is not of merely cognitive value, emphasizes Kirshenblatt-Gimbel, something you can learn from documentation: drawings, photos, paintings, verbal descriptions, measurements, etc.; it is knowledge which is also physical and embodied.*¹⁰

It seems that the last sentence can also be metaphorically related to the concept of the Exhibition *Frank Stella and Synagogues of Historic Poland* curated by Artur Tanikowski, and the artistic praxis of the artist himself. The category of *embodied knowledge* may equally well describe Stella's creative process, 'the process of building a painting', which in 1971–74, through sketches, drawings on graph paper, relief models, led to monumental spatial collages of the *Polish Village*. No matter whether we believe or not that the Polish images were designed correctly and precisely in the engineering sense,¹¹ the revealing to the viewers of the procedures of the production of a minimalist work, the insight into, and the access to the analytical practises of the artist wrestling with the *design of an autonomous structure which is neither accounted for by sculpture mass, nor by architectural function*, is extremely illuminating.

The most concise commentary on this stage of the Artist's oeuvre can be found in Stella's 1974 photos in a studio resembling an architect's one, with drafting boards full of elements for the *Polish Village*, and with ready works hanging



4. 'Frank Stella and Synagogues of Historic Poland' Exhibition – audience in front of *Optical tool* by Jan Mioduszewski



5. Jan Mioduszewski, *Optical tool*

(Photos: 1, 4 – M. Starowieyska; 5 – J. Mioduszewski)

on the walls.¹² Thanks to the POLIN exhibition we have had a rare and exceptional opportunity to follow the artist when he is starting everything anew.¹³ As he said himself, he had not seen the way of improving what he had been doing in the previous decade, or how to do it better. Starting everything from scratch, he did not know where the sketches for the Polish images would lead, but he simply had to follow them.¹⁴

The pre-text for the Exhibition and for the works is to be found in photographs: documentation of Jewish sacred wooden architecture by Juliusz Kłos and Szymon Zajczyk, free from the rigours of architectural photographs, treating their objects merely as 'beautiful portraits'.¹⁵ The authors of the photos observe with admiration, yet with literality free from fetishism, multiethnic works of anonymous builders: Jewish, Polish, Ruthenian, or Armenian. Century-old buildings integrated with the wooden structures of Podolia, Podlachia, or Mazovia shtetls seem an integral part of the landscape, to which they are as entitled as a leaning fence or a wild apple tree. The aesthetics of the right angle returns to those interiors on the architects' drawing boards and in Bronisław Żywno's survey drawings. And although minimalist works of F. Stella explore the subject of the 'structure' and the potential of the right angle, the 'sensual' extra of the photos, namely the hardly audible, yet as if just behind your ear, multilingual cries of carpenter masters, or the laughter of the kids staring into the lens with their mouth open, revives in the exhibition.

The Exhibition speaks to us, talks to us. There are 3 screens: we hear Maria Piechotka talking about the work on the *Wooden Synagogues*, and we watch archival footage of Polish Newsreel from 1959 in which the couple, then active architects, are taking us through the settlement in Warsaw they had designed. Also Frank Stella himself appears on the screen,¹⁶ which allows the visitors who have feeble contact with contemporary art and minimalism, a more affective perception of the Exhibition than the knowledge of the catchphrase repeated by the media following Foster that we are standing before the main herald of the autonomy of painting.¹⁷

Despite the multitude of Stella's 'analytical' elements, fragile isometric drawings, or framed cardboard models, and particularly in view of the Exhibition's subject, namely the buildings truly elderly whose material does not imply durability, the Exhibition's space really impresses with being monumental. Thick partitioning walls, just like fortress pillars, send us to the lack, to the fear that this constructed illusory space may once again disappear, and so can the once lost world that thanks to the Exhibition and the American artist is restored to us, just like the roof of the Gwoździec Synagogue.

It is hard to question the statement that *capturing the relation between the works from the Polish Village cycle, and inventory cross-sections does require certain training in abstracting*.¹⁸ Polish visitors, whose artistic education generally ends with French Impressionism, may have

difficulties with identifying Stellas' creative strategy and choices. A wonderful idea of the Curator, emphasizing the Exhibition's topic as *dialogue space* can be seen in giving the mezzanine to contemporary artists, *translators of abstraction*. The works presented there are by Jan Mioduszewski, author of optical devices, which while focusing the viewer's eyesight on details of cross sections, help us understand how *the painter worked with the initial material*,¹⁹ as well as by the Katarzyna Kijek and Przemysław Adamski duo. In effect a dynamic, colourful, and a lively exhibition was created in which the *Spinning Synagogues in Lunna Wola* (Jan Mioduszewski) or 4 video loops of the *Deconstruction* (Kijek/Adamek) help the audience better understand *the dynamics of the artist's search*.²⁰

Stella's exhibition at the POLIN lasted for several months. Always swarming with visitors due to the fame of the artist from across the Ocean, it eliminated, rather unjustly, the multiethnic and multicultural East-Central Europe as *the relational space of communication and translation*, anticipating the post-modern condition.²¹

When analysing the Exhibition and how it inscribes in the 'context' of the Core Exhibition at the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, let me once again recall what Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett said, as I have been hearing it over and

over again while working on this paper. The POLIN Museum has been designed as a *model of constructive engagement and trustful place of critical reflection*.²² Not as a Holocaust museum.

The emptiness of the 'Shtetl' Gallery, instead of a community project of raising the roof of the Gwoździec Synagogue, could be surrounded by the documentation of the first edition of the Piechotkas' monograph, but then the watching of the documentation of the wooden synagogues in historic Poland would be accompanied by insurmountable pain.

It seems that the 'extension' of Stella's works with their genetic context, the photos by Kłos and Zajczyk, or survey drawings, and finally the contextualising of the very creative process, and making it undergo the analytical and artistic manipulations of contemporary artists, can be interpreted – which to me personally seems extremely cognitively liberating and opening – in the categories of 'rescue history'.

As observed by Katarzyna Bojarska, today one of bases of the construction of historicity could be turning not so much towards what has been lost, but towards what has been left, towards the *re-mains*. *The way in which this emptiness is created, as well as how it is understood and felt, may become the departure point for both art and theories related to the past*.²³

Endnotes

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⁸ *Ibid.*, Motif of the polychrome decoration was used in the stage set of the production *Dybuk. Między dwoma światami* [The Dybbuk. Between Two Worlds] directed by Krzysztof Warlikowski, after *Dybuk* [The Dybbuk] by Hanna Krall and Szymon Anski at the Warsaw Rozmaitości Theatre in 2013.

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MUSEUMS – VIEW FROM THE INSIDE

Piotr Kosiewski

'Tygodnik Powszechny'

Abstract: The publication *Museums, exhibits, museum professionals* complements our knowledge of how museums functioned in the Communist period and their situation after 1989. The book includes discussions or memoirs by eleven people vital to Polish museology, who were connected with National Museums (in Cracow, Poznań and Wrocław), museum-residences (the Wawel Museum, the Royal Castle in Warsaw), specialised museums (the National Maritime Museum in Gdańsk, the Museum of Literature in Warsaw, the Jagiellonian University Museum), ethnographic museums (in Cracow and Toruń) and the Tatra Museum, which is an example of an important regional museum in Poland. Among the people are Zofia Gołubiew, Mariusz Hermansdofer, Jerzy Litwin, Janusz Odrowąż-Pieniążek, Jan Ostrowski, Andrzej Rottermund and Stanisław Waltoś. The book presents the image of Polish museology in a scattershot but interesting way. It also mentions more detailed

aspects, such as how particular museums were founded or developed in the Communist period, and the individual role of museum professionals in founding and developing the establishments they managed. However, the most attention is paid to issues regarding the state of museums after 1989. The most important of these include the contemporary functions and tasks of those establishments and the challenges they will face in the future, and the role of a musealium and its place in a contemporary museum. The observations regarding internal changes in museum institutions, in the 'master-disciple' relation in the past and today, the appearance of new specialities, and the change of their status and role in institutions (for example, of people responsible for education) are also noteworthy. Another significant thread is the discussion on the definition of a 'museum professional' and which museum employees may use this title.

Keywords: museums in the Communist period, museums after 1989, museums in the future, musealium, museum professional.

Discussions about museums are becoming increasingly frequent in Poland, and interest in museums exceeds the narrow circle of experts. The history of Polish museology during the era of the People's Republic of Poland (in particular the last decade), however, continues to be insufficiently described; the same is true of the situation of museums after 1989. Just as important are the problems of present-day museology. This is why it is worth drawing attention to *Muzea, muzealia, muzealnicy* – conversations published in 2016, edited by Paweł Jaskanis and comprising the 14th volume of the 'Muzeologia' series presenting interdisciplinary museological studies.

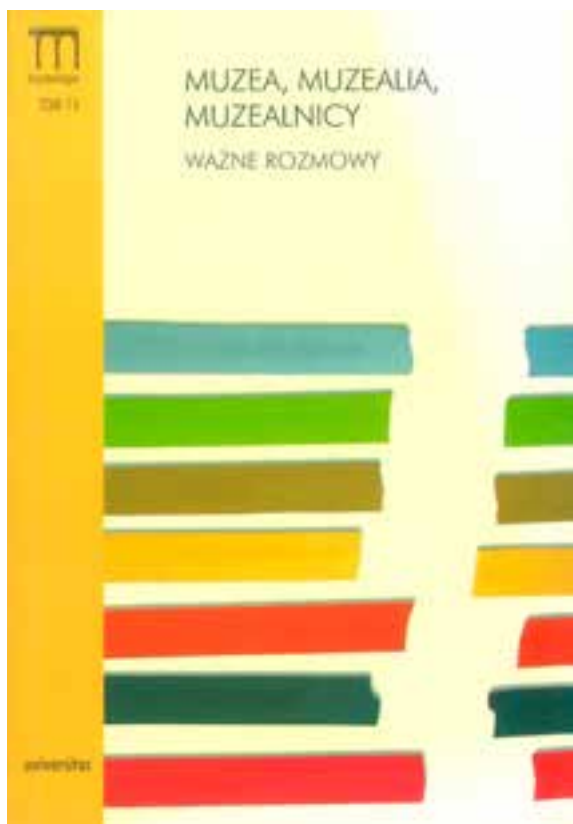
Museum map

The subtitle of the book in question is: *Ważne rozmowy*. This is by no means an ordinary advertisement gimmick as one might suppose at first glance while reaching for the

unassuming publication conceived upon the occasion of the I Congress of Polish Museum Curators, held in 2015.

It was decided to talk to people crucial not only in the past but vital also for the present state of our museums. This was the origin of a collection of ten interviews with: Jerzy Czajkowski, Zofia Gołubiew, Teresa Jabłońska, Jerzy Litwin, Janusz Odrowąż-Pieniążek, Jan Ostrowski, Andrzej Rottermund, Wojciech Suchocki, Roman Tubaja, and Stanisław Waltoś. The book also contains an extensive account by Mariusz Hermansdorfer, recorded by Anna Maria Potocka.

Already the names of the interlocutors tell a lot – the history of Polish museums in the last half a century simply could not be written without them. Just as important are the persons conducting the interviews, i.a. Dorota Folga-Januszewska, Paweł Jaskanis, Michał Niezabitowski or Teresa Lasowa, i.e. experts who for a long time considerably influenced the form of Polish museum studies. It is also they who



endowed a unique character to particular conversations, some of which are more personal than others. The interlocutors describe not only their experiences as heads of institutions – since this is the key for selecting museum curators invited to take part in the interviews – but also their private lives, family traditions, etc. Other conversations focus on purely museum problems.

The diverse nature of the published interviews is both the asset and the fault of this publication, and grants great variety. It also succeeds in drawing attention to numerous aspects necessary and important for further discussions. Nonetheless, the overall impression is that of a rather fragmentary and scattered image of Polish museology. To the very end it remains unclear what – apart from the individual traits of the persons conducting the interviews – was the reason for the decision to omit certain motifs. This pertains even to a crucial theme accentuated by the editor, i.e. the ‘master-student’ relation. By way of example, this topic was not included in the extremely interesting conversation with Andrzej Rottermund, which might come as a surprise considering that the long-term director of the Royal Castle in Warsaw enjoyed an opportunity to observe the work performed by Jan Białostocki and Stanisław Lorentz, amongst the most important figures in Polish museology, and in view of the fact that he took over the post of director of the Warsaw royal residence as a successor of Aleksander Gieysztor. The interlocutors possess extremely diverse experiences. Jerzy Litwin, Janusz Odrowąż-Pieniążek or Stanisław Waltoś were museum directors already at the time of the People’s Republic of Poland, but, for instance, Wojciech Sochacki took over the function of director of the National

Museum in Poznań in 2000.

I would like to stress that *Muzea, muzealia, muzealnicy* is an important and useful publication despite all the above-mentioned reservations. Nevertheless, successive works should now follow. In this way it will become possible to outline a wider depiction of Polish museum institutions (today ‘oral testimonies’ play an increasingly prominent role). This proposal is important for several reasons. The book contains portraits not solely of persons but also of institutions: great National Museums (Kraków, Poznań, Wrocław), museums-residences (Wawel, Royal Castle in Warsaw), specialist museums (National Maritime Museum in Gdańsk, Museum of Literature in Warsaw, the Jagiellonian University Museum). The presence of ethnographic museums (in Cracow and Toruń) and, especially significant, of a regional museum (Zakopane) is of particular significance. It is precisely this type of museums that is much too often ignored or bypassed. Meanwhile, it fulfils a fundamental function since, as Teresa Jabłońska, for many years director of the Tatra Museum, underlined: *They serve a ‘local community’* and, she added, *are burdened with complex and expanded social obligations* (p. 56). Thanks to a selection of interlocutors the initiators of the publication managed to draw an interesting and important map of institutions.

The list of absent types of museum, however, is just as meaningful. It includes archaeological, natural science, and historical museums, although today the latter draw particular attention, also due to the current significance of so-called narrative museums. There is also no mention of Church museums, still on the margin of interests pursued by Polish museology despite their great tradition. A more complete presentation calls for several institutions ‘emblematic’ for Polish museology, predominantly the National Museum in Warsaw, museums-palaces in Łazienki and Wilanów, as well as the Museum of Art in Łódź, whose absence makes it impossible to achieve a fuller portrayal of the situation. After 1989 all these institutions underwent serious transformations and were compelled to tackle essential problems of importance for Polish museums as a whole, e.g. changes in the administration structure and the generational shift or, as in the case of the National Museum in Warsaw and the Palace in Wilanów, complicated questions of ownership.

The prime asset of the discussed publication is ‘creating a map’ of the most important questions concerning Polish museology of the last half a century and drawing attention to significant problems to be described and debated. I shall mention only several questions, which I consider to be the most relevant.

The past

We already know quite a lot about the history of museums at the time of the People’s Republic of Poland. Particular institutions and selected collections have been described. There are also accounts by museum curators, including specifically important interviews with Stanisław Lorentz.¹ Much information is provided by, i.a. a bibliography of the contents of the annual ‘Muzealnictwo’, issued in 2015.² Nonetheless, knowledge about museums during the communist era continues to be scattered and lacks more synthetic interpretations dealing with, e.g. pertinent state

policy, and in particular placing it within a wider context of the policies and praxis of the authorities of the period (e.g. guarantees of social legitimisation or conducting a so-called social identity policy). More detailed issues include the creation and development of particular types of museums. *Muzeum, muzealia, muzealnicy* contains, i.a. interesting comments by Jerzy Czajkowski about the development of Skansen museums and by Roman Tubaja about the progress made by the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń and the activity of Maria Znamierowska-Prüfferowa, who made a great contribution to ethnographic museology in our country. In turn, a conversation with Jerzy Litwin managed to summarily outline the history of the Maritime Museum established in Gdańsk in 1960.

Probably the most interesting question is the role played by individual museum curators, the creation of particular museums, and the process of granting them a specific character. Today, it is difficult to imagine that – with the exception of, as a rule, small and newly opened institutions – personal decisions, opinions, and predilections could have such a significant impact upon the functioning of museums and the form of their collections. Not by accident was mention made of ‘the Ryszard Stanisławski museum’ or the ‘Zdzisław Kępiński gallery’, but it is worth remembering, e.g. Gallery 72 at the Museum of the Land of Chełmno, directed since 1973 (for the next 28 years) by Bożena Kowalska, who defined its profile and granted it the rank of one of the most prominent exhibition institutions in Poland. This is an interesting and very prominent topic since successors often face the question: how are they to supplement and present the collections while taking into account the passage of time and changes in artistic hierarchies? In this respect, the story told in the book by Mariusz Hermansdorfer appears to be fascinating. Hermansdorfer supervised the contemporary art collections at the National Museum in Wrocław from 1972, first as head of the department and then, to 2013, as director of the whole institution. *It is difficult to imagine today that works by the most outstanding artists could be purchased for such paltry sums of money!* – he recalled (p. 39). Hermansdorfer made skilful use of such opportunities, the effect being the creation of a public but, nonetheless, auteur collection; his choices were, to cite his description, situated between the conceits of ‘expression’ and ‘metaphor’ in art and his purchases of numerous works by his favourites: Magdalena Abakanowicz, Władysław Hasior, Tadeusz Kantor, Jan Lowenstein, Józef Szajna or Alina Szapocznikow permanently defined the character of the Wrocław Museum. An equally great impact on the museums directed by them was exerted also by other interlocutors, i.a. Jerzy Litwin or Janusz Odrowąż-Pieniżek.

Contemporaneity

The discussed book draws the greatest attention to questions concerning the post-1989 state of museums. This is the topic of copious literature, to mention only *Raport o muzeach*³ commissioned by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage as one of *Raporty o Stanie Kultury* prepared for the Polish Culture Congress held in 2009, papers read at the I Congress of Polish Museum Professionals in 2015, subsequently published as a collection issued in 2015⁴

or *Muzea w Polsce. Raport na podstawie danych z projektu Statystyka Muzeów (2013–2015)*,⁵ which appeared in the following year. Pertinent publications about selected problems include the particularly important *Raport o stanie edukacji muzealnej*.⁶ Mention is due also to numerous conferences, such as ‘Museum and change. Times of narrative museums’, organised in 2016 by the Warsaw Uprising Museum (preparation of post-conference material is under way).

Muzea, muzealia, muzealnicy allows us to take a closer look at the last 25 years from an individual perspective. The volume deals both with more basic problems and those concerning the inner functioning of museum institutions. Notably essential – and going beyond the narrow group of specialists – are questions concerning the present-day state of museums and their ever re-defined functions. ‘Why do we need museums today?’ – in an age of rapid cultural and civilisation transformations, changing lifestyles and manners and morals, and increasing mobility – is one of the most important queries at the moment. After all, museums play an enormous role in creating culture and education, but also in the economy in their capacity as one of the fundamental institutions of the so-called culture industry. Poland too is involved in a discussion on this topic. Interesting theoretical publications include the important anthology: *Muzeum sztuki*, prepared by Maria Popczyk.⁷ Mention is also due to the *Muzeologia. Teoria-praktyka-podręczniki* series, issued for the past several years, in which the discussed publication appeared as the 14th volume. Nevertheless, this is only the beginning of a serious debate.

Post-1989 museums are attempting to find their place in the new situation by treating some of their functions as privileged and recognising others to be less essential at the moment. Assorted visions can be mentioned at this point: the museum as a place for entertainment, an educational centre, a place for aesthetic contemplation. These images do not have to exclude each other. The choice of each option is also a matter for discussion. It is easy, for instance, to criticise the model of a museum envisaged as a place providing entertainment, but questions can be provoked also by other choices, such as granting particular significance to education in the museum. The basic problem, however, appears to be the fact that considerable impact on the shape of present-day Polish museology is exerted by individual decisions made by the authorities or by pressure applied by milieus. A lesser role is performed by reflections on the conception while a long-term state policy regarding museums, and defined jointly with the museum environment, is lacking. Several years ago a rather radical vision was presented by Piotr Piotrowski, who spoke about a critical museum, i.e. a public debate forum. A visualisation of this conception assumed the form of the ‘Ars homo erotica’ exhibition organised in 2010 at the National Museum in Warsaw, whose director Piotrowski was at the time. The idea was presented more extensively in the book: *Muzeum krytyczne*⁸ and collided with another vision treating art as an autonomous sphere, distant from politics, public controversies, etc. Ultimately, Piotr Piotrowski proved incapable of realising his conception of the critical museum, albeit it still remains an essential (also a negative) point of reference. The problems, which Piotrowski wrote about, have not lost any of their topicality.

Museums originate from a conviction that something should not be lost (p. 108) – stressed Wojciech Suchocki, director of the National Museum in Poznań. In an interview published in the volume under discussion he spoke about the function fulfilled by museums as places for the cultivation of memory, and defended tradition and the museum as an autonomous sphere. Other interlocutors appear to take more notice of the need for changes. Thought-provoking conversations include the one held with Andrzej Rottermund, outlining the situation of museums against the background of contemporary challenges. Not by accident does the interview refer to *Raport. Polska 2050*,⁹ spoken about several years ago, whose author accentuated that the most difficult changes would be those introduced into the system of culture, with crucial importance attached to education. *I am convinced that museum institutions, together with their experience and excellent educators, can make a great contribution to this process* (p. 101) – declared the long-term director of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, adding: *I am in favour of museums being a place for sensible debates focused on the reconstruction of a community, and thus the recognition of the state as a common good* (p. 101).

In order to fulfil such functions museums, however, have to meet certain conditions. First and foremost, Andrzej Rottermund stressed, *they must consider the new social hierarchy and the emergent 'new bourgeoisie' as well as become aware of profound differences between generations, the growing number of retired people, and, predominantly, the anticipated tide of emigrants* (p. 101). At the same time, he warned not to expect that museums would take part in the *resolution of the great systemic problems of modern times* (p. 103).

A different problem is indicated in a conversation with Jan Ostrowski. Today we face the following dilemma: is a museum a 'protection institution', which from time to time renders its treasures available to the public or an institution predominantly handed over to the public (p. 94)? *This is a discussion concerning the paradigm of the museum* – he accentuated. *In my opinion a certain current process has led us to such a point at which it is truly possible to shift the accent towards questions concerning the public* – Jan Ostrowski responded, and added: *It is worth remembering that Polish museology emerged from a special mission of salvaging relics of the past. The past for the future, let's save relics for future generations – those were the slogans of the founders of the first museums* (p. 94).

The opinion of the director (since 1989) of Wawel Castle resonates with the statement made by Zofia Gołubiew, for many years director of the National Museum in Cracow. *The absolute duty of a museum is gathering and protecting its collections and handing them over to next generations* – she said to her interlocutor. *But then the accumulation and protection of collections becomes the prime, exclusive goal, and we find ourselves on the verge of nonsense. The correct question is: what are those collections to serve also today?* (p. 19).

The problem of collections is connected with yet another one, concerning the museum exhibit and its place in the contemporary museum. In past decades, together with the development of the so-called narrative museum and an extensive introduction of the multimedia into the

museum exposition – the question of original museum objects had become of key importance since in a certain sense it defines anew the museum and its functions. At the same time, this quandary was also noticed by the authors of new exhibitions, as exemplified by three permanent exhibitions opened in recent years: the Szczecin Dialogue Centre 'Upheavals' (January 2016), the Gdańsk Museum of the Second World War (March 2017) and the Museum of Warsaw (May 2017). Each proposes a slightly different answer to the question about the place of the museum object and the way of building narrative in the museum (although the exhibitions were constructed predominantly around original objects). Even if some of the interlocutors consider the introduction of multimedia elements into the exposition as justified they agree that the museum object is the essence of the museum. *The duty of the museum (...) consists of using chiefly an original work of art* (p. 28) – said Zofia Gołubiew. *Nothing will replace the original, with which the public, as a rule, wishes to have contact* (p. 75) – stressed Janusz Odrowąż-Pieniążek.

Muzeum and museum curators

The idea of recording interviews conducted within the 'master-student' relation was the result of the conviction that the professional knowledge and associated personal practical experiences of exceptional figures of great merit for museums call for their consolidation and transmission for the universal benefit of contemporaries and successors alike – the authors recommended on page 4 of the book cover. Nonetheless, the master-student relation proves to be a secondary motif. In addition, as some of the interlocutors accentuate, it is no longer topical. *True, I benefited from the knowledge of my older colleagues who were my masters. At this moment, however, it appears to me that it is not necessary for a museum to include a teacher moulding the 'novitiate'* (p. 22) – declared Zofia Gołubiew. Several other interlocutors stressed that at present they work as a group.

First and foremost, the model of managing a museum has changed and numerous persons from other institutions, predominantly universities, take over the function of director. This had been also the case previously, as evidenced by Jan Ostrowski or Wojciech Suchocki. An additional serious transformation was brought about by the introduction of competitions and the implementation of the term of office of museum directors.

You were director of the Adam Mickiewicz of Literature for 37 years, which is a term-of-office accomplishment of sorts (p. 73) – noticed Jarosław Klejnocki while talking to his predecessor, Janusz Odrowąż-Pieniążek. Roman Tubaja noted that his adventure with the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń lasted 42 years (he was director in 1980–2007). Andrzej Rottermund held the post of director of the Royal Castle in Warsaw for 24 years, and Jan Ostrowski has been director of the Royal Castle on Wawel Hill since 1989.

Today, the era of such directors – distinctive individualities running their museums singlehandedly for years – is becoming a thing of the past. Relations of this sort are best portrayed in an account by the outstanding lawyer Stanisław Waltoś, for years head of the Jagiellonian University Museum, about his predecessor, Karol Estreicher, a person

of immense merit for Polish culture and our museum collections. *I was well aware that he wanted me at Collegium Maius as a pawn to be shifted on the chessboard of his intentions, a man with no museum education, no practice, and by the force of things condemned to deciphering all his wishes by reading his eyes* (p. 129). Previously, contrary to all principles of the functioning of the so-called *nomenklatura* in the People's Republic of Poland, Karol Estreicher obtained from the state authorities consent for personally nominating his successor.

Transformations occurring in museums affect all employees. New specialisations appear or their status and role in the institutions change – take the example of persons involved in education in museums. Meaningful and heated discussions at the earlier mentioned I Congress of Polish Museum Curators (Łódź 2015) concerned the new definition of the 'museum curator'. References to this debate are made also in the presented book. *Museum curators are all those who are needed by the museums and who feel*

integrated with the institution and identify with it (p. 18) – Zofia Gołubiew stressed. In turn, Jan Ostrowski emphatically declared: *Dividing the employees of a single institution into those who are and are not members of the professional group of museum curators appears to me to be destructive. [...] Some improve, others become worse. Some regard themselves as privileged, others – as wronged* (p. 82). It is, however, precisely this dispute that demonstrates the painful and difficult changes undergone by Polish museology, and just how essential is the question about the social status not solely of museums but also their employees.

A museum curator is not a person 'from the past' but 'with a future' (p. 24). This remark, made by the former director of the National Museum in Cracow, is of crucial relevance. The past is an inalienable fragment of the essence of a museum. Nevertheless, for this particular institution to be able to take care of that, which is part of the past but significant, and to transmit it to future generations, it must succumb to changes. A museum cannot flee from the present or fear the future.

Endnotes

¹ R. Jarocki, *Rozmowy z Lorentzem* [Talking to Lorentz], Warszawa 1981.

² 'Muzealnictwo'. *Bibliografia zawartości rocznika za lata 1952-2014 (nr 1-55)* ['Muzealnictwo'. Bibliography of the Annual's Content in 1952-2014 (nos 1-55)], M. Sołtysiak (prep.), 'Muzealnictwo' (Supplement) 2015, no. 56, 48 pp. (contains – 1074 bibliographic notes, indices: persons and geographical names).

³ D. Folga-Januszewska *Muzea w Polsce 1989-2008. Stan, zachodzące zmiany i kierunki rozwoju muzeów w Europie oraz rekomendacje dla muzeów polskich* [Museums in Poland 1989-2008. Condition, Occurring Changes, and Development Directions of Museums in Europe Together with Recommendations for Polish Museums], Warszawa 2008, [http://www.kongreskultury.pl/libra17/File/RaportMuzea/muzea_raport_w_pelna\(l\).pdf](http://www.kongreskultury.pl/libra17/File/RaportMuzea/muzea_raport_w_pelna(l).pdf)

⁴ *Kongres Muzealników Polskich*, NCK, Warszawa 2015.

⁵ *Muzea w Polsce. Raporty na podstawie danych z projektu Statystyka Muzeów (2013-2015)* [Museums in Poland. Reports Based on the Data from the Museum Statistics (2013-2015) Project], Warszawa 2016.

⁶ *Edukacja muzealna w Polsce. Sytuacja, kontekst, perspektywy rozwoju. Raport o stanie edukacji muzealnej w Polsce* [Museum Education in Poland. Situation, Contexts, Development Prospects. Report on the Condition of Museum Education in Poland], M. Szelaż (ed.), NIMMZ, Warszawa 2012; *Raport o stanie edukacji muzealnej. Suplement. Część 1 i 2 2014 Raport o stanie edukacji muzealnej w Polsce* [Report on the Condition of Museum Education. Supplement. Parts 1 and 2 2014 Report on the Condition of Museum Education in Poland], M. Szelaż (ed.), Universitas, Kraków 2014.

⁷ *Muzeum sztuki. Antologia* [Art Museum. Anthology], M. Popczyk (ed.), Universitas, Kraków 2005.

⁸ P. Piotrowski, *Muzeum krytyczne* [Critical Museum], Poznań 2011.

⁹ *Raport Polska 2050* [Poland 2050 Report], Warszawa 2011. Prepared by a team: Michał Kleiber, Jerzy Kleer, Andrzej P. Wierzbicki, Bogdan Galwas, Leszek Kuźnicki, Zdzisław Sadowski and Zbigniew Strzelecki.

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MIECZYŚLAW TRETER, CONTEMPORARY MUSEUMS

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Abstract: In 2019, the National Institute for Museums and Public Collections in cooperation with the Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy published the 1917 book by Mieczysław Treter titled *Contemporary Museums* as the first volume in the *Monuments of Polish Museology Series*. The study consists of two parts originally released in 'Muzeum Polskie' published by Treter in Kiev; it was an ephemeral periodical associated with the Society for the Protection of Monuments of the Past, active predominantly in the Kingdom of Poland, but also boasting numerous branches in Polish communities throughout Russia.

The Author opens the first part of a theoretical format with a synthesized presentation of the genesis of the museum institution (also on the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), to later follow to its analysis in view of its collecting and displaying character, classification according to the typical factual areas it covers, chronology, and territory (general natural history museums, general history ones, technological ones, ethnographic ones, historical-social ones, historical-artistic ones); moreover, he tackles questions like

a museum exhibition, management, a museum building. In Treter's view the museum's mission is not to provide simple entertainment, neither is it to create autonomous beauty (realm of art), but it is of a strictly scientific character, meant to serve science and its promotion, though through this museums become elitist: *by serving mainly science, they cannot provide entertainment and excitement to every amateur, neither are they, as such, works of art to which purely aesthetical criteria could be applied.*

The second part of Treter's study is an extensive outline of the situation of Polish museums on the eve of WWI, in a way overshadowed by the first congress of Polish museologists, and in the perspective of the 'museum world' of the Second Polish Republic. It is an outline for the monograph on Polish museums, a kind of a report on their condition as in 1914 with some references to later years. Through this it becomes as if a closure of the first period of their history, which the Author, when involved in writing his study, could obviously only instinctively anticipate.

Keywords: Mieczysław Treter (1883–1943), museum, classification, Polish art, memory culture, public collection.

Mieczysław Treter, *Muzea współczesne* [Contemporary Museums], Piotr Majewski, *Wszystko już było... Muzea polskie w perspektywie długiego trwania* [We Have Had All That Before... Polish Museums in the Perspective of Long Perdurance (introduction), *Pomniki muzealnictwa polskiego* [Monuments of Polish Museology] Series, NIMOZ-PIW, Warszawa 2019, pp. 192

In Polish museology 2019 could be declared the Mieczysław Treter Year. In the inter-war period, he was curator with the Prince Lubomirski Museum at the Lvov Ossolineum, an important official working within museology, this including the post of the Director of the State Art Collections, finally an aesthetician and art critic, as well as a museum theoretician, museologist, author of many important papers. Afterwards, however, he was almost entirely forgotten; only

rarely quoted by authors of highly specialist publications, e.g. Kazimierz Malinowski in his book *Forerunners of Polish Museology* (1970). Lately, Treter has been experiencing a true renaissance, this e.g. seen in the recently published monograph by Diana Wasilewska, articles in the present issue of the 'Muzealnictwo' Annual, and anthology of Polish contemporary museology papers prepared as part of the Research Project called *Museum in Polish Memory Culture*



(Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń).¹ Seen in this context, the publication of Treter's major museological study from 1917 released as the first volume in the *Monuments of Polish Museology Series* by the National Institute for Museums and Public Collections (NIMOZ) in cooperation with the Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy Publishing House, and titled *Contemporary Museums* seems to be gaining a peculiar momentum.

The study consists of two parts, originally released in 'Muzeum Polskie' published by Treter in Kiev; it was an ephemeral periodical associated with the Society for the Protection of Monuments of the Past, active predominantly in the Kingdom of Poland, but also boasting numerous branches in Polish communities throughout Russia.²

The Author opens the first part of a theoretical format with a synthesized presentation of the genesis of the museum institution, also in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where a special role is played by Puławy of Izabela Czartoryska née Fleming, to later continue with an attempt at a theoretical study dedicated to the overall characteristics of the institution, an approach rare in Polish literature at the time. His main goal is to classify museums in view of their collecting and displaying character, which according to the Author had not been done before (today we are considering whether such unambiguous decisions/classifications are really necessary). Treter divides museums into natural history and historical ones, and continues classifying the groups according to the typical factual areas they cover (general natural history museums, general history

ones, technological ones, ethnographic ones, historical-social ones, historical-artistic ones), chronology, and territory; moreover, he tackles questions like a museum exhibition, institution's management, a museum building. In Treter's view, the museum's mission is not to provide simple entertainment, neither is it to create autonomous beauty (realm of art), but it is of a strictly scientific character, meant to serve science and its promotion, though through this museums become elitist (*by serving mainly science, they cannot provide entertainment and excitement to every amateur, neither are they, as such, works of art to which purely aesthetic criteria could be applied*). Therefore, criticism that museums supposedly become 'prisons for art' sounds absurd, and responding to it, Treter quotes a fragment of the monograph on Juliusz Kossak by Stanisław Witkiewicz: *Museums are more shrines in which the souls of the deceased, turned into works of art with a spell, commune with the soul of a living man. They are a kind of a Forum where every creator entirely free talks to all, while the listener can either listen to it focused, and let himself be enchanted, or leave, remaining completely indifferent.*³ In the introduction to this edition of Treter's study, Piotr Majewski emphasizes how topical the issues raised are, since many of their aspects have continued to be of interest to museologists' circles to this very day. He first of all points out to the debate on museum identity, its mission, definition, and the visitor, and the general principles for them operating as an intellectual, emotional, and material space. Majewski's reflections allow to concentrate on the second part of the study, which is by no means secondary to the first one (though evidently not equally topical). It constitutes an extensive outline of the situation of Polish museums on the eve of WW I, in a way overshadowed by the first Congress of Polish museologists in Cracow (1914), and also seen in the prospect of the 'museum world' of the Second Polish Republic. It is as if an outline for the monograph on Polish museums, a kind of a report on their condition as in 1914 with some references to later years. Through this it becomes as if a closure of the first period of their history, which the Author, when involved in writing his study, could obviously only instinctively anticipate. In this case chronology is exceptionally clear, marked out by symbolic dates also in Poland's history: 1918, 1945, 1989.

The first period is the time when the idea of museum was forming in the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the collapse of the state divided into the provinces that differed civilizationally and culturally within separate political entities. For this purpose, the idea covered all the possible diversities: national, religious, social, political, academic, of museum concepts, and messages. Later periods were characterized by more homogeneous nationality and state structures, although both the inter-war period and the years of Communist Poland, implied identity challenges, sometimes extremely acute (both showed little or no tolerance for diversity). Today the issues have not been fully solved; indeed, they have been added new problems resulting from social transformations and modern technologies. Our museology still awaits a thorough and comprehensive analysis, however the earliest stage of its history, thanks to Treter's study, boasts an exceptionally valuable compendium, the one that combines direct testimony to the period with a deeper theoretical reflection.

The list of *public museum collections in Poland*, provided

at the study's end, contains 101 institutions, these including *3 in preparation and 4 Polish museum collections abroad*, however the text mentions 7 more: the Museum of the Toruń Scientific Society, F. Chopin Museum of the Musical Society in Warsaw, Museum of the Ruthenian National House, and the T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Scientific Society in Lvov, as well as private collections.⁴ Treter classifies them, using his own proposal from the first part of the study, into two extensive groups, including national history and historical museums. There is much focus on the overall issues of national history and tourism museology (with reference to the studies of such Polish experts in the field as Marian Raciborski, Stefan Stobiecki, Aleksander Maciesza); this category also includes ethnographic and technological museums, which would undoubtedly raise numerous objections today. Historically-profiled institutions have been divided into those dealing with universal history, social history, and art history. Some of them, particularly those of a major impact on national culture, are discussed in more detail referring to their history and collections (e.g. Museum of Industry and Agriculture, Museum of the Polish Tourist Society in Warsaw, Lubomirski Museum in Lvov, National Museum in Cracow). A reflection apart is dedicated to several museum projects and institutions that were being organized, e.g. the National Museum in Warsaw, the future museums foreseen to be located at the Wawel Castle, and the natural history museum project that was never implemented.

The research conducted as part of the above-mentioned *Museum in Polish Memory Culture* Project allows to complete and slightly modify the picture. It has shown that in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1914 there were about 250 museums as well as private or public institutions of museum profile (libraries, schools, university collections, those of cultural and scientific societies, as well as private collections available to the general public).⁵ This goes to say that there were twice as many as those discussed by Treter. However, they were not always big institutions with a relatively well-developed infrastructure, richer collections, and some tradition. Actually Treter did discuss such in his study, aptly describing or at least mentioning them (all in all, he dealt with almost all the major institutions). Next to these, there existed collections not really sizeable, hardly profiled, of little coherence. The term 'museum' was not fully stable; it was frequently used to define collections of archival documents, and larger collections of various types: Treter himself applies it in relation to the private collection of Jerzy Mniszech (*entomological museum*).

Furthermore, many of those projects never went beyond the organization stage and preparation for making them available to the public, the latter having never occurred. The Author mentions several of them in his text, though leaves some out in his study; he may not have been familiar with the other ones, or he may have excluded them due to their too modest scale; however, he purposefully leaves some out, since his focus is on Polish museums, and exclusively public ones.

The study contains brief descriptions of only 4 non-Polish museums: two Ukrainian ones in Lvov (Stauropagian Museum and Ukrainian National Museum) as well as two Jewish ones: that of Mathias Bersohn in Waraw and of

Maksymilian Goldstein in Lvov (being organized from 1912, however opened later); in the text, there is also mention of two more, which in the list at the end are put in characteristic brackets. Meanwhile, Treter decisively rejects Russian and German museums as those of the partitioning powers. Such an attitude can hardly be criticized, since it was a must quality of patriotism from the times of *the war for the freedom of peoples* Mickiewicz had prayed for; however, from today's perspective these institutions can be seen differently. Indeed, there were among them unquestionably oppressive ones of anti-Polish character, such as the Antiquity Museum in Vilnius, based at the public library, the Muraviev Museum, or the strictly propagandist Pan-Russian Museum mounted at the Tsarist University of Warsaw by the Czech Professor Teodor Jezbera. All of them, however, formed part of the history of museology in the territory of the Commonwealth, and in some cases, if neutral politically and nationally, they constituted essential elements of artistic culture, such as e.g. museum collections of the Tsarist Łazienki Palace in Warsaw, which periodically opened to the public, and whose core element was the historic painting gallery of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski. Neither does Treter incorporate in his reflection Orthodox museums in the 'taken territories' (so-called 'davnyoskhovyshcha'), e.g. in Chełm Lubelski, Grodno, Łuck, Mińsk Litewski, Vilnius, Żytomierz, museums of scientific and cultural societies, and those established by provincial authorities in whose establishment Poles also participated. However, it is quite likely that he was unacquainted with military museums of limited accessibility, these being a particular element in old Russian museology, and which existed in the early 20th century at some dozen regiments based in the territories of the Commonwealth, such as the 65th Moscow Infantry Regiment in Chełm, or the Leibgardijskiy Keksholmski, Volhynia, and Lithuanian Regiments in Warsaw. As for the German museums omitted by Treter, interestingly many of them later transformed into Polish institutions, or were incorporated into such, becoming an element in their tradition, e.g. the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Poznań, the City Museum in Bydgoszcz, the Museum of the Historical Society of the Kwidzyń Regency in Kwidzyn, and that of the Copernicus Verein in Toruń.

The group of the discussed museums includes the Prince Czartoryski Museum as an institution generally accessible and of major importance for Polish culture, *although*, as Treter says, *the list included only public museum collections* (Treter's emphasis). However, when speaking of the museums of the Wilanów Palace and the Podhorce Castle, he emphasizes that national mementoes of this quality, (...) *however carefully guarded by their current owners, should be the property of the nation, should be national museums in the fuller meaning of the term*. This ambiguity, visible also in the case of other analyzed private institutions, stemmed from Treter's conviction that in compliance with the positions expressed during the congress of Polish museologists in 1914, museums and their collections (particularly the more valuable ones) should be nation's property. He does, however, describe certain private institutions, but only if they were made available to the general public on relatively regular basis in their sizeable portion: the Dzieduszycki Museum and Painting Gallery, Lubomirski Museum, library collections of the Baworowski

and Pawlikowskis in Lvov, Branicki Ornithology Museum, collections of the Krasińskis in Warsaw, Starzeński Pokucie Museum in Kolomea.

However, only a brief mention is made of the Gołuchów and Kórnik collections, as well as of the Rogalin painting gallery, all of which were open to public visiting, though the important museums of the Zamoyski and Przeworski Entails' Libraries in Warsaw, and at the Branicki Montrésor Château in France are utterly ignored.

Treter also skipped the network of modest, yet interesting and important for their patriotic role Greater Poland museums affiliated to the People's Libraries Society (TCL) in Kościerzyna, Ostrów Wielkopolski, Pleszew, the open-air type museum in Wdzydze Kiszewskie, as well as tourism museums in Gołub Dobrzyń and Olkusz, as well as the Z. Gloger Geological Museum in Dąbrowa Górnicza. He only describes the most spoken-of university cabinets-museums in Cracow (archaeological and history of art), in Lvov (natural history cabinet), and in Warsaw (Skimbrowicz Antiquity Museum). He does not, however, mention other collections, such as the natural history collections of the University of Warsaw (possibly in view of their Russification character after the collapse of the January Uprising), extremely popular and frequently visited by Warsaw's residents; he does not describe the Technological Institute Museum at the Lvov Chamber of Commerce and Industry (organized as of 1898), the Municipal Museum in Grudziądz, and the Upper Silesia Museum in Bytom. One could trace more of such omissions, yet the overview of Polish museology at the end of the partition period is convincing and presented with impressive agility and expertise.

It is, nevertheless, hard to understand some of the statements in relation to historical-artistic museums. *A strange thing, writes Treter, that our private collectors feel the least of attraction to collecting works of native art; they are more willing to cast incredible sums to purchase suspicious to a high degree 'masterpieces' of old periods of painting, Due to this, not until long ago, it was easier here to become acquainted with certain stages of Flemish art, e.g. Dutch, than to get to know Polish 19th-century painting. We have not had our Tretyakovs; this has to be sadly concluded.* Meanwhile, even a very superficial knowledge of Polish collectorship shows that reality was completely different. It was precisely Polish art that already in the last decades of the 19th century became the supreme domain of interest of our collectors, and with time actually supplemented any other.

Ignacy Korwin-Milewski, Edward A. Raczyński, and Feliks Manggħa-Jasieński (the latter mentioned by Treter) assembled outstanding collections that today can be regarded as model ones, setting a peculiar canon of Polish art; its other great collectors were Dominik Witke-Jeżewski, Józef Landau, and Edward Reicher (the latter, too, mentioned in the

study). Additionally, apart from the collections they owned, in the last decades of the 19th and in early 20th century, one could already list twenty to thirty sizeable collections of native painting, while there could have been several hundred of smaller or sometimes quite tiny collections (though of really varied artistic quality).⁶ It goes without saying, however, that from the perspective of a painter-beginner, whose works nobody purchased, the situation must have looked differently. Treter repeats this cliché, writing as if he were quoting such opinions of the artists clashing with the wall of indifference, or quoting the biting words of Reymont in his *Promised Land* about the tastes of the bourgeois. However, in Treter's case we are dealing neither with a Nobel-awarded writer, nor with an art beginner, who possibly has for too long remained unappreciated, but with a true expert and an outstanding critic, perfectly updated on Polish art and the Polish 'world of art', whose eminent figure he actually is. Bearing in mind Treter's erudition and his thorough knowledge of museology in the territory of the Commonwealth, it is hardly understandable.

Treter's knowledge was indeed unique. He himself mentioned that the study had been written far away from Poland, from its libraries and other sources: in Kharkov, Crimea, and in Kiev, when he was in the situation of an almost total lack of printed materials, unable to check anything, forced to be satisfied generally with what from former autopsy (mainly with respect to the capital collections in Cracow, Lvov, Poznan, and Warsaw) his memory had retained. One, however, is bound to notice the spark of genius which guided him, as even in the face of such serious inconveniences and clear adherence to nationalistic ideologies, almost all the Polish institutions of most impact were included by him, and justly characterized; a similar panorama of museology and collectorship can be found in Edward Chwalewik's *Zbiory polskie* [Polish Collections] (1916, 1926–27), and the *Przewodnik po muzeach i zbiorach w Polsce* [Guide to Museums and Collections in Poland] (1971, 1973, 1982) by Stanisław Lorentz.⁷ Treter, though separated from the homeland by world war fronts, had information on Polish cultural events, such as Jerzy Mycielski's 'Legion Exhibition' (Cracow, Zurich, Warsaw); furthermore, he was aware of the latest museum initiatives, such as the National Museum in the Warsaw occupied by the Germans (1915), these yielding gradually more serious hope for the future independent state. However, at the moment of the *Contemporary Museums'* being printed, this remained greatly uncertain, since not so long before had Kielce residents been closing their shutters when the Piłsudski Legionnaires were entering the town. In this context the forecast for the museum-profiled future of the Wawel, generally planned to be the Cracow residence of the House of Habsburg, sounds astounding.

Endnotes

¹ D. Wasilewska, *Mieczysław Treter – estetyk, krytyk sztuki, oraz 'szara eminencja' międzywojennego życia artystycznego w Polsce*, [Mieczysław Treter: Aesthetician, Art Critic, and 'Éminence Grise' of the Inter-war Artistic Life in Poland], Universitas, Kraków 2019; the mentioned anthology contained a fragment of the paper with Małgorzata Wawrzak's comments published in the reviewed book.

² M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne. Studium muzeologiczne. Początki, rodzaje, istota i organizacja muzeów. Publiczne zbiory muzealne w Polsce i przyszły ich rozwój*, [Contemporary Museums. Museological Study. Museums' Beginnings, Types, Essence, and Organization. Public Museum Collections in Poland and Their Future Development], 'Muzeum polskie' 1917, Fasc. 1, pp. 5-32; 1918, Fasc. 4, pp. 1-70; also published as a separate leaflet (Kiev 1917).

³ S. Witkiewicz, *Juliusz Kossak*, E. Wende i spółka, Lwów 1906, p. 203.

⁴ In the to-date literature the number of institutions discussed by Treter has been conventionally assessed at 99.

⁵ At the stage of this paper being prepared, it was not possible to give the number of the museums unequivocally, as the collected material, extremely difficult to be verified, was still being analysed.

⁶ See T.F. de Rosset, *Malarstwo polskie w polskich kolekcjach prywatnych* [Polish Painting in Polish Private Collections], 'Muzealnictwo' 2008, No. 49, pp. 204-16.

⁷ E. Chwalewik, *Zbiory polskie, archiwa, biblioteki, gabinety, galerje, muzea i inne zbiory pamiątek przeszłości w ojczyźnie i na obczyźnie*, [Polish Collections, Archives, Libraries, Cabinets, Galleries, and Collections of Other Mementoes of the Past in Homeland and Abroad], Warszawa 1916, 1926-1927, Vols. 1-2; S. Lorentz, *Przewodnik po muzeach i zbiorach w Polsce* [Guide to Museums and Collections in Poland], Interpress, Warszawa 1971, 1973, 1982.

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Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer during in-field research in Poland's eastern territories in the 1920s-30s, photographer Unknown, Archives of the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń

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MARIA ZNAMIEROWSKA- -PRÜFFER: AN ETHNOLOGIST AND MUSEOLOGIST

Hubert Czachowski

Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer Ethnographic Museum in Toruń

Abstract: Born in Kybartai, Lithuania, on 13 May 1898, in the 1930s Maria Znamierowska studied ethnology at the Stephen Batory University (USB) in Vilnius under Prof. Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay-Ehrenkreutz and Prof. Kazimierz Moszyński. She began working at the University Ethnographic Museum established by Prof. Ehrenkreutz; apart from the collection of material culture, the Museum researched into and collected records of oral and musical folklore. M. Znamierowska organized exhibitions on folk construction, and investigated folk fishery, the topic she dealt with in her MA thesis and doctoral dissertation. In 1925, she married the zoologist and entomologist Prof. Jan Prüffer.

Following WW II, Znamierowska-Prüffer and a group of USB professors came to Toruń, where she was employed as lecturer at the Chair of Ethnology and Ethnography of the Nicolaus Copernicus University (UMK). She made attempts to establish an ethnographic museum resembling the Vilnius one at her Chair, however, she was only able to set up an ethnographic section at the Toruń City Museum (1946–1958). Having received Professor's title in 1955, in

1959 she launched a separate Ethnographic Museum in Toruń, additionally establishing an ethnographic park by the museum. Her most important exhibition: 'Traditional Folk Fishery in Poland', was mounted in 1963.

Committed to creating open-air museums in Poland, M. Znamierowska-Prüffer also released publications on ethnographic museology. Having headed the Toruń institution for 13 years, she left the Museum boasting the collection of 15.000 exhibits and an ample Folklore Archive. In 1958–1963, she headed UMK's Chair of Ethnography, however giving museology lectures until 1988. She participated in numerous ethnology and museology conferences around Europe. An active member of the Polish Folklore Association, she held various positions in its structures until 1978, when she became its honorary member. Retired, she continued her in-field research, and worked on her last publication meant to recapitulate all her research into fishery (1988). She died in Toruń in 1990, and was buried there. The Toruń Ethnographic Museum has been named after her since 1990.

Keywords: Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer (1898–1990), ethnology, museology, Ethnographic Museum in Vilnius, Ethnographic Museum in Toruń, fishery, folklore, Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), open-air museum.

Of the recollections of all the individuals who knew Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer what stands out is the image of a person who is extraordinary, certainly not commonplace, and extremely passionate. It is impossible to overestimate the role she played in Polish ethnographic museology. And this not only because following WW II she created an independent Ethnographic Museum in Toruń, but also because she contributed to the development of the theory of museology, that related to open-air museum as well. Furthermore, she was ethnography professor who successfully combined academic work with museum work.

Recalling her was important for historical reasons, but also because many of her important ideas continue topical and worth reading anew.

Born on 13 May 1898 in Kybartai, Lithuania, where her father Stanisław was an official of the customs chamber,¹ she began her education in 1907 attending the Commercial School in Lipawa where she took her final exams in 1915. Following this, because of the war, life made the Znamierowskis move abroad, to Russia and Romania. At that time Maria attended lectures at the Philology Department of Female Courses in Kiev. In 1919, the Znamierowski family

ended up in Radzymin. Maria started working at an orphanage in Pruszków under Maryna Falska, while Janusz Korczak himself became a great authority for her, which he remained throughout all her life. In 1921, she began studying at the Liberal Arts Department at Stephen Bathory University (USB) in Vilnius, to later begin studies at the Mathematical-Natural Department of the University. In 1925, she married Prof. Jan Prüffer heading the Chair of Zoology at USB. Finally, in 1926, she decided to return to the Liberal Arts Department in order to study ethnology created two years before. The one who founded and headed the faculty was Prof. Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay-Ehrenkreutz. She had a great impact on the academic development of Znamierowska-Prüffer who turned towards museology.

What mattered a lot in ethnology studies run by Prof. Ehrenkreutz was the University Ethnographic Museum,² operating as an Ethnology Unit, while understood as *the laboratory of culture in which students, not only on the ground of book materials, could train in morphology of culture products and phenomena.*³ This was to help become acquainted with and understand works of culture and their proper placement in the whole of the structure of the researched community through getting to know its function, but also its proper sense *as histories of their own becoming and shaping.*⁴ The task of a similarly conceived

ethnological museum, apart from collecting artefacts, also included research into music, dance, and folk literature. Their results could be collected in specialized museum archives. What strikes today is the modern character of this proposal, which can be read as precursory in view of the tendencies contemporarily formulated as part of anthropology of things or research into Intangible Cultural Heritage. Already during her studies, Znamierowska-Prüffer became the first employee of the USB Ethnographic Museum in Vilnius, following the whole career from an assistant to a custodian. Her role was also to develop the concepts of her mentor,⁵ if only through the idea to create a museum construction display in the open air as a complementary part of the pavilion exhibition so that the public could see a given culture both in a diachronic and synchronic version.⁶ From that moment onwards the protection of folk architecture became a priority for Prüffer. However, as her main investigation focus she chose folk fishery. In the late 1920s she conducted in-field research which led to her MA thesis titled *Fishery of the Trockie Lakes* published in 1930.⁷ This was the research topic that apart from studies on museology she remained faithful to until the end of her life.

In the mid-1930s, Prof. Kazimierz Moszyński, who had come from Cracow, became the Head of the Ethnology Institute at USB. He is the second individual who substantially impacted the research activity of Znamierowska-Prüffer.⁸ She gained excellent education in ethnographic museology, quickly acquiring the reputation of an outstanding specialist in the domain. She also contributed to enriching her expertise through numerous trips across Europe. In 1925–38, she visited France, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, and Germany: everywhere she had a chance to see how museology ideas were implemented. Znamierowska-Prüffer had the greatest contribution both to the research works, and plans for the future of the University Museum. She mounted exhibitions, developed collections, and actively participated in the works of the Museum Association in Poland and in its congresses, obviously also the one held in Vilnius in 1934. She strongly emphasized how important it is, in order to understand the whole of culture, and the relations of its particular parts and occurring changes, to investigate folk culture and its academic documentation. Jan Bujak wrote that the Vilnius Museum *from the very beginning and in every aspect complied with all the requirements for a modern academic institution, substantially ahead of all the achievements in this respect,*⁹ Had it not been for the outbreak of WW II, the Museum would have become a model institution in this part of Europe, and certainly the main institution of the type in Poland.

In 1936, Prüffer won the position of lecturer at the USB Ethnology Department, and she conducted intense in-field research into traditional fishery in north-eastern Poland, covering the whole of Vilnius, Novogrodek, and Białystok Voivodeships, while preparing a doctoral dissertation under Prof. Moszyński. In December 1939, she was conferred the doctoral degree on the grounds of the dissertation titled *Fishery Bones. Attempt at Classifying Bones for North-Eastern Poland*, so several days before the Stephen Bathory University was closed down by the Lithuanian authorities on 15 December.

During WW II Znamierowska-Prüffer was doing all she could to protect the museum collections, that is why up to 1942 she continued working at the Museum, which as of 1941 was



1. Maria Znamierowska, Photo 1915



2. Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer at the Ethnographic Museum of the Stephen Batory University in Vilnius, the 1930s

subordinated to the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. After the German occupation ended in 1944, she resumed work, first at the Conservation Office of the Republic of Lithuania, and later at the Vilnius Museum of Art.

After the war, when Vilnius had been for good incorporated into the Soviet Lithuania, Znamierowska-Prüffer arrived there with a group of USB professors from Toruń, where a new university was to be founded. As of November 1945, she was appointed lecturer at the Chair of Ethnology and Ethnography of the Nicolaus Copernicus University (UMK), headed by Prof. Bożena Stelmachowska. From the very beginning, Prüffer eagerly started organizing a Vilnius-modelled ethnographic museum there. Regrettably, her idea was not shared by other individuals. After this failed attempt, while still at UMK, she managed to create an ethnographic section within the City Museum in Toruń. Even at that stage, however, she was making attempts at creating an independent ethnographic museum.¹⁰ Thanks to her museology experience, as well as extensive go-getting energy, as soon as in 1948, the first permanent exhibition on folk culture of Pomerania and Kuyavia was mounted, this anticipated by numerous in-field researches and collecting trips. Worth mentioning at this point is the fact that the area had not been covered by any ethnographic and museological research prior to WW II, so the exhibition being actually the first one dedicated to this region, was to a great extent made up of the exhibits acquired after the war.

The years of the existence of the Ethnographic Department¹¹ (1946–58) was the time when multiple undertakings were conducted: from completing the staff and co-workers,¹² through intense in-field research and the development of the collections, to creating exhibitions. The record of the in-field trips over the period is impressive, and demonstrates the incredible organizational skills of Prüffer who managed, despite the time being challenging, to arrange *benefits from other institutions* for the purpose. Conducting the research from the Podlasie Region, through Masuria, Kashubia, Kuyavia, up to Western Pomerania, they succeeded in extending the collections to over 5.000 items. In her thinking on the ethnographic idea and mission, Prüffer always echoed the broad modern concept of the Vilnius Museum: already at that stage documenting of verbal and musical folklore was begun. As an educated ethnologist, she understood that apart from collecting material objects, in ethnography the simultaneous documenting of material objects testifying to so-called spiritual culture (today we would speak of intangible culture) was necessary, so that a given culture can be known as a whole, and not through artefacts out of the context. By 1958, almost 3.000 records of verbal folklore, and over 700 of musical recordings had been collected. In the early 1950s, Prüffer prepared her post-doctoral dissertation, following which in 1955, she was conferred professor's title. Her book *Spiky Fishing Tools in Poland and in Neighbouring Countries* was published two years later.¹³

The tireless fight to establish an independent ethnographic museum finally yielded effects in 1959, when Prüffer launched her dream institution: the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń in the building of the former Arsenal, close to Toruń's Old Town. The fact that it became an independent institution allowed her as its Director to extend the staff, this in turn leading to more research conducted by Toruń ethnographers. Apart from adapting the Arsenal edifice to house exhibition rooms, collection storage spaces, and workshops, she also began the construction of the so-called new edifice meant to house e.g. library, exhibition room, auditorium, and administrative premises, which was created in 1962. She energetically started working on the creation of the ethnographic park by the museum meant to feature folk construction display. This concept, echoing the Vilnius solution, was implemented in 1969 when the Kuyavia home-stead, the first of the planned, was opened.¹⁴

In the early 1960s, two permanent exhibitions were prepared under Director Prüffer's guidance: 'Material Culture of Northern Poland' (1960), and its continuation: 'Folk Art and Craftsmanship in Northern Poland' (1956). In 1963, the most important exhibition mounted by Prüffer was accomplished, namely 'Traditional Folk Fishery in Poland'. The exhibition was of clearly evolutionist character, this visible first of all in its arrangement: from the simplest, most primitive tools to developed fishery economy. Both in her exhibition implementations and in research studies Znamierowska-Prüffer echoed Kazimierz Moszyński's critical evolutionism.

In 1946, Znamierowska-Prüffer became member of the Main Board of the Polish Folk Society (PTL), and also through the Society she tried to have an impact on the activity of ethnographic museums throughout Poland, becoming the leading expert in the domain. She shared her expertise and experience through special consultation groups established by the Ministry of Culture and Art: in the Consultation Team at the Board of Museums and Monument Protection (from 1964), and in the Section of Museums and Cultural Goods Protection, as well as in the Consultation Team for Open-air Museum Type (from 1965). Among others, she prepared *projects of inventories, scientific catalogue cards, and documentation records*, widely applied in ethnographic museums, for the Ministry of Culture and Art.¹⁵ Moreover, of major impact are her publications related to the situation of ethnographic museology in Poland.¹⁶ Prüffer also made a great contribution to the development of such institutions, as e.g. the museums in: Kluki, Szczecin, Gdynia, Białystok.¹⁷ Upon her departure for Switzerland, she undertook activities meant to preserve the collections of the Museum in Rapperswil.¹⁸ Strongly committed to creating open-air museums in Poland, she prepared proposals for their organization, which was aimed at the protection of the monuments of the vanishing folk culture.¹⁹ She also appreciated all the initiatives of private and regional collectors as precious actions meant to preserve cultural heritage, thus supporting the most important goals of museums.

Let us now see how M. Znamierowska-Prüffer understood the tasks of museum and its function, both in the context of a scientific discipline, as with reference to its social role. She was of the opinion that museums were first of all research units which should enjoy the same rights as scientific institutes and universities,²⁰ while work for a museum

should be equivalent to that of university lecturers.²¹ She pointed out to the need to *teach museologists a broader outlook on cultural phenomena, to reveal the interdependence of phenomena in different spheres of culture*.²² With such an attitude, it is not surprising that under her leadership museum staff prepared monographic works which proved to be valuable publications.²³ Prüffer continued to call to raise the academic level, deepen the methodology of the research conducted by museums, and to develop new methodological questions.²⁴ This is how she perceived the most important goal of their activity, namely the cognitive goal that social and educational activity faced. The latter, to be purposeful and conducted properly, should have solid academic grounds. Instead, she perceived the social role of museum in a broad dissipating of knowledge of folk culture. It was this attitude clearly visible already in her Vilnius activity that she and her staff later developed. Just to illustrate this point let us remember that already as an acknowledged professor, she eagerly travelled to country schools to give ethnographic talks.

Under the post-WW II situation when the war-inflicted material losses were enormous Prüffer was of the opinion that museologists mainly faced the hard collecting and documentation work. An ethnographer of Modernist inclination, she could anticipate the research difficulties in the migration of people caused by the shift of state borders and clashing of different cultural forms, this occurring in the wake of WW II, which, in her view, required great caution when elements of folk culture were qualified.²⁵ She was aware that advancing civilizational changes on the one hand constituted a difficulty in documenting traditional folk culture, on the other they brought new challenges to ethnology and the operation of ethnographic museums. This period of the clash of varied cultural forms was for ethnographers a challenge, since the valid paradigm of those days was the search of 'true' folk culture untarnished by other influences. It was not obvious at the time that ethnographic research had to extend to the contemporary phenomena of culture and go beyond the exclusive interest in peasant and rural culture. As it turns out, in this respect, too, her intuition was correct. She did not hesitate to reach for culture documentation also in towns, writing when still in Vilnius that *the countryside directly touched on Vilnius and in all directions from the city there were areas precious as for research*.²⁶ In the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń she created the inventory section called *varia*, in which she entered all the items which in her understanding of the time were beyond the traditional folk culture. However, the very fact of their collecting demonstrates the researcher's openness to the change of definitions, ranges, and topics.

Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer was Director of the Toruń Ethnographic Museum for 13 years. She left behind the Museum boasting over 15.000 exhibits and an extensive Folklore Archive. She combined the work at the Museum with the academic one at UMK, where in 1958–63 she headed the Chair of Ethnography; furthermore, in 1965–88, she lectured on museology at the Post-graduate Ethnography Study which educated many museologists, including staff of open-air museums who transferred her concepts to their respective institutions. Very active in the Polish Folklore Society (PTL), she was member of its Main



3. An interview with a fisherman, Dębina, Sławno County, Photo 1968



4. Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer in the course of the open-air museum survey, Toruń 1966



5. Prof. Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer's 90th Birthday: she is being congratulated by Alfred Arendt, President of the Society of Friends of the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń, Ewa Arsyńska visible in the background, Toruń 1988

(Photos: 1 – M. Jampolski; 3, 4 – Z. Zgierun; 5 – A. Grodzicki; all photographs come from the Archives of the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń)

Board in 1946–78, and its Deputy President for two terms of office. Moreover, she was President of the Toruń PTL branch, while in 1978 becoming its honorary member. From 1972, she was member of ICOM Poland. Still retired, she continued working and publishing her works. She conducted in-field research in Kashubia, the Vistula Bay, and participated in the team research of the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń in the Valley of the Lower Vistula. At the same time she was also working on her last ample publication that summed up her research into fishery, and which was published in 1988.²⁷

Her enormous contribution to the development and promotion of museology and ethnology yielded her numerous awards, e.g. Golden Cross of Merit, Commander's

Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta, Medal of the National Education Commission, Oskar Kolberg Medal and Award, and Medal of Nicolaus Copernicus University for the 'Contribution to the University's development'.

Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer died in Toruń on 20 August 1990, and it was at Toruń's St George's Cemetery that she was buried. While commemorating 40 years of the Toruń Ethnographic Museum, on 15 December 1990, the institution was given her name, and a commemorative plaque was set in the building. The Museum Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer had created was also enriched with her library, as well as all her legacy containing e.g. correspondence with a number of leading ethnologists and museologists.²⁸

Endnotes

¹ A detailed biographical entry on Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer to be found in the first volume of the dictionary: E. Arszńska, H. Muzalewska, *Etnografowie i ludoznawcy polscy. Sylwetki, szkice biograficzne* [Polish Ethnographers and Folk Experts. Profiles, Biographical Essays], Wydawnictwo Naukowe DWN, Oddział Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego w Krakowie, Kraków 2002, pp. 323-328, which I use when providing biographical data; also in my paper published in Lithuanian: H. Czachowski, *Muziejas kaip kultūros laboratorija. Marijos Znamierowskos-Prüfferowos indėlis į etnografiją muziejininkystę, 'Lietuvos etnologija'* 2014, No. 14(23), pp. 69-83.

² This connecting of museums with academic centres was used e.g. in Germany; see: C. Baudouin de Courtenay-Ehrenkreutz, *O potrzebach etnologii w Polsce* [On the Needs of Ethnology in Poland], in *Nauka Polska. Jej potrzeby, organizacja i rozwój* [Polish Science, Its Needs, Organization, and Development]. Vol. 10, Wydawnictwo Kasy im. Mianowskiego, Warszawa 1929, p. 256.

³ Idem, *Zakład Etnologii Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie i jego zadania* [Ethnology Department at Stephen Bathory University], 'Balticoslavica. Biuletyn Instytutu Naukowo-Badawczego Europy Wschodniej w Wilnie' 1933, Vol. 1, p. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵ M. Znamierowska-Prüfferowa, *Muzeum etnograficzne U.S.B. w Wilnie i jego przyszłość* [Ethnographic Museum at USB in Vilnius and Its Future], Nakładem Muzeum Etnograficznego U.S.B. w Wilnie, Lwów-Wilno 1932 (copy from of the 'Lud' ethnographic quarterly 1932, Series II, Vol. XI).

⁶ Idem, *Muzeum na wolnym powietrzu w Wilnie* [Museum in the Open Air in Vilnius], Biblioteczka „Włóczęgi” Wilno 1934, No. 2.

⁷ Idem, *Rybolówstwo Ziejor Trockich* [Fishing of the Trockie Lakes], Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie, 'Rozprawy i Materiały' 1930, Vol. 3, fasc. 2.

⁸ Interesting remarks on different influences of Prof. Ehrenkreutz and Prof. Moszyński on the academic writing and approach to ethnology by Prüffer to be found in: O. Kwiatkowska, *Krzętanina wokół Pani Profesor. O pisarstwie Marii Znamierowskiej-Prüfferowej* [Hustle and Bustle around Madame Professor. On the Writing of Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer], in: *Obserwatorki z wyobraźnią. Etnograficzne i socjologiczne pisarstwo kobiet* [Female Observers with Imagination. Women's Ethnographic and Sociological Writing], G. Kubica, K. Majbroda (ed.), PTL, Wrocław 2014, pp. 189-204.

⁹ J. Bujak, *Muzealnictwo etnograficzne w Polsce (do roku 1939)* [Ethnographic Museology in Poland (Prior to 1939)], 'Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace Etnograficzne' 1975, fasc. 8, pp. 80-81.

¹⁰ M. Znamierowska-Prüfferowa, *Pomorskie muzeum ludoznawcze* [Pomerania Folk Museum], Instytut Bałtycki, Wydział Pomoroznawczy, 'Komunikaty Działu Informacji Naukowej' 1946, No. 5(19), pp.1-4.

¹¹ Idem, *Dział Etnograficzny Muzeum w Toruniu (1946-1959)* [Ethnographic Section of the Museum in Toruń], 'Rocznik Muzeum w Toruniu' 1962, Vol. 1, fasc. 2, pp. 1-41; see also: H. Czachowski, H. Muzalewska-Alexandrowicz, *Dział Etnograficzny w Muzeum Okręgowym w Toruniu* [Ethnographic Section of the District Museum in Toruń], in: *Księga pamiątkowa 150-lecia Muzeum Okręgowego w Toruniu* [Memorial Book on 150 Years of the District Museum in Toruń], K. Mikulski, E. Okoń (ed.), Muzeum Okręgowe, Toruń 2011, pp. 185-195.

¹² Besides 2 individuals employed: Maria Polakiewicz and Kalina Skłodowska-Antonowicz, Prüffer was able to bring together a group of co-workers. For some she was even able to find some modest salaries from outside-Museum funds.

¹³ M. Znamierowska-Prüfferowa, *Rybackie narzędzia kolne w Polsce i krajach sąsiednich* [Spiky Fishing Tools in Poland and in Neighbouring Countries], 'Studia Societatis Scientiarum Torunensis' 1957.

¹⁴ See M. Znamierowska-Prüfferowa, R. Tubaja, *Przymuzealny skansen toruński i inne muzea skansenowskie realizowane i planowane w województwie bydgoskim* [Museum-Affiliated Torun Open Air Museum and Other Open-Air Museums Planned in the Bydgoszcz Voivodeship], in: *Muzea skansenowskie w Polsce* [Open Air Museums in Poland], 'Biblioteka Muzeum Rolnictwa w Szreniawie' 1972, Vol. II, pp.195-231. In the following years the ethnographic park was developed, first according to the original concept, later completed with further facilities in the 1990s.

¹⁵ A. Trapszczyk, *Badania nad rybolówstwem i zajęciami wodnymi w Muzeum Etnograficznym Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie i w Muzeum Etnograficznym w Toruniu* [Research into Fishery and Water-Related Jobs at the USB Ethnographic Museum in Vilnius and the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń], in: *Przeszłość etnologii polskiej w jej teraźniejszości* [The Past of Polish Ethnology and Its Present Day], Z. Jasiewicz, T. Karwicka (ed.), Komitet Nauk Etnologicznych PAN, Poznań 2001, p. 151.

¹⁶ M. Znamierowska-Prüfferowa, *Muzea i działy etnograficzne w Polsce* [Museums and Ethnographic Departments in Poland], 'Lud' 1959, Vol. 44, pp. 351-90; Idem, La muséographie ethnographique polonaise et le transformations sociales actuelles, 'Narodopisný Ústav Moravského Muzea' 1961, pp. 1-9; Idem, *Ethnographic Museum Collections in Poland*, 'Lud' 1964-1965, Vol. 50, pp. 701-42; Idem, *Les musées ethnographiques*, 'Museum' 1966, Vol. 19, No 2, pp. 107-16; Idem, *Current Development Trends in Polish Ethnographic Collections*, in: *Poland at the 8th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, W. Dynowski et al. (ed), Instytut Historii Kultury Materialnej PAN, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1968, pp. 81-7; Idem, *Polskie mu-*

- zealnicтво etnograficzne w okresie 25-lecia PR [Polish Ethnographic Museology in the 25 Years of Polish People's Republic], 'Lud' 1969, Vol. 53, pp. 419-52; Idem, *Ethnomuseology and Its Problems*, 'Ethnology European' 1970, Vol. 4, pp. 203-6.
- ¹⁷ R. Tubaja, *Wkład Marii Znamierowskiej-Prüfferowej w poznanie, dokumentowanie i ochronę zabytków kultury ludowej Pomorza* [Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer's Contribution to the Cognition, Documentation, and Preservation of Folk Culture Monuments], in: *W kręgu badaczy kultury Kaszub i Pomorza XIX i XX wieku* [Within the Circle of the Researchers into the Culture of Kashubia and Pomerania of the 19th and 20th Century], J. Borzyszkowski (ed.), Ninth Kashubian-Pomeranian Conference, Słupsk-Gdańsk 2008, pp. 172-92.
- ¹⁸ M. Znamierowska-Prüfferowa, *Organizacja Działu Etnograficznego w Muzeum w Rapperswilu* [Organization of the Ethnographic Department at the Rapperswil Museum], 'Lud' 1947, Vol. 6, pp. 445-50.
- ¹⁹ Idem, *Stan zabytków budownictwa ludowego w Polsce* [State of Folk Structures in Poland], 'Komunikat SARP' 1962, No. 12, pp. 26-8; Idem, *Zabytki budownictwa ludowego w Polsce i ich rola we współczesnym krajoznawstwie i turystyce* [Monuments of Folk Building in Poland and Their Role in Contemporary Tourism], 'Ochrona Zabytków' 1977, Year 20, No. 4, pp. 11-18. Extensively on the topic: R. Tubaja, *Wkład Marii Znamierowskiej-Prüfferowej w rozwój muzealnictwa na wolnym powietrzu w Polsce* [Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer's Contribution to the Development of Open-Air Museology in Poland], 'Biuletyn Stowarzyszenia Muzeów na Wolnym Powietrzu w Polsce' 2006, No. 9, pp. 20-31.
- ²⁰ M. Znamierowska-Prüfferowa, *Problemy muzeów etnograficznych* [Challenges of Ethnographic Museums], *Zagadnienia oświatowe w muzealnictwie*, 'Biblioteka Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków' 1963, B Series, Vol. VI, pp. 43-52; Idem, *Current Development Trends...*, p. 83; Idem, *Polskie muzealnictwo...*, p. 425.
- ²¹ Idem, *Problemy muzeów...*, p. 43.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 48.
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- ²⁴ M. Znamierowska-Prüfferowa, *Polskie muzealnictwo...*, p. 424.
- ²⁵ Idem, *Problemy muzeów...*, p. 44. She tackled the topic already in a paper delivered at the Congress of PTL in 1947, analyzing two settlement waves in Pomerania: in 1920-25 and 1945-47, see: R. Tubaja, *Wkład Marii Znamierowskiej-Prüfferowej ...*, p. 117.
- ²⁶ M. Znamierowska-Prüfferowa, *Muzeum etnograficzne U.S.B...*, p. 12.
- ²⁷ Idem, *Tradycyjne rybołówstwo ludowe w Polsce na tle zbiorów i badań terenowych Muzeum Etnograficznego w Toruniu* [Traditional Folk Fishing in Poland as Seen Against the Collections and In-Field Research of the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń], Muzeum Etnograficzne w Toruniu, Toruń 1988.
- ²⁸ See the following articles in 'Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego w Toruniu' 2007, Vol. III: H. Muzalewska-Alexandrowicz, *Korespondencja Cezarii Baudouin de Courtenay-Ehrenkreutz-Jędrzejewiczowej z Marią Znamierowską-Prüfferową. Przyczynek do historii etnologii Polskiej* [Correspondence of Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay-Ehrenkreutz-Jędrzejewicz with Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer], pp. 119-42; J. Jakubowska, *Informacja o listach Kazimierza Moszyńskiego do Marii Znamierowskiej-Prüfferowej znajdujących się w Archiwum Muzeum Etnograficznego w Toruniu* [Information on Kazimierz Moszyński's Letter to Maria Znamierowska-Prüffer in the Archive of the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń. Contribution to the History of Polish Ethnology], pp. 143-60.

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MIECZYŚLAW TRETER (1883–1943): PRECURSOR OF POLISH MUSEOLOGY

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Abstract: Mieczysław Treter is by no means an ordinary individual: an art historian, aesthetician, museum practitioner and theoretician-museologist, an individual of many professions, lecturer, journal editor, member of numerous organizations, propagator of Polish art abroad, manager, exhibition organizer. In the interwar period one of the most influential critics and art theoreticians, among the museum circles he was mainly known as the author of the recently reissued 1917 publication called *Contemporary Museums. Museological Study. Beginnings, Types, Essence, and Organization of Museums. Public Museum Collections in Poland and Their Future Development*.

Born on 2 August 1883 in Lvov, in 1904 Mieczysław Henryk Treter started working with the Prince Lubomirski Museum as the scholarship holder of the Lvov Ossolineum. In 1910, he became Curator at the Museum, performing this function until the outbreak of WW I. He participated in the First Congress of Polish Museologists, held in Cracow on 4 and 5 April 1914. During WW I, he was in Kharkov and Crimea, and it was there that he wrote his most important study *Contemporary Museums*. In 1917, having moved to Kiev

he became involved in the activity of the social movement for the care of Polish monuments throughout the former Russian Empire. In 1918, he returned to Lvov, became member of the national Eastern Galicia Conservation Circle, and retook the position of the Curator at the Prince Lubomirski Museum, to finally become its Director. On 4 February 1922, Mieczysław Treter was appointed Director of the State Art Collections, the position he retained until 1924. In 1926, he became Director of the Society for the Promotion of Polish Art Abroad, whose main task was to promote works of Polish artists in Poland and abroad. He passed away in Warsaw on 25 October 1943.

Systematizing the theoretical knowledge and the report on the existing museums in the country deprived of its statehood in the book *Contemporary Museums* created a departure point for its Author, who following Poland's regaining independence worked out the organization of state collections. Treter's proposals were to regulate the position of Polish museum institutions complicated due to the partition period, for them, while rivaling foreign museums, to become elements boosting the young state's prestige.

Keywords: Mieczysław Treter (1883–1943), museologist, museum, classification of collections, museum policy.

Mieczysław Treter is by no means an ordinary individual: an art historian, aesthetician, museum practitioner and theoretician-museologist, individual of many professions, lecturer, journal editor, member of numerous organizations, propagator of Polish art abroad, manager, exhibition organizer. In the interwar period one of the most influential critics and art theoreticians, this being reminded by the publication of Diana Wasilewska that has been released this year.¹ Among the museum circles he was mainly known as the author of the recently reissued 1917 publication called *Contemporary Museums. Museological Study. Beginnings, Types, Essence,*

and Organization of Museums. Public Museum Collections in Poland and Their Future Development.²

Born on 2 August 1882 in Lvov,³ it was there that Mieczysław Henryk Treter graduated from the Lvov Musical Institute and Philological Department of the University of Lvov where he studied philosophy under Kazimierz Twardowski, creator of the Lvov-Warsaw school of philosophy, as well as history of art under Jan Bożo Antoniewicz, supervisor of Treter's doctoral dissertation defended in 1910.⁴ The education, the first teachers, and the cultural-artistic circles of the 'city of museums', as he

used to call Lvov,⁵ with which he was connected for almost 40 years, undoubtedly had some impact on his later career.

Treter first came across the institution of museum already in 1904 when he started working for the Museum of Prince Lubomirski as a grant holder of the Lvov Ossolineum.⁶ In 1909, he published a guide to its collections, worked out on the grounds of the long-standing inventoring conducted by the Museum Curator of the time Edward Pawłowicz and his own, signalling the importance of the institution as a major cultural centre of the city.⁷ In 1910, he became Curator of the Prince Lubomirski Museum, and performed the function until the outbreak of WW I.⁸ Treter attended the First Congress of Polish Museologists, held in Cracow on 4–5 April 1914, participated by representatives of the major museums from the territories of the three partitions.⁹ Furthermore, he travelled a lot, as of 1907 frequently attending the Venice Biennale,¹⁰ also writing reports on exhibitions in Rome;¹¹ in July 1913, he ‘personally’ visited the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil.¹²

During WW I, he was in Kharkov and Crimea, and it was there that he wrote his most important study *Contemporary Museums*. In 1917, having moved to Kiev, he became involved in the activity of the social movement for the care of Polish monuments throughout the former Russian Empire. In 1917–18, he served as Deputy President of the Polish Society for the Care of Monuments in Ruthenia (Kiev), involved in an animated patriotic and cultural inventoring activity.¹³ He also worked as the artistic manager of the illustrated periodical ‘Muzeum Polskie’ dedicated to the preservation of Polish museums and collections in the territory of Russia, published in Kiev.¹⁴ Beginning from October 1917, he ran the course titled *Problems and Methods of Contemporary Aesthetics* at the Polish University College, and it was there that he participated in the group of the founders of the Polish Scientific Society;¹⁵ furthermore, he lectured in history of art at the Polish School of Fine Arts in Kiev.¹⁶

In 1918, upon his return to Lvov, he became member of the national Eastern Galicia Conservation Circle, and ran courses in 19th- and 20th- century history of art at Lvov Polytechnic; furthermore, he retook the position of the Curator at the Prince Lubomirski Museum,¹⁷ to finally become its Director.¹⁸ As recalled by Adam Fischer, former Deputy Curator of the Lvov Ossoliński Library, it was to be restored to its former excellence, while its image was to be *the feat accomplished through meticulous work of Curator Mieczysław Treter*.¹⁹ The archivist of that institution, in turn, Jerzy Koller reported that although the collections in their majority had survived, the condition of the museum after the war was disastrous: *Upon his wanderings in Russia, the current Museum’s Curator Dr Mieczysław Treter submitted an exhaustive memorandum to the authorities, discussing in detail shortages and drawbacks in the so-far interior and collection conservation*.²⁰ When Treter single-handedly played the role of the Board, he was authorized to run redecoration works and preservation of the collection. According to Koller, *what had suffered the least was the painting gallery; the Curator arranged it in compliance with the ‘scientific’ requirements, having installed devices controlling temperature as well as a fire alarm; he also organized new rooms: storerooms, conservation laboratory, darkroom, and a basic workshop*.²¹



1. Mieczysław Treter, photo from the Plaque commemorating Kazimierz Twardowski of 12 Febr. 1904, by courtesy of the Digital Archives of Combined Libraries in Warsaw



2. Konrad Krzyżanowski, *Portrait of Mieczysław Treter*, after: K. Malinowski, *Prekursorzy muzealnictwa* [Museology Precursors], Poznań 1970, p. 105

As of 1918, Mieczysław Treter was member of the Council for Fine Arts in Warsaw, an advisory body to the Ministry of Art and Culture,²² to accept in January 1919 the proposal of the Minister of Art and Culture Zenon Przesmycki to work out the outline of the state organization of museum-related questions.²³ When attending the 1921 Congress of Museologists in Poznań, he was elected deputy President of the Historical and Artistic Association of Polish Museums, upon which he put forth the proposal to establish the Polish Gallery of Contemporary Art, essential for the research into Polish art and for its promotion *among our people and foreigners*.²⁴ During the first Session of the Council for Fine Arts on 7 May 1921, he was elected representative of the Museology Section. On 4 February 1922, Treter was appointed Director of the State Collections of Art (PZS), the position he held until 1924.²⁵ PZS was established at the Ministry of Public Works (to be later transferred into the structure

of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment), mainly with the concept of taking care of the monuments recovered from Russia, Ukraine, and Austria in mind, as well as their inventorying, conservation, and dividing the collections among the Stately Buildings of the Polish Republic (GRR).²⁶ What is more, PZS was also the organization which received donations meant for state collections from owners of private ones. Apart from professional care, the Director was also to perform administrative tasks. It was thanks to Treter that the 'GRR Archive' was organized, while a modern homogenous inventory applied to the vindicated collections of art works.²⁷ In order to recreate the furnishing of the rooms of the Royal Castle, Treter would resort to old inventories from 1795, 1808, and 1819, made after the abdication of King Stanislaus Augustus.²⁸ He treated the former residence of the ruler with utmost care; one of the Warsaw newspapers claimed that *the Warsaw Castle is to store museum collections, whose gathering and ordering has been the task of Mieczysław Treter, currently the President of the Museum Council, known for his academic works as well as ordering the Prince Lubomirski Museum in Lvov.*²⁹ Treter's plan was to create the Polish Museum (on this below), rivalling great European institutions, as well as the seat for the central management of historical-artistic museums. Difficulties in the communication with the government administration meant that the utopian grandiose project of the Polish Museum was not implemented. PZS collections formed part of the decoration of GRRs, namely ministry and office buildings.³⁰ Lack of a decisive museum policy, which in his understanding was to be the symptom of the prestige of the revived state, as well as problems with excessive bureaucracy, forced Treter to resign from the position of the PZS Director, which took place on 12 May 1924.³¹

At the same time, Mieczysław Treter lectured in the most recent art and art theory at the University of Warsaw (at the time Józef Piłsudski University). In due course, having been granted the post-doctoral degree at the University of Lvov in 1925, he ran courses in art theory and history there.³² As a museologist, he was invited as an expert to participate in the projects implemented by the new museum institutions.³³ In the 1930s, he was once again assigned member of the Committee of Experts for PZS (1931–1933)³⁴ by the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. What is more, he never stopped being an art critic, serving as editor of numerous periodicals, also publishing many articles in daily press.³⁵ Remaining an indomitable apologist of Polish culture and 'newer' art, he co-founded the Institute of the Propaganda of Art. In 1926, Treter became Director of the Society for the Promotion of Polish Art Abroad (TOSSPO), the organization whose supreme goal was to promote works of Polish artists, presenting a 'distinct national style', both in the country and abroad. TOSSPO organized exhibitions, encounters, and trips, and in 1927–39 it mounted eighty exhibitions in 28 countries.³⁶ After the outbreak of WW II, Treter continued intensely working academically.³⁷ He passed away on 25 October 1943 in Warsaw.³⁸

Mieczysław Treter's considerations on museums' role, task, and structure

The harbinger of Treter's view on the role that museum should play was his reaction to the idea of establishing

a museum of the War that was first proposed in November 1914 in 'Kurier Warszawski' by Jan B. The author of that article encouraged the collecting of all the objects related to the War in order to preserve the memory of *one of the most powerful breakthroughs in history*. The proposed Museum of War in Warsaw was, in the opinion of its instigators, possible to be implemented following the end of the War activities; meanwhile, an institution closed for the War period could serve as storage for collected: periodicals, proclamations, illustrations, photographs, ephemeral prints, arms, bullets, uniforms.³⁹ The idea was supported by an anonymous author writing for Lvov's 'Słowo Polskie' that in view of the war turmoil this was not the most important of things, however it was topical for the circles related to Polish life and Polish culture, while the collecting of *all that was connected with the war* could be dealt with by the Ossoliński Museum in Lvov, which would certainly find volunteers *among the intelligentsia*.⁴⁰ Treter voiced his opinion in the debate in 'Kurier Lwowski'.⁴¹ On the examples of the existing arsenals and armouries: in London, Paris, Vienna, Venice, and Milan, he pointed out to the fact that they were places of collecting arms and trophies won with *one's own army*, taken care of by the state, allocating substantial sums to their development, and treating them as government institutions serving political and propaganda purposes.⁴² He emphasized that in Poland we could boast our collections of historical mementoes in the armouries of the Prince Lubomirski Museum, Museum of John III in Lvov, and the Krasieński Museum in Warsaw. However, in the face of the extent of the War and the fact that Poles were conscripted into the armies of the partitioning powers, in his view the Polish museum could not be created as the question would have to be asked what arms and which uniforms were to be placed there: *Austrian, Prussian, or Russian?* These mementoes, he wrote, should never be the source of pride for Poles, such a museum would only disgrace the Polish national seriousness and dignity. In this context, Treter emphasized that value should not be sought in this kind of populist displays, but in museums that carry an important message. He pointed to the only museum in Europe: the Museum of War and Peace at Lucerne founded by Jan Gotlib Bloch, engaged in the pacifist movement, author of the Future War known in the English translation as *Is War Now Impossible?*, who had foreseen and warned against the devastating results of the Great War. Bloch argued that it was militarism and not pacifism that *disarms nations morally and mocks heroism*. Opened in 1902, the Lucerne Museum was to play an essential educational and scientific role.⁴³ Interestingly, however, despite Treter's opinion the idea to create the War museum had many followers. As can be read in 'Kurier Warszawski', already in October 1914 the activity of collecting 'warfare' objects was undertaken by the Museum of Industry and Agriculture in Warsaw. One of the organizers was Władysław Kiślański⁴⁴ supported by the local authorities, this causing that numerous objects were either brought or sent into it, with the intention for them to be arranged and temporarily made available for public viewing.⁴⁵ The need to collect objects and document Poles' participation in WW I and *the reception of the Polish cause* in the Europe of the time yielded in January 1915 the foundation of the Polish War Archive in Vienna run by Galician scientists and social activists, with the intention of depositing it at *the place which after the war will be the centre of Polish culture and science*. For the purpose of the initiative

50 local branches and 6 committees throughout the Polish territory and Europe were established: Cracow, Lvov, Warsaw, Lublin, Vienna, and Freiburg. A print that was the statute names 4 collection categories and their content.⁴⁶

Coming back to Treter's article, it is interesting to emphasize that in the introduction he resorted for the first time to the main principles *known from museology*⁴⁷ which needed to be followed when a museum was established if, contrary to vulgar antiquarian collection of curiosities, it was to boast real value. A museum collection, continued Treter, could not be accidental junk; contrariwise, it should be collected in compliance with an earlier assumed logical plan set out by the council. By emphasizing *that we have as many museums as there are manifestations of cultural life of mankind*, he pointed out the main museum types: historical; covering the history of the population or one nation; of fine arts; as well as natural history and technical ones. Museum's tasks and character are defined, according to Treter, by the domain of knowledge and culture, as well as era and place, optionally also nationality.⁴⁸

Museology issues had not been earlier discussed within the Polish lands; museum itself, though popular, was an institution referring mainly to political and military history of the nation and former state, but also its culture, technical civilization, and nature. Those who actually practiced museology in Poland, found practical guidance in study trips abroad; these provided grounds for the authors of museological concepts, historians, and specialists in different sciences, as a vade mecum for the steps to be taken when establishing a museum. Meanwhile, in the West questions related to museology as a specialized branch of science, treated broadly, and covering the domain of history, art, archaeology, natural sciences were being discussed. The process of the new discipline taking on its shape reaches back into the 19th century, though the term as such was used for the first time already in 1717.⁴⁹ The question of museology was tackled in 1883 by Johann Georg Theodor von Graesse in an article published in the German museological-antiquarian newspaper claiming that museology had become a specialized branch of science (*Fachwissenschaft*).⁵⁰ However, one of the most important publications of the time can be found in the book on the evolution of museum by the British painter David Murray, containing an extensive bibliography.⁵¹ Meanwhile in Germany the work *Die Zukunft der deutschen Museen* by Theodor Vollbehrr, containing the first programmatic essays in museology, was published in 1909.⁵²

The perspective adopted then by researchers was of key importance, and Polish institutions derived from the model worked out in the West. Apart from the increasing number of museums, the early 20th century also brought about the interest in their history and theory. In Polish literature it was Zenon Przesmycki who first wrote about museology, supporting the reformatory slogans by Ruskin who opposed the concept of museum as a place of entertainment and was against cramming museum displays.⁵³ However, it was Mieczysław Treter who wrote about museology as a rightful branch of science, and in consequence about the growing specializations of museums in his *Contemporary Museums: A new, unknown before, discipline of science is being created, called museology, and dealing with a whole range of practical and theoretical problems connected with establishing and running museums, collection*



3. *Contemporary Museums. Museological Study. Beginnings, Types, Essence, and Organization of Museums. Public Museum Collections in Poland and Their Future Development*, Kiev 1917, title page

*conservation, etc.*⁵⁴ In this context Treter's publication was of a breakthrough character for the history of Polish museology, since it was the first to define its theory in Polish. The essence of the views expressed in it was taking on its final shape when its Author served as a museum assistant, someone whom we would refer to today as a museologist,⁵⁵ boasting a well-grounded theoretical knowledge of the history of art as well as practical knowledge gained in the course of inventorying and organizing museum collections described in his guide to the display.⁵⁶

The impact of Treter's book was pointed to nearly 50 years ago now by Kazimierz Malinowski;⁵⁷ however later the publication almost entirely fell into oblivion. It was only in the course of the studies on Polish museums conducted currently as part of the research *Museum in the Polish Memory Culture* Project, and it is only Piotr Majewski's reflections in the Preface to the reprinted *Contemporary Museums*, as well as the review of Tomasz de Rosset in the present 'Muzealnictwo' issue that revived the content and the importance of Treter's study for the history of museology in Poland.⁵⁸ This fact allows us to bypass a detailed analysis of the book, in order to merely enumerate the Author's major accomplishments. The publications referred to in the text itself and in the bibliography testify to the fact that Treter was acquainted with the basic writings in his contemporary museological literature.⁵⁹ The example being the professional journal 'Zeitschrift für Museologie' published in Dresden from 1878, as 'Museumskunde' as of 1905,⁶⁰ referred to by Treter in order to confirm the fact that museology had formed as a separate branch of science, as well as the above-quoted study (present in the book's bibliography) by David Murray,⁶¹ which allowed Treter to albeit briefly follow the

evolution of museum as an institution, to finally state that *museums, just like at the times of ancient past, in the 19th century, too, served first of all the purposes of scientists.*⁶² When referring to the examples of the collections of the noble families from the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with the leading among them collections of Stanislaus Augustus and Izabela Czartoryska's Puławy, as a fertile bud of Polish museum, Treter followed the study of Władysław Łoziński,⁶³ adding that the collections preserved at the Prince Czartoryski Museum were *a cultural enrichment of the country*. Of crucial importance for the history of museology, emphasized Treter, was the opening of the Louvre Museum to the public, since it meant that Europe boasted the first National Museum. He foresaw the future development of museums in the progress of sciences and the segregation of knowledge systems, which caused the systemizing of collections and their professional management, in consequence leading to the birth of a new branch of science, namely museology, which developed in the 1890s.⁶⁴

The principal rule, reiterated by Treter on numerous occasions, resulting from the development of museology should be found in the appropriate organization of the collections, this consisting in a precise *identification of the museum's content and scope, as well as the goal and the methods leading to it*. In the light of the similarly phrased motto it was of supreme importance in Treter's view to identify basic museum types. He distinguished two basic groups: nature-related and historical museums. Another distinction element, equally important and defining museum's profile in Treter's view, were time and space limits. With respect to the first of the two groups Treter quoted the studies by Stefan Stobiecki, Ludomir Sawicki, and Aleksander Maciesza.⁶⁵

Although the author of *Contemporary Museums* did not give a precise definition of 'museum', it can, however, be read between the lines. In the first sentence of his study he underlined that *Museums and libraries constitute a clear indicator of civilization and culture of each nation*, this being finally completed with the statement that *museums are scientific institutions in which thanks to a systematic arrangement of specimens collected in a planned and skilful way and properly conserved (...) the whole of human knowledge, or alternatively its one branch, of the nature of the universe or of man and his civilization or culture, is manifested.*⁶⁶ Rejecting the accusations which appeared in the early 20th century versus museums as 'cemeteries of art',⁶⁷ Treter emphasized that next to keeping traces and mementoes of the nation's past, in view of the development of natural and humanistic sciences, museum was to serve mainly as a scientific institution,⁶⁸ research and educational one, which he emphasized resorting most likely to the first Polish textbook of social pedagogy by Tadeusz Szydłowski.⁶⁹ Of importance is the fact that Treter emphasized the need for public collections to be organized by professionals boasting higher education in the domain that formed part of the museum activity, experience in library and museum activity, who should be talented organizers, with energy and enthusiasm for work. In this context he wrote about the need to organize museum courses and museology lectures at universities. The museum manager, in Treter's view, should have a decisive voice and freedom to act, while not an extremely numerous museum council, reporting to the Association of Polish Museums,

should serve as an advisory body to the manager.⁷⁰ On this issue he was not merely speaking as a practitioner with a longstanding experience, but a museologist – theoretician. Furthermore, Treter's guidelines for collection carers were essentially modern and useful, even from today's point of view, since they related to the conditions a museum building should fulfil,⁷¹ as well as its refurbishing: offices, a library with a reading room, auditorium for lectures with devices allowing the use of visual aids,⁷² as well as workshops: photographic, conservation, carpentry, bookbinding, plus a vestibule for cloakroom and ticket office. The emphasis was also put on the cooperation with the organization preserving monuments and conservation offices.

The monograph on Polish museums, contained in the second part of Treter's dissertation, fulfilled one of the claims put forth during the First Congress of Polish Museologists in 1914, and was the first such extensive list,⁷³ showing the extent of the museological movement in the Polish territories before the outbreak of WW I. What strikes is the number of articles Treter referred to that were published in magazines and everyday press: in the footnotes he quotes the press from Lvov, Cracow, Warsaw, but also Moscow, St Petersburg, and Kiev, certain issues reaching as far as 1917, which demonstrates that the presented information was updated. Following the typology identified in the first part of the study, Treter described the museums classifying them (at times conventionally) to appropriate groups. In this listing, today of exceptional worth for the research into the early museum institutions in Poland, Treter demonstrated the foundation of 99 public museum institutions in 44 towns, e.g.: 17 in Warsaw, 16 in Lvov, 13 in Cracow (including 3 private ones), and 3 in Poznan. He ranked among the natural history museums 21 landscape museums founded in different Polish Tourist Society (PTK) branches, which were quite a phenomenon, constituting a visible sign of civil and patriotic activity of the residents of the Kingdom of Poland in the provinces.⁷⁴ Furthermore, he mentioned 4 Polish museums abroad: in Rapperswil, Brussels, Paris, and Vienna. The currently conducted research has demonstrated that there had existed many more public museums than that in the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before 1914.⁷⁵ In a thorough report on the conditions of public collections, Treter took into account the circumstances of their creation, the process of amassing the collections, their profile, as well as the conditions under which they were kept. He thus demonstrated that in view of the lack of the sovereign Polish statehood, museology, despite being deprived of the support of state institutions, developed mainly thanks to social generosity and activism of scientific and artistic societies, social organizations, people of science and local individuals of passion. Although in other countries museums were created under totally different circumstances, often with little public interest and reluctance of the authorities, in poor housing conditions, the strong need to establish museums resulted both from the need to manifest people's national identity, as well as from the development of science, education, industry, and tourism. Of major social impact were provincial museums which became important cultural and educational centres in the region. The final touch was Treter's idea to raise in independent Poland a Museum of Struggle for the Independence of the Polish Nation dedicated to all

the national heroes along the history marked by the following dates: 1794, 1831, 1846, 1863, 1914–1917. Most clearly Treter, not so long before the opponent of the waged war, regarded it an important development for the Homeland, marking its years in his plans.

Prestige of the nation and the state

Following WW I, in the altered political reality, the culture-related issues, including the organization of museum collections, became the topic for a broad debate. In the first years of independent Poland many different concepts and publications on rational museum policy appeared; the debate was participated by e.g. Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, Jan Czekanowski, Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz, Bronisław Gembarzewski, Marian Gumowski, Feliks Kopera, and Mieczysław Treter.⁷⁶ In the memorandum written on the instruction of the then Minister of Culture and Art Zenon Przesmycki related to the activity programme of a separate Public Museum Department, this in reality grouping historical-artistic museums,⁷⁷ Treter provided guidance of an organizational character and defined essential points of the attitude of the state to museums.⁷⁸ He was of the opinion that the *Responsibility of a rational museum policy throughout the whole state, caring for a high quality of museum collections, both in the provinces and in the capital, remains first of all with the state, and not with boroughs, social organizations, and respective units, as was the case – out of necessity – before the war.*⁷⁹ He remarked that within the country there had remained *rare and fragile museum organisms which had been created under the partitions through exceptional efforts and heroic patience and energy as well as outstanding sacrifice on part of numerous entities, of individuals who felt their civic obligation, of several social organizations and town authorities.*⁸⁰ The author of Contemporary Museums knew the problems which museum organizers had had to face in the country deprived of its statehood, when they could only expect a minor support from the town, local authorities, or society, therefore he claimed that the *tough responsibility of the care of museums could be fulfilled only by the state and it would be a mistake to suppose that the state could be replaced in this respect by town authorities or social organizations, even if handsomely subsidized.*⁸¹ Treter proposed to entrust the issues related to historical-artistic museums to one government institution, subdued directly to the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment since, in his view, making different government institutions responsible for various museums would not benefit the museums and could contribute to shapelessness of Polish museology. His proposal, among others, was to follow the example of artistic museums in France and Germany, there mainly the Berlin museums, but also those in Russia, England, and in Hungary, and to establish the office of the General Museum Inspector at the Department of Monuments and Museums.⁸²

He emphasized that the main purpose of the activity of museum was promoting education; without museums scientific progress was impossible, both in natural sciences and in the humanities, since it is there that youth, and in consequence, maybe future scientists, were educated *using visual materials*. An important role was played, in his



4. *Organization of State Collections of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw 1922, title page*

view, by historical museums, which apart from developing general knowledge, taught us how to look at the heritage of our forefathers, and constituted a *real temple of national mementoes*. However, not only cultural and educational reasons were an important factor contributing to museum development. What mattered as well were stately and political-propaganda purposes, since the *prestige of the nation and the state was of importance*. Therefore Treter repeated after Prof. Czekanowski: *in view of such great numbers of bigger and smaller collections, as well as objects that qualify as museum objects, the question of their preservation, ordering, and making available for public viewing, becomes priority.*⁸³ In the debate on the museum personnel issues, staff employment, and assigning appropriate individuals to management positions, Treter proposed giving university lectures or state museum courses, adding in the footnote that museology lectures were given only at Cracow's Jagiellonian University by the Director of the National Museum in Cracow Franciszek Kopera.⁸⁴

Polish Museum at the Royal Castle in Warsaw

The museologist's greatest 'favourite' was the Royal Castle (made available for museum purposes in 1918, MW); his dream was to *e.g. create at the Royal Castle in Warsaw a sui generis grand Polish Museum – the Museum in the noblest, entirely modern meaning of the word, which would proclaim the glory of our state and of our artistic culture worldwide.*⁸⁵ He quoted the examples of French museums: the Louvre, Versailles, and the Nemours Mansion, also recalling the words of Sizeranne, a former opponent of museums:



5. Provincial Museums. Organization Principles, Warsaw 1923, title page

*pour un pays, les musées sont une richesse et une force (for a country museums are wealth and power).*⁸⁶ Furthermore, he pointed to the fact that what could be superior to even the grandest European museums is not the number of exquisite specimens, but a different character, a creative arrangement and *vitality* which should be an advantage of the institution. He proposed the recreation of the royal rooms as well as Bacciarelli's painting studio, but, first of all, the restoring of the climate present there in Stanislaus Augustus' times. Consequently, Treter recalled Stanislaus Augustus' merits.⁸⁷ It was at the Castle that he was planning to locate the Central Archaeological Museum as well as the Museum of the Struggle for the Independence of the Polish Nation from 1794 to 1920; it was there that he was also intending to place the main office of the General Directorate of State Collections as the main capital's and country's artistic and intellectual centre, for the prestige of the state and nation, just like at the times of Stanislaus Augustus when Marcello Bacciarelli, Director for Fine Arts, had his office at the Castle; also for stately and political and propaganda reasons *for us (...) to be able to testify before whole Europe that we are not nouveau riches, that we, too, in the previous centuries were moving forward, creating, or had art created,*⁸⁸ adding that *here the pulse of Polish creativity could be the liveliest, the pulse of Polish artistry. From here it could be radiating with life-giving rays to the most remote recesses of the Polish Republic.*

Treter had a very modern idea when speaking of rooms also for temporary exhibitions and for presenting the most recent art, mainly native, in order to comply with Norwid's words: *to restore the broken thread between the old and new years, we have to insist on our art, so that finally we could derive*

from it a chain of crafts.⁸⁹ It was mainly a print cabinet that Treter saw equipped with old collections, yet completed with the most recent works, where the *locals and strangers* could become acquainted with different prints, which, as he wrote, would be unique in the country.⁹⁰ He made attempts at appropriately organizing the collections, so as to make Warsaw a true *ville d'art*, capital of the Polish Republic, with rationally arranged museum institutions, representing the country internationally. In 'Ziemia' he wrote that it was not only about spending lots of money on creating huge museums, but in view of the state's poor financial standing, it was important to take great care of the existing collection buds. He encouraged Polish society to make donations and deposits, *generous and conscious*, bearing in mind Sizeranne's words: *l'enrichissement d'un musée c'est l'enrichissement de la Nation (enriching a museum is enriching the nation).*⁹¹ Importantly, Treter pointed out to economic reasons thanks to 'tourists' (in today's meaning of the word) visiting museums in the capital: *(...) the state grows more powerful, also as far as trade is concerned, enhancing its prestige among its neighbours and around the world.* He elaborated on all the above issues in a series of articles sharing the same title: *Principles of Museum Policy*, with the subsequent headings: *Topical Character of Museological Issues in Poland: Government's Obligation and Privilege; Role of Museums: Polish Museology: Hungarian Case – It Is Different in Our Country; Practical Consequences – Museum's Autonomy – Red Tape Hydra – Rational Museum Policy.*⁹²

A group apart was formed by issue-focused articles; in the paper titled *Public Museums and Private Collections*,⁹³ when refuting the arguments that museum is said to be 'a cemetery of art', he argued for the teaching and educational role of the institution for students and craftsmen. Moreover, he emphasized the importance of private collections in the preservation of cultural heritage, at the same time, however, pointing to the dangers resulting from ownership titles: a collector is able to either exchange or sell his or her collection, while a public museum cannot get rid of an integral part of its collections. Meanwhile, if collectors give their collections as a donation or deposit, they benefit all. He published the paper *Provincial Museums: Organizations Principles* in the scientific 'Nauka Polska' Journal,⁹⁴ emphasizing that provincial museums should fulfil their social role, and constitute centres of scientific and cultural movement in a given locality. Furthermore, he argued that a museum that with its range covered a certain area, acquired a *peculiar shade*, while its character *becomes more decisive and differs from others.* He emphasized that a network of provincial museums could render the image of a given region's distinctness and peculiarity of nature and culture. He wrote that museum's organization should not depend on the authorities, but result from the needs of the local community, and it is from them that the initiative should come to be based on cooperation with professionals, e.g. naturalists or historians. He emphasized that in a provincial museum not everything needed to be collected, pointing out to the important *non multa sed multum!* rule. In his view, the development of a provincial museum should be supported by a committee or a society; the manager should be someone boasting tertiary education in the domain that formed part of the museum's disciplines, as well as enthusiasm for work. The priority should be given to

the graduates from museum courses run by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment as well as students of university museological lectures.

In numerous articles written in the inter-war period, the museologist reported on the current difficulties in the museum organization. Treter was outraged as the University of Warsaw and not the Royal Castle was given the recuperated collection of the Royal Print Cabinet, the view he expressed in the article *Stanislaus Augustus' Print Cabinet*, all the more so, according to the instigator of the Museum at the Castle, as works were just conducted to reconstruct the Library Hall.⁹⁵ At that point he referred to the decisions made by the Committee of State Collections: *Objects, and particularly works of art (...) closely connected with an old castle or palace, with respect to which there is no doubt, (...) should essentially find their stable location in this building.*⁹⁶ At another place he wrote about the collections of the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil, founded in 1869 by Władysław Broel-Plater. The national mementoes collected with so much effort by our countrymen living as migrants, donated to honour the nation by its creator had become, according to Treter, an *unwanted problem*. What was unacceptable in his view was the division of the collection [brought in 1927 to Warsaw, and placed at the National Museum and National Library, MW] among several institutions, which resulted from the lack of systemizing museum issues, when everything, as he wrote, *depended on accident and whim of that or other administration clerk, always an ignorant*. Of great significance is the statement that the rich collection of the institution created in bondage in order to *give testimony to the vitality of Poland has collapsed now when the Polish State exists*. Soon afterwards, he spoke of the future usage of the Rapperswil Castle. On the grounds of the comment made by the Rapperswil librarian Adam Lewak PhD, he suggested that an exhibition showing the development of Polish agriculture, resources, industries, trade and contemporary art could be mounted there at least once a year with *an important historical department working to weed the widespread in*

Europe concept that Poland is supposedly a new nation. He justified the propaganda importance of a well-organized exhibition of modern art and artistic industry. In the face of different concepts of a further museum organization he proposed holding e.g. temporary exhibition of contemporary art by the Society for the Promotion of Polish Art Abroad (TOSSPO) in cooperation with other scientific institutions.⁹⁷ On another occasion he discussed the idea of the National Museum in Warsaw (MNW); supporting the very idea, he was against raising a monumental building with huge collections, like the Paris Louvre where *one has to run across vast rooms*.⁹⁸ He was in favour of small institutions with a definite programme and scope, in this remaining faithful to his earlier principle *non multa sed multum*. He did not support the concept of connecting the Polish Army Museum with the National Museum in Warsaw, suspecting that such a development took place due to Col. B. Gembarzewski, as if our military had not been able to afford their own *building to glorify the Polish army*.

Kazimierz Malinowski in his book dedicated to the pioneers of Polish museology wrote the following about the author of *Contemporary Museums: (...) we can see a man of broad horizons well informed in museology tendencies and requirements, a man who asks for much, since he knows what we need and what we could expect after the period of bondage*. This comment of Malinowski does not only emphasize the versatile knowledge of Treter, but also the moment in time when his study was created. Systemizing the theoretical knowledge and providing a report on the existing museums in the country deprived of its statehood formed the departure ground for the Author himself when following the regained independence he was devising the proposal for the organization of state collections. Mieczysław Treter's proposals were to organize the complicated story of Polish museum institutions following the period of the partitions, at least of the historical-artistic museums, so that rivalling foreign museums with their quality, they could at the same time become the factor boosting the prestige of the new state.

Endnotes

¹ In an ample monograph the Author conducted the analysis of Treter's peculiar critical language amidst the clashing views on Polish art in the inter-war period, and showed him as the author of the definition of aesthetics, a separate scientific discipline. She presented Treter's accomplishments as an aesthetician, art critic, author of papers on problems of contemporary art and artists, a reviewer, author of catalogues, artistic life observer, determined critic of carelessly organized and crammed exhibitions at the Warsaw Zachęta, finally as Director of the Society for the Promotion of Polish Art Abroad (TOSSPO), exhibition organizer of the Polish pavilions at the Venice Biennale, curator of numerous exhibitions. She has become acquainted with his manner of organizing and arranging exhibitions presenting contemporary painting, sculpture, and Polish prints, but also of textiles, architecture, books, and theatre. – D. Wasilewska, *Mieczysław Treter: estetyk, krytyk sztuki oraz 'szara eminencja' międzywojennego życia artystycznego w Polsce* [Mieczysław Treter; Aesthetician, Art Critic, and 'Grey Eminence' of Interwar Artistic Life in Poland], Kraków 2019, there full bibliography of M. Treter's publications; and *Eadem, Wybór pism estetycznych i krytycznych (Mieczysław Treter)* [Selection of Aesthetical and Critical Writings (Mieczysław Treter)], Kraków 2019.

² M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne. Studium muzeologiczne. Początki, rodzaje, istota i organizacja muzeów. Publiczne zbiory muzealne w Polsce i przyszły ich rozwój* [Contemporary Museums. Museological Study. Beginnings, Types, Essence, and Organization of Museums. Public Museum Collections in Poland and Their Future Development], 'Muzeum Polskie' 1917, fasc. 1, pp. 5-32; 1918, fasc. 4, pp. 1-70; the full text also published by 'Muzeum Polskie', Kiev 1917; the next (second) edition M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne* [Contemporary Museums], prefaced by P. Majewski, *Wszystko już było... Pomniki Muzealnictwa Polskiego* [We Have Had It All Before...Monuments of Polish Museology], NIMOS and PIW, Warszawa 2019.

³ 'Sprawozdanie Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie' [Report of the Scientific Society in Lvov] 1921, Vol. 1, fasc. 1, p. 58; *Czy wiesz kto to jest* [Do You Know Who This Is?], S. Łoza (ed.), Warszawa 1938, pp. 756-57. Some sources erroneously give Cracow as Treter's birthplace. It was Bogdan Treter, Mieczysław's relative, a painter and conservator of art works, who was born in Cracow. The same error made by D. Wasilewska who in the monograph gives Lvov as Mieczysław's birthplace, while Cracow in the anthology of texts (endnote 1).

⁴ M. Treter's dissertation *Franciszek Tępa, jego życie i dzieła* [Franciszek Tępa, His Life and Works] was accepted as a doctoral dissertation on 30 June 1910

- letter of the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty, Imperial-Royal University of Lvov, currently at the Ossolineum, ACNO 16370/II.
- ⁵ M. Treter, *Lwów miasto muzeów* [Lvov the City of Museums], 'Gazeta Polska' 15 February 1930, No. 45, p. 4.
- ⁶ A. Fischer, *Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Zarys dziejów* [The Ossoliński National Institute. History Outline], Lwów 1927, chapter *Kuratorowie, dyrektorowie i urzędnicy Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich* [Curators, Directors, and Clerks of the Ossoliński National Institute] after <http://www.lwow.com.pl/ossolineum/ossolineum2.html> [Accessed: 22 May 2019].
- ⁷ As an art historian he demonstrated his expertise when enumerating paintings together with their attribution, showed in respective rooms, describing the museum display arrangement, layout and content of display cases, rendering the impression of the size and range of the collections growing, as he wrote, thanks to the generosity of numerous private collectors. They were historical mementoes, archaeological monuments, and precious collections of paintings, sculptures, displayed in four exhibition rooms and the Armoury, Kossak Room, Painting Gallery, Cabinet of coins and Polish medals – *Przewodnik po Muzeum imienia Książąt Lubomirskich we Lwowie* [Guide to the Prince Lubomirski Museum in Lvov], M. Treter (put together), Zakład Ossolińskich, Lwów 1909. His museum work also yielded: *Pamiętki po Słowackim w Muzeum im. X. X. Lubomirskich we Lwowie. Z 13 reprodukcjami (portretów rodzinnych oraz rysunków własnoręcznych Słowackiego) na osobnych tablicach* [Słowacki-Related Mementoes at the Prince Lubomirski Museum in Lvov. With 13 reproductions (family portraits and Słowacki's own drawings) on separate plates], Lwów 1910; *François Gérard i portret jego pędzla w Muzeum im. X. X. Lubomirskich we Lwowie* [François Gérard and the Portrait He Painted at the Prince Lubomirski Museum in Lvov], Lwów 1910; *Pamiętki w Muzeum XX. Lubomirskich we Lwowie* [Mementoes at the Prince Lubomirski Museum in Lvov], 'Lud' 1910. He demonstrated the value of Polish painting as well as the educational and scientific role of art galleries in the publication: *Nowsze malarstwo polskie w Galerii Miejskiej we Lwowie – z 24 reprodukcjami w autotypii podwójnej na osobnych planszach* [Newer Polish Painting at the City Gallery – with 24 reproductions in double halftones on separate plates], Lwów 1912. While working at the museum, he continued extremely active in other fields, being member of the Polish Philosophical Society, editor of the ethnographic 'Lud' quarterly and of the 'Science and Art' Series; he also cooperated with 'Słowo Polskie'.
- ⁸ A. Fischer, *Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich...*
- ⁹ 'Sprawozdanie Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie' ..., p. 59. The sessions were chaired by: Józef Leski –Chairman (Museum of Industry and Agriculture in Warsaw), Feliks Koper (National Museum in Cracow), Władysław Stroner (Industrial Museum in Lvov), Eugeniusz Tor (City Technological and Industrial Museum in Cracow), after: *Ze stowarzyszeń* [From the Associations], 'Ziemia' 1914, No. 17, pp. 270-71; B. Mansfeld, *Związek Muzeów w Polsce (1914–1951)* [The Museum Association in Poland (1914-51)], 'Muzealnictwo' 1990, No. 33, pp. 13-22; The decisions made during the Congress following Poland's independence served as the grounds for the state museum structure of the Second Polish Republic – A. Murawska, *Związek Muzeów w Polsce w latach 1914-1939* [The Museum Association in Poland 1914-1939], 'Muzealnictwo' 2015, No. 56, pp. 115-18, B. Mansfeld, *Muzea na drodze do samoorganizacji, Związek Muzeów w Polsce 1914-1951* [Museums on the Way to Self-Organisation, The Museum Association in Poland 1914-51], Warszawa 2000, pp. 84-7.
- ¹⁰ D. Wasilewska, *Mieczysław Treter...*, p. 352. In 1912, he published an extensive paper: guide to the most precious monuments and life of the inhabitants of the city of the Doges, M. Treter, *Wenecja* [Venice], 'Wędrowiec' 1912, pp. 348-52.
- ¹¹ M. Treter, *Wrażenia z Rzymu* [Impressions from Rome], 'Gazeta Wieczorna' 1911, No. 220, 239, 241 and 245.
- ¹² M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne...*, p. 82.
- ¹³ M. Treter, *Dział sztuki na P.W.K. w Poznaniu i dziesięciolecie sztuki polskiej 1918–1928* [Art Department at PWK in Poznan and the Decade of Polish Art 1918-1928], 'Sztuki Piękne' 1929, No. 8-9, pp. 281-348, particularly 289-90. Within the movement meant to provide protection to Polish cultural heritage of the former Russian Empire in 1915-18 over 40 social organizations were founded; they grouped illustrious Polish historians, researchers into the past, archivists, museologists, collectors living in those territories for many years or those who had arrived there in the course of WW I turmoil. Their work conducted in very tough conditions proved priceless in the process of the restitutions of Polish property in compliance with the Treaty of Riga, after: E. Manikowska, *Państwowe zbiory sztuki. U źródeł pierwszej państwowej kolekcji muzealnej* [State Art Collections. At the Sources of the First State Museum Collection], 'Cenne, Bezcenne, Utracone' 2017, 1/86-4/89, 20, pp. 180-86, particularly 182, also – *Polskie życie artystyczne w latach 1915–1939* [Polish Artistic Life in 1915-39], A. Wojciechowski (ed.), Wydawnictwo PAN, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1974.
- ¹⁴ Only two issues were released of the journal 'Muzeum Polskie poświęcone dziejom i zabytkom sztuki i kultury', L. Grocholski (ed.), M. Treter (artistic direction), Kiev 1917 and 1918.
- ¹⁵ 'Muzeum Polskie' 1918, p. 221.
- ¹⁶ J. Róziewicz, L. Lasztowt, *Polskie Kolegium Uniwersyteckie w Kijowie (1917–1919)* [Polish University College in Kiev (1917-19)]. 'Rozprawy z dziejów oświaty' 1991, Vol. XXXIV.
- ¹⁷ 'Sprawozdanie Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie' ..., p. 58.
- ¹⁸ *Sprawozdanie z posiedzeń I zjazdu delegatów Związku Polskich Muzeów Historyczno-Artystycznych, odbytego w Poznaniu* [Report from the Sessions of the First Congress of Delegates of the Polish Association of Historical-Artistic Museums Held in Poznan], in: *Pamiętnik I i II zjazdu Delegatów Związku Polskich Muzeów Historyczno-Artystycznych w Poznaniu w r. 1921 i w Krakowie w r. 1922* [Diary of the First and Second Congress of the Association of Polish Historical-Artistic Museums in Poznan in 1921 and in Cracow in 1922], Warszawa 1924, p. 5.
- ¹⁹ A. Fischer, *Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich...*
- ²⁰ J. Koller, *Muzeum XX Lubomirskich* [Prince Lubomirski Museum], in: *Zakł. Nar. im. Ossolińskich we Lwowie* [Ossoliński National Institute in Lvov], 'Przegląd Muzealny. Miesięcznik poświęcony muzeologii' 1920, No. 4, pp. 55-8.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- ²² *Polskie życie artystyczne...*, p. 76.
- ²³ The extended programme presented to Przesmycki was published in 1922, M. Treter, *Organizacja zbiorów państwowych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* [Organizations of State Collections of the Polish Republic], Warszawa 1922, copy from 'Wiadomości Archeologiczne', Vol. VII.
- ²⁴ B. Mansfeld, *Muzea na drodze...*, p. 89. On this demand Treter in: Idem, *Muzea polskie wobec sztuki współczesnej (projekt Polskiej galerii Sztuki Współczesnej w Warszawie)* [Polish Museums versus Contemporary Art (Planned Gallery of Contemporary Art in Warsaw)], in: *Pamiętnik I i II zjazdu Delegatów Związku Polskich Muzeów Historyczno-Artystycznych w Poznaniu w r. 1921 i w Krakowie w r. 1922* [Diary of the First and Second Congress of the Association of Polish Historical-Artistic Museums in Poznan in 1921 and in Cracow in 1922] [jest wprzypisie 18], F. Kopera, W.S. Turczyński (ed.), Związek Polskich Muzeów Historyczno-Artystycznych, Warszawa 1924, pp. 27-8. It needs to be added that had it not been for the outbreak of WW II, the project would have been implemented, since in 1938 the city was granted the permission to rent the tenement house at 15 Podwale Street for it to serve as the Gallery of Contemporary Art.

- ²⁵ E. Manikowska, *Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki...*, pp. 180-84, particularly 180.
- ²⁶ These included: Royal Castle in Warsaw, Copper-Roof Palace, Royal Łazienki, Belvedere, Wawel, Spała, Białowieża, Poznań Castle, Racot Palace, Palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw, former Bishops' Palace in Vilnius. The recovered collections found home in the Stately Buildings of the Polish Republic in compliance with the provisions of the Resolution of the Council of Ministers on government buildings meant to serve stately functions of 19 Feb. 1920, B. Mansfeld, *Muzea na drodze...*, p. 49.
- ²⁷ The system Treter introduced consisted in initially producing a short description, to later follow to detailed sheet catalogue meant to serve to make registers of separate categories of objects which would then be entered into department books. Due to a high cost of photographing objects, the Director decided to introduce a very helpful drawn catalogue. On sheets and loose pieces of paper lists were made of: reference library, archival materials, reproductions, water colours, and prints from GRR, W. Wojtyńska, *Działalność Państwowych Zbiorów Sztuki* [Activity of the State Art Collections], 'Kronika Zamkowa' 2005, Vols. 1-2, (49-50), pp. 193- 220, particularly p. 197.
- ²⁸ M. Treter, *Zbiory Państwowe na Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie* [State Collections at the Royal Castle in Warsaw], 'Tygodnik Ilustrowany' 1923, Vol. XII, No. 49; *Idem, Zbiory Państwowe na Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie. (Doba St. Augusta a czasy dzisiejsze), z 15 rycinami* [State Collections at the Royal Castle in Warsaw (in Stanislaus Augustus' Times and Today) with 15 prints], Warszawa 1924.
- ²⁹ 'Gazeta Powszechna' 1923, No. 23, p. 3.
- ³⁰ E. Manikowska, *Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki...*, p.183.
- ³¹ W. Wojtyńska, *Działalność Państwowych Zbiorów...*, p. 193.
- ³² *Czy wiesz kto to jest?...*, pp. 756-57.
- ³³ In 1925, Treter was invited by the authorities of the city of Toruń as an expert to take part in the planned construction of a new museum in the city. The information comes from the letter of Bogdan Treter from Cracow to the Toruń Council. There also information can be found that in 1925 Treter received his post-graduate degree at the University of Lvov. The State Archive in Lvov (APT), ACNO 331/l. The issue of establishing the Museum of the Pomeranian Land in Toruń: minutes, correspondence, contracts – 1921-25), [gdzie początek nawiasu?] Furthermore, on 26 June 1939 Treter was also asked by Jan Parandowski, President of Polish PEN Club, to work out the memorandum in relation to the plans for the Museum of Literature in the former house inhabited by Józef Kraszewski in Mokotowska Street in Warsaw. The outbreak of the war most probably interrupted preparatory works, IS PAN Special Collections, ACNO 1541/II.
- ³⁴ IS PAN Special Collections, *ibid.*
- ³⁵ These were 'Przegląd Warszawski', 'Sztuki Piękne', 'Monografie Artystyczne'; he also published in 'Tygodnik Ilustrowany', 'Warszawianka', 'Rzeczpospolita', 'Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny', 'Gazeta Polska'.
- ³⁶ *Sztuka Polska Wśród Obcych. Sprawozdanie z działalności Towarzystwa Szerzenia Sztuki Polskiej Wśród Obcych 1926-27* [Polish Art among Foreigners. Report on the Activity of the Society for the Promotion of Polish Art Abroad for 1926-27], with 19 prints, Warszawa 1928 (MCMXXVIII), p. 9; A. Chmielewska, *W służbie państwa, społeczeństwa i narodu. Państwowotwórczy artyści plastycy w II Rzeczypospolitej* [In the Service of the State, Society, and Nation. State-Consolidating Fine Artists of the Second Polish Republic], Warszawa 2006, p. 89; D. Wasilewska, *Przełom czy kontynuacja? Polska krytyka artystyczna 1917-1930 wobec tradycji młodopolskiej* [A Breakthrough or Continuation? Polish Artistic Criticism 1917-30 versus Young Poland's Tradition], Kraków 2013, p. 36; D. Wasilewska, *Mieczysław Treter...* p. 12. The precise list and venues of the exhibitions given by K. Nowakowska-Sito, TOSSPO – *Propaganda sztuki polskiej za granicą w dwudziestolecu międzywojennym* [TOSSPO: Propaganda of Polish Art Abroad in the 1920s and 1930s], in: *Sztuka i władza* [Art and Power], D. Konstantynow, R. Pasieczny, and P. Paszkiewicz (ed.), Warszawa 2001, pp. 143-55.
- ³⁷ IS PAN Archive in Warsaw has preserved his typescripts of works on aesthetics and history of art, these being part of: *Z zagadnień estetyki jako filozofii sztuki* [On the Issues of Aesthetics as Philosophy of Art]; *Zarys estetyki; Rodowód impresjonizmu a malarstwo polskie, O własne oblicze sztuki polskiej* [Outline of Aesthetics: Descent of Impressionism versus Polish Painting. Struggling for Polish Art's Own Face]. Fragments of these works have been published in: D. Wasilewska, *Wybór pism estetycznych i krytycznych...*
- ³⁸ <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Treter-Mieczyslaw;3989026.html> [Accessed: 05 June 2019].
- ³⁹ J. Cz., *Muzeum wojny* [War Museum], 'Kurjer Warszawski' 22 Nov.1914, No. 323, pp. 2-3.
- ⁴⁰ *Muzeum wojny* [War Museum], 'Słowo Polskie' 30(Nov.) 3(Dec.) 1914, No. 546 p. 3.
- ⁴¹ M. Treter, *W sprawie polskiego muzeum wojny* [On the Polish War Museum], 'Kurjer Lwowski' 15 (2) Dec. 1914, No. 479, p. 1; 16 (3) Dec. 1914, No. 480, p. 1; 17 (4) Dec. 1914, No. 481, p. 1.
- ⁴² Treter enumerated the following arsenals and armouries: United Service Museum in London, Musée de l'Armée at the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris, Zeughaus in Berlin, Arsenal and the Military History Museum in Vienna, Arsenal with a museum section in Venice, Museo del Risorgimento Nazionale in Milan.
- ⁴³ The Museum was founded in the territory of neutral Switzerland, thus preventing criticism of supporting either the countries of the Triple Alliance or of the Triple Entente, more: G.P. Bąbiak, *Muzeum Wojny i Pokoju w Luzernie* [The Museum of War and Peace at Lucerne], <http://muzeumpamieci.umk.pl/?p=2649> [Accessed: 10 July 2019].
- ⁴⁴ Władysław Teodor Kisiel-Kisłański was the instigator and in 1891-1906 Director (Committee Chairman) of the Museum of Crafts and Applied Arts, instigator and organizer of Higher Industrial and Agricultural Courses at the Museum of Industry and Agriculture in Warsaw in 1911.
- ⁴⁵ 'Kurjer Warszawski', 05 Dec.1914, year 24, p. 3.
- ⁴⁶ More: <http://muzeumpamieci.umk.pl/?p=4999> [Accessed: 20 July 2019].
- ⁴⁷ M. Treter, *W sprawie polskiego muzeum wojny* [On the Polish Museum of War], 'Kurjer Lwowski' 15 (2) Dec.1914, No. 479, p. 1.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ C.F. Einckel, *Museographia oder Anleitung zum rechten Begriff und nützlicher Anlegung der Museorum, oder Raritäten-Kammern*, Leipzig 1727. Dorota Folga-Januszewska points out to an earlier use of the word 'museology' to define methods of collection creation (Quiccheber, 1565), in: *Eadem, Seria Muzeologia* [Museology Series], 'Muzealnictwo' 2012, No. 53, p. 212.
- ⁵⁰ *Had someone spoken or written of museology as science thirty, or even twenty years ago, they would have faced a compassionate scornful smile of many – Die Museologie als Fachwissenschaft*, (transl. M. Wawrzak) 'Zeitschrift für Museologie und Antiquitätenkunde sowie verwandte Wissenschaften' 1883, No. 15, p. 113. On the authorship of the article in: P. van Mensch, *The Museology Discourse*, <https://www.phil.muni.cz/unesco/Documents/mensch.pdf>.

- ⁵¹D. Murray, *Museums. Their History and Their Use. With a Bibliography and List of Museums in the United Kingdom*, James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow 1904. However, the bibliography was limited mainly to West European countries and the US.
- ⁵²T. Vollbehre, *Die Zukunft der deutschen Museen*, Stuttgart 1909.
- ⁵³Z. Przesmycki, *Pro Arte. Uwagi o sztuce i kulturze. Nieco o obyczajów, teatry, kabarety, muzyka, literatura. Sztuki plastyczne. Miejskie muzeum sztuki* [Pro Arte. Remarks on Art and Culture. Some Customs, Theatres, Cabarets, Music, Literature, Fine Arts], Warszawa-Lwów 1914, p. 525.
- ⁵⁴M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne...*, p. 10.
- ⁵⁵Changes occurring in the perception of museologist as a profession, from the Antiquity to modern times, analysed by Dorota Folga-Januszewska, writing that *Tradition associated a museologist with a scientist*, D. Folga-Januszewska, *Muzealniki. Zawód, profesja czy powołanie?* [A Museologist. Job, Profession, or Vocation?], in: I Kongres Muzealników Polskich [First Congress of Polish Museologists], Programme Committee of the First Congress of Polish Museologists chaired by M. Niezabitowski (ed.), Warszawa 2015, pp. 57-64; also M. Niezabitowski, *Muzealniki a wspólnota pamięci. Próba zdefiniowania pojęć na użytek zmian legislacyjnych* [Museologist versus Community of Memory. Attempt at Defining Terms for the Sake of Legislative Amendments], this 'Muzealnictwo' issue.
- ⁵⁶M. Treter, *Przewodnik po Muzeum imienia Książąt...*
- ⁵⁷K. Malinowski, *Prekursorzy muzeologii polskiej* [Precursors of Polish Museology], Poznań 1970, pp. 106-126.
- ⁵⁸M. Wawrzak, *Studium muzeologiczne Mieczysława Tretera* [Mieczysław Treter's Museological Study], within the Project: *Muzeum w polskiej kulturze pamięci (do 1918 r.): wczesne instytucje muzealne wobec muzeologii cyfrowej* [Museum in Polish Memory Culture up to 1918; Early Museum Institutions versus Digital Museology], Department of Fine Arts, Nicolaus Copernicus Museum, Toruń, <http://muzeumpamieci.umk.pl/?p=626>; P. Majewski, *Wszystko już było...*, pp. 7-27; T. F. de Rosset, *Mieczysław Treter, Muzea współczesne* [Mieczysław Treter. Contemporary Museums], this edition of 'Muzealnictwo'.
- ⁵⁹It is common knowledge that the library, containing the largest next to the Jagiellonian Library academic book collection in the Polish territories of the time, constituted Ossolineum's branch equivalent to the Prince Lubomirski Museum at which Treter worked.
- ⁶⁰'Zeitschrift für Museologie und Antiquitätenkunde sowie verwandte wissenschaften', J.G. Th. Graesse (ed.), Dresden 1878-85; 'Museumskunde', K. Kotschau (ed.) until the last year of publication in 1924.
- ⁶¹Murray bases 'museum's' evolution on many examples, supported with extensive literature, D. Murray, *Museums. Their History...*, pp. 1-12.
- ⁶²M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne...*, p. 9.
- ⁶³W. Łoziński, *Życie polskie w dawnych wiekach* [Polish Life in Old Times], Lwów 1907, p. 32.
- ⁶⁴M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne...*, p. 10.
- ⁶⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.
- ⁶⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 94-5.
- ⁶⁷Treter is referring to the claims made by W. Morris and R. de la Sizeranne, this in Z. Przesmycki, *Geneza muzeów sztuki i błędne ich drogi* [Genesis of Art Museums and Their Erroneous Paths], in: *Pro Arte. Uwagi o sztuce... p. 519; Museums: cemeteries!*, is also the slogan of Avant-garde artists yielded by the increase of the number and popularity of museums in the late 19th century; more – D. Folga-Januszewska, *Muzeologia, muzeografia, muzealnictwo* [Museology: in Polish *Muzeologia, Muzeografia, Muzealnictwo*], in: 'Muzealnictwo' 2006, No. 47, pp. 11-16.
- ⁶⁸The scientific role was emphasized already by the first authors of museum plans, e.g. Stefan Chardon de Rieule, plan published in 1766 r., *Projekt Stefana de Rieule'a stworzenia w Warszawie Muzeum Przyrodniczego w wieku XVIII* [Stefan de Rieule's Plan to Create a Natural History Museum in Warsaw in the 18th Century], B. Hryniewicz (transl.), 'Wiadomości Muzeum Ziemi' 1947, Vol. III; M.J. Mniszech, *Mysli Względem Założenia Muzeum Polonicum* [Thoughts Regarding the Establishment of the *Museum Polonicum*], 'Zabawy Przyjemne y Pożyteczne z Sławnych Wieku tego Autorów Zebrane' 1775, Vol. 11, part 2 and Treter's contemporaries, to mention only the following: E. Majewski, *O potrzebie muzeów naukowych* [On the Need for Scientific Museums], 'Światowit. Rocznik poświęcony archeologii pradziejowej i badaniom pierwotnej kultury polskiej i słowiańskiej' 1905, Vol. 6; S. Udziela, *Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Dział Etnograficzny* [National Museum in Cracow. Ethnographic Department], Kraków 1905; S. Stobiecki, *W sprawie Krajowego Muzeum Przyrodniczego* [On the Question of the National Natural History Museum], Kraków 1910; A. Maciesza, *Zasady organizacji muzeów krajoznawczych* [Organization Principles of Tourist Museums], 'Ziemia' 1910, No. 36.
- ⁶⁹Szydłowski pointed to the need for cooperation of museum institutions with schools and other education-related organizations, *idem, Muzeum jako czynnik oświatowy* [Museum as a Factor in Education], in: *Praca oświatowa, jej zadania, metody, organizacja, Podręcznik opracowany staraniem Uniwersytetu Ludowego im. A. Mickiewicza przez T. Bobrowskiego* [Education Work, Its Tasks, Methods, Organization. Manual Elaborated Through the Efforts of the A. Mickiewicz Popular University by T. Bobrowski], Kraków 1913, pp. 443-60. After Szydłowski, B. Mansfeld justified that combining scientific tasks with educational ones was started by the construction of the Sheffield Museum following J. Ruskin's concept, and afterwards the reorganization of the Hamburg Kunsthall conducted by Lichtwark, as well as the congress of museologists in Meiningen in 1903 following the slogan of museums as folk education institutions, *idem, Proces autonomizacji muzeów w XIX wieku* [Empowerment Process of Museums in the 19th Century], 'Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici', 'Zabytkoznawstwo i Konserwatorstwo' 1973, V(52), pp. 51-9, particularly 58.
- ⁷⁰M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne...*, p. 96.
- ⁷¹He emphasized the importance of lighting in museums, as well as of installations: electricity, heating, telephone, and fire alarm, *ibid.*, p. 30.
- ⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 31. On lecture rooms equipped with the whole set of scientific and presentation devices, a rich collection of reproductions and slides also in T. Szydłowski, *Muzeum jako czynnik...*, p. 451.
- ⁷³Earlier basic information on archives, libraries, museums, private collections and collectors in a brief study by Hieronim Wilder and Edward Chwalewik's publication, see: A. Tolysz, *Polskie muzea przed 1918 – próba klasyfikacji* [Polish Museums before 1918 – Attempt at Classification], <http://muzeumpamieci.umk.pl/?p=1410> [Accessed: 20 April 2019].
- ⁷⁴Following the foundation of PTK in the territory of the Kingdom of Poland in 1906, twenty-eight PTK branches were established, and they amassed regional museum collections, M. Wawrzak, *O muzeach Polskiego Towarzystwa Krajoznawczego do 1918 roku. Od teorii do praktyki* [On Museums of the Polish Tourist Society before 1918. From Theory to Practice], in: *Muzeum a pamięć – forma, produkcja, miejsce* [Museum versus Memory: Form, Production, Place], T.F. de Rosset, E. Bednarz Doiczmanowa, A. Tolysz (ed.), *Materiały z konferencji zorganizowanej w dn. 8-9 czerwca 2017 r. przez Zakład Muzealnictwa Wydziału Sztuk Pięknych UMK w Toruniu* [Proceedings from the Conference Organized on 8-9 June 2017 by the Museology Department of the Faculty of Fine Arts at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń], 'Biblioteka NIMOZ' 2018, Vol. 11, pp. 113-34, particularly 121-23.
- ⁷⁵See the paper in the present issue of 'Muzealnictwo' – T. F. de Rosset, *Mieczysław Treter...*

- ⁷⁶The discussion focused on museology policy conducted in the press presented in detail by B. Mansfeld, *Sprawy muzealne u progu II Rzeczypospolitej* [Museum-Related Questions at the Threshold of the Second Polish Republic], 'Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici'. 'Zabytkoznawstwo i Konserwatorstwo' 1980, IX(112), pp. 147-72; Idem, *Muzea na drodze...*, pp. 41-56.
- ⁷⁷Historical-artistic museums reported to the Ministry of Art and Culture, whereas natural history, archaeological, ethnographic ones etc. to the Science Department at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment.
- ⁷⁸The extended programme submitted to Przesmycki in 1919 was published in 1922, M. Treter, *Organizacja zbiorów...*, its abridged version published in 'Rzeczpospolita' 1921, No. 116, 118, 120.
- ⁷⁹M. Treter, *ibid.*, p. 3.
- ⁸⁰*Ibid.*
- ⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 9.
- ⁸²*Ibid.*, pp. 14-22.
- ⁸³Jan Czekanowski, ethnographer, ethnologist, from 1913 affiliated with the University of Lvov, worked at the Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Museum of the Nations in St Petersburg.
- ⁸⁴Franciszek Kopera lectured in museology at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow in the academic year 920/1921.
- ⁸⁵The King himself did not claim his exclusive title to the Castle; its former name was 'Castle of His Majesty the King and the Commonwealth'; this was also the understanding from after the war, and generous donors came to support the Castle for the future.
- ⁸⁶M. Treter, *Organizacja zbiorów...*, pp. 7, 8, after: *Les forces de la France – Nos Musées*, 'Revue Hebdomadaire' 1917.
- ⁸⁷This is the issue pointed to by D. Kielak, *O kulturotwórczej roli muzeum w projekcie Mieczysława Tretera* [On Museum's Culture-Creative Role in Mieczysław Treter's Plan], in: 'IDEA – Studia nad strukturą i rozwojem pojęć filozoficznych' 2018, Vol. XXX/1, pp. 161-74, particularly 168.
- ⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 6.
- ⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 8.
- ⁹⁰Treter informs that there are exceptions where one can see print collections, this is the collection of Feliks Jasieński or other private 'freaks', *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- ⁹¹*Zbiory Państwowe w gmachach reprezentacyjnych w Warszawie* [State Collections in Stately Buildings in Warsaw], 'Ziemia' 1922, No. 12, pp. 346-50.
- ⁹²M. Treter, *Zasady polityki muzealnej* [Principles of Museum Policy], 'Rzeczpospolita' 1924, No. 117, p. 3; No. 118, p. 3; No. 119, p. 3.
- ⁹³Newspaper clipping featuring the date: 1920, preserved at IS PAN Special Collections, No. 1541/III.
- ⁹⁴M. Treter, *Muzea prowincjonalne. Zasady organizacji* [Provincial Museums. Organization Principles], 'Nauka Polska' 1923, Vol. IV, pp. 274-81, nadd. [nie pamiętam co ten skrót znaczy]
- ⁹⁵M. Treter, *Gabinet Rycin St. Augusta* [Print Cabinet of Stanislaus Augustus], 'Rzeczpospolita' 1924, No. 124, p. 4 and No. 128, p. 4. It has to be remembered that the Print Cabinet containing the collections of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, purchased in 1818 on the initiative of Stanisław Kostka Potocki by the heirs of Prince Józef Poniatowski, remained from then onwards a unit within the University Library - J. Talbierska, *Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie 1818-1832* [Print Cabinet of the University Library in Warsaw 1818-32], in: *Kultura artystyczna Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego: ars et educatio* [Artistic Culture of the University of Warsaw: *Ars et Educatio*], J. Miziołek (ed.), Warszawa 2003, pp. 399-415.
- ⁹⁶M. Treter, *Gabinet Rycin...*, *ibid.*, p. 4.
- ⁹⁷M. Treter, *Rozbiór zbiorów rapperswilskich* [Fragmentation of the Rapperswil Collections], 'Warszawianka' 26 Oct. 1927, No. 294, p. 4; Idem, *Od pamiątek do obrazu rzeczywistości. Przyszłość Rapperswilu* [From Mementoes to the Image of Reality. The Future of Rapperswil], 'Warszawianka' 18 Nov. 1927, p. No. 317, p. 2.
- ⁹⁸M. Treter, *Środowiska artystyczne Warszawy. (Muzea które są, a których właściwie nie ma)* [Artistic Circles in Warsaw. (Museums That Exist, But Are Actually Not There)], 'Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny' 1931, No. 197, p. 2. It was Zenon Przesmycki who wrote about crowded museums and lost tourists running across museum rooms, quoting Ruskin's words: *It is better to study one painting by Tintoretto than superficially catalogue all the world galleries*, Z. Przesmycki, *Pro Arte ...*, p. 523.
- ⁹⁹K. Malinowski, *Prekursory muzeologii polskiej...*, p. 125.

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