

# MUZEOLÓGIA 1

# MUSEOLOGY

*a kultúrne dedičstvo*  
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# Open-air Museums – the Future of the Presentation of Spiritual and Architectural Heritage

Lucie Rychnová – Patrik Maturkanič – Katarína Slobodová Nováková  
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## *Open-air Museums – the Future of the Presentation of Spiritual and Architectural Heritage*

The origins of “open-air museums” date back to the nineteenth century and from the very beginning were closely linked to efforts to capture, preserve and present folk culture. However, during the course of the twentieth century, especially in its later part, the concept of open-air museums began to expand. Open-air museums were founded that focused on urban, industrial and military environments, ecological issues, or on charting the life of prehistoric and ancient cultures. Along with this, the methodological concept for this specific type of institution saw some development, and the interdisciplinary approaches expanded in response, covering a wide range of humanities as well as natural sciences. Besides the academic approach, a social and community overlap is also required from these institutions. This article poses the question of how the concept of open-air museums can continue to develop and what direction the role of presenting cultural heritage in an open landscape could take in the future. The arguments

herein are based on the philosophical and spiritual dimension of man's dwelling in the world and his relationship to the landscape in which he lives. We believe that the future of open-air museums should, wherever possible, focus on the preservation of monuments in their historical context and especially in their natural links in terms of landscape, urbanism and architecture. To ensure this concept remains sustainable, it is necessary that these monuments be involved in the life of villages and communities, ideally also on the basis of cooperation between academia and local entities, which are usually villages or municipalities and citizens' initiatives. Examples of such a direction can be seen in the founding and running of Rochus Park in the Uherské Hradiště region and in the concept of the association of villages called Mariánská zahrada in the Jičín region, both in the Czech Republic.

Keywords: open-air museums; vernacular architecture; countryside; landscape; national heritage; Czech and Slovak Republic

## Introduction

The English notion of the *open-air museum* (*Freilichtmuseum* in German, *muzeum v přírodě* in Czech, where it is often also referred to as *skanzen*) denotes, according to a definition by one of the leading figures in this branch of museum work and also the first Czechoslovak theoretician, Jiří Langer, “an academic institution which, on a scientific basis, interprets and preserves folk culture in the form of a specialised museum exhibition in the open air”.<sup>1</sup> It should incorporate interconnections of space, time, society, culture and nature and present a comprehensive picture of folk culture. However, since the time when the concept of “open-air museums” was first approached in methodological terms in the 1980s, based on Langer's aforementioned article, the thematic scope of “museums in nature” has considerably expanded.<sup>2</sup> Today, open-air museums offer, besides an effort to capture the tangible as well as intangible manifestations of rural folk culture, also some urban, industrial or military phenomena,<sup>3</sup> or efforts to reconstruct the life of prehistoric and ancient cultures.<sup>4</sup> This is the direction in which the methodological concept of “open-air museums” should necessarily develop, and also expand to include the interdisciplinary approaches we hear so much of today, in which a broad range of the humanities as well as the natural sciences are addressed. Besides the scientific aspect, the concept should, however, unavoidably carry societal content. How can the concept of open-air museums continue to develop? In what way should the role of presenting cultural heritage in an open landscape develop in the future? The first part of this article will provide a brief overview of the history of this specific means of presenting cultural heritage, and we will look at some contemporary examples, and will also outline the philosophical bases from which the possible directions and future scopes can stem, and eventually the article will present

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<sup>1</sup> LANGER, Jiří. Muzeum v přírodě jako forma teaurace památek lidového stavitelství [The Open-air Museum as a Form of Embalming Vernacular Architectural Heritage]. *Národopisné aktuality*. vol. 13, no. 3, 1976, pp. 179–184; Idem. *Národopisná muzea v přírodě. Teoretická a metodická východiska k realizaci* [Ethnographical Museums in Nature: Theoretical and Methodological Bases for Their Realisation]. Rožnov pod Radhoštěm: Valašské muzeum v přírodě, 1981.

<sup>2</sup> LANGER, Jiří. *Atlas památek. Evropská muzea v přírodě* [Atlas of Monuments. European Open-air Museums]. Praha: Baset, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Such as the Industrial open-air museum of New Lanark, the Chabówka Rolling-Stock Heritage Park “Skansen” in Poland showing railway history, Den Gamble By in Denmark showing urban life, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The first example in Slovakia is the Archeoskanzen Havránok, built in the site of a Celtic settlement dating back to the Late Iron Age above the River Váh valley. One site worth mentioning in the Czech Republic is the Archeoskanzen Modrá near Uherské Hradiště, Moravia. Among Central European open-air museums, life in a Roman camp is very well presented by Museum Camuntinum in Lower Austria.

an example demonstrating how specific museum activity could be carried out *not only in the open and in situ*, but also within the framework of man's modern social structures.

### A View into the Past and an Outlook to the Future?

The history of open-air exhibitions with purpose-made collections in folk culture goes back to the nineteenth century. The first ever exhibition of rural buildings is thought to be the collections of King Oscar II (Kong Oscar IIs Samling), opened to the public at the summer royal residence in Bygdøy, a district of Oslo, in 1882. Its concept, amongst other things, also carried a broader ideological message: it contained five original wooden buildings of rural architecture that were transferred from various parts of Norway to the royal court, through which the exhibition was intended to symbolise the bond between the ruler and the people.<sup>5</sup> The Norwegian collection of folk buildings inspired the Swedish teacher and folklorist Artur Immanuel Hazelius (1833–1901), the founder of the Swedish Scandinavian Ethnographical Collection (Skandinavisk-etnografiska samlingen), who opened an open-air exhibition of complete collections of folk architecture in 1891, presenting what was then an unprecedentedly large variety of folk culture, costumes, traditional crafts and animal breeding, which was located in Stockholm on Djurgården island, at a site locally known as Skansen. It gained worldwide popularity, and in some countries this local name has become synonymous with an open-air exhibition.<sup>6</sup>

The oldest Czech ethnographical museum was founded by the Archduke Ludwig Salvator of Austria in Přerov nad Labem around the year 1900. However, the most well-known and largest open-air museum in the Czech Lands is the Wallachian Open Air Museum (Valašské muzeum v přírodě) in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm, founded by the brothers Alois and Bohumír Jaroňka in 1925. It was Alois who drew inspiration directly from the Nordic countries – he had visited Skansen in Sweden on his travels, as well as the renowned Nordic open-air museum in Aarhus, Denmark.<sup>7</sup>

Since then, many other open-air museums (hundreds but, depending on the estimates and parameters included, it could be thousands) were established throughout the world during the twentieth century. This includes dozens of such institutions in the Czech Republic and in the Slovak Republic.<sup>8</sup>

What are the key attributes that these exhibitions should have? The aforementioned Czech theoretician and museum scientist Jiří Langer defines the following four attributes of these institutions: They should include historical buildings that were firmly linked with life in the rural areas or within a defined territory. They should also present the authentic environment in which these buildings were located: fields, gardens, orchards, vineyards, forests, etc. The third, wherever possible, is an indication of the urban planning relationships, which means the

<sup>5</sup> In 1970 the collection was acquired by the Norway Folk Museum (Norsk Folkemuseum). For more, see FREDRIKSEN, Anders – MØRCH, Monica. King Oscar II's collection of authentic medieval houses at Bygdøy, Oslo. In: *Bulletin för trädgårdshistorisk forskning*, vol. 30, 2017, pp. 13–15.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. the chapter on this achievement in ALEXANDER, EDWARD P. *Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence*, Walnut Creek – London – New Delhi: Altamira Press, 1995.

<sup>7</sup> The Aarhus Museum was opened to the public in 1914 as the Old Town House. Now the Den Gamle By (Old Town) covers municipal houses dating back to the sixteenth–nineteenth centuries from various parts of Denmark. On its history and the present concept, see BLOCH RAVN, Thomas. *Den Gamle By: A Window into the Past*. Aarhus: Gyldendal, 2002.

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of these, see DVORÁČEK, Petr. *Skanzeny České a Slovenské republiky* [Open-air Museums in the Czech and Slovak Republic]. Praha: Academia, 2010.

location of the building within the settlement unit (in the village or municipality, or in relation to other buildings). And the fourth attribute is that the interiors of these buildings should also be presented, thus implying how the inhabitants there lived.<sup>9</sup>

There are two major concepts behind open-air museums now. The first is based on a conservationist approach, which particularly emphasises the preservation and presentation of the monuments in their original context. These are museums established at the site of the original settlement. The second concept is based on museum science, where the buildings are extracted from their original context and introduced (reconstructed) in a new place, although that site should reflect the original context of the buildings as much as possible. Both of these two present concepts have their advantages as well as disadvantages. The disadvantages of the “conservationist” approach are its seasonal nature and the desolation of the originally inhabited sites, while having buildings transferred to an environment other than their original one may make them seem less authentic.<sup>10</sup>

In recent times, as mentioned in the introduction, the question has arisen as to how the concept of this kind of museum activity could be innovated in the twenty-first century. How to make it even more accessible for the people of today? The debate has been quite lively in this respect since the 1990s.<sup>11</sup> There has been a recurrent call for greater inclusion of contemporary historiography’s view of history: The underlining of gender topics, race and nationality issues, the reflection of one’s history from the perspective of twentieth-century dictatorships, an emphasis on ecology, or the greater involvement of civil society and local initiatives.<sup>12</sup> Proposals appear which at the first glance may seem ridiculous, yet in essence are a call for the wider inclusion of the entire dimension of human existence, such as emphasis on the possibility of

<sup>9</sup> See LANGER, Jiří. *Atlas památek. Evropská muzea v přírodě...*, p. 7–12.

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. STACHOVÁ, Alena. Vznik muzeí v přírodě [The Founding of Open-Air Museums]. In: *Prameny a studie*, vol. 55, 2015, p. 191.

<sup>11</sup> For an attempt to answer these questions, see e.g. RENTZHOOG, Stan. *Open Air Museums: The History and Future of a Visionary Idea*. Stockholm: Carlssons, 2007, which also includes references to other relevant literature. STEPA-NYAN, Knarik. Open-Air Museums: Scenario Planning for the Future. In: *Advanced Materials Research*, vol. 1020, no. 10(2014), pp. 711–715. The latest overview for Eastern Europe is given in BUKOWIECKI, Łukasz. *Czas przeszły zatrzymany. Kulturowa historia skansenów w Szwecji i w Polsce*, Warszawa: Campidoglio, 2015; and ZUSKINOVÁ, Iveta – KOLLÁR, Daniel – ONDREJKA, Kliment – AUGUSTINI, Peter et al. *Open-air museums*. Bratislava: Dajama, 2008. For the Czech environment, there is a remarkable contribution by KUMINKOVÁ, Eva. *Muzea v přírodě: jedinečná cesta muzejnictví* [Open-Air Museums: The Unique Way of Museum Science]. 1. vydání. Rožnov pod Radhoštěm: Národní muzeum v přírodě, 2019; For more, see CARSTEN, Jan – FROST, Katarina (eds). *Creating Museums: 50 Years Association of European Open-Air Museums = Museen erschaffen : 50 Jahre Verband Europäischer Freilichtmuseen*. Münster – New York: Waxmann, 2016; KOTVASOVÁ, Helena. *Muzeá v prírode: koncepcia, realita a vízie : zborník príspevkov z prvého ročníka konferencie Únie múzeí v prírode konanej 15. a 16. mája 2019 v Skanzene Vyehylovka*. Čadca: Kysucké múzeum v Čadci, 2019; GAWEŁ, Artur (ed.). *Open air museums in Poland*. Białystok: Association of Polish Open-Air Museums 2019.

<sup>12</sup> What is important here is also the educational aspect, as reflected e.g. in CHODŹKO, Małgorzata. Muzeum i skansen w kształceniu i wychowaniu : edukacja humanistyczna i cywilizacja techniczna w kontekście pedagogicznym = Museums and open-air museums in education and upbringing: humanistic education and technical civilisations in the context of pedagogy. In: GRACA, Tadeusz – ŁĄŻEWSKA, Dorota (ed.). *Edukacja humanistyczna w kontekście technicyzacji w XXI wieku : w poszukiwaniu pedagogicznej równowagi*, Józefów : Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Gospodarki Euroregionalnej im. Alcide De Gasperi, 2017, pp. 171–188; KLEIN-WROŃSKA, Sonia – KROH, Magdalena – SADKOWSKI, Tadeusz (eds). *Interaktywna edukacja w muzeach na wolnym powietrzu*. Toruń: Stowarzyszenie Muzeów na Wolnym Powietrzu w Polsce, 2016; BRYCH, Mariia. General approaches to spatial formation of open-air museums exhibition. *Przestrzeń i Forma: kwartalnik naukowo-dydaktyczny*, no. 43 (2020), pp. 113–122.

gastronomic experience as part of these exhibitions.<sup>13</sup> Some inquiries have gone so far as to ask even provocative questions in some cases, for instance, “Would we invent ethnographically-focused museums today?”<sup>14</sup>

We believe that the principal role as one of the ways to the twenty-first-century concept of open-air museums should be played by the context of buildings, meaning the cultural landscape, and hence also man’s relationship to the place in which he lives, i.e., to underline man’s existential dimension in the world. After all, the cultural landscape and its historical impact (historical buildings and art monuments) is one of the most endangered components of heritage. The preservation of the cultural landscape is then linked to questions relating not only to conservation, but also to ecology and of sustainability.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, we are facing, not only in the Czech and Slovak Republic but in Europe generally, the issue of alienation, or the loss of relationship, to the place in which one lives. Well incorporated museum activities in cooperation with local initiatives or directly with the local authorities could help man, or the inhabitants of a certain place, to rediscover their deeper link to the place they live in, not only through getting to know it better (the reconstruction and presentation of historical monuments and art works in the landscape), but also by live remembrance of their past, for instance, by reviving folk and religious feasts.<sup>16</sup>

What arguments can we employ for this approach? For man, the landscape, as outlined above, is fundamentally existential by nature. As such, it is the evidence of the development of human society and culture, it is the imprint of the social roles, and cultural, religious and existential values of its inhabitants, past or present.<sup>17</sup> Owing to that, it is also a cultural construct of its kind. Landscape, both the real one and the imaginary one which reflects our ideas, is a

<sup>13</sup> PAWLIKOWSKA-PIECHOTKA, Anna – ŁUKASIK, Natalia – OSTROWSKA-TRYZNO, Anna – SAWICKA, Karolina. The Rural Open Air Museums: Visitors, Community and Place. In: *European Countryside*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2015, pp. 195–214. In this sense are also interesting aspects that focus on traditional agricultural features, for more, see e.g.: GWARDZIŃSKA, Żaneta. Agricultural Activity Run By Open-Air Museums in Poland. *Muzealnictwo*, vol. 62, no. 6, 2021, pp. 115–127.

<sup>14</sup> JACKOWSKI, Aleksander. Czy wymyślilibyśmy dzisiaj muzea etnograficzne? In: *Śląskie Práce Etnograficzne*, vol. 2, 1993, p. 27. See also BUKOWIECKI, Łukasz. What Is Missing And Who Misses It?: The Hidden Heritage Of Modernity At Open-Air Museums In Sweden And Poland. In: *Politeja*, vol. 15, no. 1 (52), pp. 7–24.

<sup>15</sup> MICHALIČKA, Václav. Využití a smysl „experimentální“ a „aplikované“ etnografie [The Use and Importance of “Experimental” and “Applied” Ethnography]. In: *Národopisný věstník*, vol. 26, no. 1(68), pp. 39–43; ŠUBOVÁ, Dana. *Medzinárodná konferencia prírodovedných pracovníkov múzeí a pracovníkov múzeí v prírode: zborník referátov : Liptovský Mikuláš, 2009*. Liptovský Mikuláš: Slovenské múzeum ochrany prírody a jaskyniarstva, 2009.

<sup>16</sup> In some present theoretical considerations of the importance of open-air museums, the notion of “genius loci” appears which these museums should help to preserve and remember. See e.g. SEVAN, Olga. Open Air Museums As Ways Of Preserving And Transmitting The Spirit Of Place. In: *Proceedings of the 16th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: “Finding the Spirit of Place – Between the Tangible and the Intangible”*, Quebec, QC, Canada, 29 September–4 October 2008; BAUMEIER, Stefan. *Konservierte Wirklichkeiten : Erhaltungs- und Aufbastrategien in europäischen Freilichtmuseen* [Preserved realities]. Detmold: Westfälisches Freilichtmuseum Detmold, 1995; VOLMER, Lutz (ed.). *Musealisierte Häuser: Bausubstanz, Ideologien, Gründungspersönlichkeiten : ausgewählte Referate der 28. Jahrestagung des Arbeitskreises für ländliche Hausforschung in Nordwestdeutschland und der Interessengemeinschaft Bauernhaus e.V., 18. bis 20. März 2016 in Bielefeld*. Münster: Waxmann, 2018.

<sup>17</sup> “Landscape is never simply a natural space, a feature of the natural environment. Every landscape is the place where we establish our own human organization of space and time.” JACKSON, John B. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. New Haven, 1984, p. 156.

collection of myths, memory and history, both real and ideal, produced by our imagination.<sup>18</sup> We, people, are then part of the environment in which we dwell. Martin Heidegger describes man as an inhabitant of the world. The world spreads between the earth and the sky, and is filled with nature which forms the identity of every living space. Nature determines the principal conditions for the dwelling of man, who then works with these conditions, builds settlements, connects them with ways and, to put it simply, makes nature into the cultural landscape.

Man lives in the landscape. What does this mean from an existential perspective? Christian Norberg-Schulz says that to live means to be oriented in the environment, to identify oneself with it and experience it as meaningful. In finding existential support and uncovering the importance of places, i.e., in his living there in the true sense, man is helped by symbols: architecture and small monuments, both sacral and profane, namely rural buildings, churches, chapels, wayside shrines, crucifixes and wells; by ways; but also for instance by prominent natural phenomena, such as a mountain or a tree monument. Living in the existential sense is therefore the realisation of one's meaningful relationship to a specific place.<sup>19</sup> Human existence is based on relationships. We define ourselves on the grounds of the relationships we create, not only to others ("I" – "you") but also to our environment ("I come from South Bohemia"). From a psychological perspective, it is a well-known fact that man feels good in a landscape that reminds him of the landscape with which he established a relationship in his childhood, *the landscape of home*.<sup>20</sup>

The spiritual dimension of human existence is also developing in the landscape of home. The landscape is understood as a network of meanings bound to transcendental contents – the architecture structures the landscape and refers to the sacral overlap. This concept could be hard to imagine for today's secularised society, or even almost abstract in a certain perspective. Here we can refer to Max Weber's often reflected concept of the "uncharming of the world" (*Entzauberung der Welt*),<sup>21</sup> which is still considered today within the context of secularisation<sup>22</sup> and from our viewpoint of our (in)ability to read and decode religious meanings. For our forefathers, however, and therefore also in the cultural landscape of the past, space and time were sacred ("enchanted"). And it is in that very understanding, and decoding, of the sacral and transcendental contents in the landscape, i.e. in the space of human existence, where open-air museums could play an important role.

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<sup>18</sup> SCHAMA, Simon. *Landscape and Memory*, New York: Knopf, 1995; COSGROVE, Denis – DANIELS, Stephen. *The Iconography of landscape. Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; DUNCAN, James S. – LEY, David. *Place/culture/representation*. London–New York: Routledge, 1993; for a summary of the latest approaches and trends, see DELUE, Rachel – ELKINS, James. *Landscape Theory*. New York, 2008.

<sup>19</sup> And in this form, it is also the fulfilment of one of man's existential needs; see NORBERG-SCHULZ, Christian. *Genius loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*. New York: Rizzoli, 1979, pp. 5–23.

<sup>20</sup> It is not without reason that the notion *the landscape of home* becomes the motto for many events and publications in which the landscape is concerned.

<sup>21</sup> WEBER, Max. *Sociologie náboženství* [Sociology of Religion]. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1998; SCHLUCHTER, Wolfgang. *Die Entzauberung der Welt*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009.

<sup>22</sup> HAVELKA, Miloš. „Odkouzlení“ versus sekularizace?! [“Uncharming” vs Secularisation?!] In: *Sociologia* 44, 2012, Issue 5, pp. 564–578.

## An Example from Recent Past and the Search for the Ideal Space? Rochus Park and Mariánská zahrada

One example of a recently established open-air museum which is also a response to calls from local initiatives and has closely cooperated with the local authorities is Rochus Park, a cultural and historical complex established in Uherské Hradiště, Moravia around 2012. It also includes the newest ethnographical museum in the Czech Republic. The “Park Rochus” public-benefit corporation, founded by the municipality of Uherské Hradiště in 2010, contributed to the creation of the complex.<sup>23</sup> Its core intention was the revitalisation of a former military training ground. The idea of creating a complex allowing ethnographical presentation in the premises then used by the army was considered as early as in the 1960s. However, these efforts failed because of the military purposes for which the area was used. In the 1970s another plan was raised to build a conservation area that would include, amongst other things, the collection of vineyard structures in the Soví hora quarter and some other selected buildings from the Uherské Hradiště district that were to have been transferred here. This plan was never accomplished, either.<sup>24</sup> Discussions over the use of the former military exercise field were renewed after the year 2000 when the army had abandoned it. The municipal council declared its support for the idea of establishing a space for not only educational but also recreational purposes – the founding of a park with an ethnographical exhibition.

In 2005, the area was declared a NATURA 2000 Site of European Importance following the discovery of the domestic silk moth. In the light of this fact, a concept landscape study was prepared,<sup>25</sup> and in 2009 an academic study entitled “The Rochus Open Air Museum”, prepared by the Slovácké Museum in Uherské Hradiště, was presented.<sup>26</sup> The Park Rochus association was founded in the following year and became the administrator organisation, acquiring all the organisational and administrative work from the municipality. The first building was transferred to the park in 2012, and the Rochus Open Air Museum was inaugurated in 2016. The “Park Rochus” natural, cultural and historical complex and the adjacent vineyards offer a hiking trail with viewing points, places for a stroll, family trips and guided tours. It has a view of the Central Moravian Carpathian Mountains, and the perception and presentation of the landscape is a substantial element of the complex. There are also some historical buildings, namely the Pilgrimage Chapel of St Roch in the centre of the complex, burgher wine cellars in Vinohradská St dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and other rural buildings. In this context, the chapel of St Roch is an important element of the local history – just like many chapels, churches and also statues dedicated to this patron, it is a remembrance of the plague epidemic which affected Uherské Hradiště in 1680. Symbolically, the chapel

<sup>23</sup> The company SYNOT REAL ESTATE was originally involved in the founding of the association, while the municipality of Uherské Hradiště is now the sole founder.

<sup>24</sup> For details on the development of this idea to establish an open-air museum, see BLAHUŠEK, Jan. Jak se staví (skan)sen. Vznik Uherskohradištského muzea v Přírodě v historických souvislostech [How a Skansen Is Built: The Founding of Uherské Hradiště Open-air Museum in Historical Contexts]. In: *Slovácko: společenskovední recenzovaný časopis pro moravsko-slovenské pomezí / Uherské Hradiště: Slovácké muzeum v Uherském Hradišti*, 2016, pp. 332–346. See also KUMINKOVÁ, Eva. *Muzea v přírodě: jedinečná cesta muzejnictví* [Open-air Museums: The Unique Way of Museum Science]. 1. vydání. Rožnov pod Radhoštěm: Národní muzeum v přírodě, 2019, pp. 197–207.

<sup>25</sup> The study was conducted by Prof. Ivar Otruba of the Mendel University in Brno.

<sup>26</sup> The external examination was provided by the ethnographer and former director of the renowned Wallachian Open Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm, Jaroslav Štika. The comprehensive use proposal is available at <https://www.mesto-uh.cz/informace-o-parku-rochus> (online, accessed on 25 September 2021).

is the spiritual centre of this complex.<sup>27</sup> Folk-style events are held here associated with the liturgical and economic year: the Slavic carnival, a show of traditional Easter customs, erecting the maypole, opening up the pastures, a fair, Advent and Christmas traditions. The complex includes orchards of old fruit varieties typical of the region.

What makes this concept new and unique, and how does it offer a perspective and the possibility of running ethnographical collections in the open air? The founding of the complex, as mentioned above, was not only the work of academia, as is typical for this type of institution in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, but an important role was played by the municipality, a public-benefit corporation, and also representatives of the business sector. This combination of interest groups and local associations came about as emphasis was put not only on the academic aspects, but also on marketing support and the leisure side of the life of the local people. The aim of this combination was to ensure the economic sustainability of the project (e.g. its use for tourism) while also strengthening the civil aspect in the life of the museum, park and the landscape itself. It is obvious that such an intention may have certain shortcomings, especially the constant effort to balance the views and approaches of all the interest groups involved. It should be mentioned that the initiative to found and build Rochus Park also included the fact that the municipality pro-actively clarified and explained the reasons behind the intention to build the park, and it is apparent that it was not met with understanding by everyone.<sup>28</sup>

The second example to be mentioned here is not exactly an open-air museum, but a successful initiative where efforts to maintain the historical impact in the cultural countryside landscape combine with an accent on historical buildings and art monuments in forms which are attractive for tourism and also remind the locals of the historical heritage in the original landscape context. Here the sacral, rural and farming architecture gradually became an inseparable part of the “landscape of home” for the locals, or in other words, it is integrated into their living space as a matter of course. This “project” is carried out in the former manors of the House of Schlik (Šlik) in the region near the town of Jičín and covers a relatively large area where especially two members of the House of Schlik carried out a series of landscape and urban planning undertakings at the end of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century, thus giving rise to a unique “Baroque landscape composition”. This composition is still partially apparent in the region; the various roads, pathways and building monuments it comprises are still perceived in the life of the locals, and awareness of them has been kept alive owing to the cooperation of the municipalities, villages, academicians, NGO’s and individual enthusiasts.

This (cultural) landscape composition emerged in an area covering the former manors of the House of Schlik, namely Veliš, Vokšice, Staré Hradky, Kopidlno and Jičíněves. It comprises mostly cultural landscape with fields, forests, original orchards and built-up areas in the

<sup>27</sup> For more, see BEZDĚČKA, Pavel – RAŠTICOVÁ, Blanka. *Mařatice – Rochus významná přírodní lokalita Evropy*. Uherské Hradiště: Město Uherské Hradiště, 2009, p. 12.

<sup>28</sup> The fact that the creation of the park did not always meet with a positive response can be seen, for instance, in an interview posted on the park’s website, where the mayor replies to the question “What, in your opinion, should every citizen of the town know about Rochus?” as follows: “Disregarding the importance of the place as such and the meaning of preserving the area for future generations, people should be aware that the municipality is not robbing them when it provides funding for Rochus projects, and that they are not deprived of any money for other things. Some ask why we don’t put the money into pavements, road repairs, cleaning the town, or services. It is simply because we can’t: the money for Rochus is almost entirely obtained from subsidies that have a defined purpose, which is this project.” See <https://www.mesto-uh.cz/park-rochus> (online, accessed on 25 September 2021).

countryside. There are only two larger urban settlements in the whole territory, the small towns of Kopidlno and Libáň, while Jičín as the district capital was in the neighbouring manor of the House of Trauttmansdorff and served as the only larger urbanistic setting for the local landscape. Frantz Joseph Schlik (František Josef Šlik, 1656–1740) and his wife and later widow Anna Josepha née Krakowska of Kolowrat (Anna Josefa Krakovská z Kolovrat, 1691–1771) especially take the credit for the specific shaping and formation of this rural landscape. Step by step, in the form of small or bigger building undertakings and also through a pro-active approach to the management of their land, they had many buildings erected or redesigned, and built new roads, or laid out observation lines, to connect them. The lifelong efforts of this couple resulted in what was not exactly a collection of individual structures but rather a unified array of architectural and spiritual relationships that shape a landscape composition. To name but a few of these buildings, for instance, the churches of St James the Greater in Kopidlno, Sts Simone and Jude in Chyjice, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in Ostružno, and St Franciscus of Assisi in Staré Místo were either built or redesigned; the chapels of Loretto, St Anne, the Holy Trinity and the Guardian Angel, the Holy Sepulchre in Drahoraz, the churches of St Wenceslaus in Veliš and the Ascension in Slatiny were newly built, as were the granaries in Vokšice and Střevač. All of these places and buildings, both profane and sacral, played a significant role in the functioning of the manor.

The Loretto chapel, built near the highest point of the area, the hill Veliš, was the centre, as it were, of this landscape composition, towards which the landscape lines ran from other places in the former manors. The chapel itself took advantage of its dominant position on the Velišský ridge, and anticipating the excellent view of the surrounding countryside, it was not composed merely as a chapel, but its flat roof also served as an observation point and also the focal point of other parts of this landscape composition. There were four ways in different directions, laid out approximately on a cross plan, formed in the terrain as forest cuts that met at the site of the chapel. The northern one connected it directly with the village of Ostružno and the chapel of St Anne on the hill of the same name. The eastern way was pointed at the Chapel of Guardian Angel and ran further to the farm in Vokšice, dominated by an extensive granary and a little chateau. The southern axis was aimed at the palace in Jičíněves and the adjacent grand farmstead. This scenery was complemented by the traditional rural settlements of Podhradí and Hlásná Lhota, much of which has still been preserved.<sup>29</sup> The principle of landscape formation of this kind was not to build a single large settlement centre that would command the whole space, but the exact opposite: to provide every site with its own landmark, and to interlink these landmarks by relationships in the landscape.

This idea of the House of Schlik was taken up by the association of municipalities called Mariánská zahrada (Svazek obcí Mariánská zahrada, meaning *The Garden of the Virgin Mary* in Czech), made up of villages in the former manors. The central idea of this initiative, which was founded in 2004, is to strengthen the local people's relationship to the place in which they live, raise awareness of their own roots, re-establish respect for their environment, and promote a pro-active approach to life. At present, the key topics are the use of the historical spiritual and physical potential for the social and economic development of the villages, and the preservation of the Baroque landscape composition as a means of communicating the

<sup>29</sup> On the landscape composition and ideological concept of the Baroque landscape, see RYCHNOVÁ, Lucie. František Josef Šlik a česká barokní krajina. Život šlechtice na východočeském venkově [František Josef Šlik and the Czech Baroque Landscape: The Life of an Aristocrat in the East Bohemian Countryside]. Praha 2020.

space between settlements and landscape in the sense of the mutual adaptation of natural, agricultural, structural and transport components. The relicts of the past cultural landscape are automatically considered in the strategic development plans of the villages. In cooperation with experts from the local museum (RMaG Jičín), the district archive, universities and national heritage conservationists, a series of academic studies have been conducted which designate places that bear some meaning in the local landscape, interpret them and present them to the locals as well as visitors.<sup>30</sup>

The aforementioned landscape composition with these historical relicts can be explored today with the help of special maps and schedules prepared as part of the activities of this association. Information boards have been installed at important points in the landscape and provide the necessary explanations and descriptions.<sup>31</sup> Events are held on a regular basis to commemorate the importance of the buildings and specific places, such as masses, processions, concerts, meetings at important sites, for instance at the renewed conciliation cross near Veliš. As the landscape here also includes examples of rural architecture or period farm buildings, it would also be good to consider their future use as part of the presentation of the cultural heritage by means of interior installations that could be prepared in cooperation with museum scientists. In general, however, the focused effort of these villages to maintain, reconstruct and accentuate building monuments and their relationships in the landscape creates a highly specific and, for the locals, also a natural concept of presentation of the cultural and landscape heritage, and shares some attributes which are typical for open-air museums.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> HENDRYCH, Jan – LÍČENÍKOVÁ, Michaela. Historická krajina Jičínska [Historical Landscape of the Jičín Region]. In: *Zprávy památkové péče. Časopis státní památkové péče* 3, 1998, pp. 76–83; HÁJEK, Pavel. Česká krajina a baroko. Urbanismus Českého baroka na příkladu města Jičína a okolí [Czech Landscape and the Baroque: The Urban Planning of Czech Baroque Taking the Town of Jičín and Its Environs as an Example], Praha: Malá Skála, 2003. ŠEJN, Miloš, *Několik poznámek ke krajině* [Several Remarks on Landscape]. In: Schlikové na Jičínsku, katalog k výstavě v Okresním muzeu a galerii v Jičíně, Jičín, 1999, p. 8; GOTTLIEB, Jaromír. Zahrada mariánská [Garden of the Virgin Mary]. In: *Tvář naší země – krajina domova 3. Duchovní rozměr krajiny, Lomnice nad Popelkou 2001*, pp. 31–45.; HERMOVÁ, Hana – POLKOVÁ, Miroslava – WATZKO, Karel. Analýza vývoje území jako podklad pro současné plánování (na příkladu Mariánské zahrady na Jičínsku) [Analysis of Development of an Area as Underlying Document for the Present Urban Planning (Taking the Mariánska Zahrada Area in the Jičín Region as an Example)]. In: *Historická geografie*, No. 34, 2007, pp. 350–371; STRÁNÍKOVÁ, Jana – ŘÍHOVÁ, Vladislava. *Kostel sv. Václava ve Veliši. Výtavba, vybavování a okolnosti vzniku (1747–1752)* [The Church of St Wenceslas in Veliš. Construction, Furnishing and Circumstances of Founding (1747–1752)]. Pardubice 2014; RYCHNOVÁ, Lucie. Stavebník František Josef Šlik [Frantz Joseph Schlik the Builder]. In: *Východočeský sborník historický*, no. 21, 2012, pp. 163–196; RYCHNOVÁ, Lucie. Spisy o architektuře, umění, zahradách a „dobrém životě“ v knihovně Františka Josefa Šlika [Publications on Architecture, Art, Gardens and the “Good Life” in the Library of Frantz Joseph Schlik]. In: *Marginalia Historica*, vo. 5, no. 2, 2014, pp. 107–142; RYCHNOVÁ, Lucie. *František Josef Šlik a česká barokní krajina: život šlechtice na východočeském venkově*. Praha: Scriptorium, 2020 and others.

<sup>31</sup> An overview of the activities of the Mariánska zahrada association was published, for instance, in a brochure entitled *Mariánská zahrada v našem čase* [Mariánská zahrada in Our Time], Jičín 2014. The texts were written by the former director of the Jičín Museum Jaromír Gottlieb, an archivist in the Jičín District Archive Eva Bílková, and the chairman of the association Eliška Formanová. This is also a good example of successful cooperation between local experts and village representatives.

<sup>32</sup> The importance of open-air museums for the conservation and preservation of rural architecture has been recently discussed, see: PEDRAM, Behnam – EMAMI, Mohammad Amin – KHAKBAN, Mozghan. Role of the Open-Air Museum in the Conservation of the Rural Architectural Heritage. In: *Conservation Science in Cultural Heritage*, vol. 18(2018), no. 12, pp. 101–120.

## Conclusion

We believe that the idea of an open-air museum should develop in the future in the sense of the existential dimension of man's "living" in the world and especially in the landscape he calls home. Only in the environment one calls home and to which one has a relationship, can the idea of an open-air museum become a real living idea, as it can be at all times naturally revived by the locals. They find, through the building monuments and a well-kempt cultural landscape which follows up on the historical shape of that landscape, the very meaning of their "dwelling in the world" in the phenomenological sense. If the buildings and protected landscape elements become part of the ordinary life of the locals in a specific place, they will be naturally living ones, and for these locals they will also "bear meaning". This would facilitate the revival of the folk tradition as well as religious rites, as those will not be just part of an "exhibition", but will really exist "in situ". It is therefore quite desirable for museum-type institutions and their experts to cooperate with villages and municipalities as well as local civil initiatives. In this respect, "living open-air museums" can be created.

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# The forgotten metamuseological concepts of Wojciech Gluziński

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## *The forgotten metamuseological concepts of Wojciech Gluziński*

Wojciech Gluziński's metamuseological concepts, developed in the 1960s and 1970s, found their fullest expression in the book *U podstaw muzeologii* [On the fundamentals of museology] from 1980. Its author was then considered to be one of the pioneers of museological theory in the world. Nevertheless, he is now almost forgotten. This is evidenced by the latest publications of ÍCOFOM dealing with the history of twentieth-century museology, which exclude Gluziński. The reason for this lack is the language barrier, which makes it difficult to evaluate his achievements in terms of content. The recognition of this state of affairs was the reason for the preparation of this review article using the methods of analysis and criticism of the literature, for which the basis was sources and studies available only in Polish. The basic questions boiled down to how Gluziński understood the museum and what, according to him, the subject of museology was. The answer to the first question was the concept of a "pure" museum, while to the second, the concept of "museum sense".

Keywords: Wojciech Gluziński, museum sense, pure museum, history of museology, twentieth-century museology

### Motto

*"Therefore, I am convinced that the thesis that he will present to us at the end of his PhD research will be a serious contribution to the theory of museology and will contribute to raising our authority among the world's theoreticians in this field."*

– Opinion of Kazimierz Malinowski about Wojciech Gluziński of March 25, 1973.

## Introduction

The 1970s and 1980s were a time when researchers from the then Eastern bloc countries dominated in museology. In addition to museologists from Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, the Polish metamuseologist Wojciech Gluziński<sup>1</sup> played an important

<sup>1</sup> Dr Wojciech Antoni Janusz Gluziński, (born March 31, 1922 in Lviv; died March 26, 2017 in Wrocław) – Polish philosopher and museologist; obtained his master's degree in philosophy on the basis of the thesis entitled *Teoria spostrzeżenia u Bergsona* [Perception theory in Bergson's work], defended in 1952 at the University of Wrocław; he obtained his doctorate on the basis of a dissertation written under the supervision of Prof. Kazimierz Malinowski and defended on December 15, 1976 at the Institute of Historic Studies and Conservation of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń; curator of the National Museum in Wrocław; associate of the Polish National Committee of ICOM. More on Gluziński's biography: GAJEWSKA-PROROK, Elżbieta. Wojciech Antoni Janusz Gluziński. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 58, 2017, pp. 292–295.

role in creating the theoretical foundations of the emerging discipline. The discussion forum was then the International Council of Museums (ICOM), and from 1977 the International Committee for Museology (ICOFOM). The texts published since 1983 as part of the ICOFOM Study Series testify to the development of the then museology. Thanks to the use of the so-called congressional languages (English, French and Spanish), they remain accessible to a wide audience. They are mainly in short forms, which may make it difficult to comprehensively reconstruct the theoretical standpoints of individual museologists. This problem concerns, for example, Gluziński, in whose case only 2 out of 14 publications from 1983–1991 are 11 pages long, while the rest are just a few.<sup>2</sup> A separate issue is that none of the articles published by the Polish museologist as part of the *ICOFOM Study Series* have been devoted to the concepts of a “pure” museum and “museum sense”, which were an important part of his research from the 1960s. In order to get to know them, one should therefore refer to his doctoral dissertation entitled “Filozoficzne i metodologiczne podstawy muzeologii” [The philosophical and methodological foundations of museology] from 1976, published under the changed title *U podstaw muzeologii* [On the fundamentals of museology] in 1980. The language barrier meant (and still does) that the concepts presented in it had no chance to exist outside Poland, and their author was forgotten. This is evidenced by the latest ICOFOM publications dealing with the history of twentieth-century museology, which exclude Gluziński. A representative example is the collective work from 2019, entitled *A history of museology: Key authors of museological theory*, edited by current ICOFOM Chairman Bruno Brulon Soares.<sup>3</sup>

The recognition of this state of affairs was the reason for the preparation of this review article using the methods of source criticism and analysis of the literature available only in Polish, dedicated to foreign recipients. The study was based on the book *U podstaw muzeologii* and articles by Gluziński which appeared before the date of its publication in 1980. Moreover, the work uses archival documents from Gluziński’s doctoral dissertation in the form of unpublished opinions by Kazimierz Malinowski and Jerzy Topolski. However, they turned out to be too synthetic, thus contributing little to the substantive evaluation of the presented concepts. On the other hand, two texts by Maria Bartko, published in *Muzealnictwo* in 1982 and 1984, concerning the book, including a polemic with its author, had a much greater critical potential.

Following Gluziński’s advice on the technique of writing a thesis, the article uses extensive quotations from sources and studies, “primarily to avoid being accused of subjectivity”.<sup>4</sup> The point was therefore to precisely reflect the style of academic writing of the Polish museologist and to be faithful to his concepts. The basic questions boiled down to how Gluziński understood the museum and what, according to him, the subject of museology was.

## Museum and the subject of museology

According to Gluziński, museology is not the science of the museum treated as a “device” used to achieve secondary goals. An extreme example of such a goal is the call: “Instead

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<sup>2</sup> Data based on the list of Gluziński’s publications as part of the *ICOFOM Study Series*, prepared by Elżbieta Gajewska-Prorok in: GAJEWSKA–PROROK, Wojciech ..., p. 294–295.

<sup>3</sup> One of the few researchers who refer to Gluziński’s publications is Jan Dolák, as exemplified by his book *Teoretická podstata muzeologie* from 2019.

<sup>4</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, Wojciech. *U podstaw muzeologii*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980, p. 15.

of going to a beer hall, [to] bring people to the ‘museum’”.<sup>5</sup> It makes the museum a centre of social life and another form of cultural entertainment. This vision is in line with Alfred Kuhn’s slogan of “de-museuming the museum”, that is, reviving something that, by definition, opposes life.<sup>6</sup> And although Kuhn himself and his concepts were forgotten, after World War II some museologists began to construct (and actually reconstruct) his postulates. Education was brought to the fore. Something previously reserved for students of art academies has become generally available. “In terms of pars pro toto, the educational functions of museology began to be perceived as its essence and the sole purpose of its mission, which in turn led to a purely instrumental understanding of the essence of museology” (typography preserved from original).<sup>7</sup> The museum as a place of entertainment or education has become one of the many institutions that entertain and educate. Thus the museum has lost its specificity. Opposing the self-destruction of the museum, Duncan F. Cameron acknowledged, and Gluziński picked it up, that the museum should “become itself”.<sup>8</sup> The point was therefore to “museumise” the museum, that is, return to what constitutes its essence.<sup>9</sup>

The museum evolved from collecting, which “would have continued to develop (...) as a noble mania of collecting beautiful, extraordinary and ancient things, if, on the one hand, the society had not demanded access to the collections, and on the other, if scholars had not started to search for materials for themselves in them”.<sup>10</sup> The museum, therefore, as a historical phenomenon, appeared at a specific stage in the development of Western civilisation. The context of time and place is fundamental to understanding both the circumstances of its creation and its present condition. There are, however, some constants that are of a foundational nature – they constitute the archetype of the museum. Gluziński uses the term “pure” museum (1980) here, which is analogous to Cameron’s “real museum” (French: *un vrai musée*).<sup>11</sup> To explain the essence of the “pure” museum, Gluziński postulates the rejection of contemporary frames of reference and a return to the reading of early museologists. He considers Samuel Quiccheberg, the author of the treatise entitled *Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi* from 1565, as a pioneer of museology. To describe the subject of his considerations, the scholar from Antwerp also uses the word *promptuarium*, which – to quote T. Volbehr (1909) – the Polish museologist translates as a “visualizer” (Polish: “uwidacznialnia”).<sup>12</sup> The recognition by Gluziński (after German-speaking authors) of Quiccheberg’s pioneering role does not raise

<sup>5</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, Wojciech. Muzeum – przedmiot muzealny. Podstawowe pojęcia muzeologii. In: D. Cicha (ed.), *Z problematyki badań nad działalnością oświatową muzeów: Materiały wydane z okazji 9-tej konferencji generalnej ICOM* Poznań: Polski Komitet Narodowy ICOM, Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, 1971, p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> KUHN, Alfred. Aufgaben der Museen in der Gegenwart. In: *Museumskunde*, 15, 1922 [probably Gluziński meant the publication from 1920], p. 29, after: GLUZIŃSKI, Muzeum ..., pp. 37–38.

<sup>7</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, Wojciech. O problematyce badań nad działalnością oświatową muzeów. In: D. Cicha (ed.), *Z problematyki badań nad działalnością oświatową muzeów: Materiały wydane z okazji 9-tej konferencji generalnej ICOM* Poznań: Polski Komitet Narodowy ICOM, Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, 1971, p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> CAMERON, David F. Le musée et le monde contemporain. In: *Les Nouvelles de l'ICOM*, 23(2), 1970, p. 3, after: GLUZIŃSKI, Muzeum ..., p. 39.

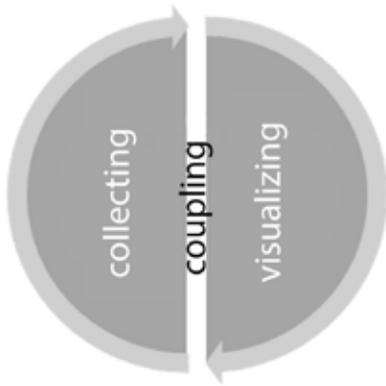
<sup>9</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw* ..., p. 93.

<sup>10</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw* ..., p. 215.

<sup>11</sup> CAMERON, *Le musée* ..., p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw* ..., p. 268.

any doubts in the light of the current findings.<sup>13</sup> What is more important than the issue of priority, however, is that Gluziński focuses his attention mainly on the relationship of “showing things that, as extendable, must occupy a certain space”.<sup>14</sup> By signalling the concepts of other authors, including Claudius Clemens (1635), John D. Major (1674), Daniel W. Moller (1704), and Leonhard Ch. Sturm (1704), and citing a few examples of encyclopaedic entries, Gluziński states that in the approach of early museologists: “the museum can be understood simply as a structured and visualised set of things. Thus things are its essential component, the institutional status and organisational form – only its accidental components”.<sup>15</sup> This collection is not accidental, and the view prepared in a museum differs from the “everyday view” in that it is: intentional, orderly, repetitive and comprehensive.<sup>16</sup> The essence of the museum understood in this way is the link between collecting and visualising the collection (Fig. 1).



**Fig. 1:** The essence of a “pure” museum according to Wojciech Gluziński (1980)

Source: comp. M. Lorenc on the basis of: GLUZIŃSKI, Wojciech (1980). *U podstaw muzeologii* [On the fundamentals of museology]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, pp. 266–292.

This is the definition of a “pure” museum that avoids teleological interpretations. The coupling between the collection and the visualisation, however, requires an answer to the question about “the causative cause of this set”. It is not the creation of “stocks” or the possession of a specific feature by a material object.<sup>17</sup> At the root is the need to know. However, it is not about scientific cognition, but about intuitive cognition, which Gluziński ascribes to the order of the museum (Tab. 1).

The museum – unlike science – gives priority to the rules of the show. Viewing things at an exhibition is accompanied by a specific emotional experience, which differs from the intellectual experience and cannot be reduced only to sensual experiences. According to Gluziński: “Here [in the museum – M. L.] emotional experiences with a sensory-intellectual component accompanying the seeing of things facilitate the spontaneous crystallisation of the experience of humanistic values, and in a feeling that can be compared with enlightenment”.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> MAIRESSE, François, DESVALLÉES, André. Muzeologia. In: A. Desvallées, F. Mairesse (eds), D. Folga-Januszewska (Polish ed.), *Słownik encyklopedyczny muzeologii*, Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2020, p. 306; cf. BRAKENSIEK, Stephan. Samuel Quicchelberg: Gründungsvater oder Einzeltäter? Zur Intention der Inscriptio vel Tituli Theatri amplissimi (1565) und ihrer Rezeption im Sammlungswesen Europas zwischen 1550 und 1820. In: *metaphorik.de*, 14, 2008, pp. 231–252, accessed April 14, 2021, [https://www.metaphorik.de/sites/www.metaphorik.de/files/journal-pdf/14\\_2008\\_brakensiek.pdf](https://www.metaphorik.de/sites/www.metaphorik.de/files/journal-pdf/14_2008_brakensiek.pdf).

<sup>14</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 269.

<sup>15</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 270.

<sup>16</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 285.

<sup>17</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 292.

<sup>18</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 281.

**Tab. 1:** Features of scientific cognition and intuitive cognition characteristic of the order of the museum according to Wojciech Gluziński (1980)

Scientific cognition	Intuitive cognition
discursive, conceptual	visual / sensual
intellectual	emotional
subject to methodological rigors	existential cognition (the existence of things is directly stated) and individual (individuals or sets are discovered)
focused on common and ordinary phenomena	directed towards things that are rare, unusual and peculiar
a conceptual model of reality, represented by the system of scientific knowledge	the visibility of the existence of things and their quality, expressed in an emotional and evaluative relationship
the object of cognition – the cognising subject – the conceptual model of cognition	the object of cognition – the cognising subject – a concrete image of the object, tinged with an emotional and evaluative experience

Source: comp. M. Lorenc on the basis of: GLUZIŃSKI, Wojciech (1980). U podstaw muzeologii [On the fundamentals of museology]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, pp. 277–292.

The coupling of collecting and visualising (making visible) “contains the greatest amount of museum sense, as it is a direct manifestation of structure-creating behaviours”.<sup>19</sup> It is the “museological sense” that constitutes the subject of museology (Fig. 2).

The museum sense – in other words, “being museum-like” – is a feature that does not belong *ex natura*, but results from “the objectification of the idea of museology”.<sup>20</sup> Museology is understood by Gluziński – in the spirit of Georges Henri Rivièrè – as collecting, storing, processing and displaying museum exhibits. “This four-part logical sum, and only this one determines museology. (...) And it is this organic relationship of the four functions that determines the specific character of museology, and determines the specificity of each component function”.<sup>21</sup> The subject of museology is therefore the study of behaviours that make up museology, treated as a whole. Collecting without visualisation is devoid of any museum sense. “We will therefore say that the museum sense is not in the changing elements, but beyond them, in the structure they are composed of, in the relations in which they appear in it with respect to each other. Their sense (...) is the reflected sense of the structure”.<sup>22</sup>

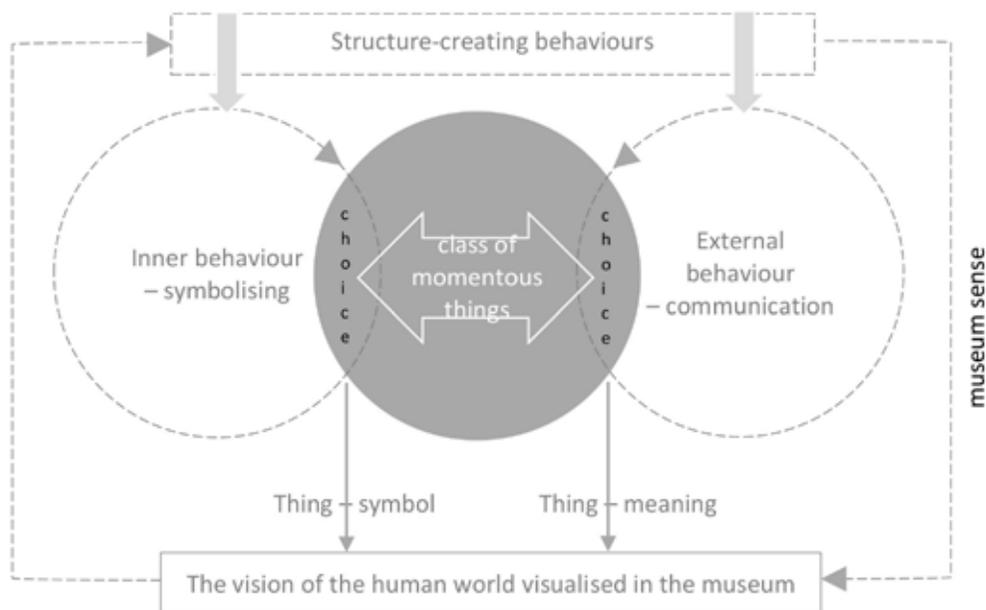
But what does “objectification of the idea of museology” mean? Gluziński replies that it is the result of structure-creating behaviours – external and internal, which condition each other. They result in specific creations. Behaviours vary in meaning. Primary and causative are those that constitute the essence of the “pure” museum. “The collecting function leads

<sup>19</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 376.

<sup>20</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 368.

<sup>21</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, Wojciech. Problemy współczesnego muzealnictwa. In: *Roczniki Etnografii Śląskiej*, 2, 1963, p. 209.

<sup>22</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 369.



**Fig. 2:** *The subject of museology according to Wojciech Gluziński (1980)*

Source: comp. M. Lorenc on the basis of: GLUZINSKI, Wojciech (1980). *U podstaw muzeologii* [On the fundamentals of museology]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, pp. 368–378.

us in a straight line to the symbolisation relation, which is a necessary condition for it, the function of visualising to communicating what is visualised, which is its result”.<sup>23</sup> The external – symbolising – behaviour consists in choosing from the class of momentous objects those that are to symbolise them (thing – symbol). The selection is made on the basis of axiological criteria. The internal – communicative – behaviours choose significant things as signs from the same class of things. While circulating, both types of behaviour form an “active and causative core of museology as a specific structure of behaviour”.<sup>24</sup>

### Gluziński and his contemporary metamuseological “landscape”

According to Gluziński, “the need for museology is an undeniable fact for museums”.<sup>25</sup> However, he does not mean its practical aspects – collecting and displaying exhibits – but an independent academic discipline – museology that studies the behaviours specific to museums. This in turn must meet the criteria of scientificity, that is, have a theory and proper research methods. It is therefore necessary to develop a metamuseology focused on the structure of museological theory and the ways of justifying it.<sup>26</sup> The general museological theory – in line with Gluziński’s concept of metamuseology – should be divided into two parts: (a) the theory of the museum object (the theory of museal collection) and (b) the theory of what is visualised (the theory of museum exhibition). “On the grounding of theory, the typically museological facts appear significantly and there, the selection of the phenomena occurring in the objective domain of museology will be selected. Only some of them, as such facts, will remain in the

<sup>23</sup> GLUZINSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 372.

<sup>24</sup> GLUZINSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 373.

<sup>25</sup> GLUZINSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 179.

<sup>26</sup> GLUZINSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 180.

focus of the interests of the museological discipline”.<sup>27</sup> Assessing according to these criteria, Gluziński states that “today’s museology is not a science, but is only in the initial stage of its development”.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, Gluziński recognises the leading role of museologists from the Eastern bloc countries in their efforts to change the status quo. The Polish museologist explains this as an “important cultural, ideological and educational role” ascribed to museums in socialist countries.<sup>29</sup> Among the museologists engaged in theoretical reflection on the discipline, he mentions: Jiří Neustupný (Prague), Zbyněk Z. Stránský (Brno), the authors of *Theses (Diskussionsbeiträge, 1964)*<sup>30</sup> and Eberhard Czichon (East Berlin) and his associates.<sup>31</sup> According to Gluziński, “these are the only concepts that exist in museology today,” assuming that it is not about every reflection on museology, but about “the self-knowledge of museology, its methodological reflection on itself”.<sup>32</sup> While he considers Neustupný a pioneer in this subject, he gives Stránský the greatest merit in it. This confirms the leading role of the Czechs in museological theorising. Neustupný’s concept, assuming the existence of general and specialised museology, is described by Gluziński as pluralistic and disintegrative.<sup>33</sup> Above all, however, in his opinion, it is burdened with the error of ahistoricism, which the Polish museologist sees in giving priority to individual academic disciplines, and not to museology. Meanwhile, “it was museology that appeared before the creation of these specialised disciplines and contributed, in no small measure, to their consolidation”.<sup>34</sup> Museology, as proposed by Neustupný, cannot become independent, as it plays an auxiliary role in relation to other academic disciplines present in a museum. This makes it only a theory and methodology of museum work.<sup>35</sup>

Opposite to some of the assumptions of the Prague museologist is – according to Gluziński – the concept of the East German authors of *Theses*, which he calls monistic and documentalist.<sup>36</sup> It makes the museum one of the methods of research documentation, next to archives and libraries. Gluziński considers that the basic error of this concept is “the inclusion of the research of testimonies in the tasks of museology”.<sup>37</sup> The problem here is also the inappropriate use of concepts. The authors of *Theses* use the term “methodology” to refer to the methodology of museum work, which includes: inventory, cataloguing, conservation etc. Meanwhile, museology is not working in a museum, just as “soap production is not the practice of chemistry, although it uses chemistry knowledge”.<sup>38</sup> A separate issue is the subject of museum documentation, which for the authors of *Theses* are “material testimonies” (German:

<sup>27</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 451.

<sup>28</sup> BARTKO, Maria, GLUZIŃSKI, Wojciech. Polemika między Autorem a Recenzentką w związku z książką *U podstaw muzeologii*. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 28–29, 1984, p. 181.

<sup>29</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 179, note 2.

<sup>30</sup> Gluziński is referring to the team from the Central Centre of Regional Museums (German: Zentrale Fachstelle für Heimatmuseen), which developed the theoretical assumptions of museology and published them as a contribution to the discussion, in the form of an appendix to the 1964 issue of the journal *Neue Museumskunde*.

<sup>31</sup> Gluziński includes among them B. Hellmuth and J. Winkler – co-authors of *Über den Charakter der Museologie* (1966) in: GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 179.

<sup>32</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 179.

<sup>33</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 195.

<sup>34</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 195.

<sup>35</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 196.

<sup>36</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 201.

<sup>37</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 199.

<sup>38</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 201.

*Originale Sachzeuge*).<sup>39</sup> “Thus, at first, they are just things that appear as testimonies only when they are recognised in this role. A thing is an element of objective reality, a material testimony is a way of recognition of this element”.<sup>40</sup>

There are therefore differences, but also formal similarities between the concepts of Neustupný and the authors of *Theses*. Both approaches are scientific and practical. Similar allegations are formulated by Gluziński with reference to “Czichon’s group”,<sup>41</sup> whose proposals he calls “semantic museology”.<sup>42</sup> According to this concept, the subject of museology is “the semantic structure of museum objects understood as primary sources”.<sup>43</sup> Primary sources are information that is characterised by “the unity of the material carrier, that is the sign and its semantic function, in relation to our consciousness. (...) It is on this semantic relationship between the informational aspect of matter and consciousness that the social role of the museum focuses in its general logical tasks and historical functions”.<sup>44</sup> The museum performs cognitive functions for the purposes of various academic disciplines, thanks to which it occupies a special place between research and education. Moreover, this institution performs social functions subordinated – according to the Marxist interpretation – to the ideology of the ruling class.

The Polish museologist criticises Czechoslovak and East German authors for “inconsistency” and “methodological indiscipline” resulting from their treating museology as practical knowledge serving museum work. Against this background – according to Gluziński – Stránský stands out *in plus*, as contrary to the dominant trends in museology at that time, he opposes the identification of this discipline with the study of museums and its functions. Instead, he suggests looking for the subject of museology in the sphere of the museum’s purpose, and warns against confusing the means with the end. According to Stránský, the museum is a device the sense of which should be considered in two dimensions internal, related to the activity of creating collections, and external, mainly limited to exhibitions, and then to educational activities. Like Neustupný, he distinguishes between general and specialised museology. He is interested in the former, dealing with the history of museology and museography, and above all – documentation, thesaurisation and museum communication. He leaves aside specialist museology and – unlike the Prague museologist – he considers that they are not used to apply other disciplines to the museum, but to construct interdisciplinary issues (e.g. museohistory).

The subject of museology *sensu stricto*, unlike the methodology of museum work (museography), is for the Brno museologist “museum character”. As Gluziński claims, according to Stránský, it is “a certain complex of features which together constitute a specific aspect, a certain side of reality. Thus, it is not an independent phenomenon, but is always associated with specific objects that are its carriers”.<sup>45</sup> Thus, it constitutes a specific quality of the object, and at the same time it results from the intention of the person who makes a choice. Gluziński is critical of this concept and compares it to the erroneous theory of phlogiston: “Something is burning, so there is a mysterious element of flammability called phlogiston –

<sup>39</sup> Kazimierz Malinowski suggests the translation “original material witness”, stating at the same time that “we would say ‘material sources’” in MALINOWSKI, Kazimierz. *Tezy do teorii muzeologii*. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 14, 1967, p. 141.

<sup>40</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw* ..., p. 203.

<sup>41</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw* ..., pp. 213–214.

<sup>42</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw* ..., p. 203.

<sup>43</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw* ..., p. 208.

<sup>44</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw* ..., p. 207.

<sup>45</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw* ..., p. 220.

something is collected by museums, therefore it has some property of museum character”.<sup>46</sup> Meanwhile – in his opinion – the selection of an object for a collection cannot be justified by its having some feature of museum character, but only by referring to its various properties preferred depending on the intention of the subject making the choice.<sup>47</sup> Thus, “museum character” is not a permanent feature, as it is conditioned by circumstances and attributed to an object in a certain relationship. Stránský – according to Gluziński – “introduces [in this way – M. L.] a central theoretical term without a reliable, explicit definition. This term, devoid of any connection with observational terms, remains only a conceptual fiction”.<sup>48</sup> Despite these comments, the Polish museologist appreciates Stránský’s contribution to the development of the discipline and recognises him and Cameron as “ideologically close to him”.<sup>49</sup> This statement seems to be an abuse, however, as the publications of these authors date back to 1965–1972,<sup>50</sup> and thus they are earlier in relation to most of the museological texts by Gluziński (including his books). Therefore, one should speak not so much of “ideological closeness” as of being inspired by their concepts.

### Marginal resonance of Gluziński’s concepts in Poland

Museology, contrary to the etymology of the word, is therefore not the science of the museum. All important museologists of that time represented this position. If not the museum, what is the subject of museology? According to Neustupny, it will be a direct document, for the authors of *Theses* – academic documentation, according to Czichon – a semantic structure of museum objects, while for Stránský – museum character. Gluziński answers this question that the subject of museology is the “museum sense”. Maria Barto, in her review of Gluziński’s book, asks whether this multiplicity of answers proves the development of museology as an academic discipline, or maybe “the impossibility to define the subject of research of the discipline she pursues”.<sup>51</sup> She claims that museology is not a science, but only a “highly specialized meta-philosophical reflection” in which the worldview function dominates the cognitive one.<sup>52</sup> In her opinion, Gluziński combines the methodological dispositions of the key research orientations in the humanities of the time, including structuralism, hermeneutics and empiricism (along with concepts taken from phenomenologists, semiotics and logicians) and follows this scheme:

First it is stated that there is some reality (common sense empiricism) into which we have a detailed empirical insight (here, for example, the physical reality of a museum exhibition). Then it is said about this reality (hermeneutics) that it is a reality that has a specific sense for a human being (here, for example, museum sense); to finally say that the elements of this reality should be examined

<sup>46</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 227.

<sup>47</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 227.

<sup>48</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 231. Introducing fuzzy definitions is still a problem in museology, an example of which is the ICOM proposal for a new definition of “museum” from Kyoto from 2019: LORENC, Magdalena. Polityczność nowej definicji muzeum ICOM, czyli manewrowanie transatlantykami wśród gór lodowych. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 61, 2020, pp. 55–56.

<sup>49</sup> GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, p. 11.

<sup>50</sup> Time periods based on the bibliographic description of the publications by Cameron and Stránský included by Gluziński in the list of literature: GLUZIŃSKI, *U podstaw ...*, pp. 399–400, 403.

<sup>51</sup> BARTKO, Maria. O tzw. scjentyzmie w muzeologii. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 25, 1982, p. 131.

<sup>52</sup> BARTKO, O tzw. scjentyzmie ..., p. 132.

(structuralism) in a paradigmatic or syntigmatic relation as a structure (e.g. by structuring the museum function).<sup>53</sup>

Bartko accuses Gluziński of this “multilingualism”, arguing that the simultaneous use of many methods relativises the cognitive value of the results achieved. The reviewer concludes her argument by stating that the proposal presented in the book *U podstaw muzeologii* “characterizes the initial stage of the development of this knowledge”.<sup>54</sup>

Bartko’s review of Gluziński’s book is important because it is the only one. Moreover, it was published in the pages of the leading Polish museum periodical (*Muzealnictwo*) and gave rise to a polemic with the author. Apart from her, only researchers assessing his achievements in connection with his doctoral dissertation have commented on Gluziński’s metatheoretical research. In the previously unpublished typescript of the “Opinion on the thesis of Wojciech Gluziński, MA, in connection with my application for granting him a doctoral scholarship”, addressed to the authorities of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, issued in Poznań on March 25, 1973, the most famous Polish museologist at the time, Prof. Kazimierz Malinowski states that Gluziński has been interested in the theory of museology since 1960.

His works – albeit few – have already met with great recognition abroad. Doctor Zbyněk Stránský, chief theoretician of the Department of Museology in Brno and editor of the *Museological Journal* [Czech: *Muzeologické sešity – M.L.*] published for a short time, describing the state of research on the problem of the concept of museology, lists Gluziński as the most serious theorist in this regard.<sup>55</sup>

Among the two reviewers of Gluziński’s doctoral dissertation were the historian Prof. Jerzy Topolski and the lawyer, philosopher and ethicist Dr Stanisław Soldenhoff.<sup>56</sup> Topolski states in the unpublished typescript of the “Opinion of Wojciech Gluziński’s doctoral dissertation entitled *Philosophical and methodological foundations of museology*, 614 p. of typescript”, published in Poznań on November 6, 1976, that Gluziński’s efforts to develop the concept of this new academic discipline are largely pioneering. “The author in his work solves this problem in an original way, and – in my opinion – is basically right”.<sup>57</sup> He further refers to the opinion of Leszek Nowak, who, in his book entitled *Zasady marksistowskiej filozofii nauki: Próba systematycznej rekonstrukcji* [Principles of Marxist philosophy of science: An attempt at a systematic reconstruction] of 1974, distinguishes between, inter alia, basic and practical sciences. The aim of the former is to explain why it is so, and so they require a researcher who is a theorist and implement the empirical criterion. In the case of the latter, the researcher, who

<sup>53</sup> BARTKO, O tzw. scjentyzmie ..., pp. 132–133.

<sup>54</sup> BARTKO, O tzw. scjentyzmie ..., p. 133.

<sup>55</sup> MALINOWSKI, Kazimierz. Opinia o pracy naukowej mgr. Wojciecha Gluzińskiego w związku z moim wnioskiem o udzielenie mu stypendium doktoranckiego. [Unpublished typescript, signed by the author and dated March 25, 1973, Poznań]. Archives of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, catalogue number act: IZiK–6/6, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> The documentation of Gluziński’s doctoral dissertation is in the Archives of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń (file reference number: IZiK–6/6). However, the preserved documentation is incomplete, as it lacks Soldenhoff’s opinion (as of March 23, 2021).

<sup>57</sup> TOPOLSKI, Jerzy. Opinia o pracy doktorskiej mgra Wojciecha Gluzińskiego pt. *Filozoficzne i metodologiczne podstawy muzeologii*, s. maszynopisu 614. [unpublished typescript, signed by the author and dated November 6, 1976, Poznań; on the left margin, p. 1 at the bottom, a handwritten note: Entered on November 10, 1976 with illegible initials]. Archives of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, catalogue number act: IZiK–6/6, p. 1.

is a practitioner, focuses on how to achieve certain values – so the criterion is effectiveness. According to Topolski, Gluziński's ambition is to make museology a basic science in the sense that Nowak gave it. “[So he – M.L.] develops his own concept of museology as a theoretical science focused on explanation”.<sup>58</sup> It is supposed to be one theory explaining both a museum collection and what is visualised. Topolski considers this proposal as:

A radical programme of transforming museology as a practical discipline (or quasi discipline) into a basic discipline with an explanatory theoretical basis. [And then he asks – M. L.:] Isn't it too radical a programme? In my opinion, the direction of reconstruction of museology should be twofold. It would be necessary, first, as proposed by the author, to turn museology into a basic science, but secondly, it would be worth working on the theoretical foundations of museology understood as a practical discipline.<sup>59</sup>

Despite the four years that passed from the publication of the “Opinion” on his doctoral dissertation (1976) to its publication in book form (1980), Gluziński did not take into account Nowak's concept cited by the reviewer. It deserves to be emphasised, because it concerned two (Nowak and Topolski) leading representatives of the Poznań School of Methodology, founded on the Marxist paradigm of historical materialism. Gluziński's motives require a separate study in this regard. One clue may be his consistent avoidance of references to Marxism when trying to construct his own museological theory, which means acting against the practice of academic writing in Eastern bloc countries. It is also significant that in the list of literature for *U podstaw muzeologii* there is no publication by Marx or Engels and no title containing the word “Marxism”. This does not mean that Gluziński *en bloc* rejected the implications of Marxism for museology, especially since in his book he refers to, other than Nowak, recognised Marxist methodologists, including – apart from the aforementioned Topolski – Adam Schaff and Jerzy Kmita.

But leaving aside Gluziński's attitude to Marxism, it should be stated that the basic problem boils down to the inability to use the division of sciences according to Nowak in his concept of museology. Acting in line with Topolski's suggestion would mean getting closer to Stránský and Neustupný, who postulate general and specialised museology. Meanwhile, Gluziński is against any disintegration of discipline. It is therefore surprising that Topolski suggested to Gluziński the need for basic and practical museology, and at the same time saw the way he solved the research task, consisting in the rejection of “the multiplicity of museology”, as “basically correct”.<sup>60</sup>

## Conclusion

The subject of museology for Gluziński is the structure of behaviours characteristic only of a museum. To get to know it, one has to reject contemporary frames of reference that distort the essence of the museum. This step allows us to avoid teleological explanations formulated on the basis of functions secondarily imposed on the museum. What constitutes the essence of a (“pure”) museum is the coupling of collecting and visualising the collection. It serves as a

<sup>58</sup> TOPOLSKI, *Opinia* ..., p. 2.

<sup>59</sup> TOPOLSKI, *Opinia* ..., p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> TOPOLSKI, *Opinia* ..., p. 1.

foundation for the museum's autonomy and contributes to the establishment of museology as an independent academic discipline.

Gluziński's theoretical research was in line with the research conducted before 1989 by museologists, mainly from the Eastern bloc countries. His concepts were to be an alternative to the instrumental and scientific understanding of the museum, which, in his opinion, was represented by museologists from Czechoslovakia and the GDR. Contrary to the opinion of Malinowski, quoted in the motto, his oeuvre was forgotten before it could be recognised.

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# Study of foundations in Ukraine from the eleventh to eighteenth centuries and their preservation and conservation methods: Experiences

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*Study of foundations in Ukraine from the eleventh to eighteenth centuries and their preservation and conservation methods: Experiences*

This paper is a report on experience collected during archaeological studies of structures in the territory of Ukraine. It discusses the archaeological study of architectural monuments over the period of the operation of the Ukrrestavratsiia Corporation and presents the observation that most known varieties of masonry systems, featuring different combinations of materials and mortars, were observed in findings dated to the period of the Kyivan Rus, and that the list of foundation schemes present was limited to a few types. It was also found that of the schemes observed, the Old Russian scheme displayed an evolution. The study also highlights the significance of the role of foundation musealisation in the restoration and reconstruction of damaged architectural monuments.

Keywords: archaeological research, architectural monuments, foundations, structural schemes, Kyivan Rus.

## Introduction

Archaeological research is an essential part of restoration work. In Ukraine, many architectural monuments from different periods have survived but not all are in the same condition: some are preserved only fragmentarily, while the only elements of others that still exist are their

foundations. This is especially true of structures from the Old Russian (the so-called Russian-Byzantine) period. Most of them were destroyed during the princely internecine wars and the Tatar-Mongol invasion. These military activities also adversely impacted the structures from the Middle Ages.

In general, among the original materials used to construct the supporting structures dated to between the eleventh and nineteenth centuries and located in Ukraine, we can see different types of timber, varieties of natural stone, brick and metal, with each having distinct advantages and disadvantages. Archaeological research has provided substantiated information about how various historical periods affected the change in the building materials used, so it can form a basis for comprehensive restoration. In this case, the study of materials and the state of existing authentic foundations is the most significant, as the statics of a monument's footing structure play a crucial role in its functioning. In addition, as a rule, whenever a structure is in an alarming condition, its restoration begins with the reinforcing of its foundations.

The literature and other academic sources analysed were grouped by topic, as follows:

- 1) general problems associated with the degradation of historical and cultural heritage, artifact musealisation, problems of cultural heritage;<sup>1</sup>
- 2) technologies for the testing and restoration of stone in architectural monuments;<sup>2</sup>
- 3) archaeological research of the foundations of architectural monuments;<sup>3</sup>
- 4) reproduction of destroyed monuments with the possibility of the museumification of authentic fragments;<sup>4</sup>
- 5) reconstruction of structures based on historical evidence.<sup>5</sup>

The study of base sources allowed us to prove the commonality of the problems of preserving historical artifacts and the problems of the cultural environment's degradation. The

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<sup>1</sup> SPIRIDON, Petronel, and SANDU, Ion. Muselife of the life of public. In: *International Journal of conservation science* 7 (1), 2016, pp. 87–92; PUJIA, Laura. Cultural heritage and territory. Architectural tools for a sustainable conservation of cultural landscape. In: *International Journal of Conservation Science* 7 (S. Iss. 1), 2016, pp. 213–218; KUŚNIERZ-KRUPA, Dominika. Protection issues in selected European historic towns and their contemporary development. In: *E3S Web of Conferences* 45, 2018, pp. 1–8; ORLENKO, Mykola. The system approach as a means of restoration activity effectiveness. In: *Wiadomości Konservatorskie – Journal of Heritage Conservation*, 57, 2019, pp. 96–105.

<sup>2</sup> LUVIDI, Loredana, MECCHI, Anna Maria, FERRETTI, Marco, SIDOTI, Giancarlo. Treatments with self-cleaning products for the maintenance and conservation of stone surfaces. In: *International Journal of Conservation Science* 7 (S. Iss. 1), 2016, pp. 311–322; JASIEŃKO, Jerzy, BEDNARZ, Łukasz, MISZTAL, Witold, RASZCZUK, Krzysztof. Konserwacja konstrukcyjna i wzmacnianie murów historycznych. In: B. Szymgin (ed.), *Trwała ruina II. Problemy utrzymania i adaptacji. Ochrona, konserwacja i adaptacja zabytkowych murów*. ICOMOS, 2010, pp. 57–68, KUŚNIERZ-KRUPA, Dominika. Historical Buildings and the Issue of their Accessibility for the Disabled. In: *IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering*, 603 (5), 2019, pp. 1–6.

<sup>3</sup> PETICHINSKIY, Volodymyr, GOVDENKO, Georgij, and GOVDENKO, Marionila. *Report on the dismantling of the ruins of the Assumption Cathedral – an architectural monument of the XI–XVIII centuries in the Kyiv-Pecherkyi State Historical and Cultural Reserve in 1962–1963*. Kiev, 1964, pp. 10–16; SITKARYOVA, Olga. *Assumption Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra*. Kyiv, 2000.

<sup>4</sup> ORLENKO, Mykola. *St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery: methodological principles and chronology of reproduction*. Kyiv, 2002; ORLENKO, Mykola. *St. Volodymyr's Cathedral in Chersonesos: methodological principles and chronology of reproduction*. Kyiv, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> TREHUBOV, Kostiantyn, DMYTRENKO, Andrii, KUZMENKO, Tetiana, VILDMAN, Igor. Exploration and restoration of parts of Poltava's town fortifications during the Northern War and elements of field fortifications used in the Battle of Poltava in 1709. In: *Wiadomości Konservatorskie - Journal of Heritage Conservation* 61, 2020, pp. 91–100; IVASHKO, Yulia, DMYTRENKO, Andrii, PAPRZYCA, Krystyna, KRUPA, Michal, KOZŁOWSKI, Tomasz. Problems of historical cities heritage preservation: Chernihiv Art Nouveau buildings. In: *International Journal of Conservation Science* 11 (4), 2020, pp. 953–964.

body of experience analysed indicated the possibility of the museumification of authentic foundations in the case where a destroyed or damaged structure is reproduced.

## Materials and methods

As restoration should be seen as observing systemic integrity, the following academic methods were applied: historical analysis (to characterise archaeological remains from different historical periods); comparative analysis (to compare authentic remains of structures from different periods and formulate hypotheses concerning changes in the use of building materials and structures from period to period); the graphical-analytical method (for the graphical analysis of artefacts); and, principally, the method of system-structural analysis, according to which a building – an architectural object – is presented as a systemic integrity with a division into hierarchical levels. The study was based on the data collected during the restoration of Ukrainian monuments, carried out by specialists from the Ukrrestavratsiia Corporation, and on the findings of archaeological research performed on monuments in Poland.

## Results and discussion

The archaeological study of monuments in the territory of Ukraine found that strip, isolated, slab and pile footings were used during different historical periods. The distribution of strip and isolated footings in all periods, except for the beginning of the twentieth century, was found. As special attention is paid to the monuments of the Byzantine period, the authentic materials and structures from the Kyivan Rus period in the churches of Kyiv, Chernihiv, Ovruch, and Galych were examined in detail, as was the distribution of: foundations of the *opus mixtum* type (mixed construction technique, masonry from dimension stone and plinthiform bricks on mortar); rubble stone foundations from uncut stone; cement-rubble foundations; foundations from plinthiform brick, limestone or sandstone; and, in wooden structures (these were the most numerous, but they did not survive), from oak logs.

The structures of buildings dated to ancient Russian times and those of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) were compared and it was observed that foundations of the *opus mixtum* type disappeared after the Tatar-Mongol invasion and the decline of Kyivan Rus, and masonry foundation variation diminished significantly in comparison with in ancient Russian times. In particular, rubble stone foundations from boulders, limestone, sandstone and oak logs became common. However, the types of mortars became more diverse; especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the laying of foundations made of limestone and flat limestone utilised clay mortar with powdered overburnt brick, and lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick (the surface structure). During the period of the predominance of the Baroque style in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the role of bricks became more significant, as did the use of stone in foundations; therefore, along with foundations from limestone, sandstone or oak logs, foundations with burnt bricks or rubble concrete (stone, brick) were laid.

The experience of colleagues from Poltava was explored, especially the case of the Assumption Cathedral on Ivanova Gora, which was destroyed in the 1930s. A. Dmytrenko reported that the authentic eighteenth-century foundations were made of local red bricks bound with lime mortar, and large granite blocks were laid in the corners of the masonry structure.

Thus, archaeological investigation of foundations found that the most pronounced changes in foundation system development took place during the times of Kyivan Rus, while subsequent centuries saw little in the way of experimentation. The appearance of foundations from burnt bricks in the seventeenth century was a notable development. The variety of materials used and structures decreased, and the spread and improvement of the schemes of ancient Russian times (foundations from limestone and sandstone, rubble and cement, and oak logs) were recorded. It was established that oak log foundations were laid under both wooden and stone buildings.

Archaeological studies provided information about both masonry materials and binders and mortars used throughout the various historical periods and in specific masonry types:

1) rubble foundations from between the ninth and twelfth centuries – composed of sandstone, granite, quartzite, limestone bound with lime and lime with powdered overburnt brick mortars;

2) rubble foundations from between the ninth and twelfth centuries – with wooden sill plates on the ground, fastened with stakes or crutches – made of sandstone, granite, quartzite, limestone on clay mortar, lime with powdered brick mortar (for footing), lime and *opus signinum* (for stone) mortars;

3) rubble foundations from between the ninth and twelfth centuries of the *opus mixtum* type – from sandstone, granite, quartzite with courses of plinthiform bricks on the lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick;

4) rubble foundations from the twelfth century – broken plinthiform bricks and crushed stone bound with clay mortar (below grade) and lime mortar with powdered brick (for the surface structure or the entire building) solutions;

5) foundations from the twelfth century made of plinthiform bricks bound with lime and lime with powdered overburnt brick mortars.

As noted above, the main changes in foundations after the Mongolian time primarily concerned the improvement of already existing masonry schemes and changes in the types of mortars. In ancient Russian times, we found lime, lime with powdered brick or *opus signinum* mortars, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, clay (with powdered brick) and lime (with powdered brick) mortars were used. The surface structure was built with the use of lime mortar, while the underground structure employed clay mortar. Such changes in mortar composition were caused by a change in the masonry material in the foundations in comparison with ancient Russian times: whereas sandstone, granite, quartzite, limestone, plinth and plinth with irregular boulders were used for laying foundations during the times of Kyivan Rus, in the Middle Ages limestone, flat limestone and sandstone were used.

Based on an analysis of the structures of ancient Russian foundations, the following conclusions could be drawn about the construction of buildings of the Middle Ages and the early modern period:

1) foundations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were built from limestone and flat limestone with the use of clay (with powdered brick) and lime (with powdered brick) mortars (for surface structures);

2) foundations from between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries were made from sandstone bound with lime mortar;

3) foundations dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (found in defensive structures in Podillia) were made of sandstone and clay mortar (below grade) and lime mortar (the surface structure).

Archaeological studies further testified to the change in the structures of the foundation masonry during the Baroque in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when foundations were built using red overburnt brick and clay, lime and clay-lime mortar.

#### Archaeological study of St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral

In the beginning of the reconstruction of St Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery in forms of the High Ukrainian Baroque, the following structures of St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral complex had survived: the remains of the foundations of St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral and its belltower, the Refectory Church, two buildings with monastic cells, a singing building, the foundations of one part and a fragment of the monastery fence, and cellars.<sup>6</sup>

The foundations of the Old Russian core of St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral were made of large rubble stone bound by *opus signinum* mortar. Upwards splayed foundation ditches were dug for these foundations, the bottom of which were reinforced with wooden sill



**Fig. 1:** Fragment of ancient foundations of St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral.  
Photo: [in:] Collection of the Ukrrestavratsiia Corporation

plates fastened with iron pins and grouted with mortar with powdered overburnt brick. The foundation ditches were filled with rubble stone and grouted with the mortar with powdered overburnt brick, the colour of which was slightly lighter than the colour of the cathedral walls. As a result of archaeological research, it was established that the foundations of the cathedral featured a cross strip system of brick and rubble masonry, and at the intersection of the strips, there isolated column foundations were found (Fig. 1).

The Old Russian foundations from the twelfth century consisted of a layer-by-layer structure, where the lower layer (1.2–1.5 m) was composed of cyclopean masonry consisting of irregularly shaped stone blocks with sizes ranging between 20 and 70 cm without mortar (moreover, the cavities between the stones were filled with local soil); and the intermediate layer (0–0.5 m) consisted of rubble and cement masonry (from crushed plinthiform bricks and

<sup>6</sup> ORLENKO, *St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery...*, p. 160.



**Fig. 2:** *Ancient foundations of St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral.* Photo: [in:] Collection of the Ukrrestavratsiia Corporation

5–20 cm boulders) with lime mortar; while the top layer (0.4–0.8 m) was made up of plinthiform bricks and lime mortar<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 2).

Strip foundations from between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries were made in the form of brick and lime and lime-clay mortar, with stones in column and strip foundations left unbound (Fig. 2).

The remains of the foundation masonry of the cathedral represent a cross-strip system, made of brick and rubble masonry (Fig. 3).

The crossing points of the strips form pillars – the foundations of the columns. The cross-section of the twelfth-century foundations formed a layer-by-layer structure: the upper layer, from 0.4 to 0.8 m thick, consisted of plinthiform brick with lime mortar; the middle layer – up to 0.5 m – was rubble cement masonry and lime mortar, while broken plinthiform bricks and

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem.



**Fig. 3:** *Ruins of old masonry foundations of St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral.* Photo: [in:] Collection of the Ukrrestavratsiia Corporation

irregularly shaped stone blocks ranging in size between 5 to 20 cm were used as infill. The bottom layer, from 1.2 to 1.5 m, consisted of cyclopean masonry with 20 to 70 cm irregularly shaped stone blocks without mortar. As noted above, the gaps between the stones were filled with local soil.

During the observation of the technical condition of the preserved foundations, the strength of brickwork layers – the bricks (plinthiform bricks) and mortar – was determined.

The foundations of the western and northern walls of the western aisle, dated to the Baroque period and made of crushed bricks and stone rubble with powdered brick mortar, have been partially preserved. As a result of excavations in the north aisle, it was found that the foundations of the north wall of the aisle were made of stone rubble and crushed plinthiform bricks with powdered brick mortar.

The archaeological investigation provided evidence on the techniques and materials used in building the foundations of the period of St Michael's Cathedral's extension in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as well as on the chronology of these works. It was found that northern aisle was added first, followed by the southern aisle in 1709, while the western aisle was built later in the eighteenth century. The foundations of the north aisle were found to consist of a red brick outer layer and internal brickwork backfilling with rubble stone (from the partially disassembled outer walls of the central core of the cathedral from 1108, with cavities filled with lime mortar), fragments of plinthiform and ordinary bricks.

Both western aisles were built using bricks of the most common dimensions at that time – 28–30 x 15.5–17 x 5.6–8 cm.

The analysis of the state of the foundations of St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral concerning the strength of the plinthiform bricks (from the Old Russian period), bricks (from the seventeenth and eighteenth century) and masonry mortar showed insufficient adhesion of the mortar to both plinthiform and ordinary brick, due to its absence in some places of the foundation masonry. Masonry damage and cracks were observed. The plinthiform bricks were shattered in some places. The western aisle had partially preserved sections of foundations built using crushed bricks and rubble stone in the western and northern walls. In the northern aisle, foundations under the northern wall were observed to be made of rubble stone and crushed plinthiform bricks from the Old Russian parts of the cathedral. For masonry in both aisles, lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick was used.

An explosion destroyed both of the western aisles. The results of archaeological research proved that the flying buttress system in the southern, northern and western sides of the cathedral was a reinforcement measure used to strengthen the masonry on low-strength soil after the dismantling of the ancient Russian walls of the original church and the construction of new annexes to the cathedral. The depth of the footing within the framework of the plan of the cathedral varied: the depth of the footing of the flying buttresses was found to be 2.5–2.75 m; 1.5–1.6 m for the apses; 2.16 m for the central apse; 2.32 m in the centre of the wall, and 0.6 m in the northern aisle. It was found that the strength of the footings and foundations of St Michael's Cathedral was further reduced because, in the process of archaeological research in 1996–1997, the foundations were left exposed for a year, which resulted in the footings suffering subbase damage.

The foundations of St Michael's belltower (1716–1719) showed signs of damage to the structure's integrity: fragments of the foundations were not connected in some places; the masonry was made of bricks of different quality, mostly with low load-bearing capacity; in some places, it was brittle. In the middle of the foundation, there was a wall with a two-layer structure, where the upper layer was made of brickwork, and the lower of small-sized rubble stone, similar to those in the outer part of the cathedral. The foundations of St Michael's belltower could not be used without additional strengthening and reinforcement.

The design documentation of the reconstruction of the buildings of St Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery was developed by TAM Yu. Losytskyi (Yurii Losytskyi Creative Architectural Studio). One of the most complicated tasks proved to be the construction the foundations of St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral and the bell tower. It was solved by accounting for the results of historical, archaeological and engineering-geological surveys and studies of the state of materials of the existing foundations, as well as the requirements for their museumification, exposition and the possibility of further archaeological research.

## Archaeological studies of the Holy Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra Historico-Cultural Preserve

The Holy Dormition (Assumption) Cathedral was the first building of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery to be built of stone. Founded in 1073, it was erected in 1075–1077, and on 14 August 1089 the cathedral was consecrated. The cathedral consisted of one storey built on a cruciform plan with a single cupola supported by six columns. It had three naves, which on the outside terminated in many-faced apses. The cathedral was a three-nave, six-pillared, single-cupola, cruciform (cross-shaped) church, brightly decorated inside. During the temporary occupation of Kyiv in 1941–1943, on 3 November 1941, the Dormition Cathedral was blown up. The activity of the Kyiv-Pechersk Preservation was renewed after the end of the Second World War. The works were organised to dismantle the rubble from the destroyed buildings on the grounds of the Upper Lavra. In 1945, an architectural workshop headed by Methodius Dyomin performed measurements to budget the restoration. In the first post-war years, restorers developed methods for rebuilding the destroyed cathedral.

The cathedral ruins were dismantled. In September 1946, under the leadership of Professor L. Leontovych, calculations of the volume of the rubble of the Dormition Cathedral that had remained after the dismantling of the ruins of the cathedral in 1945 were performed. In 1945, the staff of the Kyiv-Pechersk Preserve undertook an architectural and archaeological investigation of the cathedral. At the same time, a design proposal for the restoration of the Chapel of St John the Theologian and the altar part of the southern nave was submitted; in the autumn of 1946, the corresponding project was developed and approved. From 1946 to 1948, the Chapel of St John the Theologian, the southern part of the eleventh-century cathedral and the annex, in which the sacristy was located, were cleared from the rubble. In the years 1946–1949, corresponding reports and academic publications about the history of the Dormition Cathedral were made. In 1947–1948, most of the rubble was removed. The next stage of architectural and archaeological research under M. Kholostenko's leadership began in 1951 and June–October 1952.<sup>8</sup>

In 1954, the ruins were partially dismantled in the direction from west to east. In the post-war years, scientific research of the building materials and structures of the Dormition Cathedral continued, based on field surveys, photographic recordings and laboratory studies of samples. This allowed the classification of the samples of plinthiform brick, plaster and mortars. In 1955, the results of studies performed in previous years were published.

Starting in July 1962 and lasting for the major part of the year, the last period of dismantling the rubble of the Dormition Cathedral took place and made it possible to determine the state of preservation of the structures of the cathedral, to identify the emergency areas, collect samples of building materials, and continue the measurement and research work. Two versions of the design documentation of the conservation of the ruins of the Dormition Cathedral were developed in 1963. Basing on them, “the proposals for the conservation of the object were drawn up and were implemented in 1965–1967”.<sup>9</sup>

As O. Sitkarova noted, in 1962–1964, “there was a transition from purely conservation work to solving the complex task of restoring the cathedral”.<sup>10</sup> In ancient times, no survey of the

<sup>8</sup> ORLENKO, *Mykola*. *Assumption Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra: methodological principles and chronology of reproduction*. Kyiv, 2015, p. 832.

<sup>9</sup> PETICHINSKIY, Volodymyr, GOVDENKO, Georgij, and GOVDENKO, Marionila. *Report on the dismantling...*, pp. 10–16.

<sup>10</sup> SITKARYOVA, *Assumption Cathedral...*, p. 232.

cathedral was carried out, and the first mention of an engineering survey dated back to 1787. Complex soil conditions at the construction site led to subsidence, and then to the appearance of cracks in the structural elements of the church, which raised the question of the need for repair. “The Dormition Cathedral...” was studied by provincial architect Prezant and architect Buzzi. According to these experts, the deformations in the church led mainly to an uneven precipitation of the additions to the cathedral at different times, due to the dampening of the foundations, which did not have a reliable sealed area. The architects suggested “to close up [...] the cracks with iron, brick or stone wedges [...] with lime and alabaster”, as well as “to dig a ditch around the church with a depth of three arshins, and a width of three [...] see if there are any holes there, fill them and to pack a sub-grade, and fill all this dug-in place with clay with a slope satisfied from the wall and then pave the still strong stone pavement”.<sup>11</sup> It is not known whether the recommendations for the construction of a “clay castle” and a stone-blind area along the entire perimeter of the structure were fully implemented. It is only documented that the paving of flaky natural stone, which had fallen into disrepair by 1783, was redone in 1789.

Unlike St Michael’s Golden-Domed Cathedral, here attention had already been focused on the ruins of the Dormition Cathedral since 1945. The clearing of the debris that had been left of the destroyed parts of the church began immediately after the end of the Second World War and lasted well into 1963. The dismantling of the rubble was accompanied by measurements, detailed photographic surveys, archaeological excavations and a field survey of the monument. In addition, the need to restore the Dormition Cathedral was voiced for the first time already in 1945.

The existing utility facilities, namely the sewerage and stormwater drainage systems, the heating grid and other auxiliary grids, were in a dilapidated state, which negatively affected the general engineering and technical state of the area, and led to a deterioration in the groundwater regime and to deformations of the structures of buildings located near the cathedral.

Since the main reason for the increased soil water content was water leakage from aquifers, it was necessary to choose the safest means of laying utility grids.

Loess soils with a depth of 8–12 m under the foundations of the Dormition Cathedral created a threat of uneven deformations when wet, which is why it was necessary to create an almost nondeformable foundation for the cathedral.<sup>12</sup>

Previous studies of the ruins of the Dormition Cathedral established the following:

- there were no foundations at the epicentre of the explosion – within a radius of up to 8–10 m from the epicentre of the explosion, the foundations were partially preserved;
- the foundations of the central part were all but completely destroyed;
- the foundations from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were preserved and only needed reinforcement.

Within the structure, there was a significant discrepancy both in footing level and the materials from which the foundations were made due to the different construction times of various parts of the cathedral. For the footings, blocks of sandstone, plinthiform bricks, white limestone mortar with an admixture of crushed ceramics, grey lime-sand mortar, pale pink lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick and lime-sand mortar with the addition of white brick of the eighteenth century, were used.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>12</sup> ORLENKO, *Assumption Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra...*, p. 832.

The foundations of the northern apse expanded inward, and their lower part was composed of large dry stones. The dimensions of the stones from which the foundations were made in the north-western part of the cathedral increased along with footing level. As mentioned earlier, according to the studies carried out, the following, higher-precision periodisation of the construction of the cathedral was adopted: first period (1073–1109), second period (between 1109 and the second half of the twelfth century), third period (between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries), fourth period (between the sixteenth century and the 1630s), fifth period (1638–1677), sixth period (between the 1690s and 1718), seventh period (1718–1780)<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 4).

Within each period, several stages were identified and the nature and characteristics of each of them were formulated. In the first period of construction, three stages were distinguished: 1073–1087, 1088–1089 and between the 1090s and 1109. In the first stage, the masonry of the original massing of the cathedral was made of plinthiform brick, using the *opus mixtum* tech-



**Fig. 4:** *The Dormition Cathedral. Excavation site no. 20 b. Pit in the north-western corner of the southern vestibule to determine the footing level.* Photo: [in:] Collection of the Ukrrestavrtsiia Corporation.

nique and with a recessed course, using stones of significant size (Fig. 5). At certain levels, the masonry of the Dormition Cathedral was dissected by peculiar reinforcing strips in the form of flat slabs of dark red Ovruch slate. For the surface structure of the cathedral and the back-filling of the foundations, a light pink lime mortar with powdered, high-density, high-strength overburnt brick was used.

In the original masonry of the Old Russian section of the Dormition Cathedral, lime mortars with powdered overburnt brick were used. The technology behind these mortars devel-

<sup>13</sup> SITKARYOVA, *Assumption Cathedral...*, p. 232.



**Fig. 5:** *Fragment of ancient foundations of the Dormition Cathedral.* Photo: [in:] Collection of the Ukrrestavratsiia Corporation

oped under the influence of Greek and Byzantine technologies, when powdered ceramics, the so-called *opus signinum*, was added to lime binder in the form of aggregate. Construction technology using the lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick existed for almost three hundred years, from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, in Kyivan Rus.

During a 1998 investigation, the results of the 1972–1986 study were analysed, systematised and supplemented. In particular, it was noted that the construction in 1986–1987 around the spot of the cathedral up to the height of a decorative structure covered with sand and an asphalt podium, for basing heavy mechanisms during the restoration of the cathedral, led to a deterioration in the conditions and state of preservation of the remains of the Dormition Cathedral as a pool of water formed around them, as stormwater got inside the ruins and accumulated under layers of decorative masonry, asphalt and concrete floors. As there was no drainage system in place, the moisture content of the soil and masonry under the surface was 25%, that is, the structures were saturated with moisture.<sup>14</sup> Long-term freezing and thawing cycles turned the surface layer of the ancient structure to the freezing depth into a loose conglomerate. The site on which the Dormition Cathedral is located was conditionally divided into three zones: a zone of destruction within the epicentre of the explosion, a zone of significant damage with the remains of ancient walls, and a zone of partial damage with the Chapel of St John the Theologian, which survived the explosion.

The complexity of the tasks was that a significant part of the ruins turned out to be split into separate elements and deformed, and according to restoration requirements, all the remains of ancient structures had to be preserved and the possibility of their further study had to be provided. In addition, the Chapel of St John the Theologian was in an alarming, pre-failure state. The studies of the state of the foundations, carried out earlier by the Scientific Research Institute of Building Structures, using the electric wave method, found defects of the masonry in the body of some foundations. Foundations under the northern wall from the eleventh century showed signs of significant damage.<sup>15</sup> Cracks, displacements and missing fragments were recorded in the strip foundations between the north wall and the northwest dome column. Cracks and missing fragments in the masonry were also recorded in the foundations of the southern wall. The foundations in the north-western corner of the sacristy were in relatively good condition.

The difficulty was also in the fact that the depth of the foundations in different parts of the cathedral differed. For example, the bottom of the foundation of the southern wall, which consisted of large blocks of sandstone bound with lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick of a pale pink colour, was located at a depth of 2.5 m. The bottom of the foundations of the north-western part of the cathedral, which consisted of horizontal courses of large sandstone blocks bound by lime-sand mortar with the inclusion of white bricks, was located at a depth of 2.75 m from the level of the slabs of conservation floors. The bottom of the foundation of the northern apse, which consisted of stone and plinthiform bricks on white lime mortar with an admixture of powdered ceramics, was located at a depth of 3.6 m from the asphalt level. The footing level of the buttress at the place where the southern apse adjoins the central one was at a depth of 3.30 m from the asphalt level, and the foundation itself consisted of large stones with plinthiform bricks on the grey lime-sand mortar.

<sup>14</sup> ORLENKO, Mykola. *Assumption Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra...*, p. 832.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*.

It was noted that the plinthiform brick and masonry mortars of the eleventh century are among the most durable in the monuments of Kyivan Rus of the pre-Mongol period; therefore, the re-preservation of the remains of the cathedral's masonry from the upper layer should be done urgently to use the summer period to dry the entire section of the cathedral. It was proposed to extract the masonry block of the pylon from the eleventh century from the cathedral site, so as to conserve and preserve it as a kind of memory of the destroyed unique structure.<sup>16</sup>

## Conclusions

The experience of the Ukrrestavratsiia Corporation in reconstructing destroyed monuments of architecture testifies to the expediency and fundamental possibility of preserving valuable remains (foundations, fragments of walls, ceilings and vaults, decorative elements etc.), as well as of reproducing outstanding architectural monuments using modern restoration and reconstruction technologies.<sup>17</sup>

Stone walls were: of the *opus mixtum* type and from rubble masonry made of sandstone, granite, quartzite, plinthiform brick bound with the lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick (between the tenth and eleventh centuries); with masonry from plinthiform brick in courses bound with lime mortar (between the tenth and eleventh centuries); with rubble masonry of sandstone bound with lime mortar (between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries), with rubble ashlar masonry (limestone, sandstone, tuff) from two layers of the front shell with backfilling bound with lime, lime with charcoal and lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick (the eleventh century); with regular-coursed rubble stone masonry of red bricks bound with lime and lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick (between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries); and with regular-coursed rubble stone masonry of yellow brick bound with lime and lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick (between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries).

Over the past decades, restoration work has been carried out on St Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery, the Holy Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra (Fig. 6), the Pyrohoshcha Dormition of the Mother of God Church in Podil, the monument to Princess Olga and Saints Cyril and Methodius, and St Vladimir's Cathedral in Chersonesos, which are of great importance as symbols of Ukrainian statehood as examples of the architecture of their respective periods. Of many unique monuments, only their foundations remained (the Church of the Tithes, the Pyrohoshcha Dormition of the Mother of God Church in Podil, St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral with a bell tower); in some, in addition to the foundations, walls and individual fragments remained (St Vladimir's Cathedral in Chersonesos, the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra). In this case, the main restoration task was the maximum preservation of artifacts – foundations, walls, aisles and chapels. In the process of reproduction, the task was to provide access to the historical foundations for further research and observation by visitors (St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral) wherever possible.

The comparative analysis of the archaeological remains of the foundations of two unique structures from the Old Russian period – St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral and the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra – made it possible to determine the types of foundation masonry and building materials used, and to emphasize that at that time there

<sup>16</sup> ORLENKO, *Assumption Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra...*, p. 832.

<sup>17</sup> ORLENKO, *St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery...*, p. 160; ORLENKO, *St. Volodymyr's Cathedral in Chersonesos...*, p. 320; ORLENKO, *Assumption Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra...*, p. 832.



**Fig. 6:** Reconstruction of old masonry techniques on the apses of the Dormition Cathedral. Photo by D. Kuśnierz-Krupa, 2019

was a large number of combinations of building materials and solutions for the laying of foundations, which is noticeable even using the example of the two principal temples:

In St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral (Fig. 7):

1) in the Old Russian period – foundations were made from large rubble stone bound with lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick, in the foundation ditches, additionally reinforced with wooden beds and iron pins; in some foundations of the twelfth century – a layer-by-layer structure with a lower layer of the cyclopean masonry made of irregularly shaped stones without mortar, with soil-filled cavities, a middle layer of rubble cement masonry from crushed plinthiform brick and boulders bound with lime mortar, and an upper layer of plinths using lime mortar was used; in some foundations from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries – foundations were constructed using plinthiform brick bound with lime and lime-clay mortar, without binding the stones in isolated and strip footings; from broken bricks and rubble stone bound with the lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick;

2) in the Baroque period of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries – foundations were made of red bricks and internal brickwork of rubble stone (from the partially disassembled external walls of the central core of the cathedral in 1108, with cavities filled with lime mortar), fragments of plinthiform bricks and bricks, as well as brickwork masonry measuring 28–30 x 15.5–17 x 5.6–8 cm.

In the Dormition Cathedral (Figs 8, 9):

1) in the Old Russian period – masonry from plinthiform brick, using the *opus mixtum* technique and with a recessed course with the use of a significant number of boulders, bound

with lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick with the addition of a filler to the lime binder – powdered ceramics (*opus signinum*) was used; in some foundations dated to the eleventh century – the masonry consisted of large blocks of sandstone bound with lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick, from rubble masonry bound with the lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick, from stone and plinthiform brick bound with lime mortar with powdered ceramics; some foundations from the eleventh and twelfth centuries consisted of stone and fragments of plinthiform bricks bound with lime mortar with powdered overburnt brick, from plinthiform brick and stone of various sizes bound with lime-sand mortar, from cut and uncut stone blocks; in some foundations of the thirteenth century – uncut stone bound with lime-sand mortar was utilised.

2) in the Baroque period of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century – foundations consisted of large sandstone blocks bound with lime-sand mortar with the addition of white brick from the eighteenth century.

One crucial problem is that the churches of the Old Russian period were repeatedly destroyed and rebuilt over the centuries; therefore, they had layers from different times from the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The same applies to structures from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which were reconstructed on a massive scale in the synodal period of the nineteenth century. Therefore, when reproducing damaged or destroyed buildings, the concept of reconstructing the external and internal appearance was adopted, taking into account all periods of a monument's existence, as it had appeared in the years of its maximum prosperity.



**Fig. 7:** Ruins of old foundation masonry of *St Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral*. Photo: [in:] Collection of the Ukrrestavratsiia Corporation



**Fig. 8:** *The Dormition Cathedral. Excavation site no. 18 a. East corner of the opening in the basement of the south wall of the narthex.* Photo: [in:] Collection of the Ukrrestavratsiia Corporation



**Fig. 9:** *The Dormition Cathedral. Ruins of old masonry.* Photo: [in:] Collection of the Ukrrestavratsiia Corporation

In this context, it must be noted that historical relics from the times of Halych Ruthenia have also been preserved in Poland. One excellent archaeological specimen of a building from the times of Prince Daniel Romanovich, also known as Daniel of Galicia, is located in Chelm. It is known that at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the duke of Halych-Volodymyr Daniel Romanovych founded a fortified town in what is present-day Chelm.<sup>18</sup> This location was dictated by the fact that these areas, located in the western part of the principality, were the least endangered by the Tatars. The stronghold was erected on a mountain surrounded by forests (now called Cathedral Hill). Here, also in the thirteenth century, a church was built, at whose site the present-day church of the Holy Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary was built in the eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

Archaeological research has been carried out over several years to determine the exact location and shape of the thirteenth-century church and the burial place of Daniel Romanovych.<sup>20</sup> It is known for certain that the church founded by Romanovych was smaller than the current one and that it was one of many buildings included in the castle complex from the times of

<sup>18</sup> BUKO, Andrzej, (ed). Średniowieczny zespół rezydencjonalny na Górze Katedralnej w Chelmie, Warszawa, 2019.

<sup>19</sup> KRASNY, Piotr. Katedra unicka w Chelmie: O problemach badań nad architekturą sakralną kościoła greckokatolickiego w XVIII wieku. In: J.K. Ostrowski eds. Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich: materiały sesji naukowej 3, 1998, Kraków, p. 205-219; BUKO, Andrzej. Źródła pisane i archeologia: przykład Góry Katedralnej w Chelmie, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* CXXIII (2), 2016, p. 221–246.

<sup>20</sup> DĄBROWSKI, Dariusz. *Rodowód Romanowiczów, książąt halicko – wołyńskich*, Poznań – Wrocław, 2002.

Halych Ruthenia. Research on its alleged shape was carried out in 2013–2014<sup>21</sup> and is still ongoing as of the writing of this paper.

The archaeological research at Cathedral Hill in Chełm into the buildings related to the heritage of Halych Ruthenia will be continued as the hill still hides many secrets.

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# The role of the Protestant legacy in shaping Lower Silesian cultural heritage as exemplified by the refuge church in Borek Strzeliński (Großburg)

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## *The role of the Protestant legacy in shaping Lower Silesian cultural heritage as exemplified by the refuge church in Borek Strzeliński (Großburg)*

Protestant refuge churches were built in Silesian Protestant principalities, and in the borderline areas of Saxony, Brandenburg and Poland before the end of Thirty Years' War and the signing of the Peace of Westphalia. In the most part, the churches were erected by means of adapting Catholic churches to the needs of Protestant believers, e.g. by building *emporas* (choir galleries), a pulpit and an altar inside the church. The acquisition of churches in Silesia was peaceful, without any violence almost everywhere, and it was not a rare phenomenon that a single church was used by two religions at the same time. At the end of the eighteenth century, there were approximately 110 refugee churches in Silesia. Currently, there are no churches of this type in Lower Silesia, and their extraordinary decoration was preserved in only a few of them. The main aim is to analyse this specific, forgotten sacral Protestant heritage, i.e. refuge churches in Lower Silesia, from the historical, sociological and architectural perspective. The main objective is to focus on the historical importance of the refuge churches in Lower Silesia – restoring identity as exemplified by the church in Großburg (Polish: Borek Strzeliński), analyse the degree to which the Protestant cultural legacy was preserved in the material rural architecture of Großburg and analyse the acceptance of the Evangelical heritage in the mentality of the local community.

Keywords: Lower Silesia, Borek Strzeliński (German: Großburg), refuge church, sacred landscape, Protestantism

## I. Introduction

This article, as indicated in the title, analyses the role of the Evangelical heritage in shaping the identity of Lower Silesia. In particular, it is based on Borek Strzeliński (German: Großburg), which excellently representats a situation typical of the whole area. Although one of the first regions where Protestantism developed, Lower Silesia, despite its complicated and often turbulent role in the history of Europe, is now somewhat off the beaten track.<sup>1</sup> It is worth emphasising here the uniqueness of the church itself. Its story, as if through a lens, focuses the history of Protestantism throughout Central and Eastern Europe where it was not a passive witness to religious changes but a significant participant with great consequences. Its uniqueness, based on the *cuius regio* principle on the one hand, and the aspirations of the local community with a strongly embedded religious identity on the other, resulted from its location. The choice of the area, and more specifically the research subject, is not random. The Borek church was an important place for the development and implementation of the new ideas coming from Wittenberg which, a point worth emphasising, were adopted here voluntarily. This usually influences the viability of new ideas and indeed did so in this instance.

It is worth asking why this church should be worth a more thorough analysis. The temple in Borek, like many other “refuge” churches which were, according to the Treaty of Altranstädt, places of refuge for those who professed Protestantism in this part of Europe, is today something more. It is a kind of cultural legacy, despite all the changes through its complicated history, a silent witness to the rich but ambiguous history that remains in a landscape filled for three centuries with a German cultural heritage.<sup>2</sup> This culture, which after the shock of World War II was at first rejected by those who had newly arrived, then distrustfully observed and adapted, has finally been in part accepted as part of the region’s heritage.<sup>3</sup> This heritage cannot be denied as it is still alive and undergoing constant transformation under the influence of contemporary residents (who are imposing their own history too but with an awareness of previous events) thanks to whom the region is still alive despite, or perhaps also because of, the heritage visible in the landscape.

## II. Refuge churches’ history in the Lower Silesian Province

The material heritage is exemplified by the Evangelical refuge churches that have been a part of the unique cultural heritage of Lower Silesia (Poland), although for many years they have been considered “post-German”, and thus neglected or intentionally destroyed. The migrant population, poorly educated and driven by hatred towards anything “German” after the experience of war, were not interested in saving this heritage. As a result, many precious monuments have been destroyed or, as can be seen, are concealed by other uses; but now, with the engagement of academics and the managers of those assets, they are being discovered anew.

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<sup>1</sup> See: PARUSHEV, Parush – PILLI, Toivo. Protestantism in Eastern Europe to the Present Day. In: Alister E. McGrath, Darren C. Marks (eds), *The Blackwell Companion to Protestantism*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004, pp. 155–160; and RYRIE, A. *Protestants: The Faith That Made the Modern World*. Viking, 2017. ISBN 1405157461 9781405157469.

<sup>2</sup> See: HARRISON E. D. R. Lower Silesia from Nazi Germany to Communist Poland, 1942–49, *German History*, Volume 15, Issue 1, January 1997, p. 170–171. ISSN 0266-3554.

<sup>3</sup> See: BJORK, James – GERWATH, Robert. The Annaberg as a German–Polish Lieu de Mémoire, *German History*, Volume 25, Issue 3, July 2007, pp. 372–400. ISSN 0266-3554; and KARCH, Brendan. Germans to Poles: Communism, Nationalism, and Ethnic Cleansing after the Second World War, *German History*, Volume 32, Issue 2, June 2014, pp. 334–336. ISBN: 1107671485.

There is a visible trend in social behaviour, including in its attitude towards “post-German” cultural heritage.

Evangelical refuge churches were designated in the Silesian Protestant principalities in the border areas of Saxony, Brandenburg and Poland before the end of the Thirty Years’ War and the signing of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.<sup>4</sup> For the most part, these churches were established by adapting Catholic churches to the needs of Protestant believers, e.g. by building choir galleries, a pulpit and an altar. Such a takeover of churches in Silesia was peaceful almost everywhere without any violence, and it was not a rare phenomenon that a single church was used by two branches of Christianity at the same time.

Silesia was one of the first regions in Europe to be reached by ideas of reforming the Catholic Church, as formulated by Martin Luther. As early as 1518, i.e. a few months after Luther’s speech in Wittenberg, in Nowy Kościół (Neukirch) near Złotoryja (Goldberg), a sermon with Reformation-related content was preached by Melchior Hoffmann.<sup>5</sup> From 1526, in Silesia, then part of the Austrian Empire, a new Roman Catholic order was accepted by all principalities (the duchies of Legnica (Liegnitz), Brzeg (Brieg), Oleśnica (Oels), Bierutów (Bernstadt in Schlesien), Ziębice (Münsterberg), Cieszyn (Teschen) and Krnov (Fürstentum Jägerndorf)) i.e. those governed by rulers subject to the empire. In the remaining so-called imperial principalities (the duchies of Świdnica (Schweidnitz), Jawor (Jauer), Głogów (Glogau), Żagań (Sagan), Opole (Oppeln), and Racibórz (Ratibor)), the Evangelicals formed a majority even to 1635, and were able to remain so because of the arrangements of the Peace of Westphalia.<sup>6</sup>

An important phase in the history of Lower Silesia was the Thirty Years’ War (1618–48) which brought about the destruction of Silesia and Lusatia. The majority of churches of both branches of Christianity were looted and demolished. In 1629, emperor Ferdinand II issued a restitution edict ordering the return of Catholic property taken over by Protestants who, because of the entry of the Swedish army led by Gustavus Adolphus into Silesia, had noticeably reanimated Protestantism. However, after the defeat of the Swedes in Lützen in 1632 where Gustavus Adolphus was killed, the commander of the army of the Austrian Empire, Albrecht von Wallenstein, started a brutal campaign to return the region to Catholicism. Under the Peace of Prague of 1635, the restitution of property was postponed for nearly 40 years, although in all “imperial” principalities Protestants could choose between converting to Catholicism or

4 See: GRUNDMANN, Gunter. *Der Evangelische Kirchenbau in Schlesien*. Verlag Wolfgang Weidlich, Frankfurt am Main, 1970; and BANAŚ, Paweł. *Studia nad śląską architekturą protestancką II połowy XVII wieku* (Studies on Silesian Protestant architecture of the second half of the 17th century). *Roczniki sztuki Śląskiej*. Muzeum Narodowe we Breslauiu, Breslau, 7, 1971, pp. 46–51. ISSN 0557-2231; and HARASIMOWICZ, Jan. *Die Altranstädter Konvention und die Kunstlandschaft Schlesiens*. In: Jürgen Wolf (ed.), *1707–2007 Altranstädter Konvention: Ein Meilenstein religiöser Toleranz in Europa*, Halle (Saale): Sächsisches Staatsarchiv in Kommission bei mdv Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2008 (Veröffentlichungen des Sächsischen Staatsarchivs, Reihe A: Archivverzeichnisse, Editionen und Fachbeiträge, Bd. 10), pp. 133–157. ISBN 978-3-89812-587-1.

5 See: SZCZEPANKIEWICZ-BATTEK, Joanna. *Auf den Spuren der Bomischen und Mabriscben bruder in Polen*. Konsystorz Kościoła Ewangelicko-Reformowanego w RP, Warszawa, 2015a.

6 See: GOLIŃSKI, Mateusz, HARC Lucyna., MAROŃ Jerzy., WISZEWSKI Przemysław. *Dolny Śląsk w latach 1526–1805* (Lower Silesia in the years 1526–1805). In: W. Wrzesiński (ed.), *Dolny Śląsk – monografia historyczna*. Wyd. Uniwersytetu Breslaskiego, Breslau, 2006, pp. 261–296. ISBN: 83229-2763-0; and SZCZEPANKIEWICZ-BATTEK, Joanna. *Kościoly graniczne i ucieczkowe w krajobrazie kulturowym pogranicza śląsko-lużyckiego i ziemi legnickiej* (Border and refuge churches in the cultural landscape of the Silesian-Lusatian borderland and the Legnica region). *Studia z Geografii Politycznej i Historycznej*, vol.4, 2015b, pp. 291–311. ISSN 2450-0127; and CZAPLIŃSKI, Marek. *Dzieje Śląska od 1806 do 1945 r.* In: Czaplinski M. (ed.), *Historia Śląska*. Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 3008, Wrocław, 2007, pp. 278–467. ISBN: 978-83-229-2872-1.

leaving those territories within three years. Autonomy in religious matters was granted only to Wrocław (Breslau) and to the princes of Legnica (Liegnitz), Brzeg (Brieg) and Olawa (Ohlau) who were Protestant. The Peace of Westphalia<sup>7</sup> of 1648 supported the already-existing principle *cuius regio, eius religio*<sup>8</sup> and, in effect, the Habsburg authorities in Silesia started to forcefully implement the rules of the counter-reformation under paragraphs 38–41 of article five.<sup>9</sup> In the period 1648–54, the Evangelicals in Silesia lost 656 churches, 500 pastors ceased their work and the seized property included not only those churches that had been taken over at the time of the Reformation, but also those constructed by Protestants themselves.<sup>10</sup> Under the Peace of Westphalia, the Habsburgs agreed to build three new Protestant churches in Lower Silesia, in the “imperial” principalities, known as the “Churches of Peace”: Głogów-Glogau (1652), Jawor-Jauer (1654–55) and Świdnica-Schweidnitz (1656–57). An important episode in the history of the Protestant churches in Lower Silesia concerned the provisions of the Altranstädt convention in 1707 between King Charles XII of Sweden and Emperor Joseph I Habsburg. Once again, the Austrian Emperor agreed both to build six Protestant churches, the so-called “Churches of Grace” in Freystadt (Kozuchów), Sagan (Żagań), Militsch (Milicz), Hirschberg im Riesengebirge (Jelenia Góra), Landdeshut (Kamienna Góra) and Teschen (Cieszyn), and to the construction of border churches. It was a time of further adaptation of Catholic churches as refuge churches, for the needs of their own activities such as baptisms, weddings and funerals. After Silesia (with the exception of Cieszyn Silesia) was taken over by Prussia in 1740, thanks to the decision of the Prussian king Frederick II, there were equal rights for Catholics and Protestants in Silesia.<sup>11</sup> The year 1740 marks the end of the function of refuge churches in Silesia; however, as Protestant churches, they survived until 1945. After World War II, the churches that found themselves in Poland were taken over by Catholics who refurbished them, in most cases in ways unrelated to their past. In the contemporary geography of the Protestant refuge churches of Lower Silesia in western Poland, two large clusters can be distinguished: the area along the Kwisia river valley (the former border between Prussia and Habsburg Silesia) and the area west of the city of Legnica (along the western border of the former Duchy of Legnica). A unique building with an unusual location in the central part of

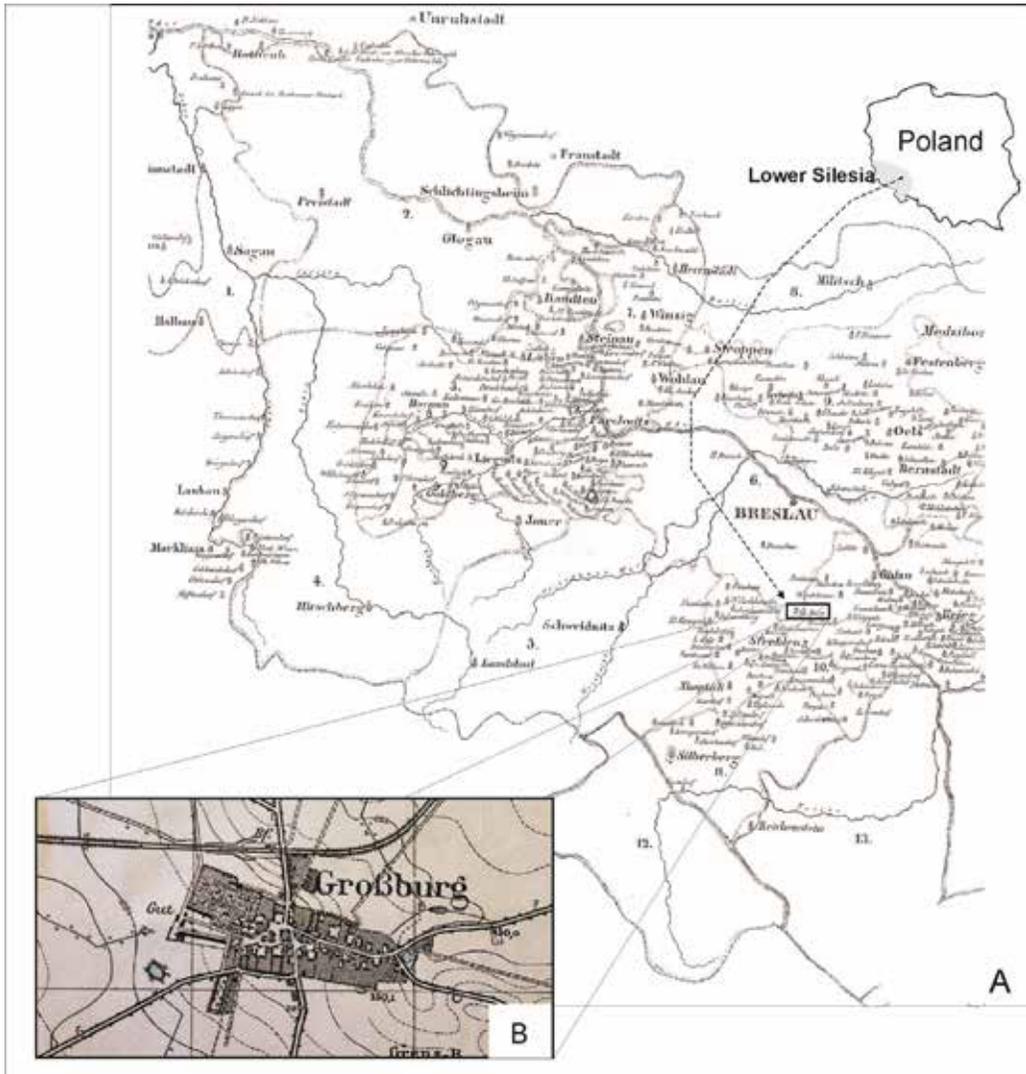
<sup>7</sup> The Peace of Westphalia is the collective name for two peace treaties signed in October 1648 in the Westphalian cities of Osnabrück and Münster. This marked the end of the Thirty Years’ War and brought peace to the Holy Roman Empire, closing a calamitous period of European history that resulted in the death of approximately eight million people. Three treaties were signed to end each of the overlapping wars: the Peace of Münster, the Treaty of Münster, and the Treaty of Osnabrück. These treaties ended the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648) in the Holy Roman Empire, with the Habsburgs (rulers of Austria and Spain) and their Catholic allies on one side, fighting the Protestant powers (Sweden, Denmark and certain Holy Roman principalities) allied with France which was Catholic but strongly anti-Habsburg under King Louis XIV.

<sup>8</sup> *Cuius regio eius religio* is a legal principle that regulates religious relations in a given territory, granting its ruler the right to determine its religion and ecclesiastical system. The principle was formulated by the Protestant lawyer J. Stephani, and was practiced in pre-Christian times, in antiquity and in the Middle Ages; later its intolerant character was revealed, especially in the Reformation era, when the Reich Szym in Augsburg (1555) legally allowed for the expulsion of those who refused to accept the ruler’s religion (Peace of Augsburg); from the seventeenth century this rule was gradually relaxed, and in the eighteenth century it practically ceased to apply, being formally abolished in 1806.

<sup>9</sup> CZAPLIŃSKI, Marek. Dzieje Śląska od 1806 do 1945 r. In: Czapliński M. (ed.), *Historia Śląska*. Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 3008, Wrocław, 2007, pp. 278–467. ISBN: 978-83-229-2872-1.

<sup>10</sup> See: POPIOLEK, Kazimierz. *Historia Śląska od pradziejów do 1945 roku*. Śląski Instytut Naukowy, 1984. ISBN 83-216-0151-0.

<sup>11</sup> See: CZAPLIŃSKI, Marek. Dzieje Śląska od 1806 do 1945 r. In: Czapliński M. (ed.), *Historia Śląska*. Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 3008, Wrocław, 2007, pp. 278–467. ISBN: 978-83-229-2872-1.



**Fig. 1:** The location of Protestant churches in Lower Silesia, including Borek Strzeliński (Großburg) Source: authors' elaboration: map A based on *Das Evangelisch Schlesien in Folge der Altranstadtlichen Convention, 1707*, by Edward Anders, in: *Historischer Atlas der Evangelischen Kirchen in Schlesien*, Glogau 1845; map B based on *Messtischblatt kartenblatt Wüldchen, Breslau 1885*

the Lower Silesia region, in the centre of the former Austrian Empire, is the former refuge church in Borek Strzeliński.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were around 110 refuge churches<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 1). Currently, in Lower Silesia, which is the western part of contemporary Silesia within the administrative borders of the Lower Silesian Voivodeship on Polish territory, the heritage of refuge churches has been preserved in a few buildings constituting a little-known historical and

<sup>12</sup> See: HARASIMOWICZ, Jan. Die Kunst der Reformationszeit als gemeinsames Kulturerbe an der mittleren Oder und unteren Warthe. In: Krystyna Gabryjelska and Ulrich Knefelkamp (eds), *Brückenschläge. Kulturwissenschaften in Frankfurt (Oder) und Breslau. Vorträge der ersten gemeinsamen Ringvorlesung der Europa-Universität Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) und der Universität Breslau*. Berlin: scripvaz-Verlag Christof Krauskopf, 2000, pp. 31–45. ISBN 3931278131.

religious phenomenon in the region. Among the preserved churches are those in Borek Strzeleński (Großburg) (Fig. 2), Krzywa (Kreibau) near Chojnów (Haynau), Twardocice (Harpersdorf),



**Fig. 2:** Borek Strzeleński – the thirteenth century Church of St Lawrence & St Anthony, originally and currently Roman Catholic



**Fig. 3:** Tomisław (Thommendorf) – Church of the Stigmata of St Francis of Assisi, currently Roman Catholic: preserved interior from the eighteenth /nineteenth centuries

Pielgrzymka (Pilgramsdorf), Proboszczów (Probsthain) and Nowa Wieś Grodziska (Neudorf aus Grödützig) near Złotoryja (Goldberg), Kościelec (Hochkirch) near Legnica (Liegnitz), and twelve churches in the Kwis valley, e.g. Tomisław (Thommendorf) (Fig. 3).

The twentieth century was a crisis period for the Protestant church in the former German territories. The Second World War and its final consequences contributed to the movement of the political borders of Central and Eastern European countries westwards. Thus, these territories of Eastern Germany came under Polish rule.

The shifting of borders was accompanied by the process of the displacement of the German population with forced migration to the territories of Western Germany.<sup>13</sup> The former population was replaced by migrants from central Poland, the Balkans and Kresy<sup>14</sup> (today's Western Ukraine).<sup>15</sup> The arrival of new inhabitants in these territories gave rise to a number of social, psychological, economic and cultural issues for the Christian religious legacy.<sup>16</sup>

Within the years that directly followed the war, a uniform social attitude was found whose unifying factor was hostility towards Germans. This was reflected in the (primitive) destruction of the tangible German heritage by the inhabitants together with local authorities and church elites.<sup>17</sup> Visual symbols of German presence were removed since they were allegedly an open wound in the memory of the immigrant population and this was done on the initiative of the contemporary elites of the Polish People's Republic. Graveyards, monuments, inscriptions and epitaphs thus disappeared from urban and rural landscapes.<sup>18</sup>

It was only the political changes at the end of the twentieth century related to the collapse of the Soviet Union that led to countries behind the "Iron Curtain" mentally opening up to the world. Areas that for decades had been isolated from an international worldview by the imposition of a one-sided social stance, a mainly Marxist philosophy, shook off the stagnation and introduced economic and social changes. The dynamic changes in western Poland (in the former German territories) were accompanied by a change in approach to historical and cultural heritage, especially among the second and third generations. The introduction of lessons in regional education at the turn of the twenty-first century, and through the implementation of social and academic projects of social activation, meant that the inhabitants began to discover the rich historical and cultural heritage of these areas. There is a noticeable trend of looking for historical roots that allow individual identity to be defined, and to shape it in relation to the past without lying about it. In order to deepen this, the author analyses social attitudes towards the post-German heritage, in particular the material religious heritage of the Lower Silesia region.

<sup>13</sup> The process of forced migration concerned over 8 million Germans after 1945. It was a very difficult social process because it was accompanied by physical and mental distress. Despite the homogeneous ethnic and national structure, settlers from eastern Germany had problems with adapting to the population in the western part of Germany. For more detail, see: AHONEN, Pertti. On Forced Migrations: Transnational Realities and National Narratives in Post-1954 (West) Germany. In: *German History*, Vol. 32, No. 4, 2014, pp. 599–614. ISSN 0266-3554.

<sup>14</sup> Kresy Wschodnie (Kresy) was a term coined for the eastern part of the Second Polish Republic during the interwar period (1918–1939). Largely agricultural and extensively multi-ethnic, it amounted to nearly half of the territory of pre-war Poland. Historically situated in the eastern Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, following the eighteenth-century foreign partitions it was annexed by Russia and partly by the Habsburg Monarchy (Galicia), and ceded back to Poland in 1921 after the Peace of Riga. As a result of the post-World War II border changes, none of the Kresy lands remain in Poland today.

<sup>15</sup> See: JUREK Piotr. Osadnicy polscy w latach 1945–1947 (Polish settlers in 1945–1947). In: B. Cybulski (ed.), *Dolny Śląsk 1945 – Dolny Śląsk 2005*. Stowarzyszenie na Rzecz Promocji Dolnego Śląska, Breslau, 2006, pp. 82–90. ISBN 8392325508.

<sup>16</sup> See: CZARNUCH, Zbigniew. Oswajanie krajobrazu. Polscy osadnicy w dorzeczu dolnej Warty (Taming the landscape: Polish settlers in the Lower Warta basin). In: Mazur Z. (ed.), *Wokół niemieckiego dziedzictwa kulturowego na Ziemiach Północnych i Zachodnich*. Wyd. Instytutu Zachodniego, Poznań, 1997, pp. 169–190. ISBN 83-85003-87-8.

<sup>17</sup> See: MAZUR, Zbigniew. *Das deutsche Kulturerbe in den polnischen West und Nordgebieten (Studien der Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa an der Universität Dortmund, Band 34)*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003. ISBN: 9783447048002; and ZYBURA, Marek. Der Umgang mit dem deutschen Kulturerbe in Schlesien nach 1945. Senfkorn-Verlag Theisen, Görlitz, 2005. ISBN 3-935330-19-7.

<sup>18</sup> See: ZYBURA, Marek. Polacy wobec niemieckiego dziedzictwa kulturowego na Dolnym Śląsku (Poles and German cultural heritage in Lower Silesia). In: B. Cybulski (ed.), *Dolny Śląsk 1945 – Dolny Śląsk 2005*. Stowarzyszenie na Rzecz Promocji Dolnego Śląska, Breslau, 2006, pp. 257–271. ISBN 8392325508.

### III. Characteristic features of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century protestant churches' architecture in the Lower Silesian Province

The Protestant Silesian architecture of the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries developed a separate type of construction in terms of spatial layout and architectural forms. In sacred architecture, it had become important to group buildings intended for social purposes around the church, e.g. a parish house, a school, an orphanage or a cemetery. The number and function of the buildings resulted from the real needs of a given commune and the faithful who financed the investment. The spatial arrangement of sacred buildings, the architectural form of Protestant churches, and even their location were dictated by the complicated situation of the followers of Protestantism in Silesia. After the Thirty Years' War, in Silesia, which remained in the hands of the Habsburg Monarchy, there was a gradual restitution of Catholicism and the liquidation of the Protestant church structure.<sup>19</sup> At the turn of 1650 and 1651, a recovery commission began operating, taking over Protestant churches, including new buildings built by Protestant communities. Relative religious freedom prevailed in the border areas of Silesia and at the borders of the Silesian duchies, where there were two types of churches: the so-called border churches (*Grenzkirchen*) and the so-called refuge churches (*Zufluchtskirchen*) – buildings owned by the commune, but made available to other believers. At the same time, on the basis of the Westphalian peace treaty of 1648, the construction of the churches of Peace was started – in Świdnica, Jawor and Gogów.

Protestantism was characterised by a different attitude to church building, which adhered to simplicity of form and was primarily intended to create a place for proclaiming the Word of God. The result of the lack of a strong hierarchy in the church and the changed attitude towards the Eucharist was the liquidation of the presbytery as a separate part of the church serving as a sanctuary. In accordance with the canons of Protestant sacred architecture, church buildings should be well-lit, with a simple form and good acoustics. Due to the complicated geopolitical background of Silesia, sacred architecture developed in isolation from European Protestant architecture. Due to the difficult situation after the Thirty Years' War, border churches were built of wood in a skeleton structure.<sup>20</sup> One of the first examples of such buildings was the church in Szliftyngowa near Wschowa, erected in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1644 by emigrants from Silesia fleeing religious persecution, built on a Greek cross plan. The transverse nave of the church was filled with a gallery floor, which allowed for the maximum use of the interior, while being the main decorative element of the interior. An exception among the border churches is the church in Biedrzychowice, originally built of wood, then rebuilt in the years 1723–1724 into a stone structure set on a rectangular plan with a polygonal presbytery and a high tower raised several times. Refuge churches, unlike border churches, were built in old church facilities adapted to the needs of Protestants, coming from various periods, but mostly from the Gothic.<sup>21</sup> In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, their general modernisation began. Examples are the hall churches in Proboszczowo and Pielgrzymka with galleries running around the interior of the church on all four sides.

<sup>19</sup> See: KALINOWSKI, Konstanty. *Barock in Schlesien*. München, 1990. ISBN 3-422-06047-2.

<sup>20</sup> See: GORZELIK, Jerzy. Konsekwencje wojny trzydziestoletniej dla protestanckiego dziedzictwa artystycznego na Górnym Śląsku. In: Joachim Bahleke, Waclaw Gójniczek, Ryszard Kaczmarek (eds), *Dziedzictwo górnośląskiej reformacji. Wpływ protestantyzmu na politykę, społeczeństwo i kulturę w wiekach XVI–XX*. Katowice, 2018: Instytut Badań Regionalnych w Katowicach.

<sup>21</sup> See: KALINOWSKI, Konstanty. *Barock in Schlesien*. München, 1990. ISBN 3-422-06047-2.

Specific guidelines regarding the principles for the erection of Protestant sacred buildings in Silesia were specified in the imperial permit for the construction of churches in Jawor and Świdnica. These were to be buildings erected outside the city walls, not of stone and brick, with a limited architectural form (the permit forbade the construction of church towers). The cheapness and universality of Protestant architecture were to be in contrast to the monumentalism of Catholic buildings erected in Habsburg Silesia. The first of the Peace churches was built in Głogów in 1651. The next one was the church in Jawor, erected in a skeleton-log structure designed by Albrecht Säbisch in the years 1654–1655.<sup>22</sup> The church was built as a three-nave structure in the basilica system, with side aisles filled with galleries. In the western part, there is a two-story gallery with an organ. According to the Protestant ideology, the most important function of the church is to proclaim the Word of God; therefore the arrangement of the pews is subordinated to the pulpit located in the middle of the central nave. Another church was erected, also according to the design of Albrecht Säbisch in Świdnica, in the years 1656–1657.<sup>23</sup> It was built on a Greek cross plan with a one-storey sacristy adjacent to the main body of the building from the east. The interior, as in the church in Jawor, is filled with galleries, with a pulpit located at the crossing of the arms. Decorative elements inside and outside of both churches are severely limited. Paradoxically, the magnificent, unprotected construction of the churches in Jawor and Świdnica, which are masterpieces of Silesian carpentry, have meant that both objects have been entered on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

#### IV. Research aim and methodology

The subject of the research is the development of a unique resource for material heritage related to the Protestant religious architecture of rural areas in Lower Silesia, along with the spiritual values associated with those historical and moral phenomena that constitute the basis for the existence and functioning of a specific society. Regional identity, which includes personal and social identities, affects the preservation of cultural heritage, and thus the formation of a cultural image recorded in the landscape, as well as in its present use.<sup>24</sup> In recent years, changes in the geographical environment of the rural area of Lower Silesia, a region with a specific historical, cultural and landscape heritage, have been seen. The “Recovered Territories” after World War II are currently undergoing social and cultural transformations which themselves are part of the heritage of the complex identity of its inhabitants.<sup>25</sup> Observations carried out here reveal the scale of changes in lifestyle and rural culture as well as residential and commercial

<sup>22</sup> See: GRUK, Wojciech. Silesian Churches of Peace and the Royal Hungarian Articular Churches: Possible Legal and Architectural Relations. In: *Protestantischer Kirchenbau der Frühen Neuzeit in Europa. Grundlagen und neue Forschungskonzepte – Protestant Church Architecture in Early Modern Europe: Fundamentals and New Research Approaches*. Regensburg, 2015, pp. 333–343. ISBN 978-3-7954-2942-3.

<sup>23</sup> KALINOWSKI, Konstanty. *Barock in Schlesien*. München, 1990. ISBN 3-422-06047-2.

<sup>24</sup> See: LAMONT, Michèle – MOLNAR, Virág. The study of boundaries in the social sciences. In: *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 28, 2002, pp. 167–195. ISSN 0360-0572; and BRUBAKER, Rogers – COOPER, Frederick. Beyond “identity”. In: *Theory and Society*, Vol. 29, Issue: 1, 2000, pp. 1–47. ISSN 0304-2421; and SAM, David – BERRY John. Acculturation: When Individuals and Groups of Different Cultural Backgrounds Meet. In: *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, Vol. 5, Issue: 4, 2010, pp. 472–481. ISSN: 17456916; and see: SAM David – BERRY John. Acculturation: When Individuals and Groups of Different Cultural Backgrounds Meet. In: *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, Vol. 5, Issue: 4, 2010, pp. 472–481. ISSN: 17456916.

<sup>25</sup> See: BUKRABA-RYLSKA Izabella. Dziedzictwo kulturowe jako czynnik rozwoju obszarów wiejskich. In: Nurzyńska, I., Drygas, M. (eds), *Rozwój obszarów wiejskich w Polsce. Diagnozy, strategie, koncepcje polityki*. Warszawa, IRWiR PAN, 2011, pp. 219–238. ISBN 83-89900-45-9.

architecture. Generational change, and with it inward and outward migration, blurs the former lifestyle of the inhabitants. Therefore, it seems necessary to conduct research documenting the life and activity of the generation of displaced persons to maintain the continuity of cultural identity in the region. This is the last chance for a recording of the cultural heritage developed here, as both “moveable and immovable” aspects are without documentation.

For an analysis of the contemporary role of Protestant property, unknown and unique because of its history, the former Protestant refuge church in Borek Strzeliński was chosen as an interesting example of contemporary adaptation to the German historical heritage. The subject of the research is the former Protestant church in the village of Borek Strzeliński, which (as Großburg) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had served as a refuge church<sup>26</sup> during the re-Catholicization of Silesia.

In the article, the author puts forward two hypotheses:

- Is the refuge church in Borek Strzeliński unique, in terms of history, architecture and ecumenism, a sacrum of Catholic-Protestant origin, influencing social and landscape identity?

- Does the definition of the contemporary role of the Protestant sacrum in the landscape of the Lower Silesian countryside help to protect its unique heritage better?

The main objectives of the article are to:

- draw attention to the historical importance of refuge churches within Lower Silesia and their role in shaping the identity of its residents,

- study the degree to which the Evangelical heritage has been maintained in the sacred landscape of Borek Strzeliński and

- analyse the acceptance of the Evangelical heritage according to the age of the inhabitants of Borek Strzeliński, indicating which behaviours determine the identity of local cultural heritage.

In order to achieve the research objectives, the analysis and criticism of the literature, and the identification of distinctive architectural landmarks in material and spiritual space were the approaches used.<sup>27</sup> One method was to search for Evangelical heritage artifacts in the field, as well as obtaining and analysing archival graphic documentation. A further important method was to conduct free sociological interviews: with Maria Czarnecka the *sołtys* (village administrator), Wiesław Szczęch the priest, Elżbieta Sucharska the library director, and Sabina Zawer a librarian, along with a survey of the residents of Borek Strzeliński based on a sample of 275 in the summer of 2019. These methods enabled an inventory of the Evangelical heritage to be made and the attitude of the inhabitants to the German legacy after 74 years to be determined.

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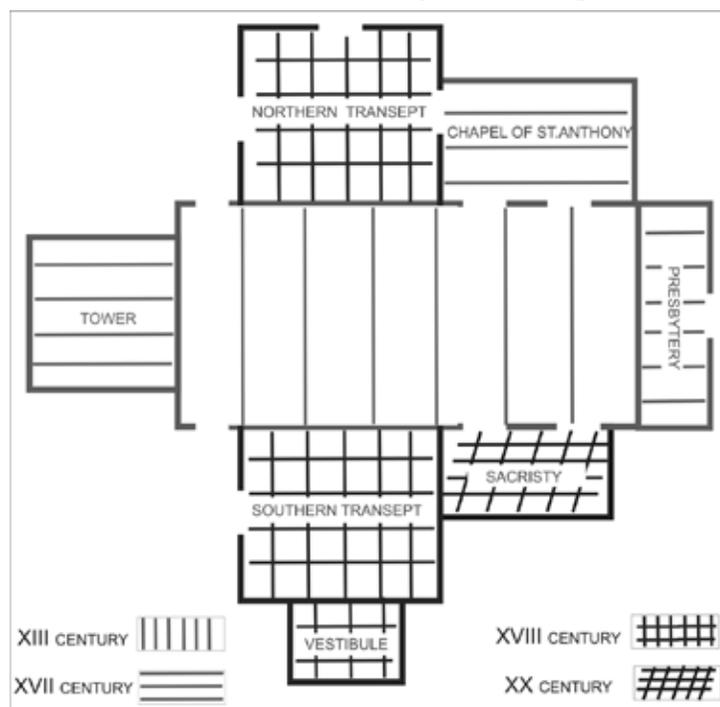
<sup>26</sup> Refuge churches – Evangelical churches located in Protestant areas (Duchy of Legnica, Lusatia) in the immediate vicinity of the re-Catholicised Silesia (under the Catholic authority of the Habsburgs). After the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they served not only the local Evangelical population, but also additional believers from elsewhere who did not have religious freedom in their territories. The term “refuge churches” refers to those churches that were built before the end of the war and the signing of the Peace of Westphalia, because churches that were built later to meet the needs of the increasing number of pilgrims from Silesia were called border churches. These churches ceased to fulfil their role in the 1840s, when Lower Silesia was occupied by Prussia. In the Prussian state freedom of religion prevailed, which allowed Silesian Protestants to celebrate religious services without having to make a pilgrimage abroad.

<sup>27</sup> See: MYCZKOWSKI, Zbigniew. Kompozycyjne i architektoniczne wyznaczniki tożsamości krajobrazów (Compositional and architectural determinants of landscape identity). In: *Problemy Ekologii Krajobrazu*, XI, 2015, pp. 199–208. ISSN: 1899-3850.

## V. Borek Strzeliński refuge church architecture characteristic features

The role of the history of the Protestant church, with the refuge church in Borek Strzeliński as an example of earlier and later religious episodes, is unique due to the architectural, pictorial and religious functions that influenced an increasing number of parishioners during this period. The beginning of the church in Borek Strzeliński should be associated with the year 1232. At that time, a small chapel devoted to St Lawrence was erected in early Gothic style. Until the sixteenth century, the church, being a Catholic place of worship, was not subject to significant architectural change. A turning point was when, in 1537, the church came into the hands of the Evangelicals due to Friedrich von Kanitz of the Hohenzollerns taking over the estate of Borek. Later it became a refuge for persecuted Lutherans during the counter-reformation and was designated a refuge church.<sup>28</sup> Between 1553 and 1579, the church was re-built in the Renaissance style and by 1579, the existing building had been extended by what is now a presbytery, the northern sacristy (currently St Anthony's Chapel) and a clock-and-bell tower (Fig. 4). Measuring more than 35 metres high, the square-shaped tower, topped by a Baroque helm, had a pointed-arch portal from 1250 on its southern wall, and a wooden door with fittings dating back to 1519. At the top of the tower, there are now two bells from different epochs in the history of the church. The first bell, from 1850, was a gift of the German parishioners; the second one, from 1964, was also funded by parishioners when the church was visited by the image of Our Lady of Częstochowa to celebrate the 1000th anniversary of Poland's baptism.

Since 1700, due to the increasing number of parishioners seeking religious freedom, the



church has been expanded with a pictorial and sculptural splendour that is unusual for Protestant churches. In 1700, the northern and southern transepts were added, creating the form of a cross, while the southern aisle was expanded by a vestibule with outer stairs leading to a gallery (Fig. 4). General reconstruction from 1700–13, apart from changing the shape of the church, also involved its interior, in particular with the addition of the wooden, coffered

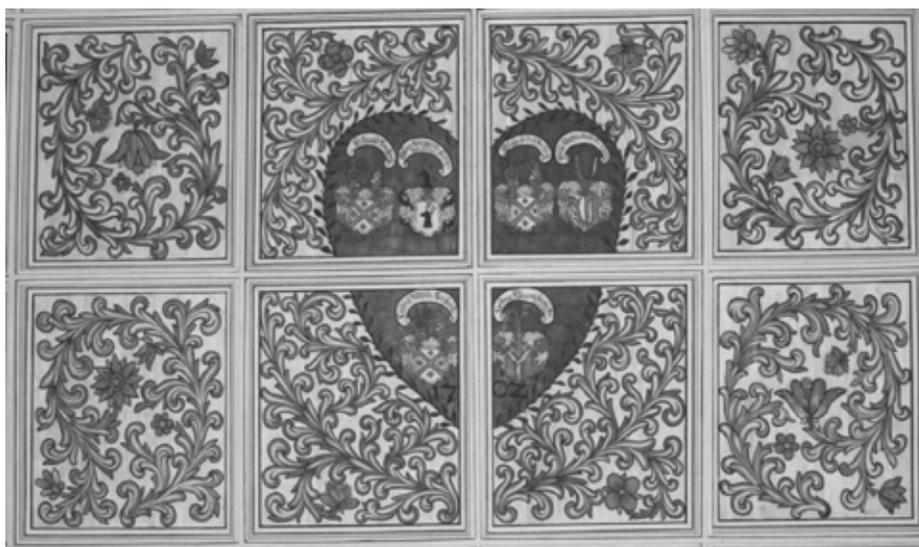
**Fig. 4:** *A plan showing the extensions to the church through eight centuries*

polychromatic ceiling, altar, pulpit with a canopy, church organ and galleries. The ceiling of St Lawrence & St Anthony's Church, made by an unknown craftsman between 1702 and 1713,

<sup>28</sup> See: JAKUBOWICZ, Zbigniew. *Osobliwości pogranicza Ziemi Oławskiej - Kościół ucieczkowy w Borku Strzelińskim* (Singularities of the Oławska borderland – the refuge church in Großburg). *Wiadomości Oławskie*, 1997, p. 15.

was divided into 32 coffers covered in tempera with a unique motif of acanthus leaves featuring different flowers (clover, rose or tulip)<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 5).

Particular attention must be paid to the wooden galleries of 1702 which were decorated with biblical paintings, and located at the back of the church and over the side aisles. The galleries along the main aisle existed until 1954 when they were demolished (Fig. 6). With the galleries, the church could hold 2000 people at one time. The galleries that remain today are decorated with polychromes: Jesus' Baptism in the Jordan, the Holy Family at work, Christ's Transfiguration, the fight between David and Goliath, Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, Moses raising the Bronze Serpent, Jonah emerging from the Belly of the Whale, Christ's Crucifixion, the Judgement of Solomon, and the Sermon on the Mount (Fig. 7). The galleries have coffered ceilings as well, and are supported on wooden, profiled columns. Above the chancel galleries there is a highly decorative organ screen from 1779, originally built by Michael Röder in 1735–36 (not existing today), and re-built between 1890 and 1912 by *Schlag und Söhne* from Świdnica (Schweidnitz). The organ screen is richly decorated with beautiful woodcarvings with plant elements and finished with a golden crown. The von Tenczin family, owners of Großburg (Borek Strzeliński), had the screen built between 1745 and 1796.



**Fig. 5:** A fragment of the church ceiling polychrome; in the centre can be seen the date of its painting – 1702

The richly decorated pulpit with images of the Evangelists – John (with an eagle), Luke (with an ox), Matthew (with an angel) and Mark (with a lion) – also dates to that period. The beautiful Baroque altar with an image of the Good Shepherd is from 1720. This altar, which is a single-axis, single-level construction with Corinthian columns, over which there is a wooden entablature with a sculpture dedicated to “The glory of the Holy Trinity”, was made in the same year. On the sides of the altar there are sculptures from the 1920s depicting St Anthony

<sup>29</sup> See: GIBSKI Damian. Karta ewidencyjna zabytku architektury i budownictwa WOSOZ we Breslauiu (“Identification card” of the WOSOZ architectural and building monument in Breslau). N.d; and STĘPIŃSKA, Maria. Dokumentacja konserwatorska malowidel drewnianego stropu kościoła p.w. Św. Św. Wawrzynca i Antoniego w Borku Strzelińskim (Conservation documentation on the paintings on the wooden ceiling of the church of Sts Wawrzyniec & Antoni in Großburg), Number inv. 9/02, Brzeg, 2002.

of Padua and St Hedwig of Silesia while in the central part there is a painting by Pfannschmidt from 1873 depicting Christ as the Good Shepherd given by the von Schoenermarck family. Another renovation of the church took place in 1912–13 and involved the construction of the present sacristy. Within that period, Renaissance style graves from 1684–1750 commemorating Johann Sigmund von Kanitz und Dallwitz and Justina Maksymiliana von Kanitz were placed in the entrance (Fig. 8) and in the main aisle, and epitaphs to Johann Berger and Helen Eleonora Hochlin were placed on the northern part of the church wall.<sup>30</sup> The beginning of the twentieth century was a time of much activity in a parish of around 4000 believers and its important role



**Fig. 6:** *The interior of the church in the early twentieth century (1912) and at present – the galleries visible in the earlier figure were demolished in 1954 along with the canopy over the pulpit*



**Fig. 7:** *The organ screen with galleries, early twentieth century and present*

in the spiritual life of the region may be proven by dedicated prayers enriching the liturgy, as exemplified by the vespers specially written for the Großburg parish (Fig. 9).

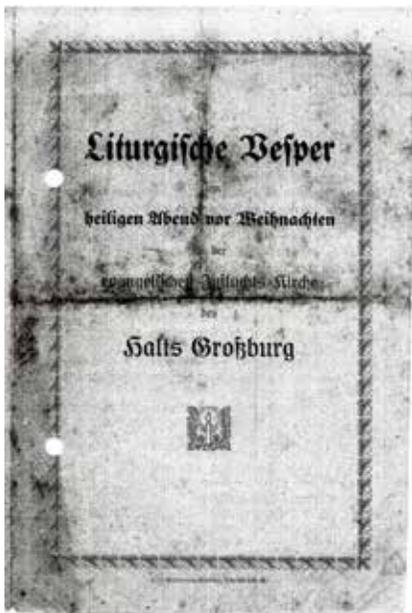
After 1945, the church, together with its material and spiritual legacy, came into the possession of Polish communities from the east, and St Lawrence became again a Roman Catholic Church. Since 1952, with the consent of Cardinal Stephen Wyszyński, it has been the Church of St Lawrence & St Anthony. The war caused much damage to the windows and church walls, and in 1952 it underwent its first renovation, allowing believers to participate once more in religious worship. After the demolition of the side galleries and the canopy over the pulpit in 1954, a

<sup>30</sup> See: DOBRZYŃIECKI Aneta, et al. Powiat Strzeliński – Großburg (Poviat of Strzeliński – Großburg). In: *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki Województwo Breslauskie (Dolnośląskie)* (edit.) E. Kolaczkiwicz, Wyd. Instytut Sztuki PAN Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Breslauskiego, Warszawa, 2008, pp. 9–19 ISBN 978-83-89101-47-1. Kronika parafialna 1946–2012, Parafia pw. Św. Wawrzyńca i Św. Antoniego w Borku Strzelińskim (Parish chronicle 1946–2012, parish of St Lawrence & St Antoni in Großburg).

polychrome interior designed by Joseph Dutkiewicz was painted in 1962. From the 1990s until 2019, the church underwent a series of renovation works during which the Protestant-Catholic beauty of its religious heritage was revealed. Thanks to the ecumenical attitude of the priest, Wiesław Szczęch, with the approval of the inhabitants of Borek Strzeliński, the historical and religious genesis of the temple was discovered and preserved.



**Fig. 8:** Epitaphs commemorating Johann Sigmund von Kanitz (to the left) und Dallwitz and Justina Maksymiliana von Kanitz (to the right)



**Fig. 9:** Vespers for Christmas Eve at the Protestant Church of Großburg (currently Borek Strzeliński)

## VI. Borek Strzeliński historical and demographical transformation

The present acceptance of Protestant heritage among the inhabitants of Borek Strzeliński is an interesting case study in relation to the settlers of this area of western Poland. Initial

analyses of acceptance and shaping attitudes are rooted in historical, national and social conditions. In order to understand the attitudes, it was necessary to show the inhabitants the historical heritage dating back to the twelfth century as Borek was founded by the Templars in 1155 and an important event in its history was the construction of the church in 1232. In 1234 or 1237 Prince Henry the Bearded gave Borek with all its property to a bishop from Lebus in Neumark. The village, with four others, was thus transferred from Silesian administration to that of the Margraviate of Brandenburg, becoming a sort of “Brandenburg enclave” in Silesia. In 1553, the Bishop of Lebus, with the permission of margrave John of Brandenburg, gave Borek’s property as a bishop’s fief, for a sum of 5000 thalers, to Friedrich von Kanitz of Hohenzollern descent.<sup>31</sup> The estate remained in the family’s hands until 1745 when it came into the possession of the von Tenczins. After 51 years, in 1796, the estate returned to the von Kanitz family through Baron von Rentz. In 1843, Juliusz von Bonsdorf bought the estate, which in 1858 he sold to Georg von Schoenermark. In the same year, the son of Georg, Henryk von Schoenermark, moved in with his wife, Anna of Haessler, creating an important centre for the village’s social and cultural life. In 1886, after the death of Henryk, his wife, for financial reasons, sold up to a “commercial counsellor”, Ludwig Friedmann auf Grossburg whose family administered the estate.<sup>32</sup>

For Borek Strzeliński, 1945 was the year of the biggest social and economic change. At the beginning of June 1945, the estate was included under the Potsdam treaty in the resettlement process and the village became populated by inhabitants from central Poland and the Eastern border areas of Korościatyn (Ukrainian: Krynycia), Kowalówka (Ukrainian: Kowaliwka), Komarno (Ukrainian: Komorno), Monasterzyska (Ukrainian: Monastyraska) and Chłopy (Ukrainian: Peremożne). The migrants arriving in Borek Strzeliński brought with them the different cultural values, attitudes and models of behaviour shaped by their previous places of residence. They differed from one another in psychological characteristics, but often there was a mutual coming together of the varying regional groups, becoming aware of each other’s existence, a sharing of cultural heritage and an assessment of their differences in the levels of development demonstrating their differing cultural and ethnic origins.<sup>33</sup> The resettlement exemplified by Borek Strzeliński has created a heterogenous structure among its inhabitants, and this became even more varied after the opening of a state-owned farm (*PGR*) in the 1950s which attracted workers from the whole of Poland. An important element having an impact on the population of the village was, and still is, a national road which allowed contact with the urban areas of Wrocław, Brzeg, Olawa and Strzelin, and had an impact on social and cultural development by a willingness of the inhabitants to increase their professional qualifications and socially advance. The process had an impact in the creation of a group of workers and peasant-workers with more open minds and increased education, which perhaps was, and certainly currently is, of great importance in the perception of the existence of German cultural heritage.

<sup>31</sup> See: DZIEDO, Chris. Grossburg – eine Dorfgeschichte, Unsere Deutsche Wurzeln, Heimatblatt. April 1977.

<sup>32</sup> See: KOLAKIEWICZ Elżbieta. *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki. Województwo Breslauskie (Dolnośląskie), Powiat Strzeliński* (Art Monuments Catalog. Breslau Voivodeship (Lower Silesia), Strzeliński Powiat). Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Breslauskiego, Warszawa, 2008. ISBN 978-83-89101-47-1.

<sup>33</sup> See: NASZ, Adolf. Przemiany kulturowo-społeczne we wsi dolnośląskiej po drugiej wojnie światowej (Cultural and social changes in the Lower Silesian village after the Second World War) In: *Prace i materiały etnologiczne*, tom XX, Wrocław, 1970, pp. 9–52.

## VII. Protestant legacy and its perception among Borek Strzeliński inhabitants

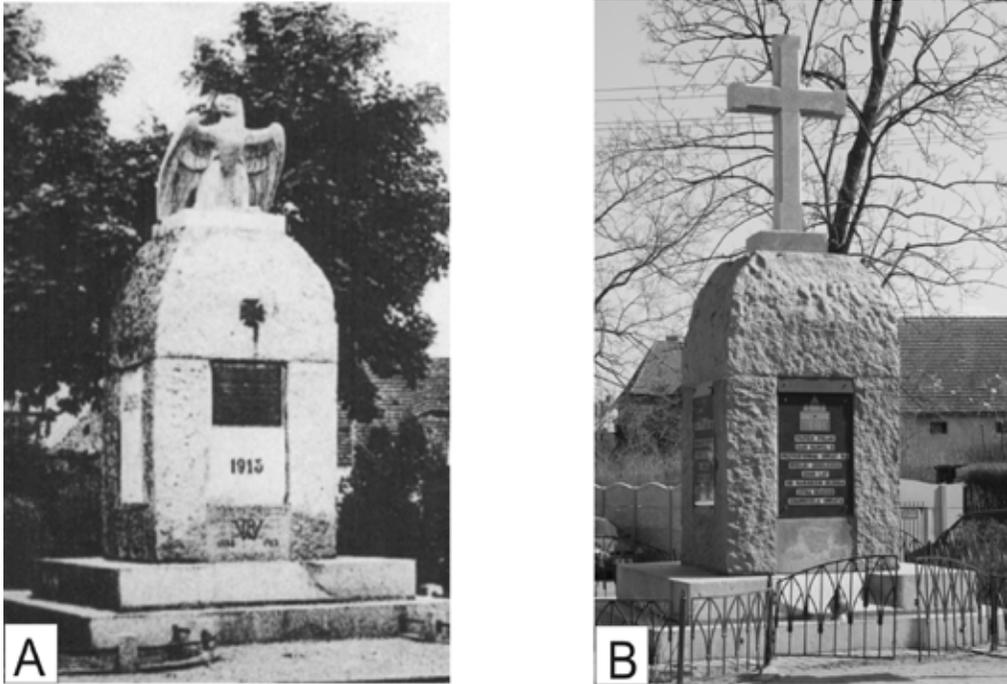
Against the background of the above complex structure of the history of the village and its inhabitants, the role of the sacred in the contemporary landscape of Borek Strzeliński, as an important element shaping identity and social attitudes, can be considered. The church with its sacred<sup>34</sup> zone is an important, visible “matrix” of the material heritage of the village. In the case study of the church in Borek Strzeliński, an important element in the emergence of a specific cultural and religious heritage is the specific conditions of ownership autonomy of former landowners, e.g. the family of Frederick von Kanitz. These conditions influenced the evolution of the rituals and sacralisation of space through the adaptation of the existing temple, determining the individual features of the style and function of the church until 1945–7. In these years, German symbolism in the landscape of Borek Strzeliński was masked by painting, plastering over or completely removing names and symbols. Examples include the liquidated church graveyard and the removal of epitaphs from the church wall and inside the church and of inscriptions on houses, public utility buildings and monuments. In the last example, the original content has been replaced with new content or even given a different function (Fig. 10).

Analysis has indicated that the only post-German symbol saved within the village is the Protestant heritage enclosed within the contemporary area of the *sacrum* of St Lawrence & St Anthony’s Church whose location has been unchanged since the thirteenth century. The church is in the centre of the village and neighbours a palace and residential and commercial buildings. It is 200 metres from the main artery, a historical road from north to south. The church, together with its surroundings, is an element of a close-knit rural architecture, with the palace park to its north-east. The location of the church has remained unchanged since its erection and its dominant role in the landscape is still noticeable. The building is distinguished by its spatial form, architectural decor and the symbolism of a cross. Despite the fact that in the 1950s the village increased its size two-fold (in the north with four-storey blocks of flats, to the north-east single-family houses, and an industrial area with low warehouses to the west), the church has maintained its dominant role (Fig. 11).

The Protestant legacy is found within the architectural detail, sculpture and paintings of the church, the church wall and the presbytery. Currently, thanks to the church authorities and the local priest, Wiesław Szczech, the church is undergoing general renovation, during which elements of the Evangelical symbolism both inside and outside are being uncovered and renovated (Fig. 12).

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<sup>34</sup> *Sacrum*, i.e. a sacred place that inhabitants respect and identify with, in an architecture that differs from the residential and commercial surroundings and creating a so-called sacred landscape. It constitutes an element of geographic space whose structure and function are determined by the interaction between the evolution and functional processes of nature and culture that decide its physiognomic uniqueness (Eliade 1993, Jones 2003, Myga-Piątek 2012). These are the landscapes of places characterised by uniqueness and originality, spaces for meditation and reflection - sacred places (Jackowski 2003). In her studies of the typology of sacred landscapes, Myga-Piątek (2012) points to several cognitive areas which involve a material (real) aspect where an important issue is to analyse the location of churches within a town’s panorama. The semiotic aspect enabling an analysis of the importance of the existence of *sacrum* within a certain area, and an aesthetic aspect whose functioning affects the phenomenon of hierophany. The studies of Plit (2008) must be mentioned when referring to the historical determinants of the creation of sacred landscapes with an Evangelical element that enables the existence of the “refuge” churches in the current Lower Silesia to be defined. He states that the forming of sacred landscapes has been affected throughout history by geopolitical changes leading to the identification of specific religious and cultural civilisations, and influenced by the natural environment.



**Fig. 10:** *An example of the changing of the designation of a monument in the centre of Borek Strzeliński – A) a monument to the victims of World War I, around 1920 (Kolaczekiewicz 2008): archival Fig.; B) a modern monument to the 770th anniversary of the church in Borek Strzeliński, 2007, to Pope John Paul II for preparing the world for the Great Jubilee of 2000 years of Christianity, and to the 1000th Anniversary of the Wrocław Archdiocese in 2000*



**Fig. 11:** *The church has been the dominant building in the landscape of Borek Strzeliński from the nineteenth to twenty-first centuries*

Source: Map A – *Mess-tischblatt kartenblatt Wäldchen*, Breslau 1885;

Map B – *Mapa topograficzna* ukl.1992, 1: 25 000, Borek Strzeliński, 1992.

Fig.graph: a panorama of Borek Strzeliński, looking south, 2017

In the interior, the renovation has uncovered the beauty of the polychrome with its religious elements on the choir galleries, the sculpture and ornament on the pulpit, the epitaphs in the entrance hall, the portals with important inscriptions on the keystones and the beauty of the

coffered ceiling with the date of its construction (1702) uncovered during the work. On the exterior, memorials with original German inscriptions were uncovered and restored (Fig. 12), two epitaphs were restored on the church walls, while the wall of the former graveyard was renovated with the epitaphs and gravestones recovered being transformed into a lapidarium (Fig. 13). The few remaining monuments are treated with care and commemorated; for example, on November 1, All Saint's Day, candles are lit there (Fig. 14).



**Fig. 12:** *An example of the ecumenical approach towards the church building of Borek Strzeliński: restored original text*

Source: J. Lach – A) entrance from the southern transept 2013; B) renovated entrance of the southern transept, 2018

In the process of restoring the architectural beauty of the church and its surroundings, it is significant to focus attention on the origin and authenticity of the Evangelical elements supervised by a conservator-restorer and, importantly, accepted by the local people. An analysis of the acceptance of Protestant heritage according to age among Borek Strzeliński's inhabitants, to show trends of behaviour towards the local cultural heritage, is extremely difficult due to the lack of openness of the inhabitants, especially the elderly. However, the influence of the

elite has made it possible to establish communication that could reveal current attitudes and require in-depth academic research, mainly sociological. Concerning the acceptance of the post-German heritage, it should be emphasised that this process, which has been going on since the 1989/1990 system changes, is extremely difficult, as the earlier ideological approach



**Fig. 13:** *The church lapidarium created after the renovation of the former graveyard with maintained gravestones: condition in 2019*



**Fig. 14:** *Graveyard lapidarium – material memory of a former inhabitant of Borek Strzeliński*

of the Polish People's Republic authorities caused irreversible social and cultural damage in the Recovered Territories

The de-Germanisation process lasted until the systemic transformation in 1989/1990, causing significant damage to the former culture and society within the “Recovered Territories”, although it is not possible to legally (by means of statute) eliminate the richest source of cultural and artistic tradition, i.e. erase the historical truth.<sup>35</sup> More openness and a broader awareness of the problems of the surrounding world, together with social attitudes, have made Poles aware that there is a moral and political problem with attitudes towards the German cultural heritage. It is now being noticed that the process of removing all traces of a foreign culture was a political mistake and a cultural “sin”.<sup>36</sup> Using the example of the inhabitants of Borek Strzeliński, it might be stated that the current approach towards the German material legacy visible in the village landscape is neutral, as most of the material traces were destroyed in the 1940s and 50s. Only 3% of respondents indicated that the church, the graveyard and the monument were symbols related to German culture. During the survey, the inhabitants were asked about their knowledge of the Evangelical legacy. The majority demonstrated a full awareness: as many as 78% of them are aware of its existence but 22% are not. Such an answer was given by respondents with a low economic status, not aspiring to higher standards of life and, it is worth mentioning, among new inhabitants from outside Borek Strzeliński, living in new houses within the village, who have no need for historical or geographical assimilation. They treat their new home as a “sleeping facility” and place of rest, since they spend the majority of their time working in the Wrocław agglomeration. Within the 78% declaring the existence of a Protestant cultural element, as many as 65% treat it neutrally, and 23% declare that they are happy that elements of Protestant culture are exposed in the sacred space through small-scale architecture, paintings, sculpture and inscriptions. These are mainly second-generation inhabitants working in administration, education, services (mostly university graduates) and people working in agriculture (wealthy farmers). This group also includes adolescents (third generation) who care about understanding the region, their “Little Homeland”, with the help of their teachers. Only 12% think that uncovering and exposing Protestant elements is not needed, and raise fears about a come-back of “the Germans”, which in today’s circumstances of free movement of citizens in the European Union, is seen as a threat. This is the attitude of the oldest residents (former pioneer settlers).

The renovation of the church and the surrounding areas, the presbytery and the graveyard carried out since the beginning of the twenty-first century by the local parish (the renovation was completed in 2019) uncovered the architectural and historical beauty of the sacred space and made local people aware of the existence of elements related to Protestant religious functions whose visual, historical and religious value has now been widely accepted.

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<sup>35</sup> See: LIPSKI Jan, Józef. Wir müssen uns alles sagen...Essays zur deutsch-polnischen Nachbarschaft, [Powiedzieć sobie wszystko...Eseje o sąsiedztwie polsko-niemieckim]. Wyd. Polsko-Niemieckie, Gliwice-Warszawa, 1996. ISBN: 83-86653-02-7.

<sup>36</sup> See: ZYBURA, Marek. Polacy wobec niemieckiego dziedzictwa kulturowego na Dolnym Śląsku (Poles and German cultural heritage in Lower Silesia). In: B. Cybulski (ed.), *Dolny Śląsk 1945 – Dolny Śląsk 2005*. Stowarzyszenie na Rzecz Promocji Dolnego Śląska, Wrocław, 2006, pp. 257–271. ISBN 8392325508.

Through publications of a popularising nature,<sup>37</sup> the inhabitants have been made aware of the historical, architectural and academic value of the church, which has become the pride of the village. It is worth pointing out the educational role and the important part that has been played by the local priest, Wiesław Szczęch; his ecumenical attitude has contributed widely to the acceptance and protection of the Protestant elements. Also, those responsible for the education and upbringing of young people in Borek Strzeliński (teachers and librarians) are aware how much the historical and geographical value of the church can contribute to teaching about the distant history of the village and of the church itself by organising competitions for posters and albums, as well as for knowledge about the so-called “Little Homeland”. Some of the inhabitants demonstrate their interest in the history of the village and of the church on social media, gathering archive figures or drawings. Because of such interest, the question can be posed whether the Evangelical heritage has any impact on the identity of the inhabitants. As many as 97% answered “yes, we are proud to have an exceptional sacred building”, a refuge church with specific Protestant decoration as well as its historical value; just 3% could not tell whether history or cultural heritage had any impact on their lives, again mostly those who had moved in just recently. What will the future perception of the Evangelical heritage be? The inhabitants were asked whether the Evangelical legacy should be searched for and exposed in the landscape of the village? The answer was “rather yes” (52%), 37% responding with a definite “yes”, as this increases the historical and geographical value of the village, but 11% responding “no”, saying that there are no financial resources and there is no social motivation. The “no” argument was most frequently found among elderly inhabitants. An important aspect of the survey is the strong awareness of the existence of an Evangelical heritage because of its value as protected by society, and proven by donations for the renovation of sacred buildings in Borek Strzeliński.

## VIII. Conclusion

The church in Borek Strzeliński is undoubtedly a unique *sacrum* of Catholic-Protestant origin, influencing the complex historical identity of the city and its inhabitants. Despite the passage of time, this site has become an inseparable element of the countryside and its surroundings, combining the cultural and landscape value of this area. The visual architectural symbols in the church largely identify the ecumenical sacred space, accepted and cared for by the inhabitants. The research highlights problems of resettlement and the cultural and religious heritage left behind, as well as its acceptance by new residents. This difficult topic covers social aspects and the sphere of the sacred place. According to the authors, presenting this issue using the example of the Evangelical Church from the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries in Borek Strzeliński allows the exploration not only of the previously unknown history of this temple, but also its religious changes, which were and are an important phenomenon in the Lower Silesia region of Poland. The fate of Poles and the German minority are intertwined here, showing the essence of the common historical and architectural heritage on the church and in landscape

<sup>37</sup> See: ŁACH Janusz. 780-lat obecności kościoła pw. Św. Wawrzyńca i Św. Antoniego w Borku Strzelińskim (780 years of the existence of the church of St Lawrence & St Anthony in Borek Strzeliński), Wyd. Parafia Rzymskokatolicka w Borku Strzelińskim, Großburg, 2012a; and ŁACH Janusz (2012b). Symbolika kultury materialnej wsi dolnośląskiej na przykładzie Borka Strzelińskiego, jej wartość i zmiany (Symbolism of material culture of the Lower Silesian village based on the example of Großburg, its values and changes). In: Łach, J., Zaręba, A. (eds), Studia krajobrazowe, Krajobrazy zdefiniowane – znaki i symbole w krajobrazie. Wyd. Zakład Geografii Regionalnej i Turystyki, Uniwersytet Breslauski, Breslau, 2012, pp. 181–196. ISBN 978-83-62673-14-8.

changes. This article, it seems, demonstrates the first and at the same time most important and interesting trace of the Protestant heritage left in Lower Silesia. The refuge church is set against the background of the history of the inhabitants of Borek Strzeliński. An important element that allowed this monument to survive was social acceptance and the lack of destruction of the Protestant heritage in both the sacred and architectural spheres. What is more, the research showed that the results of the balanced civic attitudes of the residents, as well as the action taken to gain and expand understanding of the “Little Homeland” which led to the protection of the monument and thus the legacy of its former residents, in the era of a consumer lifestyle can be safely considered undoubtedly as extremely positive. The inhabitants of Borek Strzeliński, despite the difficult 74-year period of building their own identity on the so-called “Recovered Territories”, have accepted the post-German and Protestant cultural heritage which is deeply rooted in the regional identity of Lower Silesia. Currently, Poles living in these lands present their cultural heritage through the elite of social life: priests, librarians, teachers and, above all, people with a passion for sightseeing and learning and disseminating history. There are more and more reconstruction projects related to the celebration of various historical, religious and folk events, in which not only the local community but also the descendants of former residents can participate. This gives the opportunity to increase awareness and tighten bonds. Moreover, the undeniable fact and the driving force behind the development is that the awareness of the inhabitants allows for a better protection of the multicultural heritage of the region.

According to the authors, the advantage of the research presented here is the collection of exceptional historical data from the former German culture, and the first Polish settlers who came to these areas after 1945 to start a new stage of their life in a new reality and a new cultural landscape. Thanks to the research, it will be possible to carry out further landscape analyses in Borek Strzeliński which will increase awareness of the existing socio-cultural interdependencies in Lower Silesia and show their multidimensionality. In the course of the research there was also a clear indication of the value of in-depth historical and sociological research concerning the village which, according to the authors, could constitute an interesting development of the topic discussed here. In addition, there is a request to undertake in-depth historical and sociological studies, similar to those on the Upper Silesia region,<sup>38</sup> but for socially and ethnically different reasons.

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<sup>38</sup> See: KARCH, Brendan. *Nation and loyalty in a German–Polish Borderland: Upper Silesia, 1848–1960*. German Historical Institute Washington, D.C., and Cambridge University, 2018. ISBN: 978-1-108-48710-8; and BJORK, James. *Neither German nor Pole: Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland*. University of Michigan. ISBN-10: 0472116460; and KAMUSELLA, Tomasz (2006). *Silesia and Central European Nationalisms: The Emergence of National and Ethnic Groups in Prussian Silesia and Austrian Silesia, 1848–1918* (Central European Studies). Purdue University, 2008. ISBN-10 : 1557533717.

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# Cultural Heritage and Cultural Potential: The Use of Cultural Heritage on the Example of an Ethnographic Group

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## *Cultural Heritage and Cultural Potential: The Use of Cultural Heritage on the Example of an Ethnographic Group*

The formation and use of the cultural heritage and identity of local communities is a result of historical development and current opportunities and needs. Cultural heritage becomes a part of the cultural potential as a system. In Čajkov, the most representative village of the Slovak Chilejkar people, there is a system of using the established concept of local cultural heritage through cultural events (several of which are closely connected in terms of organisation and visitors) implemented by local human resources structured into local organisations and institutions, which are relatively diverse but have an internal logic. Some events have an old tradition; others originated and became “traditional” only a few years ago.

The outlined system existing in a municipality with less than 1000 inhabitants reflects the degree of functioning of the local community. It is conditioned by cohesion, hierarchy, the self-confidence of members and appropriate economic conditions. For seniors, besides routine and tradition, the essential activating element is the social dimension – being socially active means meeting others, spending time with peers and eliminating loneliness. It is also an important identity creator in the socialisation, education and especially the upbringing of children and youth.

Keywords: cultural heritage, cultural potential, ethnographic group, Chilejkars, Čajkov

## Introduction

Cultural heritage is a relatively well-discussed phenomenon in several social and scientific disciplines and social practices. The relevant scientific disciplines carry out cultural heritage

research to address their objects of interest (for example, anthropology and man,<sup>1</sup> ethnology and ethnic collectivities/processes, history and past, culturology and culture, or geography and cultural landscape). Such an interest is legitimate but partial. Cultural heritage is contextually reduced to only its discipline-relevant part (for example, ethnology and traditional culture, art history and art, architecture and architectural styles, museology and museum and gallery collections, archaeology and archaeological sites and excavations). A holistic grasp of cultural heritage comes into consideration, perhaps, only in the context of heritology, which is the only discipline primarily interested in cultural heritage. However, the question of defining cultural heritage is always conditioned by the definition of culture.

In the broadest sense, culture features mainly in anthropology (as a universal attribute of humankind/humanity) and culturology (as a universally or constructively understood phenomenon of world culture). In connection with such an understanding of culture, cultural heritage (humanity or world) is also defined. Culture in the distributive understanding (as a way of life and thinking of a particular group of people in a particular time and space) formulates cultural heritage as a specific “prefabricated” structure of the use<sup>2</sup> of cultural elements, complexes and phenomena from the past. This process may be realised by tradition – as an automated, sometimes unconscious continuity of intergenerational transmission resulting from the anthropological nature of cultural heritage. (This seems to be a better term for the “use” of cultural heritage.) Alternatively, it is a sophisticated deliberate treatment of what is called a cultural heritage in order to achieve a clearly identified and expected profit, resulting from a preference for the axiological nature of culture and cultural heritage. (Here is a better notion of the “utilising” of cultural heritage.) Such thinking makes it possible to see traditions in a particular community as a tool for self-identification and representation. Also, as a significant part of the community’s cultural, social or socio-cultural potential or capital, or even a finished product, it can be viewed as a tool of profit.

How does each of these two perspectives arise? What projection, penetration and mutual relationship do they have in a particular socio-cultural reality?

The paper aims to answer these questions on the example of cultural development, creating the concept of cultural heritage, its use and usability as cultural potential today in the local community of the inhabitants of Čajkov, the most representative locality of the ethnographic group of the Chilejgars.

The knowledge is obtained by studying scientific and professional resources about the locality, mostly of ethnographic character, which are the result of previous research by the Tekov Museum in Levice (based in the district town of Levice), supplemented and updated by the field research of students and staff of the Department of Ethnology and World Studies conducted between 2017–2020. The paper uses the synchronous method to clarify the development and current state of selected traditional cultural phenomena today formulated by the local society into cultural heritage. Subsequently, the use of cultural heritage is analysed and interpreted through the first phase of the methodology for evaluating cultural potential

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<sup>1</sup> Historical definitions of culture, as one of the eight groups of definitions of culture, into which A. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn divided 164 definitions of culture in 1952, emphasise the processes of social transmission, culture as a social heritage, cultural traditions, inherited artifacts or summary social heritage. (GAŽOVÁ, Viera. *Úvod do kulturológie*. Bratislava: FF UK, 2009, pp.16–17.)

<sup>2</sup> The relevance of the term is determined by whether it is a descriptive-structural or a procedural concept of cultural heritage.

– cultural mapping.<sup>3</sup> Since the presented paper focuses on the existing system of cultural potential and the relevant phenomena of the local cultural heritage in it, the second phase – evaluation – is secondary, and its processing is partial. Finally, the article outlines the cultural network of the Čajkov locality within/through which the most significant part of its cultural heritage exists today.

The cultural traditions and heritage of the ethnographic group of the Chilejkars represent an important part of the traditional culture and heritage of Slovakia. In some areas of the material and spiritual culture of Slovakia, the culture of the Chilejkars is one of the most significant and representative examples.

## Cultural heritage

Previous theoretical research in the field of cultural heritage over the past decades has resulted in heritage studies as a multidisciplinary platform/paradigm. There has been a shift from descriptive, enumerative and classification concepts to procedural and universalist concepts (static to dynamic).<sup>4</sup> As one of the intensive lines of argument of heritage studies, this tendency currently resonates as critical heritage. It could rescue research and also redefine existing interpretations. Here, research of cultural heritage is research into the process of its creation, perception, survival and the transmission of tangible and intangible cultural forms not only as artifacts but also as functional meanings and symbols. In heritage as a process, cultural heritage acts as a social phenomenon realised mainly through cultural memory, identity, social conflict, social space and tradition<sup>5</sup> and as a tool for socio-economic development through cultural (and more broadly) creative industries.

Cultural heritage in the (most general) anthropological understanding represents all cultural phenomena preserved by intergenerational transmission,<sup>6</sup> elements and complexes usually identified and interpreted through (as) components of material, social and spiritual culture, which its bearers (as stereotypes) use as tools and strategies, or as exclusive characters, activities and ideas. Cultural heritage is defined in terms of content and development precisely by the process of tradition.<sup>7</sup> Without it, human communities could only be perceived on a biological-reproductive basis as packs, flocks or herds. Cultural heritage is a tool for creating (and seeing) human communities as relatively organised social structures operating according to their own rules, ideas and activities.

The primary grasp of cultural heritage characterises the axiological approach as a value (artistic, historical-documentary, cultural-social, economic et cetera). It is done either by preferring those parts of it that the bearers or researchers perceive as valuable (the most valuable) or by interpreting the cultural heritage precisely through examining its value and use. An inseparable essence and result of using the constructed/prefabricated concept of cultural heritage in the public sphere is the pathos and awe presented (and usually actually felt) by the

<sup>3</sup> LENOVSKEÝ, Ladislav et al. *Hodnotiaci model kultúrneho potenciálu*. Nitra: UKF v Nitre, 2014.

<sup>4</sup> SMITH, Laurajane. *The Uses of Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006; and HARRISON, Rodney. *Heritage: Critical approaches*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.

<sup>5</sup> KRIŠKOVÁ, Zdena. The Use of the Socio-Cultural Potential of Local Societies through the Presentation of Cultural Specificities. In: *Slovak Ethnology*, 67 (3), 2019, p. 313.

<sup>6</sup> MURÍN, Ivan. Generational transmission in local culture: An exploration of European research drivers in Central Slovakia. In: *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, 25 (2), 2016, pp. 57–72.

<sup>7</sup> Not in terms of traditional culture, but rather transmitted culture.

participants of this process. A value (or its image) is proven/created by constant “rewriting” in such a discourse.

## Cultural potential

The use of cultural heritage is focused primarily on gaining profit of its current (and potential) bearers, performers and consumers. Cultural heritage contexts are currently contracted either in connection with its inward action - as an identity-forming factor of its bearers, or outwardly, as localisation preconditions for tourism development. Cultural or cultural-historical localisation assumptions are an integral part of the overall system in tourism. Knowing how to use cultural potential, its transformation into cultural capital, and the product's subsequent sale is the competence to successfully implement this transformation. The result is experience, knowledge and emotion in consumers – tourists, locals and visitors, perceived as profit. Within tourism, it is a matter of attracting tourists and keeping them in place long enough for them to use the offered services as much as possible and satisfy their needs with the aim of their future return. It can lead to economic benefits for service providers.

The cultural potential is the sum of the most diverse cultural values used for any profit. With adequate cultural management, it changes into cultural capital. Profit occurs when the cultural potential is transformed into cultural capital by commodification and its being sold as a commodity.

If a piece of cultural heritage adapted into a product becomes a marketing product, an “entrepreneurial” strategy can also occur through unconscious, acculturated management. If any product becomes part of the market, it responds within the supply-demand framework. As demand increases, so does supply (and the value of goods); as demand decreases, so does supply (and the value of goods). These processes also determine and model the structure and content of cultural heritage. Changes and interventions based on economic strategy change the structure of cultural heritage depending on the needs of the market. Furthermore, this is about economic profit and social, emotional or entertainment-relaxation profit.

Following Krišková,<sup>8</sup> we can state that the cultural potential is the hidden and unused capacities of the cultural capital – tangible or intangible – of non/formalised cultural heritage. The valorisation and visibility of unused heritage create an offer for the arrival of economic capital in the form of the preparation of products for touristic, educational, artistic, recreational and leisure activities carried out by institutions and organisations as part of the creative industries. At the same time, it occurs in the creation/maintenance of local identity, genius loci and local patriotism. “The identification of the inhabitants with their locality, the interest in it – which is also built through local cultural values – leads to a greater willingness to participate in its development, to engage in cooperation, to participate in local activities.”<sup>9</sup> It also contributes to the maintaining/creating of social capital, interpersonal ties and communities.

Cultural mapping is used to reveal and document cultural values (cultural resources). The terms cultural value, cultural resources and cultural potential can be understood as synonyms in this case. Cultural mapping is a fundamental precondition for the transformation of potential into capital. It aims to identify (recognise, determine and describe) these sources, classify them

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<sup>8</sup> KRIŠKOVÁ, Zdena. *Kultúrne dedičstvo a pamäťové inštitúcie*. Krakov: Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 2017, pp. 22–23.

<sup>9</sup> JANTO, Juraj. Kultúrny a sociálny kapitál lokality ako prostriedok miestneho rozvoja. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo = Museology and Cultural Heritage : vedecký recenzovaný časopis : peer-reviewed scholarly journal*, 1 (1), 2013, p. 94.

(divide into categories and classes) and then evaluate them quantitatively and qualitatively. It is a taxonomy of cultural resources.<sup>10</sup>

Cultural potential consists of: a) culture (and the cultural heritage within it); b) cultural organisations and institutions; c) cultural events and cultural products; d) cultural infrastructure; and e) human resources (individual professions and cultural/creative sector).<sup>11</sup> Each of these categories has its evaluation criteria, resulting from the different nature of the category. During mapping and evaluation, it is necessary to obtain specific information about each element/complex/phenomenon. The status assessment period is the present. The research object can be a community, local society, region, state or ethnic, ethnographic, religious or any other defined group.<sup>12</sup> In the system of mapping, identification, and documentation of cultural resources, material (tangible) elements (resource mapping) are more often reflected. However, there are also many more identifiable and measurable aspects of an intangible nature (genius loci, collective values, identity and attitudes, human resources, symbols, signs, standard of living, local ties or neighbourly relations). Their presence is often much more significant than the existence of tangible elements. Their mapping, identification and detection is a much more sophisticated system (community identity mapping).<sup>13</sup>

There are pulsating and conditional ties and relationships between the mentioned cultural potential components, creating a cultural network. These bonds can exist naturally, but they can also be formed. The more sophisticated and elaborate the relationships, the more space opens up to exploit the potential. Intensive relationships between the various components support the creation of an effective tool for the use of cultural heritage – cultural clusters and networks.

Cultural mapping and evaluation create an image/map of cultural potential in the researched locality/community. Cross-sectionally, it concerns various areas of culture (educational, museum, gallery and theatre activities, activities in the field of audio-visuals, the protection of monuments et cetera), as well as other areas with cultural representation (municipal policy and economy, strategic presentation of localities and regions, social life, recreation, tourism et cetera). Together they form an inspiration and knowledge base and delimit the implementation framework in which it is necessary to move around in creative activity.<sup>14</sup>

## Locality of Čajkov

The Chilejars are an ethnographic group in Dolné Pohronie, in the region of the traditional culture of Tekov, in the central part of the territory of the former Tekov county. The Chilejkar ethnographic area lies only a few kilometres north of the district town of Levice on the left bank of the River Hron. It consists of the territory of 9 municipalities and their cadastres.<sup>15</sup>

The warm area on the border between the Carpathians and the Pannonian Basin has stimulated a slightly above-average occurrence of lowland culture features and the occurrence

<sup>10</sup> DUBSKÁ, Michala and MICHALÍK, Boris. Klasifikácia a evalvácia kultúrneho dedičstva ako predpoklad jeho využitia : Mapovanie a využiteľnosť kultúrnych hodnôt a aktivít. In: *Národná osveta : mesačník pre rozvoj miestnej kultúry a záujmovej tvorivosti*, 22 (11–12), 2012, pp. 33–36.

<sup>11</sup> LENOVSKEÝ, Ladislav et al. *Hodnotiaci model kultúrneho potenciálu*. Nitra: UKF v Nitre, 2014, p. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Theoretically, each historical period left tangible and intangible cultural traces in the studied area (environment).

<sup>13</sup> LENOVSKEÝ, Ladislav et al. *Hodnotiaci model kultúrneho potenciálu*. Nitra: UKF v Nitre, 2014, p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> LUTHER, Daniel. Nehmotné kultúrne dedičstvo (identifikácia a ochrana). In: Zdena Krišková (ed.). *Revitalisation of Traditional Culture and Local Identity*. Krakow: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, 2013, pp. 9–22.

<sup>15</sup> Hronské Kľačany, Starý Tekov, Veľké Kozmálovce, Tlmače, Rybník, Čajkov, Hronské Kosihy, Podlužany, Nová Dedina (originally Tekovská Nová Ves, Opatová and Gondovo)

of some features of mountain culture. It is a West Slovak lowland type of traditional culture with a slightly above-average occurrence of typical phenomena.<sup>16</sup>

This micro-region's identity has been determined by borders, which arose based on the ethnic, religious and cultural differences of its inhabitants from the surrounding environment and mutual similarities within Chilejkars villages, which are still almost homogeneously inhabited by Catholic Slovaks. Boundaries have been defined in various ways with logical consistency and precision. The eastern border is also formed by Slovak villages, but no longer those of Tekov, rather those of Hont. Most of these villages are Lutheran. The southern border is formed by the cadastre of the district town of Levice, a craft, commercial and administrative centre which had already become a centre of industry and urban culture in the Middle Ages. To the west, on the other side of the River Hron, lie other Tekov villages. Until the Second World War, they were inhabited mainly by Hungarians, some of whom were Calvinists. To the north are Tekov, Slovak and Catholic villages that lie behind the ridge of the Štiavnica Mountains and on the other bank of the River Hron.<sup>17</sup>

In the national context, the Chilejkars are representatives of the traditional culture of the Tekov region. They identify themselves and internally differentiate themselves according to the municipality they live in. Within the region, they are most often identified as Chilejkars, especially on occasions of cultural heritage presentation. In the region, the designation Navelers is also known, which has a comical rather than pejorative meaning and is derived from the lowered line of the stem part of the local women's folk clothing (under the belly button), which is unique in Slovakia.<sup>18</sup> The village of Čajkov is one of the most important representatives of the Chilejkar micro-region and the whole of Tekov. It was one of the 250 research sites of the Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia project (1971–1974) and the only one in the Chilejkar villages. Also, the village as a whole has been a relatively frequent target of field research by ethnographers and historians, especially from the Tekov Museum in Levice (K. Holbová, J. Dano, K. Gellenová, P. Tesák, K. Sándor). From the end of the 1980s until the turn of the millennium, several cultural-historical or ethnohistorical collection, interpretation or analytical works were created.<sup>19</sup> Since the 1990s, especially after the year 2000, there has been an apparent interest by the local educational and socio-professional elite in collecting and publishing knowledge about the village of geographical, historical and ethnographic character, which, among other things, has resulted in the publication of a monograph devoted to the village (2001).<sup>20</sup> Ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological research has also taken place in the micro-region, the results of which are processed and presented as musical and dance work in the repertoires of local folklore groups, regional and Slovak folklore ensembles. A good example is the collection of songs by M. Járek (2001).<sup>21</sup> Čajkov and the whole Chilejkar micro-region is a permanent subject of ethnological research with dozens of professional, scientific and artistic outputs and final theses of university students. These activities have significantly

<sup>16</sup> KOVAČEVIČOVÁ, Soňa. XX Kultúrne oblasti a regióny. In: *Etnografický atlas Slovenska*, Bratislava: VEDA, 1990, pp.102–104.

<sup>17</sup> HOLBOVÁ, Katarína. Čo bolo a je pekné v čilejkárskom Čajkove. In: Jaromír Muráni (ed.). *Čajkov spomína a ďakuje 1276–2001*. Čajkov: Obecný úrad, 2001, p. 73.

<sup>18</sup> HOLBOVÁ, Katarína. Čilejkári. In: Ján Botík and Peter Slavkovský (eds). *Encyklopédia ľudovej kultúry Slovenska I*. Bratislava: VEDA 1995, pp. 75–76.

<sup>19</sup> CHUDOBA, Andrej. *Sedemdesiat sedem povestí spod slovenskej brány*. Bratislava: Mladé letá, 1974, HLÔŠKA, Milan. *Od Tekova vietor veje*. Bratislava: Obzor, 1984.

<sup>20</sup> MURÁNI, Jaromír (ed.). *Čajkov spomína a ďakuje 1276–2001*. Čajkov: Obecný úrad, 2001.

<sup>21</sup> JÁREK, Marián. *Zverboval sa Janík*. Nitra: Dom Matice slovenskej, 2001.

contributed to the self-awareness and transformation of part of the local traditional culture into the cultural heritage and its current use. In addition, the preservation of cultural traditions here is conditioned by conformity, conservatism and a relatively closed society with strong local patriotism.

The sources of livelihood that the local population can produce through culture and under the influence of the surrounding geographical conditions determine the population's size. A lack of resources reduces the population, birth rate and immigration, as mortality and emigration increase, and vice versa. In Čajkov, the population has been relatively stable in a broader historical context (in the last two centuries, about 1000–1300).<sup>22</sup> Migration movements that would significantly affect the current local society and its culture are represented by emigration to America and Western Europe. Compared to the more impoverished regions of the territory of today's Slovakia, in Čajkov and the Čilejkar micro-region in general, emigration has occurred to a lesser extent.<sup>23</sup> Instead, local and micro-regional endogamy and job opportunities in the vicinity have eliminated migratory movements.<sup>24</sup> Here, the phenomenon of immigrants – *prindľi* – is based on a small number of non-local spouses and permanently settled workers. Even today, paradoxically, its “convexity” and reflection on the local population are more related to its uniqueness. Over the last 50 years, the number of Čajkov locals has been steadily declining. From more than 1300 at the beginning of the 1970s, it decreased, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, to approximately 1000 at present. According to the census, in 2011, 97.43% declared their mother tongue to be Slovak, and 97.53% of surveyed respondents, i.e., 988 inhabitants, claimed Slovak nationality (further Hungarian 2, Ukrainian 1, others 2, unidentified 20). The Roman Catholic faith comprised 91.21% (924 inhabitants), then the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession 4, Greek Catholic 1, Reformed Church – Calvinists 1, Orthodox 2, Jewish 1, other 1, non-religious 31, unidentified 48. The ratio between men and women was balanced in all age categories; women older than 65 significantly outnumbered men of that age group.<sup>25</sup>

Besides, the character of Čajkov cultural heritage is also clarified by the stratification of employment. In 1910, agriculture was the primary source of livelihood for 89% of the productive population, while 5% were in crafts and industry, 1% in public services and the liberal professions, and 4% were datallers and domestic servants.<sup>26</sup> In the second half of the 20th century, agricultural production was collectivised and mechanised in this purely agrarian area. As an important factor in Čajkov farming until the era of collectivisation and the establishment

<sup>22</sup> The most significant historical demographic changes are population losses due to cholera epidemics in 1838 (details are not known) and in 1855 (170 people became ill in 48 days and 42 people died, including 21 children), and the deaths of 34 men from Čajkov who fell in the First World War, 8 Jewish residents with families, deported and murdered in Auschwitz, and 5 insurgents killed in German concentration camps during the Second World War. (TESÁK, Peter and VALACHYOVÁ, Mária. Prehľad dejín obce Čajkov. In: Jaromír Muráni (ed.). Čajkov *spomína a ďakuje 1276–2001*. Čajkov: Obecný úrad, 2001, pp. 29–71)

<sup>23</sup> This is about emigration to the USA, Argentina and France at the end of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth century. (DANO, Ján. Žatva a mlatba v „čilejkárskom“ regióne. In: Karol Sándor and Peter Behula (eds). *Jubilejný zborník Tekovského múzea v Leviciach*. Levice: Tekovské múzeum v Leviciach, 1987, p. 83)

<sup>24</sup> Seasonal workers from central Pohronie regularly came to the village, especially from the poorer villages around Žiar nad Hronom. In the interwar period, about a third of the productive inhabitants of Čajkov went to large estates in Levice and its surroundings seasonally, or to richer farmers as grooms and maids year-round. (DANO, Ján. Žatva a mlatba v „čilejkárskom“ regióne. In: Karol Sándor and Peter Behula (eds), *Jubilejný zborník Tekovského múzea v Leviciach*. Levice: Tekovské múzeum v Leviciach, 1987, pp. 83–91)

<sup>25</sup> OSR 2020 ([http://www.sodbtn.sk/obce/obec\\_stat\\_vek.php?kod\\_obce=502111](http://www.sodbtn.sk/obce/obec_stat_vek.php?kod_obce=502111))

<sup>26</sup> VEREŠÍK, Ján. I Úvodné mapy. In: *Etnografický atlas Slovenska*. Bratislava: NÚSAV, VEDA, 1990, p. 9.

of the state retail network, the sale of the surplus product took place mainly at the annual fairs and weekly markets in Levice.<sup>27</sup> In 1950, the United Farmers' cooperative was established in Čajkov.<sup>28</sup> In addition to agricultural production, animal production also developed here. It had a qualitatively and quantitatively great significance and supra-regional importance in the 1980s.

The textile, engineering, food, chemical, glass and nuclear industries were particularly strong in the region in the third quarter of the twentieth century. They employed thousands of people.<sup>29</sup> Industrialisation caused changes in the traditional socio-professional structure of Čajkov, and by intensifying the urbanisation of Levice, the number of its inhabitants declined. In 1970, only 34% of productive Čajkov locals worked in agriculture, 2% in forestry, 3% in construction, 4% in transport and communications, 4% in trade and public catering, 10% in other sectors and up to 43% in industry. It was a significant change compared to the 5% in crafts and industry and 89% in agriculture in 1910.<sup>30</sup>

Nationwide socio-economic and economic-political changes in Čajkov began in the late 1980s. They have been mainly related to the decline and demise of the United Farmers' cooperative and the resumption of private farming in the form of several self-employed farmers and breeders, as well as the development of private viticulture and winemaking. Job opportunities in companies that have survived the period of transformation, although mainly in a reduced form, or in companies located in the new industrial park in Levice, constitute new conditions for labourers. The phenomenon of commuting has re-emerged, but due to new possibilities of traveling to more distant cities, such as Nitra and Bratislava, emigration, mainly to Western Europe, has also been steadily increasing.

## The cultural heritage of Čajkov as part of its cultural potential

### A - Cultural heritage<sup>31</sup>

#### 1. *Disappearance of the breeding of geese for the sale of goose quarters and livers*

The expansion of domestic goose breeding for sale was widespread in Čajkov from the end of the nineteenth century to the end of the second third of the twentieth century. Climate, the presence of a watercourse, demand and, in particular, the acquisition of the ability of farms to

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<sup>27</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, 6 fairs and markets were held annually in Levice twice a week. Every first Monday of the month there was a cattle market. For example, in 1903 it sold 1,045 horses, 3,129 cattle, 1,537 sheep and 7,740 pigs. In 1932, 23,000 horses, 3,000 oxen, 4,000 cows and 5,100 young cattle were brought to the market. (SÁNDOR, Karol. Z činnosti Tekovského múzea. Historické mozaika. In: Karol Sándor and Peter Behula (eds). *Jubilejný zborník Tekovského múzea v Leviceiach*. Levice: Tekovské múzeum v Leviceiach, 1987, pp. 45–46) During the second half of the twentieth century, fairs changed their primary function from economic to social-entertainment. The function of weekly markets has not changed, but rather has become a complement to the increasingly developed retail network.

<sup>28</sup> UHNÁK, Ján. Poľnohospodárske družstevníctvo. In: Jaromír Muráni (ed.). *Čajkov spomína a ďakuje 1276–2001*. Čajkov: Obecný úrad, 2001, pp. 146–167.

<sup>29</sup> These are the most important national and international companies at that time: Textile plants V.I. Lenina Levice (Levitex), Slovak Energy Engineering – SES Tlmače, Agrochemical company Levice, Mílex Levice, West Slovak poultry plants Levice, West Slovak wineries Levice, Novochema Levice, Cosmetics Levice, Preciosa Tlmače, Nuclear Power Plant Mochovce. For example, SES Tlmače (originally *Závody S. M. Kirova n. p.*) employed more than 7,000 people in the 1980s (today 500, while the number is decreasing).

<sup>30</sup> VEREŠÍK, Ján. I Úvodné mapy. In: *Etnografický atlas Slovenska*. Bratislava: NÚSAV, VEDA, 1990, p. 9.

<sup>31</sup> A comprehensive evaluation of cultural heritage within the methodology requires each identified element/phenomenon to find out: state of preservation/functionality, availability/access, method of access, use, users/addressees, meaning/reach.

grow maize in the required quality and quantity as a basic feed<sup>32</sup> have intensified goose farming in such a way that it started producing a considerable economic income. In Čajkov, goose meat was almost exclusively a selling item and at home only for holiday and festive food.<sup>33</sup> In the second half of the twentieth century, the purchase of livers by traders was introduced. The breeding of geese for sale here was widespread until the 1970s. Then, after a gradual decline, it completely disappeared in the 1980s.<sup>34</sup> Currently, geese are kept in only a few households for personal consumption. The original and still well-known tradition of selling roasted goose quarters in the region, especially in the markets and fairs in Levice, is now completely gone.

The last former actors who remember past events are women aged 80 and over. Gellenová's study<sup>35</sup> "Eating and preserving goose meat in the 'Chilejkar' villages in Tekov" from 1992 could provide relevant material in possible revitalisation activities of traditional gastronomy in the locality and micro-region. Today, goose meat is represented minimally at existing events in the village. These mainly serve scones, sour cakes, strudel, perky, párance, venison goulash, pork specialties, lokše with duck or goose livers and, exceptionally and seasonally, also freshly cooked plum jam. Specific events of the type of goose feasts in the old school premises with the oldest residents' participation and comments represent a unique challenge. The addressees of the event can be family members and a wider circle of relatives and friends who regularly participate in current events in Čajkov. In the village, a still-living tradition is the consumption of a well-fed goose, salted, and baked on a clay baking tray, exclusively served cold with bread. The tradition takes place every year during the harvesting of wine grapes.

## 2. Viticulture and winemaking

In Čajkov, the rural type of viticulture is based on the cultivation of vineyards in its northern part.<sup>36</sup> It is processed into wine and stored directly in the vineyards in the relevant viticultural buildings. There are currently about 300 of them in Čajkov. Wine and grapes are historically

<sup>32</sup> For example, at the beginning of the twentieth century in the autumn, 8–10 thousand goose quarters were sold at one weekly market. (SÁNDOR, Karol. Z činnosti Tekovského múzea. Historické mozaika. In: Karol Sándor and Peter Behula (eds). *Jubilejný zborník Tekovského múzea v Leviciach*. Levice: Tekovské múzeum v Leviciach, 1987, pp. 31–52)

<sup>33</sup> Goose breeding was also associated with a number of superstitions, customs, magical acts and elements of folk medicine focused on mating geese, laying eggs, grazing and treatment, but also on ideas about how the success of goose breeding in women is related to other areas of her life within the family and the local community. (GELLENOVÁ, Katarína. Poverové zvyky pri tradičnom chove husí v „čilejkárskych“ obciach. In: Karol Sándor and Peter Behula (eds). *Vlastivedný spravodaj Tekovského múzea v Leviciach*. Levice: Tekovské múzeum v Leviciach, 11, 1986, pp. 18–22; and GELLENOVÁ, Katarína. Jedlá a konzervovanie husacieho mäsa v „čilejkárskych“ dedinách v Tekove. In: Vladimír Smetana (ed.). *Acta museum tekoviensis Levice. Zborník Tekovského múzea v Leviciach*. Levice: Tekovské múzeum v Leviciach, 1, 1992, pp. 81–86)

<sup>34</sup> Back in the 1970s, many Čajkov households kept 20–30 geese, almost all for sale. In the last phase of breeding geese for sale, the geese were also sold on selected days in front of a bakery in the village. An important aspect of the cessation of goose breeding was the reduction of its profitability (increase in costs and decrease in the price of meat) and, in part, the replacement of feathers by quilts, when the need for feather production ceased.

<sup>35</sup> GELLENOVÁ, Katarína. Jedlá a konzervovanie husacieho mäsa v „čilejkárskych“ dedinách v Tekove. In: Vladimír Smetana (ed.). *Acta museum tekoviensis Levice. Zborník Tekovského múzea v Leviciach*. Levice: Tekovské múzeum v Leviciach, 1, 1992, pp. 81–86.

<sup>36</sup> Localities: Deberča, Bubláčka, Bálíčky, Na rýľovom (Rýľovka), Vínna dolina, Močiarňô (Močiarne), Podhorie, Sádovie, Kruhe, Hodruša, Pod múrama (Na múrach), Pod Kemencom.

important trade items.<sup>37</sup>

Traditional production techniques and inventory are still preserved. Manual processing is practiced mainly by small winegrowers, who make up the most significant part of local winegrowers (approx. 80 winegrowers), manage vineyards with an area of 5 to 30 acres, and produce wine mainly for personal use. The largest winegrowers and vintners cultivate from five to twenty hectares of vineyards and produce tens of thousands of litres of wine (the largest well over a hundred thousand litres). The generational change in the period after the year 2000 did not occur in many wine-growing areas, even if they were more prominent than Čajkov. The vineyards partly disappeared, and the area was urbanised in most places, unlike in Čajkov, where it was rather successful. Approximately half a million litres of bottled or cask wine originating from Čajkov enter commercial networks every year. However, there are also more numerous and smaller vineyards, uncultivated or rented, due to lack of interest on the owner's side or lack of working capacity. Other vineyards are bought by larger winegrowers, or non-local and non-regional buyers, which was until recently highly unusual in Čajkov, difficult for the locals to imagine and perceived as a negative phenomenon.

The current state of the wine-growing settlement in Čajkov provides a plastic picture of vineyard cultivation and wine production in all its developmental stages. Typological, functional, construction-technical and architectural diversity and the preservation of a wide range of buildings (from the historical to present-day ones, from excellently preserved/reconstructed/maintained to skeletons, remains and fragments), including vineyards, infrastructure and surrounding types of cultural landscape (orchards, forests, pastures, non-forest woody vegetation, watercourses, forest paths and sidewalks) fulfil a recreational and leisure, cultural-social, historical-cognitive, scientific-documentary and landscape-creating function.<sup>38</sup> This creates an extraordinary potential for greater use in tourism, emphasising hunting, viticulture, hiking, mushroom picking, conservation, mountain biking, outdoor running, orienteering and cross-country skiing. The current use of this potential is small, at the level of one-day suburban tourism. The reason for this is that accommodation and gastronomic facilities are absent in the locality.

Viticultural equipment, instruments and other artifacts related to the cultivation and processing of the vineyard and the production of wine are collected in the old school building. They are occasionally lent for local and regional events or installed inside and outside the old school building. They are registered and presented as the Vineyard Museum in Čajkov.

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<sup>37</sup> While at the end of the seventeenth century the cultivation of vineyards in the whole of Tekov fell due to non-harvesting (in the county the total area was only 70 hectares of vineyards), in the eighteenth century the area of vineyards increased intensively (in 1715 – 157 hectares, 1746 – already 638 hectares and 1786 – 754 hectares). The largest areas within Tekov County were then in Čajkov (65 hectares), Levice (59 hectares) and Rybník (40 hectares). The quality of the wine is also evidenced by the data from 1720 when the price of the shackle (approx. 51 litres) of Čajkov or pond wine was 4 gold coins and of Bratislava was 2.5 gold coins. (SÁNDOR, Karol. Z činnosti Tekovského múzea. Historické mozaika. In: Karol Sándor and Peter Behula (eds). *Jubilejný zborník Tekovského múzea v Leviciach*. Levice: Tekovské múzeum v Leviciach, 1987, p. 45). At that time, the relatively close, rich and extremely densely populated mining towns were the most important market for wine.

<sup>38</sup> On the typology, mapping, analysis and perspectives of the use and preservation of the cultural landscape with an emphasis on viticulture focuses, CHRASTINA, Peter. Vinohradníctvo a rybníkárstvo v Trenčíne a jeho okolí. In: *Historická geografie*, 36 (1), 2010, pp. 73–98.

### 3. *Historical Episode of Emigration for Work (Americans)*

Although the topic of emigration to work overseas only concerns a few families in Čajkov (for example, in 1927, 25 families emigrated), it is a crucial aspect concerning the development of local culture. As in most cases, the most important factor for those who decided to emigrate was the high level of poverty and the effort to improve their economic and social conditions in this way. It was not about general poverty but the stratum of the poorest. At the beginning of migration at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, only men left. With the start of the First World War, women joined them. The plan was that after the husband had settled in, his wife and children would follow. This plan was not always fulfilled. Men left for work in America throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Some returned permanently after many years of experience, and others only came for visits during a ten-year or more extended working stay. Often, their original plan to return after a few years changed to a lifelong stay, and a permanent return home became an option only after reaching retirement age to live in a circle and under the care of relatives. During their stay in America, migrants tried to keep in touch with home through letters and postcards. They regularly sent packages to their close relatives or even to the family members of their close relatives, especially at Christmas and Easter. They contained quality fabrics for clothing (brocade, cashmere), ribbons, jewellery, haberdashery, beads, fashion clothing (scarves, towels, shirts, ties), home textiles (curtains, tablecloths). These materials and accessories modified the folk clothing of the Chilejkar and distinguished not only the Chilejkar from others but also members of American families from the rest of the local population. During the working stay, the men also sent home money with which the wife, adult son, brother or some other next of kin bought agricultural land as needed, reconstructed the house or had a new one built, bought livestock or mechanised farming. In other cases, the men did so themselves upon their return. In their absence, relatives took care of the property.

The phenomenon of Americanism caused changes in the local society and its culture. In material culture, it contributed to changes in clothing, housing and modernisation of means of production. In the social field, it caused a change in the previously stable social hierarchy and status of the Čajkov families. These included the vertical upward social mobility of American families and the rapid improvement in their wealth. This often occurred, however, at the cost of family breakdown, with the separation of parents from children, the separation of siblings, property disputes or general alienation.

At present, American history/mythology in Čajkov families is partly handed down as part of the families' cultural heritage – as memories, stories and incidents, or through various artifacts. Among other things, in 2015, the exhibition “Chilejkar Americans - emigration from the ‘Chilejkar’ micro-region to the USA” was opened in the Tekov Museum (by the authors M. Miškovičová Savová and M. Mikulová) as a result of four years of the collecting and processing of objects from private archives and households of Chilejkar-American families.

In connection with the current migration situation in the European (but also global) context and the need for educational and informational activities in the environment of (not only) children and youth, the use of “domestic-American” issue in a regional context can become a relatively effective tool in getting acquainted with all circumstances, aspects and consequences of migration, emigration, new home building, adaptation, integration, intercultural communication, interethnic relations and processes. The most plastic, most trustworthy and most comprehensible images are created on the example of members of their group. Perceiving past and present migrations (including labour) only as positive processes with an emphasis

on human rights, freedom, courage, a realisation of dreams and improvement of one's own economic and social situation, the acquisition of new knowledge and skills or language skills is equally as deficient and inaccurate (misleading) as a purposeful pointing out only of negative consequences. Examples of negative consequences are the depopulation of source localities of productive and reproductive age members, problems resulting from mutual differences of immigrants and the local population, a failure to meet expectations and ambitions of both migrants and recipients that arose based on unrealistic, idealised ideas and stereotypes.

#### 4. *Women's costume as the most significant feature*

Women's folk clothing in Čajkov is amongst the most representative in Slovakia. It has undergone major changes over the last 100 years. At first, at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was a work and holiday clothing type. After the First World War, the originally low-coloured dark clothing changed materially and decoratively. Patches, beads, crepes and ribbons were added. The silhouette of a woman changed (skirts were shortened, petticoats were added, cardboard/paper pads were used). The bonnet already had relatively over-emphasised contours at the beginning of the twentieth century, and leather pads – *fizier* – were used.<sup>39</sup> Ceremonial clothing (for example, *mentieka* – a bride's coat) remained conservative.<sup>40</sup> The penetration of urban women's clothing into Čajkov began after 1945, first by Čajkov girls, later by married women. Traditional clothing was still commonly worn by women in the 1960s.<sup>41</sup> In the middle of the twentieth century, the wearing of traditional men's clothing was reduced only to holidays and today to stage clothing within the local theatre and folklore group.

The current representative form of the Chilejkar woman's costume is the most decorated variant, from the middle of the twentieth century. Its majesty is declared by its extraordinary decoration and colour, as well as the tall, richly decorated horned bonnet. Initially, older women's clothing used to be less majestic than the clothing of younger ones, but no less complicated, made of quality materials and precisely crafted. This generational differentiation in Čajkov disappeared with the development of the latest variant of the costume and the passing of the previous generation of costume wearers. The current generation of its wearers, especially during the holidays, still uses a "colourful" variant of the costume, which, according to traditional rules, should be given up after reaching the upper limit of middle age. This has not happened, however, because the younger generation that was supposed to take over this custom no longer wears any costumes. Therefore, the oldest generation of women has chosen this solution, still liking to wear the variant traditionally intended for younger women.

At present, approximately 10–12 of the oldest women, over the age of 80, wear a full traditional costume daily in Čajkov. They wear it exclusively and for life. On the other hand, its use depends on their health conditions as their age, the weight of the clothing and the complicated process of getting dressed constitute considerable challenges. These women precisely know the entire system of traditional women's clothing in Čajkov. Their desire to remain distinct and unique motivates them also to familiarise themselves with the patterns used in the surrounding Chilejkar villages. They know possible and still tolerable combinations of clothing components, colours and decorative elements. Failure to follow these rules in traditional clothing is unacceptable to them and a cause for ridicule and shame. They strictly

<sup>39</sup> NOSÁEOVÁ, Viera. *Odievanie*. In: *Slovensko*, Eud 2. časť. Bratislava: Obzor, 1975, p. 872.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 891.

<sup>41</sup> HOLBOVÁ, Katarína. *Čo bolo a je pekné v čilejkárskom Čajkove*. In: Jaromír Muráni (ed.). *Čajkov spomína a ďakuje 1276–2001*. Čajkov: Obecný úrad, 2001, p. 77.

distinguish between everyday and festive peasant clothing (*hábi*), including ceremonial clothing, especially in connection with church holidays and appropriate clothing for services. In some cases, younger women of age 70 years and above also don such garb, but in combinations of traditional clothing (most often skirts, petticoats, and headgear) with newer styles (for example, modern shoes, knitted sweaters). Some of their peers, or women a few years younger, still wore the costume as girls, but decided to “change” after getting married or after their children’s births, mainly for practical reasons.

Women who wore the costume every day did not give it up even if they worked outside the village. The relationship of the wearers to their folk costume derives from the belief in its exceptionality, value and uniqueness and from the social status of these women and their families, which they still demonstrate in Čajkov by wearing specific costumes. It serves as a local and social identification.<sup>42</sup>

The current use of the costume in Čajkov, in addition to by the abovementioned women, is tied to a selected group of Čajkov locals and specific opportunities related to traditional events and activities in the village (folklore performances, competitions, parades, annual events et cetera). The costume (often adapted as stage clothing) is used by the local folklore group Dolina, the male singing group Čajkov vincúri, the singing group at the Pensioners’ Union, the children’s folklore group Klások and the children’s cymbalo music Slamienok.

Most members of the middle generation and younger never wore the costume on any occasion. In recent years, it is possible to see efforts to use it at traditional events in the village and individually as part of wedding customs. It is worn during Thanksgiving for the harvest after the vintage, at services in the local church, for a costumed procession through the village, at weddings when a bride is given a “horned” bonnet, or when dressing a husband and wife to be in costume before the trip to the wedding or during the wedding reception after midnight. With such demands, sometimes including the role of the elder, they address the local folklore group Dolina.

Current producers in Čajkov – Ľubica Chlebová, Anna Ištóková (they make complete costumes or costumed dolls), Mária Petrovičová a Mária Uhnáková (they specialise only in costumed dolls) – are registered under the name “Chilejkar costume – creative workshop of Čajkov”. They are supported by the project of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic entitled “Folklore the Soul of Slovakia”. Mária Nováková makes embroidery on *pruclíky*. In addition to the above, Ján Uhnák is also involved in the production of costumed dolls. The local primary school has set up its own “costume corner”.

Folk clothing from Čajkov co-creates the ethnographic part of the permanent exhibition of the Tekov Museum in Levice, where it represents one of five clothing micro-regions of the region. In the museum, it is presented on mannequins placed on a podium. Headgear – towels and bonnets – ornaments and jewellery have a separate place in the exhibition. The increased acquisition, scientific research and presentation activities of the Tekov Museum on the theme of the Čilejkar micro-region, including the village of Čajkov, can be observed from the 1970s. It has been related to the arrival of a strong generation of historians and ethnographers and continues to the present.

Folk clothing forms a significant part of the permanent exhibition of the Municipal Museum in Čajkov. This exhibition is also presented under the name “House of Folk Crafts”. In two rooms and part of the corridor, mannequins dressed in men’s and women’s folk clothing are

<sup>42</sup> UHNÁK, A. *Čilejkári – tradícia ako symbol kultúrnej identity*. Trnava: UCM v Trnave, 2020.

installed, other clothing components are placed on the walls and in period chests of drawers and wardrobes.

##### 5. *Lost ornamentation of poured water patterns*

There are only a few traditional buildings left in Čajkov compared to in some other Chilejkar villages. Several are from the first half of the twentieth century, but those from the second half predominate. Collectivisation and the elimination of farming contributed to the removal of most farm buildings in the urban area.<sup>43</sup> Traditional architecture is present more in wine-growing settlements than in the village. The ornamentation and decorativeness of the preserved buildings here represent a clear connection between the primary function of decoration and the artistic character of the decoration.

In the collective memory of the oldest inhabitants, in ethnographic works and some monographs on Chilejkar villages, the already extinct watering of patterns is recorded. It originated and was directly linked to urban building and architectural assumptions as characteristics of Chilejkar villages.

On Sundays and other holidays, women, most often girls, poured jugs with one or two openings in a decorative way with spoutings of water and watered the clay floors of rooms, pitches, basements, courtyards, outbuildings or parts of the street in front of the house. The most skilful girls had the task of pouring water on a clay-treated space in the village for a dance party.<sup>44</sup> Ornamental water pouring was one of the important expressions of the girls' skills and, in general, of the signs of girlhood. During the Sunday walks of the youth, the water pouring patterns were subject to evaluation. Also, before festive, official and important visits, the floor in a house was made wet by "water pouring" as a sign of respect for the visit and, conversely, the visitors evaluated the quality of pouring and the skill of the woman who carried it out. Eight to ten basic patterns, along with their combinations, and variants were used. The same occurred in folk costumes and other embroidered fabrics.<sup>45</sup>

In the middle of the twentieth century, water pouring disappeared with the disappearance of clay floors in houses and gradually with the last generation's maturation. The oldest generation of women who used to engage in this custom still knows the patterns. Water pouring patterns are elaborated in a study by K. Gellenová, published in the Slovak National Museum Ethnography Proceedings in 1984.<sup>46</sup> They motivated the Parish Office in Starý Tekov (also a village in Čilejkár) and inspired an artistic wireman in the production of the main chandelier in the church in Starý Tekov.<sup>47</sup> The watering of the patterns is shown in the folklore piece "Na priedomí", which is in the local folklore group Dolina's repertoire.

Ornaments are a relatively easy-to-use motif in art education, a circle of dexterous hands in a local primary school, or a local kindergarten in a music-movement class in the development

<sup>43</sup> TESÁK, Peter and VALACHYOVÁ, Mária. Prehľad dejín obce Čajkov. In: Jaromír Muráni (ed.). *Čajkov spomína a ďakuje 1276–2001*. Čajkov: Obecný úrad, 2001, pp. 29–71.

<sup>44</sup> HOLBOVÁ, Katarína. Farebnosť a ornamentika v ľudovom výtvarnom prejave s príkladmi z regiónu Levického okresu. In: Karol Sándor and Peter Behula (eds). *Vlastivedný spravodaj Tekovského múzea v Leviciach*. Levice: Tekovské múzeum v Leviciach, 1986, 11, p. 16.

<sup>45</sup> GELLENOVÁ, Katarína. Polievacie vzory z „čilejkárskych“ dedín v okolí Levíc. In: Igor Krištek and Alojz Habovštiak (eds). *Zborník SNM Etnografia*, Martin: EM SNM, 1984, pp. 132–140.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> PÁLENÍK, Ján. Luster završil vnútornú vybavenosť farského kostola. 2014. In: *Starý Tekov*. <https://www.starytekov.sk/luster-zavasil-vnutornu-vybavenost-farskeho-kostola-clanok/mid/47673/>.html

of children's movement culture and motor skills.<sup>48</sup> Besides, they are an exciting challenge for graphic design, marketing, branding and other stage use. In connection with the development of scenographic methods and the improvement of technical conditions, the innovative use of poured ornaments in folklore ensembles' environment remains a current and relevant challenge.

## 6. Dialect

The Čajkov dialect belongs to the Chilejkar dialects. These are the Tekov dialect, the southern group of the Central Slovak dialect and the Tekov Pohronie dialect, which is on the border with the Hontian dialect. It is easily recognisable within the dialects of Slovakia because it is considerably different. At present, the dialect is used as a complex communication system by the oldest and middle generation of Čajkov locals in mutual communication within their kinship, locality and micro-region. Many of them have little knowledge of the dialect or none at all.<sup>49</sup> The younger of these generations knows the dialect, and partly uses it to communicate with older people at home and in the locality. They no longer use it in mutual communication. Young people and children do not know the dialect (or only partially) or do not use it. Čajkov locals, like other Chilejgars, speak with a specific accent, regardless of whether in dialect or from written language. In addition to the high melody of speech, it is also about terminology, sentence structure, word order and softening. Based on the dialect used only by the oldest inhabitants of the Chilejgars' villages today, they can often determine from which Chilejkar village the speaker is.

Stimulating the interest in their own dialect and the development of communication skills among Čajkov children and youth is a challenge for local elementary schools in teaching language, literature, history, regional education and existing classes: recitation, continual reading. Supporting children and young people's communication in the dialect by creating specific opportunities for its active use following current pedagogical, didactic and methodological procedures is the only way to keep it "alive" in the future.<sup>50</sup> An example is the primary school

<sup>48</sup> About the issue of using elements of traditional culture in the Eastern educational process, see SLOBODOVÁ NOVÁKOVÁ, Katarína, et al. Using the elements of traditional culture in the teaching process from the perspective of ethnopädagogy and ethnology. In: *Journal of education culture and society*, 12 (2), 2021, pp. 495–504.

<sup>49</sup> The Chilejkar dialect can be spoken almost completely without the use of a written expression or without grammatical accuracy. The dialect is described in MELICHER, Jozef. *Krátky slovník nárečia slovenského tekovsko-čilejgarskeho*. Bratislava: Print servis, 1996. In addition, the form of the dialect is also recorded in collection publications of verbal and song genres.

<sup>50</sup> Ethnocultural traditions as cultural heritage are effective in the process of revitalising the identity of ethnic collectives. (SLOBODOVÁ NOVÁKOVÁ, Katarína. Study Possibilities of Present-Day Ethnic Revitalization of German Woodsmen in the Little Carpathians. In: *Ethnologia Actualis: the Journal of Ethnographical Research*, 14 (2), 2014, pp. 97–108; or SLOBODOVÁ NOVÁKOVÁ, Katarína, et al. Minority languages in Europe in the context of revitalizing activities. In: *XLinguae: European Scientific Journal*, 11 (3), 2018, pp. 16–27.) In addition to the tangible side, it is most often a language as part of the medium of cultural heritage in the process of linguistic revitalisation of ethnic minorities. (ŠATAVA, Leoš. "New Speakers" in the Context of Minority Languages in Europe and Revitalisation Efforts. In: *Národopisná revue*, 27 (4), 2017, pp. 323–330; or ŠATAVA, Leoš. New Speakers in the Context of the Minority Languages in Europe and the Revitalisation Efforts = Novi govornici v kontekstu manjšinskih jezikov Evrope in revitalizacijski napor. In: *Treatises and Documents = Razprave in gradivo : Journal of Ethnic Studies : revija za narodnostna vprašanja*, 82, 2019, pp. 131–151.)

in Liptovská Teplička, where activities and events have been implemented for years in order to preserve the local dialect and implement it in the youngest generation.<sup>51</sup>

## B – Cultural organisations and institutions<sup>52</sup>

There were several associations and organisations in the village in the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>53</sup> The current situation has arisen as the result of developments since 1989, especially since the year 2000 when the existing institutions and associations were reorganised and some current interest groups were renewed or established.<sup>54</sup> The village of Čajkov is a member of the Special Purpose Association of Municipalities of the Chilejkar Region, which was established primarily to prepare and realise sewerage and wastewater treatment, but secondarily also for the general cooperation of member municipalities.<sup>55</sup> The village is a member of the Regional Association of Towns and Municipalities of Tekov, which consists of 48 members/municipalities.

In the context of maintaining and presenting local cultural traditions, the most important organisations are the Dolina Folklore Group,<sup>56</sup> Slamienok children's cymbalo music, the singing group of the Slovak Pensioners' Union in Čajkov, the Čajkov Vocational Singing Group and the Association of Vineyards in Čajkov. The village has established a commission for culture, education and sports, which helps local organisations financially with amounts of 350–550 euros per year. The folklore group Dolina's repertoire consists mainly of scenically processed pieces about the life and calendar cycle customs with an effort to be as authentic as possible. The existence of the mentioned children's and youth platforms is crucial for the future of folklore and folklorism and in a broader context of other related areas of Čajkov cultural heritage. The nearby village of Tlmače houses the Folklore Group Vatra, a representative of Tekov folklore. Active here are young people from the area, interested in higher stylisation and a more sophisticated form of dance (though not exclusively) of regional folklore. Such a connection is an effective tool for maintaining intergenerational continuity, strengthening

<sup>51</sup> JÁGEROVÁ, Margita. Diet' a v kontexte rodinného a školského prostredia. In: Zuzana Beňušková et al. *Liptovská Teplička od druhej polovice 20. storočia*. Nitra: UKF v Nitre, 2013, pp. 110–184, part Škola ako faktor budovania lokálnej identity, pp. 111–135.

<sup>52</sup> These are various entities that document, preserve, reproduce, make accessible and mediate cultural values. Institutions are entities with a higher degree of formalisation, with which tasks, competencies, long-term activities and a significant proportion of professionals are clearly defined. Organisations are less formally organised groups of people and resources that share common interests and goals. When evaluating cultural organisations and institutions, it is always necessary to find out: general information, membership base, material, administrative and financial background, addressees/consumers, scope and activities.

<sup>53</sup> Socialist Youth Union, Slovak Women's Union, Jednota spotrebné družstvo, Zväzarm, TJ Družstevník Čajkov, Slovak Association of Anti-Fascist Fighters, ČSČK, Slovak Union of Horticulturalists, SZ drobnochovateľov, Association of Cooperative Farmers at JRD, SZ nature conservationists and the Civic Affairs Corps. (TESÁK, Peter, and VALACHYOVÁ, Mária. Prehľad dejín obce Čajkov. In: Jaromír Muráni (ed.). *Čajkov spomína a ďakuje 1276–2001*. Čajkov: Obecný úrad, 2001, p. 58)

<sup>54</sup> Folklore group Dolina Čajkov, Slamienok – children's cymbalo music, Klások – children's folklore group, the Association of Vineyards in Čajkov, Union of Pensioners of Slovakia, Association of Christian Seniors, Čajkov Sports Club, Slovak Association of Anti-Fascist Fighters, Local department of the Matica slovenská, Hunting Association „Deberča“ Čajkov, Young conservationists, Civic Association Friends of the Čajkov School, Association of Salesian Collaborators in Slovakia (Basic Information, 2019, <https://www.obeccajkov.sk/zakladne-informacie.html>).

<sup>55</sup> Čajkov, Podlužany, Nová Dedina, Hronské Kosihy – construction of sewerage and treatment plant in Podlužany.

<sup>56</sup> Its origin is linked to the trend of establishing such groups in Chilejkar villages (Tekov, Podlužany, Nová Dedina, Rybník and Kozmálovce) after 1989 and their subsequent demise after 2000. At present, they are active only in Tekov and Čajkov.

intergenerational relations within the community and the region, and building a relationship to one's cultural heritage.

### C. Cultural events and cultural products<sup>57</sup>

Cultural events in Čajkov are mainly annual events of the calendar cycle of local and micro-regional, occasionally regional, significance. Most of them are organised jointly by local organisations and institutions. The most important annual event of regional significance – Čajkov Vintage<sup>58</sup> – is attended by the municipality, the Association of Vineyards, the folklore group Dolina, the Association of Christian Seniors, part of the Club of the Slovak Pensioners' Union, the local department of the Matica slovenská, the local hunting association and others as needed. Because of the recent coronavirus pandemic, the traditional Regional Wine Tasting and Čajkov Vintage did not occur in 2020. The one-day wine tasting in Čajkov, prepared by the six most important local winemakers, was a suitable substitute. Visitors in a limited number of 10,000 arbitrarily visited the individual factories and tasted the wines.

Other events in the village are intended mainly for members of the associations that organise them or the local population. For example, on Mother's Day, teachers from local primary schools and kindergartens and children's cymbalo music Slamienok prepare a children's programme. Alternatively, the singing group of the Pensioners' Union performs on the same occasion. Domestic pig slaughtering takes place on Shrovetide. The municipality organises it and the Club of the Pensioners' Union presents the piece "Shrovetide before". In May, the local department of the Matica slovenská, the Pensioners' Union and members of the sports club are involved in organising the Liberation Bonfire. Memorial events connected with the war victims, the Slovak National Uprising and the liberation are co-organised by the Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters and the local department of the Matica slovenská. Organised activities include caring for military and abandoned graves in the Čajkov cemetery. In the summer, the local department of the Matica slovenská, together with the Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, organises day trips.

Local department members of the Matica slovenská have been baking Christmas cookies regularly since 1994 during the Advent season, which they donate as packages to senior citizens. Since 2017, the local department of the Matica slovenská has been organising New Year's Eve "backpacker" entertainment in the local culture house. In addition to the May bonfire, they also organise juniáles in July. It is the traditional ascent to Čajkov Braly, the National Ascent to Sitno, a competition in cooking goulash specialties, including a volleyball tournament.

The local hunting association participates in organising almost every event by providing firewood, meat for goulash or material for the decoration of the premises (Local slaughtering on Shrovetide, May bonfire, annual General Assembly of the Allotment and Urban Society, the annual meeting of the Slovak Pensioners' Union, entertainment for the Association of

<sup>57</sup> These are events of both formal and informal type, regular and irregular, in which cultural values are protected, developed, made accessible, presented and used in the broadest sense. These are mainly various festivities, anniversaries, competitions, exhibitions, performances, pilgrimages or festivals. Events need to be seen as an essential part of cultural resources, as they have the ability to attract public attention and can make an economic profit. Their documentation is relatively complex, as larger events often include several smaller accompanying events. During the evaluation, it is necessary to find out about each event and product: general characteristics, procedure, material, financial, administrative conditions, performers/participants, visitor/recipient.

<sup>58</sup> The reason for the first holding of the festivities in 2001 was the celebration of the 725th anniversary of the first written mention of the village and the presentation of a monograph on the village. Success and positive responses motivated the organisers to make it an annual event.

Parents and Friends of the Primary School and Kindergarten in Čajkov). Since 2001, hunters have been organising the Štefanská party every year. During the vintage, they prepare a hunting exhibition, carry out voluntary service work on Earth Day with primary school pupils, and teach a hunting class at the primary school.

The folklore group Dolina performs several times a year. These are invited Christmas and Shrovetide performances at home or in the surrounding Chilejkar villages, often within the region. Occasionally, its male singers also perform independently (as the Čajkovskí Vincúri singing group). Čajkovskí Vincúri regularly performs at home at the Regional Tasting, or at rag days in the region with the programme “Dancing in the pub”, at events organised by the regional tourism organisation of Tekov, at Levice hunting days and in Čajkov vineyards during the St Urban day celebration.

The segment of cultural products generally consists of thematic routes, accompanied cultural-cognitive areas, or the quality system of local products and branding. Given the current situation, it is possible to register the existing but insufficiently used potential in this area.

#### D. Cultural infrastructure<sup>59</sup>

In Čajkov, the cultural infrastructure and its condition are adequate. It consists of premises, equipment, communications, information resources and support infrastructure. It takes into account the general fact that each space can be unique in its character and suitable for different types of activities.<sup>60</sup> There are specialised facilities in the village, the presence of which is the result of the development of the village since the middle of the twentieth century. Overall, the village has long been one of the more developed (with a primary school, kindergarten, football field, cultural organisation building, cinema with a capacity of 280 seats, library, youth club, offices – dentist, general practitioners and paediatrician – and a House of Mourning). Between 1975 and 1980, a school club and canteen, a grandstand on the football field and modified public spaces were built. In that period, Čajkov won first place in the competition “The Most Beautiful Landscaped Village of the Levice District”. All basic infrastructure networks exist in the village (electricity, water, gas, sewerage, internet).

Today, the primary cultural infrastructure of Čajkov consists of the municipal office, the House of Culture, the Vineyard Museum in the old school building – the House of Folk Crafts, the old school complex comprising the building and the adjacent park in the village centre with a podium and benches – an amphitheatre in the wine-growing settlement, the primary school, the kindergarten and the school dining hall. Besides these, larger wine producers have their own purpose-built cultural and social spaces. There are tennis courts, a football field, a gym and a clubhouse in the village. A subject of consideration is the reconstruction and expansion of the old school building, which has an ideal location. The building is also the headquarters of the folklore group Dolina, but its potential is much greater. Discussion relates to the use

<sup>59</sup> It consists of cultural spaces and facilities, as well as organisational and information background and other conditions and assumptions. These are premises and facilities enabling the preparation, implementation and presentation of cultural activities. The quality, scope, level, equipment, ownership and condition of these facilities can significantly influence (stimulate and limit) cultural events and thus influence the passive and active participation of the population in the development of culture. Then there are the tools, mechanisms and elements that increase the availability of culture in the broadest sense. (ZIMA, Roman, and PAVLÍKOVÁ, Barbara. Marketingová komunikácia kultúrnych pamiatok v Banskej Štiavnici. In: Roman Zima and Lucia Záhumenská (eds). *Cestovný ruch v regionálnom rozvoji : zborník z konferencie s medzinárodnou účasťou*. Nitra: UKF v Nitre, 2013, pp. 147–159)

<sup>60</sup> When evaluating cultural infrastructure, we are interested in: general characteristics, owner/administrator of the building, availability/access, state of use, conditions of use, recipients/users/consumers.

of attic and other spaces for accommodation and catering services, the complete absence of which is today the biggest obstacle to the development of any multi-day forms of tourism in Čajkov. All previous activities of the village (building owner) related to the sale of the building were rejected by the municipal council, despite several interested parties and proposals for use.

The most important element of the cultural infrastructure, which preserves the material cultural heritage of the locality and represents the culture of the micro-region, as well as the region, is the building of the old school, where the Municipal Museum is located. The Municipal Museum as an informal platform consists of two components: the House of Folk Crafts and the Viticultural Museum. The House of Folk Crafts was established on the initiative of the Slovak Pensioners' Union in Čajkov. Its members enacted the utilisation of part of the otherwise unused dilapidated building to collect and install artifacts of the village's traditional culture, which the locals gradually donated. The exhibition aims to show the ways of traditional living and clothing in the locality. It is the result of the work of local enthusiasts. As a second component, the Viticultural Museum has been created and operates on the same principle. It results from an initiative by one of the largest local wine producers and an amateur historian, a retired gynaecologist. In addition to taking care of the accumulated viticultural and wine inventory, he also ensures its accessibility, lending and the occasional presentation.

The Municipal Museum in Čajkov is the result of a nationwide trend of establishing municipal museums, expositions, folk houses and rooms of traditions, which began after the year 2000. Municipalities used mostly abandoned school buildings, built in the interwar period, industrial and economic buildings which had lost their function after the economic transformation after 1989 (disintegration of local agricultural cooperatives and other manufacturing enterprises) or abandoned, dilapidated but valuable objects of traditional construction and architecture. The enthusiasm of local amateurs characterises their acquisition and presentation activities. Naturally, there is usually no scientific research and professional documentation activity. The quality of these museums is enhanced by possible and occasional cooperation with a nearby city, regional or county museum which has the necessary professional staff resources. In the Chilejkar micro-region, municipal museums/folk houses in the villages of Starý Tekov and Rybník also operate in this way.

## E. Human resources

Individual professions in the cultural/creative sector are a specific category of individuals who work professionally (especially as so-called freelancers) or on an amateur basis in the cultural sector. Apart from the most widespread folk producers, artisans and artists in the Slovak environment, these include all other creative and cultural activities and jobs – individual creators and workers, whose activities are focused on the creation, dissemination, development and protection of cultural values. This category also includes important historians, natives, enthusiasts, collectors, teachers, officials and entrepreneurs. They can be creators who are recognised or unrecognised, active or passive, socially recognised or even not yet registered. There may be situations where there is only a tradition without active bearers, which reduces the real potential for their use.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> When evaluating human resources, it is necessary to obtain the following information: general characteristics, implementation of the activity, conditions for the operation of activities, use of products and services, students/continuation of activities.

In Čajkov, human resources are represented by event organisers, leading personalities and members of associations, organisations, and institutions, selected teachers of the local joint kindergarten and primary school, folk producers (the aforementioned costume and doll manufacturers) and performers, local artists and enthusiasts (from the field of local history and ethnography), who keep the whole system of cultural life and the potential of the municipality functional and usable for the addressees – themselves, cross-country visitors and the domestic public. Many of them belong to the local socio-professional elite (with a medical, legal or other university degree and a highly qualified profession). In addition, almost all current crafts are represented in the village through local merchants and self-employed persons. The local elite must be composed not only of officials but also of intelligentsia and entrepreneurs, with contacts at the regional, county and national levels.

In Čajkov, there is a system of using the established concept of local cultural heritage through cultural events (several of which are closely connected in terms of organisation and visitors) implemented by human resources structured into local organisations and institutions, which are relatively diverse but have an internal logic. Some events have a 20-year tradition; others originated and became “traditional” only a few years ago. The Čajkov community of people who are active in the most diverse way within the broader cultural sphere is organised in various ways. Some are in several associations, with memberships and groups that overlap, and others are only in one. An excellent example of situational but stable cooperation is the local pig slaughtering.<sup>62</sup>

The outlined system existing in a municipality with less than 1000 inhabitants reflects the degree of functioning of the local community. It is conditioned by cohesion, hierarchy, the self-confidence of members and appropriate economic conditions. For seniors, besides routine and tradition, the essential activating element is the social dimension – being socially active means meeting others, spending time with peers and eliminating loneliness. From a psychological and socio-psychological point of view, this is a critical and irreplaceable factor in the case of seniors. It is equally important in the socialisation, education and especially the upbringing of local children and youth.

## Conclusion

Ethnological field research and heuristics as the primary methods of data collection, and the use of the methodology of cultural potential mapping for data analysis and interpretation of knowledge, have answered several important questions:

1. What is the cultural heritage of the studied ethnographic group (on the example of one of the municipalities)?

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<sup>62</sup> Facebook, Obec Čajkov, 27. 2. 2017: “*Local Slaughtering and Shrovetide Celebrations -> Thank you to everyone who helped organize this year's second slaughtering and Shrovetide celebrations in our village. Members of the hunting association p. Miroslav Petřík and Ladislav Bóžik as the main killers and p. Lubomír Belfi and Patrik Babinec, as auxiliary killers, willingly processed the piglet for us. They were also assisted by Jozef Niehta, a member of the OZ, Lukáško Wiener, a student of the Čajkov Elementary School, and, of course, employees of the municipal office. The cultural program, which diversified this afternoon, featured the youngest kindergartens, children's cimbaló music Slamienok, domestic folklore group Dolina and at the end cheerfully buried the bass of individual folklore ensemble Rozmajrín from Podlužany. The slaughtering specialties were delicious and could be enjoyed by anyone who was interested in eating them. Members of municipality council Ing. Peter Ubnak, PharmDr. Jozef Klinčok and Mrs. Emília Niehtová and our friend Martin Foltán helped with the sale. The cabbage soup and roasted meat were perfectly cooked by the chef of the Čajkov primary school, Tonka Martiníková. All goodies with wine were great and a good mood lasted until the late evening.*” (Municipality Čajkov, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/obeccajkov/posts/1868060366742427/>)

This question is answered primarily by the section “The cultural heritage of Čajkov as part of its cultural potential, A – Cultural heritage”, and partly also by the content of other sections about the components of the cultural potential of the municipality.

2. Why is this the cultural heritage, and how did it originate?

The introductory part of the section “Locality of Čajkov” provides answers to this question. It can be stated that the current form of cultural heritage in the village is the result of the life of local people and their ancestors in the given geographical, socio-historical and political-economic conditions. Geographical conditions determined the locals’ way of life and thinking, which is transmitted intergenerationally and which we now call traditional/folk culture. Geographical conditions still determine the preservation and presentation of a part of the traditional folk culture: viticulture and winemaking, which is perceived and used as a value – cultural heritage. Socio-historical and economic-political conditions through social, religious, ethnic, historical, economic and political aspects and artistic-aesthetic trends modelled the geographically determined basis of what we now call the cultural heritage of the exemplary community and studied ethnographic group. Concerning the surrounding socio-cultural environment, these aspects were both inclusive and exclusive. In this way, they created and still create the identity of the inhabitants, the municipality and the micro-region (such as farmers, winegrowers and winemakers, local patriots, Catholics, Slovaks, economically strong people, voters of Christian Democratic parties, et cetera).

3. What are the uses and perspectives of cultural heritage in the locality/micro-region?

The answer to this question was mainly answered by the content of the sections on the components of the cultural potential of the municipality (B–E). The incorporation of cultural heritage (as a component of cultural potential, A) into the system of cultural potential (A–E) has changed its understanding as a descriptive-enumerative historical category of culture towards the understanding of cultural heritage as a process of existence (tradition, extinction, revitalisation, selection, cumulation), originally a living component of traditional culture.

It has turned out that the real existence of cultural heritage is conditioned by the support of all components of cultural potential. If one is absent (completely or concerning a specific element of cultural heritage), the process does not occur, and cultural heritage as a living element disappears (such as the defunct breeding of geese and the sale of roasted goose quarters and livers, or watered patterns). Conversely, if cultural heritage (in the most general sense, or on a specific example of an elementary cultural element) is part of a functioning system (relevant components of categories B–E), it continues to exist (such as dialect and folklore, folk clothing, viticulture). As a cultural potential, cultural heritage can become cultural capital and commodification as a cultural product by appropriate management. Its consumption will generate a profit (for example, the economic profit of winegrowers, emotional profit of participants in traditional events, or visitors to folklore ensembles or singers, social profit of members of associations, pensioners, children, villagers, meetings of relatives).

The output of the mapping is the creation of a knowledge/information base (database). In practice, access to data on a unified communication portal, the use of open-source resources, GPS, and the creation of web maps, applications et cetera have proved successful. Creating spatial maps of cultural content (spatial cultural mapping) also makes it possible to recognise how the individual resources are distributed, where they are clustered and where the so-called cultural gaps are situated. Cultural mapping is the starting point for cultural policy and the effectiveness of local cultural planning. It helps to create and strengthen a knowledge-based

society, but especially a future society of the creative age and creative economy. The mapping of cultural potential directly and indirectly increases the (physical, emotional and intellectual) availability of culture and access to cultural content, not only in communicating this information but also in creating and participating in the creation of cultural content. It stimulates the revitalisation of cultural life at the local and regional level, promotes civic engagement and community development, and strengthens local identity.<sup>63</sup> At the same time, it is a tool for socio-economic development, such as through creating an offer for cultural tourism and a tool for the actual (not only formal) preservation of cultural specifics.<sup>64</sup>

The search for and evaluation of the aspects forming the cultural heritage are mainly the result of an anticipated need and not an actual state. In this way, products are created for consumers. Culture is thus “simulated” and creates possible links in the context of the transferred historical form. The disappearance and replacement of reality cause the creation of stimuli because the possibility of distinguishing between the real and the imaginary is lost.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, who determines what is real and what is imaginary when anthropologists have ample evidence of the subjectivity of this distinction within cultures, even of blurring these boundaries? Although when shifting the interpretation of specific phenomena into simulations, the culture accepts them in a transmitted form and gradually overlaps reality through gradual acquisition. But was this different at any time before?

Constructing or creating a tradition is a common feature of culture. In his thesis on “invented tradition”, Hobsbawm considers the creation of traditions to be purposeful and claims that they demonstrate the connection with the past only externally. He describes the constructed tradition as “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past”.<sup>66</sup> After all, in the environment of local communities – to a certain extent (which can change over time) – there is always the demand for tradition, the search for shared history, the return to the “roots” and the effort to identify with the culture of ancestors. By realising a tradition (sometimes even without a significant direct link/continuity), of course, its new bearers sometimes fail to identify its original content and all meanings completely or to fully understand all the contexts in which it has been placed. However, this is not a condition when transitioning from one generation to another.

The unifying elements of culture are the so-called connective structures (cultural memory, collective identity and tradition). As cultural media connect the consciousness of individuals through communication and daily repetitive cultural and social activities, they allow the individual to confront (as well as orientate and anchor!) in the value sphere of the collective.<sup>67</sup> The separation of the past from the present is a cultural process / social construct. History as

<sup>63</sup> KURPAŠ, Michal. Kontexty využívania kultúrneho dedičstva v rurálnom prostredí. In: Roman Zima and Lucia Záhumenská (eds). *Cestovný ruch v regionálnom rozvoji : zborník z konferencie s medzinárodnou účasťou*. Nitra: UKF v Nitre, 2013, pp. 65–77.

<sup>64</sup> DUBSKÁ, Michala, KURPAŠ, Michal, and ŽABENSKÝ, Marián. Význam strategických a koncepcných dokumentov v rozvoji cestovného ruchu. In: Roman Zima and Lucia Záhumenská (eds). *Cestovný ruch v regionálnom rozvoji: zborník z konferencie s medzinárodnou účasťou*. Nitra: UKF v Nitre, 2013, pp. 27–40.

<sup>65</sup> BAUDRILLARD, Jean. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1994.

<sup>66</sup> HOBBSAWM, Eric. Introduction: Inventing Traditions. In: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, 1983.

<sup>67</sup> SLUŠNÁ, Zuzana, and CHOMOVÁ, Svetlana. *Súčasná téma v kultúrnej teórii a praxi*. Bratislava: UK v Bratislave, 2015.

a concept is a cultural creation that the community creates and realises.<sup>68</sup> The revitalisation of cultural patterns presupposes the continuity of the common elements that define it because the dynamics of constructing cultural heritage lie in updating, adapting and (re)interpreting the preserved historically and culturally conditioned knowledge, skills and values of a particular group. It combines preservation and innovation, stability and dynamism, and reproduction and creativity, thus creating a new social meaning that generates identity.<sup>69</sup> However, that is another topic.

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<sup>68</sup> ASSMAN, Jan. *Kultura a paměť : písmo, vzpomínky a politická identita v rozvinutých kulturách starověku*. Praha: Prostor, 2001.

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# Workers in an ethnographic archive: On the strategies of (re-)constructing the past

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*Workers in an ethnographic archive: On the strategies of (re-)constructing the past*

The article describes a collection of 9,000 photographs with captions – entries to a worker-oriented photographic contest – and the paths by which they came from private albums through the contest and museum exhibitions, until they found a place in the ethnographic archive of the Łódź University and in a digital repository. Having left household archives, they became a part of a public heritage rooted in, and dependent on, various historical contexts. Each procedure in some way determined the fortunes of the collection and constituted a choice that imparted a certain shape and meaning to the photographs.

Keywords: ethnographic archive, workers, photographs, digital repository Workers in the 19th and 20th century, heritage

## Introduction

The task of an ethnographic archive<sup>1</sup> is to preserve documents pertaining to various phenomena visible in culture and society, resulting from research conducted individually or collectively, arising from fieldwork, archival research, library research and other activities of ethnologists/anthropologists.<sup>2</sup> They may include interviews, that is, recorded and/or transcribed conversations with individual people on a certain subject, as well as observations

<sup>1</sup> In Poland, ethnographic archives are not institutionally subordinate to state archives. State archives conduct their activity with respect to the state archival resources as defined by the Act on National Archive Resources and Archives; they are a part of the national archive network and are subordinate to the Head Office of the State Archives. State archives are created and dissolved by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage of the Republic of Poland [Journal of Laws, year 2020, no. 164]. Ethnographic archives, in contrast, are organisational units of varying degree and method of institutionalisation, depending on the culture of the given institution and the solutions accepted therein; they can be separate units in the organisational structure or, conversely, units that are not discrete but only subordinate to the person who keeps them. The activity of ethnographic archives in Poland is characterised by considerable freedom resulting from the absence of formal directives. Cf. WRÓBLEWSKI, F. Archiwa a etnografia. In: *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 2019 (1), pp. 45–67.

<sup>2</sup> The names ethnography/ethnology/anthropology suggest a certain terminological polysemy, but they refer to the history of a single discipline, one concerned with human beings and their culture, and they reflect the variety of scholarly approaches and practices within its scope. Today, ethnography is understood, following the English-language literature, as a method in field research concerning socio-cultural realities. Ethnographic field research is not only an achievement of the discipline, but also a distinguishing element that defines its identity. Field research plays a crucial role in the research practice of an ethnologist/anthropologist.

conducted in the field, field notes, drawings, site plans, photographs, including ones donated by private individuals (in the form of scans or reproductions), documents from archives and press articles. Materials, such as photographs or memoirs, are also placed in ethnographic archives by various institutions, associations or private individuals. Once there, the congregation of such materials is set in a proper order and used as a basis for further analyses and interpretations.

An ethnographic archive is a scientific archive. In the traditional perception, it is a physical place, a repository with certain definite collections and a set of regulations that delineate access to them. By becoming a fundamental tool in archiving documents, digitisation has made it necessary to alter this traditional model of thinking about archives, including ethnographic ones, their functioning and their way of being perceived by the scholarly community. The twenty-first century has brought a rapid development in digital archives, that is archives with no location, whose resources do not exist in physical space. Searching their resources occurs without the help of an archivist; the users construct their perceptions of the past by themselves, by searching for or entering appropriate words. Collections are created in digital space, archived and recorded in digital space, and accessed by means of a computer,<sup>3</sup> and thus direct contact with the archival material has been lost. In fact, Marcin Wilkowski writes about a “sign of an ending of a certain ethos in archive work, based on the experience of a direct contact with historical documents, which are now accessed online”.<sup>4</sup>

In the current article I present a collection of nine thousand photographs entered into a worker photography contest, subsequently conveyed to the Bronisława Kopczyńska-Jaworska Ethnographic Archive at the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the University of Lodz (Poland) and deposited in the digital repository *Workers in the 19th and 20th century*.<sup>5</sup> I describe their fortunes before they arrived in the digital repository. I relate the changes in their status and the various actions which have resulted in their becoming a part of the public cultural heritage, that is, a legacy rooted in the past and referring to the history of the worker milieus.

### In a household archive

Photographs hold a very important place among family mementoes and, at the same time, constitute their most frequent form. In the worker milieus, the commemorative role of photographs prevailed over all their other functions; the workers used them to decorate interiors, displaying chiefly marriage photographs or photographs of children.<sup>6</sup>

Carefully placed in family albums, kept in boxes and drawers or stashed in lofts and cellars, photographs constitute a framework for remembrance. They are carriers of the family memory, which consists of persons, events, successes, turning points in family life and professional life, objects and qualities reconstructed in the course of family reminiscences. The memory is refreshed through photographs; they make it easier to recall events. In household archives photographs are meticulously preserved, collected *in memoriam* – to attest to the continuity

<sup>3</sup> MANOVICH, Lev. *The Language of New Media*. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> WILKOWSKI, Marcin. *Wprowadzenie do historii cyfrowej*. Gdańsk: Instytut kultury miejskiej, 2013, p. 51, [http://dane.historiaimedia.org/hc/2/wprowadzenie\\_do\\_historii\\_cyfrowej\\_wilkowski.pdf](http://dane.historiaimedia.org/hc/2/wprowadzenie_do_historii_cyfrowej_wilkowski.pdf) (accessed 24 February 2021)

<sup>5</sup> The *Workers in the 19th and 20th century* digital repository can be accessed at <https://fotografierobotnikow.uni.lodz.pl/>

<sup>6</sup> This is shown by, among others, the research on the social dimensions of photographs as conducted by Pierre Bourdieu's team. See BOURDIEU, Pierre, BOLTANSKI, Luc, CASTEL, Robert, CHAMBOREDON, Jean-Claude, SCHNAPPER, Dominique. *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998.

of generations, to bring to mind the dead or distant loved ones, and to arouse emotions and memories. They are viewed spontaneously, “in passing”. Sławomir Sikora suggests that the universe of private photographs should be treated “like the universe of personal names, especially if we go a little back in time to when photography was not yet so widespread, not to say commonplace. This would be the universe in which a photograph retained its magical power, the potent connection with its referent, the powerful ontological mark.”<sup>7</sup> Commenting on a collection of photographs of Polish peasants (also resulting from a contest),<sup>8</sup> Roch Sulima stressed that a photograph, which used to be interpreted as a “shadow” of a person featured therein, turned into a substitute for that person, “stood for the sitters themselves”, and thus was equal to a human being.<sup>9</sup> In his view, it was the photograph that overturned the monopoly of the spoken word when it began to replace verbal contents and took over its role in the process of constructing the memories held by members of a family or a community.<sup>10</sup> Photographs sent overseas or to the wartime trenches, kept in a box or a drawer, displayed on shelves or dressers, or affixed to the pages of albums recreated family connections and stood in place of the actual persons. In this way a photograph marks its presence as a memento which holds a permanent place in private space. This status is conferred on a photograph by the work of memory, that is by memories, longing and nostalgia,<sup>11</sup> which materialise in it “to stop time, to block the work of forgetting”,<sup>12</sup> and thus belong to a person more solidly than words. Also, photographs constitute a confirmation of words, imbuing them with truth and obviousness.

### The contest

In the year 1985 the editorial boards of the *Przekrój* and *Polityka* weeklies and the *Fotografia* quarterly announced a contest for worker-related photographs held in household archives. The organisers called for photos “illustrating the formation of the working class in the Polish territories until 1945, the year when industry in Poland was nationalised, and the first years of the country’s reconstruction”.<sup>13</sup> In response, 909 readers from Poland and abroad sent in 10,500 photographs with detailed descriptions of the persons and events they featured.

Photographs sent in for the contest show workers and their families, described by name and surname in the captions – men and women who did physical labour in industrial plants or had the legal status of workers employed at a variety of enterprises, including agriculture and forestry. They are those who built cities and factories, the Gdynia port and the Silesia-to-Gdynia coal transport railway; who laid water pipes and electricity lines; and who constructed roads. There are photographs of activists from professional associations and worker organisations; members of work teams from foundries, mines and factories; workers standing

<sup>7</sup> SIKORA, Sławomir. Między przezroczystością a nieprzezroczystością: aporia fotografii. In: PEŁCZYŃSKI, Grzegorz, VORBRICH, Ryszard (eds), *Antropologia wobec fotografii i filmu*. Poznań: Biblioteka Telgte, 2004, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> This was the contest “Fotografia polskiej wsi do 1948 roku” (Polish villages before 1948 in photographs) organised in 1983 by the editorial boards of the *Nova Wieś* weekly and *Fotografia* quarterly.

<sup>9</sup> SULIMA, Roch. *Słowo i etos. Szkice o kulturze*. Kraków: Fundacja Artystyczna Związku Młodzieży Wiejskiej „Galicja”, 1992, pp. 120, 122.

<sup>10</sup> SULIMA, *Słowo...*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>11</sup> FRYDRYCH, Beata. *Świat jako kolekcja. Próba analizy estetycznej natury nowoczesności*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Fundacji Humaniora, 2002, p. 175.

<sup>12</sup> NORA, Pierre. Between Memory and History: les lieux de mémoire. In: *Representations*, 1989, no 26 (Spring), p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> GARLICKA, Aleksandra. Druga wystawa fotografii robotniczej. In: KURASIAK, Małgorzata (ed.), *Robotnicy. II wystawa fotografii robotniczej. Zdjęcia z lat 1881–1946. Katalog wystawy*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Centralnego Biura Wystaw Artystycznych, 1989, p. 7.

at machines, celebrating holidays in family circles, walking in the streets, relaxing in parks or in the countryside, or dressed in the uniforms of various armies during the Great War. There are their school photographs, first communion photographs, and wedding, christening and funeral photographs. The contestants sent in photographs of forced labourers in German factories during the Second World War, economic émigrés in the French mines or American production plants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries or in the inter-war period, and records of the great migration of villagers to the city. The collection includes photographs of coalminer families, railway-worker families, stonemason families and weaver families, some of them collected over decades, in some cases since the last years of the nineteenth century. The earliest one dates from the year 1881 and shows a Siemianowice foundry worker with his family; the latest were taken in the 1980s, even though the organisers had set 3 January 1946 (the day the decree on the nationalisation of Polish industry was issued) as the closing date.

Most of the photographs were described in keeping with the guidelines set by the jury: 1) the date the photograph was taken (year, month, day); 2) who or what was featured in it; 3) what event it documented; 4) where it was taken; 5) where the sitters resided; 6) where they came from; 7) where they were employed (in which factory, workshop, in what capacity); 8) later fortunes of the sitters; 9) in instances where the photograph showed a residential or factory building, a detailed description of where it stood, who owned it and who worked in it; and 10) who took the photograph.

In some cases, the descriptions were veritable family sagas; in others, the histories of the factories or workshops, and the people employed therein, were related. Many photographs bore dedications or captions on their reverse side. Apart from those, and the stories and explanations written on separate sheets of paper appended to the photographs, there are also comments or data regarding a given sitter, a given place, event, situation or gesture. There are also descriptions relating, albeit fragmentarily, the experiences or histories of the persons who sent in the photographs, even if not shown in them. As noted by Magdalena Sztandara, such descriptions, dedications and captions “put the photographs in context, ‘ascribed’ them, so to speak, to a definite fragment of reality; their attachment to reality makes the photographs concrete. Words impart an additional meaning, but at the same time they invalidate the photograph’s powerful polysemy, leaving it as an almost unequivocal statement.”<sup>14</sup>

The jury gave 62 prizes and 150 lesser awards. The prizes and awards were funded by ministers, voivodes, mayors, social organisations, scholarly associations, industrial units, museums and publishing houses.

The contest organisers concluded that the photographs and their captions gave not only a picture of the worker community throughout a part of its history, but also a picture of Poland’s industrial development. They emphasised that those photographs and their captions made it possible to discern, for the first time ever, the signs of the great social transformations which the Polish worker community underwent in the period 1881–1945. It was therefore decided to make these photographs, and the “historical values” they carried, available to the wider public.

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<sup>14</sup> SZTANDARA, Małgorzata. Fotografia – „opowieść” o skończoności życia. In: GLEŃ, Adrian, KOWALSKI, Piotr (eds.), *Obecność i przemijanie. Fenomen początku i końca w kulturze i literaturze współczesnej*. Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2001, p. 147.

## The exhibition

The exhibition “Robotnicy” (The Workers) consisted of photographs that had won prizes and awards in the contest and of photographs on the subject of labour dating from the mid-nineteenth century and the inter-war period that came from museum repositories. The exhibition was on show in May 1989 in the “Zachęta” National Art Gallery in Warsaw and subsequently in the museums in Lodz, Sosnowiec, Częstochowa and Cracow.

The script for the exhibition was arranged so as to construct “our shared national history”<sup>15</sup> from private photographs; the resulting image was compliant with the chronology of historical events. The first section focused on the history of the working class in the Polish territories under the Partitions. The second one showed the great migrations of workers during the First World War; this section included portraits of workers conscripted into various armies and the photographs illustrating how worker teams were relocated together with factory machinery and equipment. The following section was devoted to the Second Commonwealth. Industrial plants of various sizes and new construction projects, such as the Gdynia seaport or the hydroelectric plant in Rożnów, were described through the actions of their workforce and the images of machines at which they worked and the edifices they built. The next section focused on the Polish workers’ emigration to the mines in France or in America and on forced labour in German factories during the Second World War. The last section was dedicated to the workers’ return from their forced or voluntary emigration.<sup>16</sup>

Historians – experts on economic history and the history of the worker movement – who were asked to provide a commentary to the exhibition perceived the photographs sent in for the contest as historical sources which authenticated the events or situations shown therein, documenting “how it had really been”: the workers’ everyday life, work or socio-political activity, and confirming historical theses.<sup>17</sup> In other words, historians perceived worker photography, as Pierre Bourdieu would put it, as “a perfectly realistic and objective recording of the visible world”,<sup>18</sup> a source documenting what happened in the past, a quotation from reality which provided an empirical corroboration for historical theses.

## In an ethnographic archive

In 1989, the contest organisers deposited the photographs in the ethnographic archive held at the Institute of Ethnology (today: Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology) of the University of Lodz. Once there, the post-contest materials were processed by ethnographers/ethnologists. The photographs were photographed and the originals were sent back to their owners.

<sup>15</sup> GARLICKA, *Druga wystawa...*, p.12.

<sup>16</sup> GARLICKA, *Druga wystawa...*, pp. 12–13.

<sup>17</sup> For more, see KURASIAK, Małgorzata (ed.). *Robotnicy. II wystawa fotografii robotniczej. Zdjęcia z lat 1881–1946. Katalog wystawy*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Centralnego Biura Wystaw Artystycznych, Warszawa 1989, pp. 16–30. More on this topic in KARPİŃSKA, Grażyna Ewa. *Stare źródła w nowych mediach. O repozytorium cyfrowym zbioru „Robotnicy w XIX i XX wieku”*. In: CHORAŻYCZEWSKI, Waldemar, PIASEK, Wojciech, ROSA, Agnieszka (eds.), *Toruńskie Konfrontacje Archiwalne. Nowa archiwistyka – Archiwa i archiwistyka w późnonowoczesnym kontekście kulturowym*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2014, pp. 226–227.

<sup>18</sup> BOURDIEU, BOLTANSKI, CASTEL, CHAMBOREDON, SCHNAPPER. *Photography...*, p. 73.

The photographed photographs received the status of reproductions (and a reproduction, as it has been put by Walter Benjamin, “enables the original to meet the beholder halfway”<sup>19</sup>), which gave them a new lease of life. Having been photographed with an analogue camera, they still remained tangible objects, physically existing in time and space and having a definite shape and texture.<sup>20</sup> What the archive gave them, however, was a new, scientific framework – not only a metaphorical, but also a material one. The products of their being photographed were two objects of a dissimilar status: negatives on celluloid film and prints on paper. The prints, all made in the same size, and photocopied captions were placed in envelopes, whereas the negatives were numbered and placed in specially prepared albums. Each envelope was marked with the name of the locality/region to which the material pertained and an inventory number ascribed to it in the ethnographic archive. Handwritten sheets with the most important data concerning the photograph – the date and place it was taken, the name of its author (if it could be ascertained), the name and address of its owner, and the number of the corresponding negative – were also put into the envelopes. The photographs were thus archived and received the status of an archival document precisely in the manner documentation was described by Michel de Certeau: as “the gesture of *setting aside*, of putting together, of transforming certain classified objects into ‘documents.’ [...] In reality [this gesture] consists in *producing* such documents by dint of copying, transcribing, or photographing these objects, simultaneously changing their locus and their status.”<sup>21</sup>

Passing into a scientific archive, the photograph-objects, which used to be family mementoes, became archived document-objects; a transformation of “something which had its own definite status and role into *something else* which functions differently”<sup>22</sup> has thus occurred. The archive became a home for them (they were placed “under house arrest”, as Derrida would have it), and the care of them and their meanings – that is, the right to interpret them and set them in order – was taken over by those who represented control,<sup>23</sup> namely, the ethnographers/ethnologists. The photographs-as-images were transformed as well: already during the exhibition at the “Zachęta” Gallery in Warsaw they ceased to be what they had been for “their people”, their relatives or children. The relation of ownership changes: the photographs passed from the private sphere into the public one and acquired a public character, by which “the difference between a mode of pictorial address which is primarily ‘informational’ and one which is ‘sentimental’ is obscured” and “a relation of *abstract visual equivalence* between pictures”<sup>24</sup> is established. They no longer aroused emotions as they were looked at by strangers; they were

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<sup>19</sup> BENJAMIN, Walter. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, translated by Harry Zohn. In: ARENDT, Hannah (ed.), *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books, 1969, <https://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/benjamin.pdf#page=1&zoom=auto,-193,798> (accessed 19 March 2021).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. GILLIAN, Rose. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2007, pp. 237–257.

<sup>21</sup> de CERTEAU, Michel. *The Writing of History*, translated by Tom Conley. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, p. 72.

<sup>22</sup> de CERTEAU. *The Writing of History*, p. 74.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. DERRIDA, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, translated by E. Prenowitz. In: *Diacritics*, 1995, vol. 25, no 2, pp. 9–10, [http://beforebefore.net/149a/w11/media/Derrida-Archive\\_Fever\\_A\\_Freudian\\_Impression.pdf](http://beforebefore.net/149a/w11/media/Derrida-Archive_Fever_A_Freudian_Impression.pdf) (accessed 21 December 2020).

<sup>24</sup> SEKULA, Allan. *Reading an archive: Photography between labour and capital*. In: WELLS, Liz (ed.), *The Photography Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 445.

just images to them, no more than documents confirming what they showed<sup>25</sup> – it might be said, following Paul Ricoeur, that the moment they passed through the doors of the archive, they were “absorbed into a mass of documents that are not all testimonies”. They were also subjected to criticism and confronted with other documents and testimonies.<sup>26</sup> The act of archiving these photographs was accomplished with the aim of preserving them to be used again in the future, and for the memory of the coming generations – which does not mean the absence of photographs understood as objects.

The process of archiving freed the photographs-turned-documents from the direct influence of the present time.<sup>27</sup> For several years they lay locked in the drawers of the ethnographic archive; until in the second decade of the twenty-first century they were brought out and deposited in a digital repository.

### In a digital repository

Being placed in a digital repository constituted the next transformation in the status of the worker photographs and their captions, one by which the collection acquired a still different shape.<sup>28</sup>

The contemporary reality offers many activities and practices leading to, as de Certeau might put it, “operations upon documents” which are connected with a new understanding of what constitutes an archival document: they are not papers but computer files. The material dimension of a document has changed as well.<sup>29</sup> Digitisation, that is “a social process whose element is the re-mediation of artefacts of historical heritage and making them accessible online as digital objects such as computer files and scans”,<sup>30</sup> is now a fundamental archiving tool.

The digitisation of an analogue photograph occurs outside the photographic camera, namely in a scanner that passes the scanned material onward to the computer. In other words, an analogue photograph, defined by minuscule grains and rays of light, is transformed into an image made of pixels, elementary particles of the on-screen image. In contrast to traditional photography, the existential foundation of digital photography is not anchored in concrete, physical material and photochemical processes, but in the numeric reality which constitutes a skin<sup>31</sup> that makes material objects difficult to reach – in order to understand it, a human being must apply an appropriate program for the reading of it. The environment for such a photograph is the computer screen. Thus the photo-graph, an object written with light, has

<sup>25</sup> See KRACAUER, Siegfried. *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, translated by Th. Y. LEVIN. Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 1995, pp. 47–49.

<sup>26</sup> RICOEUR, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*, translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. The University of Chicago Press, 2006, p. 147.

<sup>27</sup> ERNST, Wolfgang. Archive, Storage, Entropy: Tempor(e)alities of Photography. In: PIJARSKI, Krzysztof (ed.), *Archivum jako projekt. The Archive as Project*. Warszawa: Fundacja Archeologia Fotografii, 2011, p. 56.

<sup>28</sup> The “Digital Repository of the *Workers in the 19th and 20th Century* Photographic Collection” project was implemented in the years 2012–2015 as a part of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education’s programme the National Programme for the Development of Humanities, research module 1.1. (no. 0078/FNiTP/H11/80/2011), headed by Prof. Grażyna Ewa Karpińska. The collection was placed in the depository under the address <https://fotografierobotnikow.uni.lodz.pl/>.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. van DIJCK, José. *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age*. Stanford: University Press, 2007.

<sup>30</sup> WILKOWSKI, Marcin. Zwrot cyfrowy w edukacji historycznej. <https://docs.google.com/document/pub?id=13re0ciTIqXctMwjDy4vXxqpp5D9yf7C8965xZB6vdI> (accessed 16 December 2020).

<sup>31</sup> The term was introduced by Derrick de Kerckove. Cf. de KERCKHOVE, Derrick. *The Skin of Culture: Investigating the New Electronic Reality*. London: Gardens Book, 1998.

been transformed into photo-data.<sup>32</sup>

Piotr Zawojcki emphasises that “in terms of an existential experience, of the individual perception”, a digital photograph, differences in the manner of its recording and distribution notwithstanding, “is not radically different from a traditional photograph”. It continues to confirm, just as the analogue photograph did, the existence of some (photographic) reality by creating its pictorial representation which is to a greater or lesser extent based on the principle of reference; also, again like the analogue photograph, it is an expression of the human perception and experience of this reality. This means that a digitised and digitally treated photograph may be a substitute for a traditional photograph, but, as emphasised by Zawojcki, “not in terms of a substitute as something of lesser quality that replaces the original, but in terms of a mutual interchangeability of objects having similar qualities”.<sup>33</sup> In the case of the repository of worker photographs, we are thus still in the realm of photography, only in the digital world: the repository is a place of storage and the photographs remain “icons” (that is images, representations, similarities) of a specific culture (in this case, the worker culture). In addition, photographs held in a digital repository continue to document the passage of time and the techniques of photographing, as well as bygone events, situations and persons – their faces, hands and clothes, machines at which they worked, the houses they built and lived in, and the objects they used. Thus, the photographs constitute a narrative about a bygone world, and this means that they can be used in telling stories.

Yet the process of digitisation and their placing in the digital repository imparted a new status on those photographs: they were deemed especially important and meaningful. This is, after all, another method of “meeting the beholder halfway” – and, as it seems, it is truly a meeting, because, in contrast to photographs held in a traditional ethnographic archive, these photographs can leave the archive’s drawers and, being accessible twenty-four/seven, reach a broader public. Also, digitisation ennobles, so to speak, the images which have been thus transformed – not forgetting, however, that the digital reality removes the photographs-as-objects and their captions away from their old context and imbues them with a new quality.<sup>34</sup>

Traditionally, constructing an archive relies on creating a register of documents and classifying them. In digital media, the organisation of the archive is regulated by means of algorithms,<sup>35</sup> and the method of arranging the collection is determined primarily by software. In the digital repository of worker photographs, the resources and their descriptions are managed by dLibra, a modern system enabling the creation of professional libraries and digital repositories and making their resources accessible to persons and systems active on the web. Thanks to this system, the repository is not a simple storage space for the worker heritage, where pictures would be only deposited, but a storage space arranged in a way that facilitates navigation: files and scans have titles and each photograph was indexed according to a classification system prepared specially for the purpose.

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<sup>32</sup> BAUDRILLARD, Jean. *Photography, or the Writing of Light*, translated by Debra DEBRIX, 2000, <https://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/ctheory/article/view/14605/5462> (accessed 25 February 2021).

<sup>33</sup> ZAWOJSKI, Piotr. *Elektroniczne obrazowości. Między sztuką a technologią*. Kielce: Wydawnictwo Szumacher, 2000, p. 71.

<sup>34</sup> KARPIŃSKA, Stare źródła...; see too WILKOWSKI, Marcin. *Co się dzieje z archiwum w internecie? Kilka wątków teoretycznych*. In: ZIEŃTAL, Katarzyna (ed.) *Archiwistyka społeczna*. Warszawa: Ośrodek KARTA, 2013, pp. 53–58, accessed 28 February 2021, [https://ksiegarnia.karta.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Archiwa\\_spoleczne\\_podrecznik.pdf](https://ksiegarnia.karta.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Archiwa_spoleczne_podrecznik.pdf)

<sup>35</sup> ERNST, Archive, Storage..., p. 76.

The captions and descriptions provided by the owners of the photographs, as well as the captions written on their reverses, served as a basis for developing the repository's structure and constructing the metadata set. They were compared with the given image and as a result they indicated the possible search object. Metadata were entered into the repository according to the following scheme: date, place (location), photographer, photograph type, persons shown therein, comments. Key words with which the photographs were described were drawn from a thesaurus consisting of the following sections: City/Village; Work; Outside work; Home; Clothing in city milieus; Rituals, festivals, gatherings.

The description of every photograph entered into the repository consists of two layers. One, which is visible to the user, consists of attributes and key words which identify the photograph and make it possible to browse the set online and search for the objects of interest. The other is the description layer, which is not visible to the user. This is the so-called inner description; it contains much more information about the photograph than the data accessible through the online browser. This set is created for documentation and archiving purposes (for instance, it contains the address of the photograph's sender); it is protected by copyright and personal data protection regulations, and it is not made public.<sup>36</sup>

### (Re-)constructing the past in an archive

The way of navigating the past in the *Workers in the 19th and 20th century* repository is defined by the modern perspective, as is the case with traditional archives. The modern point of view also determines the construction of the past reality: the presented reality is metaphorically appropriated with the future uses of the resources in mind. This means that when the collection of photographs of workers assumed the form of cultural heritage, it became a construct created in the process of designing the programme of the exhibition which followed the contest, or in the process of filing and captioning it in the ethnographic archive. A digital repository is a construct as well. Allan Sekula emphasises that no archive is neutral – it always embodies “the power inherent in accumulation, collection, and hoarding as well as that power inherent in the command of the lexicon and rules of a language”.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, as Sekula notes, an efficiently functioning archive needs to employ bureaucratic measures similar to the ones used by banks, police file archives, museums or zoological gardens. “Thus, the archival perspective is closer to that of the capitalist, the professional positivist, the bureaucrat and the engineer – not to mention the connoisseur – than it is to that of the working class. Generally speaking, working-class culture is not built on such high ground.”<sup>38</sup>

The past, which is invariably inaccessible to us, forms constellations which attain their “now” in their recognisability during a specific moment in time. Each archive imposes a certain order on its contents. On the one hand, the classification applied to the *Workers in the 19th and 20th century* digital repository is designed to make it easier for the scholar to navigate the images and records from the past; on the other, it should be remembered that the images in the repository are perceived by Internet users as files, and thus their value is indicated and measured by “the

<sup>36</sup> In the year 1985 no-one thought about this aspect which is so important today. According to Polish law, the contents of publications found in the repository is protected by copyright and by general data protection regulations with respect to the persons shown in the photographs. Regulations concerning the use of the repository are found at [http://lodzregion.uni.lodz.pl/?page\\_id=110](http://lodzregion.uni.lodz.pl/?page_id=110)

<sup>37</sup> SEKULA, Reading an archive..., p. 446.

<sup>38</sup> SEKULA, Reading an archive..., p. 446.

manner of dealing with them as files”,<sup>39</sup> which are usually arranged into folders. Furthermore, photographs viewed via the Internet have a certain duality to them. On the one hand, the user is looking at them as images in their own right, as captured scenes from the past reflecting the past reality; on the other, as Rafal Drozdowski puts it, “he or she is also looking at them as links (both in the literal and a metaphorical sense)” referring to other photographs in the repository, revealing the logic and structure of their interrelations.<sup>40</sup>

It should be remembered that the essence of archiving lies in imposing order by means of describing, naming and the choosing of appropriate key words. As Lutz Dambeck stated in an interview, “an archive must be useful, that is, a person should be able to read it, and this is why its structure must be carefully considered [...]. Otherwise it will be just a heap of material.”<sup>41</sup> Thus, to conclude with Sekula’s apt statement:

Photographer, archivist, editor and curator can all claim [...] to be merely passing on a neutral reflection of an already established state of affairs. Underlying this process of professional denial is a commonsensical empiricism. The photograph reflects reality. The archive accurately catalogues the ensemble of reflections, and so on.

Even if one admits – as is common enough nowadays – that the photograph *interprets* reality, it might still follow that the archive accurately catalogues the ensemble of interpretations, and so on again. Songs of the innocence of discovery can be sung at any point. Thus, the “naturalization of the cultural” [...] is repeated and reinforced at virtually every level of the cultural apparatus – unless it is interrupted by criticism.<sup>42</sup>

## Conclusion

Workers’ photographs are a collection not only referring to, but also actualising the past, summoning it into the present. The photographs included in the ethnographic archive and the digital repository have ceased to function as a hermetically sealed collection isolated from any external influence. Having left private albums, they became a part of public heritage, embedded in various historical contexts and dependent thereon.

It is a process, not a form or type of material, that constitutes the fundamental feature of heritage.<sup>43</sup> “Heritage is everything contemporary people opt to select from the past they have themselves created for current use or to pass down to posterity”, notes Gregory J.

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<sup>39</sup> DROZDOWSKI, Rafal. Zdjęcia w sieci. Kierunkująca i na-znaczająca rama prezentacyjna Internetu. In: FERENC Tomasz, OLECHNICKI Krzysztof (eds.), *Obrazy w sieci. Sociologia i antropologia ikonosfery Internetu*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2009, p. 20.

<sup>40</sup> DROZDOWSKI, Zdjęcia w sieci..., p. 21.

<sup>41</sup> DAMMBECK Lutz. Konstrukcja i estetyzacja archiwów/The Construction & Aestheticisation of Archives. In: ZIÓLKOWSKA, Magdalena, LEŚNIAK, Andrzej (eds.), *Tytuł roboczy: archiwum # 1*. Łódź: ms2 Muzeum Sztuki, 2008, p. 52.

<sup>42</sup> SEKULA, Reading an archive..., pp. 446-447.

<sup>43</sup> JENSEN, Ulf J. Cultural Heritage, Liberal Education, and Human Flourishing. In: AVRAMI, Erica, MASON, Randall, de la TORRE, Marta. (eds.), *Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report*. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2000, pp. 38–43.

Ashworth.<sup>44</sup> The definition of this concept is now shifting towards the very subjective choice of us as the community that has become the current owner, not – as previously thought – the depositary, of the past. As Murzyn observes: “Heritage is a dynamic concept, a term that cannot be defined and determined once and for all. It is continuously chosen and shaped anew.”<sup>45</sup> In this framework, it is justified to state that the selection of workers’ photographs included in the digital repository does not have a “predetermined final state”,<sup>46</sup> but ought to be perceived in terms of incomplete knowledge, a collection which can never be full. After being indexed and catalogued, the collection undergoes no process until the moment when it begins to be browsed, used and incorporated into narration.<sup>47</sup> Neither should it be considered a manifestation of “timeless, universal or constant values”, meaning that “what we choose today may be disregarded tomorrow, and *vice versa*”,<sup>48</sup> especially since, as Gregory J. Ashworth emphasises in a statement that may also be applied to the digital repository under analysis, the actions of heritage-makers “are usually directed towards creating a specific product. They focus their attention on the choice of the item itself, maintaining and managing it, not on how it is consumed. They consider the work done the moment the product is made available to its end users.”<sup>49</sup> Moreover, archives rarely close the debate on the past and heritage; they do not provide any “official interpretation of memory” and even generate new discussions on the shape thereof. This fact is pointed out by Mike Featherstone, who writes that an archive is a “site of accumulation of primary resources from which history is constructed”, adding that constructing history depends on social, political and cultural interests, which fact often breeds overt and covert conflicts.<sup>50</sup> This is a reason for worry and a cause of the ever-growing gap between the creators and the consumers of heritage, for whom this heritage may have entirely different meanings and undergo different practices.

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<sup>44</sup> ASHWORTH, Gregory J. Sfragmentaryzowane dziedzictwo: sfragmentaryzowany instrument sfragmentaryzowanej polityki. In: MURZYN, Monika A., PURCHLA, Jacek (eds.), *Dziedzictwo kulturowe XXI wieku. Szanse i wyzwania*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2007, p. 32.

<sup>45</sup> MURZYN, Monika A. Dziedzictwo kulturowe w okresie przemian: szanse i wyzwania. In: MURZYN, Monika A., PURCHLA, Jacek (eds.). *Dziedzictwo kulturowe XXI wieku. Szanse i wyzwania*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2007, p. 153.

<sup>46</sup> ASHWORTH, Sfragmentaryzowane..., p. 32.

<sup>47</sup> This problem is discussed by Carolyn Steedman. See STEEDMAN, Carolyn. *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp. 61–88.

<sup>48</sup> ASHWORTH, Sfragmentaryzowane..., p. 36.

<sup>49</sup> ASHWORTH, Sfragmentaryzowane...

<sup>50</sup> FEATHERSTONE, Mike. Archiving Cultures. In: *The British Journal of Sociology*, no 51 (1) pp. 168–169.

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## Michal Milan Harminc – museum builder<sup>1</sup>

When we look at personalities of Slovak origin who were engaged in architectural and project work before 1918, the list is visibly more modest in comparison with those of the surrounding nations. If we do not remember Ján Nepomuk Bobula (1844–1903) and Blažej Bulla (1852–1919), we will certainly think of the names Dušan Jurkovič (1868–1947) and Michal Milan Harminc (1869–1964). It is these two builders who are considered to be the founding personalities of Slovak architecture. The contribution of Michal Milan Harminc's work received attention during his lifetime, the first buildings he designed being declared national cultural monuments in 1963, a year before his death.

Several academic events have been held since the 1990s to evaluate his work. The first was an exhibition in the SNG from 1991, for which a catalogue was also published, “Milan Michal Harminc 1869–1964: Selection from the author's graphic documentation of the architectural work.”<sup>2</sup> In the first decade of this century, the personality of Harminc and his contribution to the development of architecture were also the subject of two diploma theses at the Faculty of Fine Arts, Charles University in Bratislava: the work of Lenka Štalmachová, “Michal Milan Harminc 1869–1964” (supervisor Leon Sokolovský), whose analysis of the associated collection from 2004 shows his personal collection stored in the Archives of the Slovak National Gallery; and that of Viera Dlháňová, who in her diploma thesis, “Michal Milan Harminc and his sacral architecture”, from 2007 (supervisor Dana Bořutová), in turn focuses on the field of art history, her work also including a special catalogue of Harminc's churches and adaptations.

Of course, the 150th anniversary of the birth and the 55th anniversary of the death of the architect could not be overlooked, especially by architects and museologists. The result was an exhibition in one of the most highly regarded of befitting spaces – in the seat of the Slovak National Museum in Bratislava from November 21, 2019 to January 17, 2021.<sup>3</sup> The author of the bilingual Slovak-English publication *Michal Milan Harminc: The builder of museums / Museum builder*<sup>4</sup> is Elena Machajdíkovič, head of the SNM Archive, who has been dedicated to the personality of Harminc for a long time. The publication comprehensively evaluates his life destinies and architectural work. It is divided into nine chapters, which describe in more detail the individual stages of personal and professional life.

The chapter “Personal and family life” details basic biographical data, information about his family background and places where he worked. Subsequently, the section “Getting started in construction in Lower Hungary and Budapest (1886–1896)” describes the acquisition of his first professional experience and work in the construction companies of other well-known Budapest offices, as well as involvement in the then Slovak community and contacts with later

<sup>1</sup> The text was created within the project VEGA 1/0187/20 Image of a socialist city solved at the Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava.

<sup>2</sup> Klára Kubíčková – Mária Štibrányiová: Milan Michal Harminc 1869–1964: Selection from the author's graphic documentation of the architectural work. Bratislava: Gallery of Applied Art Architecture and Design of the Slovak National Gallery, 1991, 42 pp.

<sup>3</sup> For more information on the exhibition, see: DÍTE, Tibor: Museum Builder Michal Milan Harminc. In: *Múzeum*, 66, 2020, No. 1, pp. 57–58

<sup>4</sup> MACHAJDÍKOVÁ, Elena. *Michal Milan Harminc: The builder of museums / Museum builder*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 2020, 299 pp. ISBN978-80-8060-480-6

prominent figures of the Czechoslovak administration and politics in the then main city. Of the construction offices, let us mention at least his, albeit brief, work in the office of the builder of Slovak origin J. N. Bobula.

Harminc's more than half a century of professional activity, dating from the end of the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century, was a period when aesthetic and theoretical views on the perception of architecture and urbanism changed significantly, and when changes also occurred in the use of building materials. All of this also influenced the work of Harminc, which is illustrated by the chapters "Buildings in the style of historicism (1897–1915), "Buildings in the spirit of monumentality (1916–1929) and "Buildings influenced by functionalism (1929–1951). Gradually, we can follow the almost 20-year period when the architect draws on his personal contacts in Budapest and the Lower Land and focuses on the construction of private villas, tenement houses and churches – Evangelical, Catholic and Orthodox – thanks to contacts in the Lowland environment. Subsequently, even before the establishment of Czechoslovakia, he moved to the territory of today's Slovakia, first to Liptovský Mikuláš in 1916, and then in 1922 to Bratislava as the capital of Slovakia, where he worked until his death. New architectural trends manifested themselves in his use of modernist currents, but at the same time he still used ancient and classicist elements. Gradually, however, in the interwar period he moved to new architectural forms in the spirit of functionalism, but, according to the author, Harminc never identified with the use of flat roofs, as "the building must have a proper roof, nice and especially practical" (p. 107); he thus distinguished himself from other architects, and "created a special expression in his buildings".<sup>5</sup> Each of these chapters also brings the characteristics of the most significant examples from the given creative period.

The special chapters consist of three museum buildings designed by Harminc, each of which represents a different type of architecture, based on different architectural principles: the Museum in Turčiansky Sv. Martin (1905–1908), the Agricultural Museum in Bratislava (1924–1929) and the Slovak National Museum in Turčiansky Sv. Martin (1929–1932). All three of Harminc's museum buildings are currently declared National Cultural Monuments (NCPs). However, the information on the declaration of the second Harminc Museum Building in Martin as an NKP is contradictory: on p. 128 is an indication that it was listed in 1980 under no. 572, but on p. 137 that this occurred in 1963. Each of the chapters provides information not only on the design and construction of buildings, but also on their further use, adaptation and modification. The largest scope is given to the Bratislava museum building, the research on which the author has paid special attention to in the previous period, publishing the results of the research in a special study. However, some information about these buildings sounds a bit confusing. The first museum building in Martin is referred to in the professional literature as being Neo-Renaissance (or "Renaissance school"; 54), but elsewhere as a building that has a "classicist or neo-renaissance basis" (p. 53). It is described as a "three-storey building" (p. 116), although the catalogue guide to the *Sprievodca sbierkami múzeja* from 1938 on p. 1 states: "The new building is a two-storey building with an elevated ground floor".

The most extensive part of the monograph is the chapter "Other architecture work, which is completely natural, as Harminc is the author of about 300 buildings, the list of which is published here according to individual categories. 18 Harminc buildings arranged according to individual typologies are presented here in more detail. Among the villas and residential houses, the original summer villa of Emil Stodol in Liptovský Mikuláš, Kohút's villa in Martin, Fábry's

<sup>5</sup> MACHAJDÍKOVÁ, Elena. *Michal Milan Harminc...*, p.107.

villa and the House of the Slovak League in Bratislava, where Harminc lived and had his studio, are presented here. Of the public buildings, there are the sanatorium of Dr Szontága and the Palace Spa House in Nový Smokovec, the Lúčky Spa, the Hospital in Skalica and the Sanatorium in Nová Polianka. The Carlton Hotel in Bratislava and the Tatra Banka buildings in Martin and Bratislava are missing, while the Roman Catholic churches in Černová and Urmince and the Evangelical Churches in Bratislava and Žilina are among the works of sacral architecture. When we look at the list of completed constructions and designs, here we move throughout the territory of the former Hungary, today in the territory of five states: Serbia, mainly in Vojvodina (Aradáč, Báč, Petrovec, Kovačica, Nový Sad, Subotica, Vršac), Croatia (Ilok), Hungary (Balassagyarmat, Budapest, Jászszentandrás, Lórév, Szolnok, Szentendre, Szeged), Romania (Nădlac, Sibiu) and, of course, Slovakia. From the smaller sepulchral architecture, there is more information about the mausoleums in Pomáza near Budapest and in Sládkovičovo.

The final part of the publication consists of an extensive catalogue: of the almost 300-page publication it fills 70 pages, about a quarter of the book (pp. 221–295). It contains objects from the family archive, such as photographs; archival documents related to construction activities, such as architectural sketches, projects and correspondence of the construction company with institutions; and photographs of models of individual architectural works that visitors to the exhibition could see taken by students of the Faculty of Architecture, STU in Bratislava. The catalogue also contains space for your own notes.

The publication has very high-quality graphic design. The published images mainly come from the SNM Archive, resp. SNM-Museums in Martin, the Slovak National Gallery, the Museum of the City of Bratislava and from a private collection. It is a pity that the archival material stored in the SNG was not used to a greater extent (p. 18). The representative image part consists of photographs from the family archive, which in 2018 was obtained by the SNM from the Harminc family.

The catalogue is also complemented by photographs from the opening and installation of the exhibition. It is a pity that the text of the publication does not contain references to sources and professional literature, the notes consisting only of explanations of personalities or institutions mentioned in the text.

Based on the published literature and our own archival research, the presented publication comprehensively presents the latest knowledge about the personality of M. M. Harminc and his work in a broader Central European context. As the author concludes (p. 214), the work of Harminc forms a part of the European cultural heritage. With its scope in terms of the number of buildings and designs and the diversity of building typologies in architectural diversity and time, it documents the development of world modernisation trends in architecture from the end of the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century and its modifications not only in Slovakia but in the wider Central European area.

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