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Table of Contents

James Symonds — Difficult Pasts and Haunted Presents: Contemporary Archaeology and Conflict in an Age of Global Uncertainty 5

Dawid Kobiałka — Difficult Heritage of the 20th Century from the Perspective of the Biography of Things 23

Olgierd Ławrynowicz — Archaeology of Us and the Local Identity An Interdisciplinary Context 45

Filip Wałdoch — Archaeology of the Contemporary Past vs Retrotopia in the Context of the Application of Remote Sensing Methods 59

Anna Majewska — Continuity and Decline. Temporal Expression of Denominational Cemeteries in Contemporary Times 71

Magdalena Bernat — Three Lives of a Cemetery: the History of a Military Cemetery in the Village of Marcinowa Wola in Masuria 97

Sebastian Latocha — Dissonant Heritage as a By-Product of the Postwar Agrarian Reform in Poland. From Postmemory to Ethnoarchaeology 107

Emilia Habecka-Rosiak — Windmills as the Forgotten Cultural Heritage Returning to Favour 129

Katarzyna Barucha — 19th-Century Wooden Houses of Craftsmen from Zgierz – Precious Heritage or Troublesome Inheritance? 147

Aleksandra Krupa-Ławrynowicz — In the Factory, in Łódź, in the City Reconstructing the Industrial Past of a Place 171

Alicja Piotrowska, Inga B. Kuźma — The Right to the City, the Right to Heritage – Material and Non-Material Traces of Scheibler's 'New Weaving Mill' in Łódź 191

Marcel Bartczak — Stone Age Archaeological Sites in the Landscape Monumentalisation of Sites on the South Korea Example 205

Ali al-Ibadi — An Attempt to Calculate the Number of Inhabitants in Relation to the Social Dimension in Neo-Babylonian Residential Architecture on the Example of Babylon 225

Katarzyna Badowska, Wojciech Rutkowski — 'Historical Craft from the Artisan's Point of View'. Analysis of the Results of the Survey Conducted Among Craftsmen Specialising in Historical Reconstruction 243

5–21 Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. **Folia Archaeologica** *34(2019)*

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Difficult Pasts and Haunted Presents: Contemporary Archaeology and Conflict in an Age of Global Uncertainty

Introduction

My observations are based on recent developments in historical and contemporary archaeology in the UK and the US and have been chosen to highlight some of the ways in which archaeology has been used to explore the remains of 20th century wars and political violence, along with ongoing racial and ethnic conflicts in the 21st century.

It is no secret that we live in difficult times and we should perhaps openly acknowledge that academia, and the humanities in particular, are under assault from the supporters of neoliberalism. The introduction of high tuition fees in many universities in the West, along with poor job prospects and low pay in commercial archaeology, has meant that fewer students are choosing to study archaeology. Many universities have also chosen to shrink the breadth and content of archaeology courses to create broad brush American style liberal arts degrees. The word archaeology is actually disappearing from course catalogues as departments rush to reposition themselves in the academic market place and deliver new stripped down courses in "heritage studies".

As a consequence of all of this it is easy to suggest that the discipline of archaeology is between a rock and a hard place. It is certainly the case that in many parts of the world, including Poland, archaeology has been reduced to playing two roles. It is either conducted as a business activity, where firms compete for contracts to document and remove archaeological deposits ahead

of new developments. Or alternatively, archaeology is seen as a form of public entertainment through television documentaries, or historical re-enactments. Neither of these activities provides a stable foundation for archaeological science (Kobyliński 2015: 163). And by focusing on fieldwork techniques both personas somewhat unhelpfully focus on what archaeologists *do*, instead of what archaeologists have to *say*.

So what can be done? There is no simple solution, no silver bullet. But the world is changing at an ever quickening pace and old disciplinary certainties are disappearing. In my view we need to radically re-think how and why we do archaeology. By that I mean that archaeologists need to make their work more *socially relevant*, and to thereby re-focus public attention on what archaeology can say about the major challenges that face humanity. Rather than myopically focusing on an ever receding past we need to consider how multiple pasts can inform the present. Archaeology can and should play a crucial role in contemporary society and should be integral to the process of heritage future-making (Cameron 2010; Holtorf, Høgberg 2015).

Historical Archaeology and the Contemporary Past

Archaeology has traditionally served nationalism and modernity by informing individual and collective identities. In this way it helped to fill the perceived "black hole" that exists between the past and the present (Rathje, LaMotta, Longacre 2001). But in recent years postmodern theory has removed the sense of loss and nostalgia for the past from our work. Some would say that there has been a "loss of antiquity" (Hicks 2003). It has also been realised that archaeological techniques can be used to study and understand any form of material culture, from Stone Age tools to 21st century objects. The American archaeologist Bill Rathje was one of the first to point this out. Rathje reasoned that archaeology could be about more than connecting the present to distant pasts and argued that it was possible to study "the interaction between material culture and human behaviour, regardless of time or space" (Rathje 1979: 2). His famous garbology project succeeded in producing a socially-embedded critique of American consumer society (Rathje, Murphy 2001). The insight that Rathje provided into refuse disposal promoted an interest in re-cycling, and this has led one North American archaeologist to claim that "no other archaeologist has had a greater impact on the modern world" (Schiffer 2015: 179).

The idea that archaeology can be used to study modern material culture is now widely accepted and contemporary archaeology is an emerging sub-field

of archaeology. In the last 17 years several edited volumes have presented case studies in contemporary archaeology (Graves-Brown 2000; Buchli, Lucas 2001; Holtorf, Piccini 2009; Graves-Brown et al. 2013). According to one recent article studying the entanglements of contemporary materialities has "social relevance and meaning in ways that may not exist for archaeologies of earlier time periods" (Harrison, Schofield 2009: 198). This is a bold and potentially liberating stance. For if (Connerton 2009) then our efforts to document contemporary life may make a crucial contribution to future society.

Really Useful Archaeologies and Archaeology as Psychotherapy

The idea that studying archaeological materials could create new and potentially radical ways of seeing was a key motivation behind postprocessual archaeology in the 1980s. Christopher Tilley, for example, was clear that the practice of archaeology is a form of socio-political action:

> Archaeology should not primarily be concerned with the past for its own sake and as a means of escape from the socio-political reality of the present, but with using the past as a basis for strategic intervention in the present (Tilley 1989: 105).

So what should archaeologists be setting out to achieve? Is it possible to create really useful archaeologies? Matthew Johnson (1999), following the historian Haydn White (1987), has observed that:

> […] by definition our work serves to ironicize master narratives […] we walk in a uniquely dangerous place of the human past, a space between often very powerful 'master narratives' of cultural and social identity and much smaller, stranger, potentially subversive narratives of archaeological material. Archaeology (has) the ability to render familiar things strange and reveal timeless things as transient (Johnson 1999: 34).

Archaeology, then, can stir things up. By unearthing new evidence it can provide different ways of seeing and provoke reflection and debate. It has been said that the act of archaeological excavation reveals that which should have remained invisible (Vidler 1992: 48). Michael Shanks has likened this process to a therapeutic encounter where a patient is asked to reflect and consider the relationship between past experiences and present behavior (Shanks 1992: 78). But how do archaeologists uncover a subject for reflection? Must we rely on good luck, and chance discoveries? Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas suggest that the archaeological process is far more than a "serendipitous and somewhat passive

notion of discovery" (Buchli, Lucas 2001: 17). Indeed, they argue that archaeologists use their skills to purposefully reconstruct that which is absent from the present:

> Archaeologists constitute things in the present, not only conceptually but materially as well. This is a creative materializing intervention, which has redemptive and therapeutic powers which help individuals and communities cope with painful contradictions that otherwise would remain unarticulated (Buchli, Lucas 2001: 17).

So we should frame our subjects and gather evidence to tell stories which can be socially useful. Of course, thinking about archaeology in this way, as a purposeful socio-political intervention, arguably places a new burden of responsibility on the shoulders of archaeologists. After all, some people might say that is it really not up to archaeologists to decide what stories people need to hear. And there is of course the possibility that our actions might actually cause more harm than good. Gabriel Moshenska has made the important point that "good intentions are not enough in the complex ethical environment of conflict archaeology" (Moshenska 2017: 307). There is a real need to engage in an open and honest dialogue with public audiences, and to encourage plural debates with multiple voices. Only in this way can we hope to explicitly acknowledge the nuances and complexities of the evidence which we bring to light.

At times public involvement can pull archaeological work in quite unexpected directions. Moshenska gives an example of the archaeological excavation of a crashed World War II British fighter plane in London. It was known that the fighter had rammed a German bomber that was about to target Buckingham Palace, leading to a mid-air collision. The excavation, in 2003, therefore created a huge amount of public interest. Elderly local residents where assembled to reflect upon the event. When a television crew arrived the interviewer no doubt anticipated hearing tales of wartime camaraderie, and tributes to the RAF. They were therefore shocked when one elderly woman recalled, apparently with no sense of remorse, that a local mob had tried to capture and murder the pilot of the German bomber, who had survived the crash by parachuting to safety (Moshenska 2017: 311).

I whole-heartedly agree with Gabriel Moshenska's assertion that: "the answer to the question 'who owns the past?' should be 'nobody'" (Moshenska 2017: 311). However, I do think that there are times when boundaries need to be drawn. This raises the issue of should archaeologists take sides? Or should we be content to hide behind an imagined curtain of scientific objectivity? Alfredo

González-Ruibal has wrestled with this issue in relation to the mass political killings of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and the politics of memory. His view is clear:

> The archaeology of the contemporary past can make things public, re-assemble the parliament of things and add a tangible, experiential dimension to our knowledge of history. And above all, it can make us remember that 'evil was here' (Sontag 2003) not so long ago, behind our own homes, beneath our feet (González-Ruibal 2007: 19–20).

Archaeology, Ethnography, and the Not Always Forgotten Past

"Difficult heritage" (Logan, Reeves 2008; Macdonald 2010) – this area of academic study has seen a great deal of interest in recent years. I am aware a huge amount of work undertaken has been undertaken in Poland investigating the sites of WWII atrocities. Polish archaeologists and forensic scientists have undertaken cutting edge research on mass graves (Trzciński, Borkowski 2015; Włodarczyk 2010). And work on holocaust camps is developing a new archaeological sub-field of holocaust studies. I will, therefore, not discuss holocaust archaeology further in what remains of this paper, as developments in this field are well-known in Poland and have already been discussed in the aforementioned and other publications.

I will instead offer some thoughts on how archaeology can be used as a form of therapy that may assist the process of recovery and reconciliation after the traumas and losses of armed conflicts. In addition to this I will go on to explore how contemporary archaeology can shine a light onto political injustices and crimes against humanity as they happen. Such politically motivated contemporary archaeological interventions have the potential to re-position archaeological work. By this I mean that rather than resolutely facing backwards and retrospectively devising a commentary of past events as a form of societal hindsight, contemporary archaeology can have a panoptic vision which addresses contemporary political problems and encourages dissent and social action, in the hope that this will lead to more equitable futures.

It has been argued that the world wars and totalitarian regimes which dominated the 20th century may be understood as failures of modernity (González-Ruibal et al. 2008). It is certainly the case that the last hundred years or so have seen a proliferation of armed conflicts, genocides, and repressive behaviour linked to totalitarian regimes. There would therefore seem to be powerful incentives to explore 20th century wars and other abuses of modernity using

archaeological methods. As already noted, a critical panoptic archaeology can throw a spotlight onto political crimes. It can also identify the perpetrators of such crimes, and expose their motivations. This brings us back to the crucial points that archaeological interventions are socio-political acts and that by choosing to undertake archaeological work on such material archaeologists are taking a political stance and so should be explicit about this fact. In the words of Alfredo González-Ruibal:

> How can we survey a concentration camp, excavate a trench or a mass grave, or study a derelict ghetto without getting involved in politics? […] archaeology can be an original critical voice in the social sciences (González-Ruibal et al. 2008: 259).

In the remainder of this paper I will present three short case studies. Two of the case studies will examine the aftermaths of 20th century armed conflicts, from the First, and Second World Wars. The third case will examine the documentation of illegal migration and political responses in the contemporary world. In the last ten years there has been a proliferation of archaeological work which addresses 20th century conflicts and violence and inequalities in the contemporary world. Space does not permit me to survey this field here. I would therefore suggest that readers who wish to further explore archaeologies of recent conflict or archaeologies of migration should refer to the *Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Contemporary World*, and the "Journal of Contemporary Archaeology".

Finding the Fallen: Honouring the Dead from World War I

In 2008 a mass grave containing the remains of 250 British and Australian soldiers who had been killed during an offensive on the Western Front in 1916 was discovered at Fromelles in Northern France. The discovery of this mass grave created practical and ethical problems. What was to be done with the remains of these fallen soldiers? Archaeological features and deposits are routinely recorded and removed ahead of new developments by commercial archaeological companies. But this discovery opened up complex issues relating to the proper treatment of war dead, state responsibilities towards the families of fallen soldiers, and the creation of national war narratives.

Ninety years after the end of the World War I there were only a handful of people still alive who had lived through or fought in the conflict. The so called "Last Fighting Tommy", Harry Patch, the last surviving soldier of the war from any country, was 110 years old. When Harry died on 25th July 2009,

the Great War became an historical event that could only be known by means of historical or archaeological research. The discovery of the Fromelles mass grave was therefore especially poignant as it represented a period of intense trauma that was on the very cusp of history. The potential political significance of the mass grave was immediately understood by the British and Australian governments. Within a matter of months a team of forensic archaeologists and other specialists was assembled to recover and re-bury the remains of the soldiers with full military honours in a newly constructed Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery nearby. The recovery of human remains commenced in May 2009, and the last reburial was completed in the presence of HRH the Prince of Wales and the Duchess of Cornwall on 19th July 2010 (Loe et al. 2014: XXII).

I have chosen to discuss this project for a number of reasons. First, the large budget of around £3 million pounds that was necessary to complete the work was jointly funded by the Australian Department of Defence, and the UK Ministry of Defence. This naturally drew media and public attention to the historical ties that exist between the UK and Australia. In this sense it was an exercise in soft political power which used joint action in a past conflict to re-affirm the contemporary political ties which exist between the two nations. Second, in order to complete such a complex project it was necessary to create a public-private partnership. A British archaeological contractor, Oxford Archaeology, was appointed to undertake the work. In 21st century Western neoliberal economies specialist expertise is often maintained in independent commercial archaeological firms. Such organizations, which are akin to civil engineering or architectural practices, exist outside local or national government departments and compete for projects on the basis of their in-house skills, their track-record for successfully delivering commercial projects, and best value. Third, and finally, this project offers a clear example of how archaeological work can be used to create a sense of closure, while at the same time serving to forge new national narratives for the purposes of ongoing state-sanctioned forms of remembrance.

The Battle of Fromelles, which was fought over two days on the 19th and 20th of July 1916, was essentially a diversionary tactic that was intended to retake a German strong point known as the Sugar Loaf, thereby diverting German attention away from the Battle of Somme. Despite its relative brevity, the joint Australian and British assault at Fromelles epitomises the futility of trench warfare and exposes the shortcomings of poor planning and weak leadership. The German front-line, manned by the 6th Bavarian Reserve division was well-defended, and the assault proved to be a complete failure, leaving *c.* 2,500 Australian and British dead, with many more injured (Loe et al. 2014: 7).

The archaeological outcomes of the Fromelles project were remarkable. The remains of 250 Australian and British soldiers had been buried in eight mass graves behind German lines a few days after the fighting. The re-discovery of these graves offered a rare opportunity to scientifically investigate the skeletal remains of First World War soldiers before re-burying them in individual graves in a new Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery in Fromelles. The fallen soldiers had been hastily buried still wearing their uniforms. Almost 6000 artefacts were recovered by the excavators. These included military badges, insignia, and buckles, which offered clues to the rank and regiment of some individuals. There were also purses, toothbrushes, tobacco pipes, and other personal possessions which the victims had been carrying with them at the time of their death.

But to return to my suggestion that archaeology may be used as a form of therapeutic intervention, one of the important lessons that may be learned from this example is how archaeological techniques can be used to resolve long standing uncertainties. In this case forensic recovery techniques along with DNA research and the co-operation of living families allowed a total of 144 Australian soldiers to be identified by name, with a further 75 being identified as having served with the Australian army. Two soldiers were identified as being from the British army (Loe et al. 2014: XXII).

A BBC news report from 2010, when the exhumations were taking place, reflected on the significance of the project and quoted Richard Parker, aged 47, whose great uncle Leonard Twamley had been killed at the age of 20 while serving for the Royal Warwickshire Regiment at Fromelles:

> Even if his body isn't found, in some respects his memory is even more alive now. By researching what sort of person he was, we now know much more about him. My grandmother died without knowing where Len was buried… this would bring proper closure to a family tragedy that goes back 95 years (Jackson 2010).

Peleliu, Micronesia: Heritage Management, Reconciliation

My second case study comes from World War II, and a well-preserved island battlefield in the Pacific Ocean (Price, Knecht 2012). In September 1944 US Marines invaded Peleliu, a small island in the Republic of Palau in western Micronesia. Peleliu had served as a staging post for the Japanese advance across the Pacific and had a strategically important airfield which guarded the outer approaches to the Philippines and Japan. For this reason the island was heavily defended with a large Japanese garrison of hardened fighters. At this late stage in WWII the Japanese commanders on

Peleliu had realised that it would be impossible to defend the beaches of the island for any length of time against incoming marines. The decision was therefore made to dig in and to defend the whole of the island, making use of the natural gorges and caves in the high ranges of the Ombleblochel Mountains (Price, Knecht 2012: 8). This unprecedented shift in tactics resulted in an "exceptionally vicious battle" (Price, Knecht 2012: 5). The Marine mission, which had been planned for 4 days, extended to 74 days of continuous fighting. The fatalities on both sides amounted to 16,000 men, and of the 11,000 Japanese servicemen who were defending Peleliu only 19 survived (Price, Knecht 2012: 11–13).

The ferocity of the fighting which took place on Peleliu in September 1944 is shocking. The Japanese garrison had defended 608 caves and created tunnel systems which allowed them to move and hide in the dense jungle within the island's upland interior. Marines were forced to clear each cave and tunnel individually with grenades and flamethrowers. They were supported by tanks and artillery, along with airstrikes and shelling from US Navy battleships. But the Peleliu garrison were compelled by public opinion in Japan and by ancient military codes to fight to the death, rather than facing the shame of capture and surrender, and mounted an obstinate defence. Marines resorted to pouring liquid fuel and napalm into the caves and igniting the mixture. They also used explosives and bulldozers to seal the entrances of caves and tunnels so that those inside were trapped and buried alive (Price, Knecht 2012: 9).

Remarkable as it may seem, the carnage that took place on Peleliu was quickly forgotten. It was just one of many brutal encounters in the Pacific theatre of war and was overshadowed by the fighting that took place in the Solomon Islands at Guadalcanal in 1942, and by the fight for the island of Iwo Jima in 1945, both of which were subsequently immortalised in post-WWII Hollywood films. Ironically, the memory of Peleliu was only revived in 2010 by another series of films, *The Pacific*, which were produced by Stephen Spielberg and Tom Hanks for American TV as a follow up to their acclaimed *Band of Brothers* series. *The Pacific* re-kindled interest in the Pacific campaign and unleashed a wave of battlefield tourism as the descendants of American veterans and others descended on the island, often intent on collecting WWII artefacts as souvenirs.

This phenomenon led to a grant from the US National Park Service, and the Palau Bureau of Arts and Culture (BAC) was able to assemble an international team of conflict archaeology specialists, including Rick Knecht and Neil Price, from the University of Aberdeen, indigenous archaeologists, anthropologists, and an unexploded ordnance (UXO) disposal team. The team had a clear remit with three imperatives: conservation, tourism, and demining. It was hoped that archaeological recording of the WWII remains would allow sites

to be better managed, leading to a possible application for UNESCO World Heritage site status. And the demining, whilst serving to remove dangers to the island's population, was also intended as a first step towards the creation of sustainable heritage tourism schemes to assist the economic development of the island (Price et al. 2013: 13–16).

Peleliu is a poignant example of how attempts have been made to rehabilitate the site of one of the most ferocious battles of WWII. The island is still littered with UXO and human remains, but in this case the 21st century clear up and related research was about far more than the creation of memory and state-sanctioned honouring of the war dead. The international team of archaeologists and anthropologists were assembled in Peleliu in response to an increase in battlefield tourism and looting, and the need to develop sustainable and safe forms of heritage tourism.

Neil Price and Rick Knecht offer a different perspective on their work in Peleliu in a second article (Price et al. 2013). Here they explore how the material culture of conflict can shed light on the "multicultural histories of the fighting" so as to enable the battlefield to stand as a "lasting, reflective memorial to all those whose lives it touched" (Price et al. 2013: 193). This article examines the neglected narratives of the Japanese soldiers and Korean and Okinawan forced labourers and the Japanese and Palauan women who may also have been present in some caves. It also examines the tensions of race and class within the Marine Corps, and how the wartime experiences of African-American, Hispanic, and Native American soldiers may have differed according to their ethnicity and social status. The numerous battlefield memorials to both Japanese and American soldiers are also discussed in detail, showing how the process of memorialization can encourage reconciliation and reflection upon the futility of war (Price et al. 2013: 219–238).

One of the most significant contributions of this second article is the detailed consideration that it gives to indigenous Palauan perspectives. While primarily tasked with mapping and recording the WWII combat zones, the international team also paid attention to the presence of pre-war features from the Palauan villages, structures, middens, and sacred sites, which were damaged or destroyed by the fighting. This work revealed elements of a hitherto invisible pre-conflict landscape and added time depth to the investigations, making the project far more than a documentation of two and a half months of fighting in 1944 (Price et al. 2013: 220–225). Price and Knecht's concern for the contemporary indigenous inhabitants of Peleliu shines through in their discussion of how the horrors of WWII have left many haunting presences on the small island (Price et al. 2013: 225–228). The many ghost and spirit stories that were collected by the team revealed the level of anxiety which was still prevalent in the island as a consequence of having the remains of so many dead soldiers within the island's caves and landscapes: "The 'foreignness' of the

dead was a consistent theme, the idea that they did not belong in Palau; they were not wanted" (Price et al. 2013: 228).

By retrieving and removing the remains of the foreign soldiers, and arranging for their respectful disposal, the team were thus addressing a key concern of the indigenous population. This allowed the islanders to take back the emotional and spiritual ownership of their island from foreign invaders. So in this example therapy and closure were enacted in multiple ways. Aside from encouraging some form of reconciliation between the former waring nations through a process of memorialisation, and the careful long term management of the battlefield, the project also helped to restore indigenous rights.

Migrants and the US-Mexican Border: Contemporary Archaeology as Political Action

My final case does not come from a distant conflict, or for that that matter from an official war between states, but from a contemporary archaeology project in the Sonoran Desert of southern Arizona. The Sonoran Desert forms part of the US-Mexican border and hundreds of Mexican migrants die there every year as they attempt to gain unauthorised entry into the US. This phenomenon is being studied by Dr Jason De León's Undocumented Migration Project (UMP) at the University of Michigan. De León's research is a mixture of archaeology, ethnography, and forensic science, and collects spatial and material data on the movements and strategies of unauthorized migrants. De León and his co-workers are explicit about their motivation for mapping the residues of migrant movements and openly state that their work is intended to inform the public discourse on migration into the US: "Insofar as naming and describing diverse types of sites helps to shape the objects of this discourse, we suggest that classification may further aid critique and political action" (Gokee, De León 2014: 133).

De León's research articles explore the materiality of migration by documenting the types of material which are discarded by migrants, along with evidence for the use and adaption of materials. The challenge of crossing a desert with temperatures in excess of 115 degrees Fahrenheit has led to the growth of a complex Mexican smuggling industry which supports would-be migrants with specialised supplies. Dark clothes and black water bottles are favoured in the belief that they will allow migrants to evade detection by border guards. But in reality the dark colours only soak up the heat and lead to overheating and water that is too hot to drink (De León 2012: 484–485). And rather than wearing hiking boots, the most common forms of shoes which have been found discarded in large numbers are inexpensive sneakers. Migrants often think that these shoes will allow them to fit in when they reach the

US. But the sneakers are inappropriate for desert walking and lead to friction blisters or more serious foot injuries (De León 2012: 486–487).

De León's close study of migrant artefacts is a politically charged "materializing intervention" (Buchli, Lucas 2001). Instead of simply seeing plastic bottles and shoes as trash, discarded in the desert, his work has allowed these items to be linked to human suffering and to the strategies which migrants have devised to support their unauthorised entry in the US. But there is more to this research. Every year several hundred migrants die while attempting to cross the desert. Their skeletonized remains are periodically collected by US border patrols and classed as "recovered human remains". De León has noted that this terminology glosses over the actuality of migrant deaths: "[…] referring to migrant death sites as 'human remains' may work to sanitize precisely the sorts of necro-political and structural violence that a dead body in the desert should be calling attention to" (Gokee, De León 2014: 151).

In his 2015 book *The Land of Open Graves*, De León produces a scathing critique of so called Prevention through Deterrence (PTD) the federal border enforcement policy that encourages migrants to cross the border in unpatrolled areas leading into the desert. For 20 years this policy has failed to deter border crossers and has turned the Sonoran Desert into a killing field as thousands of undocumented migrants attempt to cross the border from Mexico into the US. The distribution of artefacts and dead bodies suggest that migrants are being lured into the desert at points where a crossing would take several days and survival is unlikely. The rugged landscape and the harsh climate of the Sonoran Desert are therefore being used as a natural line of defence which frequently leads to certain death for those who enter. By studying the material now and interviewing potential migrants face-to-face in the border lands of northern Mexico, De León creates a powerful contemporary archaeology which makes a direct contribution to a crucial public discourse in 21st century America. His work has not only exposed the motivation and desperation of would-be migrants, but has also shed light on the cynical tactics of US border policing.

Conclusion

In this article I have worked from the well-worn postprocessual premise that archaeology is a socially-embedded and inherently political practice. I have argued that archaeology can have important therapeutic powers and can help individuals and communities to deal with deeply buried traumas. These case studies illustrate approaches to difficult heritage from World War I and World War II and show the different ways in which a sensitive approach to war dead, conflict landscapes, and memorialization can be used as a form of therapy that encourages closure and reconciliation. The second case study, from the Pacific island of Peleliu, also

serves to demonstrate how archaeology can serve indigenous land rights, restoring a sense of spiritual ownership of the island to its indigenous inhabitants and paving the way for a sustainable cultural tourism industry. My third case study explored unauthorised Mexican migration across the US border in southern Arizona. I included this case study to make the point that contemporary material culture can be studied to address current political debates.

I will finish by re-iterating my central point. As archaeologists we should work to ensure that our research is socially relevant and addresses the major challenges that face humanity. These are many and varied, but our world has become more uncertain in the last year and the prospect of global conflict is probably closer now than at any time since the end of the Cold War. The present incumbent of the White House has taken to issuing opinions, and sometimes threats, by Twitter. I would therefore like to end by quoting a tweet. But this is not a tweet from Donald Trump, but from former President Barack Obama. The tweet, which makes use of a quotation from Nelson Mandela's autobiography, *The Long Walk to Freedom* appeared on 13th August 2017, following the violent events at a far-right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. It has since been recognised as the "most liked" tweet in Twitter's history: "No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin or his background or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite" (Lee 2017).

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Summary

Difficult Pasts and Haunted Presents: Contemporary Archaeology and Conflict in an Age of Global Uncertainty

This article examines the role of archaeology in contemporary society. It works from the premise that archaeology is a form of socio-political action and explores some of the ways in which archaeologies of the recent past can have therapeutic or cathartic effects. Three case studies are presented. The first two focus on the recovery of war dead and the memorialization of conflict landscapes at Fromelles, in northern France, and Peleliu, in Micronesia. The third explores the materiality of unauthorised migration in the US-Mexico borderlands of southern Arizona. The central argument presented in this article is that in an age of global uncertainty, where support for the humanities is in decline and respect for academic knowledge is diminishing, archaeologists should re-position their work to more clearly focus on contemporary social issues. If archaeology is to survive as a discipline it must be seen as being socially relevant research, with the capacity to contribute to contemporary public discourses.

Keywords: contemporary archaeology, difficult heritage, conflict, psychotherapy

Streszczenie

Trudne przeszłości i nawiedzone teraźniejszości: Współczesna archeologia i konflikt w erze globalnej niepewności

Autor analizuje rolę archeologii we współczesnym społeczeństwie w oparciu o założenie, że dyscyplina ta jest także formą działania społeczno-politycznego, i jednocześnie zajmuje się potencjalnymi efektami terapeutycznymi lub oczyszczającymi niedawnej przeszłości. W artykule przedstawione są trzy studia przypadków. Dwa pierwsze koncentrują się na poszukiwaniach szczątków osób poległych w czasie wojny oraz upamiętnieniu krajobrazu

konfliktu we Fromelles w północnej Francji oraz Peleliu w Mikronezji. W trzecim przedstawiona jest materialność nielegalnej migracji na pograniczu amerykańsko-meksykańskim w południowej Arizonie. Autor podkreśla, że w dobie globalnej niepewności i malejącego poparcia dla nauk humanistycznych oraz szacunku dla wiedzy akademickiej, archeolodzy powinni w większym stopniu skupić się na współczesnych problemach społecznych. Jeśli archeologia ma przetrwać jako dyscyplina, należy ją postrzegać jako badania ważne społecznie, zdolne do współtworzenia współczesnych dyskursów publicznych.

Słowa kluczowe: współczesna archeologia, trudne dziedzictwo, konflikt, psychoterapia

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Difficult Heritage of the 20th Century from the Perspective of the Biography of Things*

Introduction: Archaeologies of the Recent Past and Difficult Heritage

Studies into different aspects of the material heritage of the 20th century form a dynamically developing field of research and a broader theoretical reflection within archaeology. It is a fully recognised branch of archaeology, which already has its own textbooks and journals (for further details see: *The Oxford Handbook…* 2013). Archaeologies of the recent past include such specialisations as: archaeology of the First World War (Saunders 2007), archaeology of the Second World War (Moshenska 2013), archaeology of the Cold War (Hanson 2016) or, in more general terms, archaeologies of recent armed conflicts. Indeed, the archaeological work performed in relation to the heritage of the last few decades is dominated by the identification, documentation, and contextualisation of material relics from the recent armed conflicts (Schofield 2005). However, it is worth noting the characteristic shift in research and theoretical reflection that has taken place within the archaeology of the recent past. For example, the issue of the material dimension of conflicts forms a significant part of *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past* (*Archaeologies…* 2001), which was a title of major significance to the development of archaeologies of the recent past. On the other hand, the latest publications that set the direction for contemporary research (*Contemporary Archaeologies…* 2009; Harrison, Schofield 2010) mention the archaeology of conflicts only occasionally.

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Such a shift of focus indicates the broadening of the archaeological field of interest. It emphasises the fact that archaeologies of the recent past as a term cover more than just the archaeology of recent armed conflicts, and that these terms are not synonymous. The situation is slightly different in the case of Polish science (cf. Zalewska 2016). In Poland, these terms are close synonyms, which leads to some considerable simplifications (see more in Kobiałka 2018).

As early as in 1967, Jerzy Kruppé conducted archaeological research in Auschwitz II Birkenau (for further details see: Majorek, Grupa 2015). The archaeological activity was aimed at accurate identification and documentation of the camp relics. However, activities of fundamental and profound significance to the development of the archaeologies of the recent past in Poland were definitely the field studies of Andrzej Kola (e.g. 2000; 2005; 2016), Marian Głosek and Andrzej Nadolski (Głosek 2013; *Katyń w świetle…* 2003). In these cases, one can clearly see the cognitive dimension of archaeological field research into the recent past and its equally important social overtone (cf. Frąckowiak, Kajda 2015). The aim of the exhumation research was to find, document, and recover the memory and remains of Polish citizens murdered by the NKVD. Due to Kola, Głosek and Nadolski's interests, field research within the archaeology of the contemporary past mostly concerned locations related to the Second World War and, naturally, the places of genocide. Thus, archaeologists studied mass graves, concentration camps, forced labour camps etc. These places are described in greater detail in three recent monographs concerning the archaeology of the contemporary past (*Nekropolia…* 2010; *Archeologia totalitaryzmu…* 2015; *Archeologia współczesności…* 2016).

Difficult or dark heritage is a research problem that has been extensively discussed for at least a decade (cf. Macdonald 2009). This is an issue of interest to historians, cultural anthropologists, geographers, philosophers, and even the tourist industry (*Places of Pain and Shame…* 2009; Biran, Poria, Oren 2011). Archaeologists also pay much attention to it: relics of concentration camps, mass graves, and individual graves of civilians and soldiers are nothing else but examples of difficult heritage of the recent past. One can even get an impression that Polish archaeology of the contemporary past is nothing but research and reflection on the role and significance of this heritage (Kola 2000; 2005; *Nekropolia…* 2010; *Archeologia totalitaryzmu…* 2015; *Archeologia współczesności…* 2016).

Naturally, such a complex issue as difficult heritage, analysed from the perspective of different fields of study and theoretical traditions, has no single definition. However, for the purposes of this paper, I shall refer to the study of

Fig. 1. *Difficult heritage*: a destroyed war grave from the Second World War (photograph by D. Kobiałka).

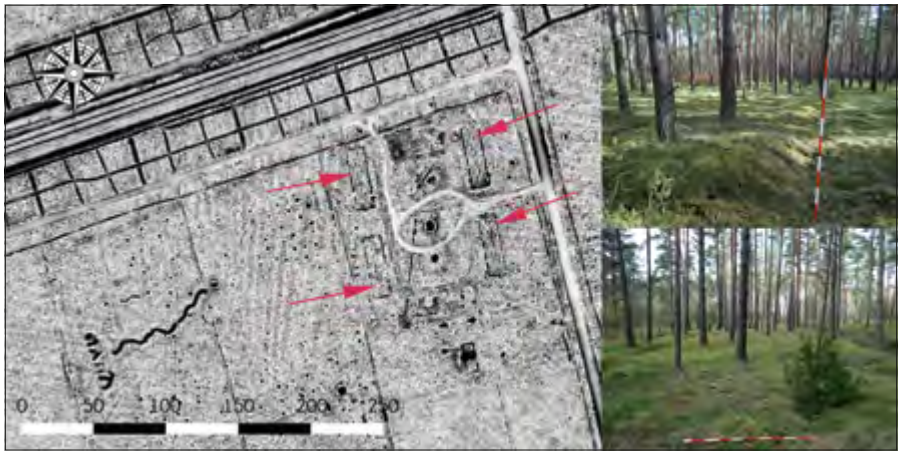

Fig. 2. Relics of a forced labour camp and other facilities from the Second World War located in the forest near Gutowiec based on aerial laser scanning data (sky-view factor visualisation, prepared by M. Kostyrko, D. Kobiałka), and their present state of preservation. The arrows indicate the outlines of four barracks in which British, French, and Belgian prisoners of war were kept.

Sabina Owsianowska and Magdalena Banaszkiewicz, who sum up the discussion on the understanding of difficult heritage as follows:

> [Difficult heritage – D.K.] is a legacy that we – as humanity, as a specific group, and as individuals – would prefer not to have inherited from our ancestors and that we would like to wipe out from our memory. Thus, there is no interpretation that would give difficult heritage, understood in this way, fully harmonious consonance: it is a legacy which no one wants to identify themselves with, imposing on the living a sacrosanct obligation to express it in the present, and to preserve it for the future. This obligation is homage paid to the victims and a warning for the generations to come (Owsianowska, Banaszkiewicz 2015: 15).

The above approach to the understanding of archaeologies of the recent past as a form of studying complicated past through the narratives concerning death, martyrdom, suffering, commemoration of the victims, the 'obligation to remember', and martyrology is a narrowing and simplifying understanding of archaeological research into the difficult twentieth-century heritage. As it was accurately said by Kornelia Kajda:

> I have had enough of all the talking about the need to remember because there is no point in simple, unreflective remembrance. There have been enough national discourses on what and how to remember, discourses in which local history and regional remembrance are insignificant and omitted in order to artificially create memory of a homogeneous nation. It is time to show that the past can also positively design the future, while the sciences concerning the past can become space for the creation of new stories based on empathy and understanding, space for transformation and detachment from reality (Kajda 2016: 10).

Thus, archaeological work on difficult heritage is potentially not only a narrative of death, suffering, passage of time and the 'duty to remember' these tragedies today. Archaeologies of the recent past are not merely – as Kola would like it (2016) – 'the archaeology of martyrology'. They can be narratives with an affirmative, creative and positive undertone; narratives showing the lives of people and things as well as their complex and multidimensional relationships/stories even in places that are not perceived as problematic/inconvenient/difficult (cf. Kobiałka 2018). The theoretical approach referred to as the biography of things can help to extend the archaeological way of studying difficult heritage. The case studies will present three archaeological artefacts connected with soldiers imprisoned in a German prisoner-of-war camp that operated in Czersk (Pomerania Province) during the First World War.

Biography of Things: *Cultural* and *Social* Life of Matter

The biography of things as a way of describing material culture has already been exhaustively discussed and found many applications. Its assumptions have been described in both English (Roymans 1995; Shanks 1998; Holtorf 2002) and Polish literature (Kobiałka 2008). This is why I will only indicate a few crucial aspects of the biographical approach to the study of material culture.

It was an American social anthropologist Igor Kopytoff (2005) who first clearly suggested (in 1987) that things, buildings, and places can be viewed and studied similarly to people. Things, places and whole landscapes can have their own biographies as well as complex and multi-layered stories. The American scholar meant telling the story about the use/life and the variability of meanings of a given thing from the perspective of the object itself; and that people can be stages in the history of a given artefact.

As an anthropologist, Kopytoff was less interested in the technological aspects of the life of a given object, while these were the issues that were mostly addressed by archaeologists in the past. For example, the concept of the so-called operation chain (*chaîne opératoire*) can be understood as a specific way of telling and studying the history of a given object and its creation (Minta-Tworzowska 2012). Emphasis on the social dimension of the use/life of things was the key element in the application of the biographical approach to artefacts mostly among post-processual archaeologists (e.g. Karlsson 2001). This was the way of thinking in the case of which the causative power of things and the variability of meanings of material culture mattered. For more than a decade, the biography of things was one of the most important ways of studying material culture (e.g. Burström 1996; Gosden, Marshall 1999).

Kopytoff's emphasis on the change of meaning and constant reinterpretation of things turned out to be particularly close to the archaeological approach. Kopytoff also paid attention to the use/life, and the history of the use/life of a given object or building (cf. Smykowski 2011). This is where functional analysis gets combined with the cultural process of changing meanings. As Kopytoff noted:

> […] For example, 'among the Suku of Zaire, among whom I worked, the life expectancy of a hut is about ten years. The typical biography of a hut begins with its housing a couple or, in a polygynous household, a wife with her children. As the hut ages, it is successively turned into a guest house or a house for a widow, a teenagers' hangout, kitchen, and, finally, goat or chicken house – until at last the termites win and the structure collapses (Kopytoff 2005: 252).

Such a perception and understanding of material culture attracted the interest of archaeologists. However, the biography of things is full of paradoxes. More importantly, the term 'biography of things' does not simply concern the way of reaching the artefact; it does not lead to a physical description of an object or to discovering its essence. This approach has a historical dimension. This means that it studies the relationships between people, things and places, and it emphasises their variability in time. It shows that these beings constitute one another and happen to one another; it examines how things become and not just are. Thus, this is an approach that historicises the story of a given object. And finally, the biographical approach to things in archaeology is not limited to the study of the past of a given phenomenon. Quite the opposite, one of its basic premises is that things continue to live – so to speak – after their death, which means that taking a given artefact out of its original cultural context (e.g. burying a deposit of bronze objects four thousand years ago) does not mean its biography comes to an end. The act of discovering such a treasure in modern times is also a part of its history (e.g. Kobiałka 2008). In this sense, many archaeological analyses of biographies of such things can be interpreted as examples of the archaeologies of the recent past. Here, the contemporary history of prehistoric things is an equally important element of their existence (Holtorf 2002).

Fig. 3. The biography of things emphasises the variability and fluidity of meanings: the First World War *garbage becomes* today valuable *archaeological heritage* (photograph by D. Kobiałka).

Examples can be rusted enamel bowls I documented during the research conducted in the prisoner-of-war camp in Czersk. They are things that were used by the camp prisoners every day, and then left there. The prisoners used these dishes for eating and drinking; bowls of this kind were also used for washing. And after a hundred years, these seemingly useless pieces of garbage experience new stages of their biography. To archaeologists, rusted artefacts are valuable remains connected with the everyday life of prisoners of war. Or, to put it differently, such garbage becomes valuable archaeological heritage. In a word, there are potentially many interpretations of seemingly identical dishes. In the end, these everyday items were taken to Czarna Woda, where you can now see them in a regional memorial room.

The concept of the biography of things developed creatively by archaeologists has provided a framework for the opening to the contemporary fate of archaeological artefacts. According to this concept, today's functioning of prehistoric material culture is just another stage in the biography of each of the objects. The past is a part of the present, while a fuller understanding of the role and significance of material culture has to symmetrically take into consideration both their past and contemporary fate.

It should thus not come as a surprise that the biography of things has most frequently been applied to long-lasting objects; to places the functions and interpretations of which have undergone dynamic changes over the years, decades, centuries, or even millennia. The biographical framework turned out to be particularly useful for studying Neolithic megaliths. As monumental complexes, they were usually very prominent in the local landscapes, with their functions and meanings changing over time. Initially, they were tombs, but throughout the course of history their functions were reinterpreted. For example, according to some local tales, they were tombs for giants or meeting places of witches. They sometimes became sources of construction material used to build the foundations of churches. They were also places of burial in the early Bronze Age (for further details see: Roymans 1995).

An interesting and valuable example of such a study into the past and the present of megaliths was the doctoral thesis of Cornelius Holtorf (2000–2008). In this case, Holtorf's view is virtually paradigmatic. Using the biography of things, the German scholar demonstrated the multitude, complexity, and fluidity of the roles and functions of prehistoric objects. In this sense, things, places and whole landscapes live: they live in social terms along with people who use them in various ways and who grant them different meanings. From this perspective, archaeological interpretation of a given item (e.g. a bronze necklace as a valuable archaeological artefact) is only one of a few equally important ways of understanding it (cf. Kobiałka 2008).

The biography of things was such a popular concept among archaeologists for years not because it offered a new research perspective. I would suggest just the opposite: the biography of things only systematised or, even better, constituted a concise interpretative framework for the archaeological thinking about material culture, places, and their relationships with people. As early as in the 19th century, by creating new typologies of ceramic dishes and bronze or iron artefacts, archaeologists treated objects as if they were living organisms that evolved over the timeline (cf. Minta-Tworzowska 1994). I believe that this is also one of the reasons why this concept was so well received and commonly accepted in the archaeological circles. Within the anthropological discourse, this approach has not been recognised by such a wide group as in the case of archaeologists, even though the author of the concept was a social anthropologist (cf. Smykowski 2011).

Recently, some researchers started to indicate the limitations of such an understanding of material culture. The biography of things supposedly anthropomorphises matter and emphasises not artefacts as such but rather their relationships with people (Domańska 2006). Also problems arising out of the valorisation of interpretation at the cost of matter have been pointed out (e.g. Olsen 2003). Even Holtorf (2008), one of the main supporters of the value of the biographical approach to things, entitled one of his papers *The Life-History Approach to Monuments: an Obituary*.

Still, considering the criticism of such an understanding and study of the relationships between people, things and places, it can be said that despite the thirty years that have passed since Kopytoff's work was published, the biography of things remains an interesting and important way of thinking about material culture, its role, meanings, and relationships with people and places. It also allows to go beyond *martyrology* in the context of archaeological research in the field of difficult heritage. A biography emphasises life, and it can stress the creativity of POWs behind a barbed-wire fence (cf. *Cultural Heritage…* 2012; *Prisoners of War…* 2013).

Beyond Martyrology: Creativity Behind a Barbed-Wire Fence

During the First World War, Germans established a few POW camps in Pomerania (as Royal Prussia was referred to at the time), where mostly tsarist and Romanian prisoners of war were imprisoned (Marcinkiewicz 2016). One of the camps was located near Czersk. The history and archaeology of the camp has already been discussed in detail (Kajda et al. 2017; Kobiałka et al. 2017; Kobiałka 2018).

Why is the camp in Czersk an example of difficult heritage? Naturally, the local population saw and knew – as one of the inhabitants of Czersk told me recalling his mother's stories (Henryk Sikorski, an interview, March 21, 2017) – what happened in the camp; that the conditions were harsh, with hunger

and epidemics. The POWs were cheap labour used/hired by the inhabitants of Czersk and nearby villages. The prisoners claimed they were beaten (Milewski 1993). One has to also bear in mind that the guards (*Wachmans*) in the camp included the inhabitants of Czersk and nearby villages. Thus, Czersk can be seen as an example of difficult heritage. The camp was closed a few weeks after November 11, 1918. The camp facilities were either filled in or pulled down. After a hundred years, the camp grounds are mostly forested land and, in some part, a pasture and farmland.

The local population had also problems with the POW cemetery, the most heartbreaking and telling camp heritage. Allegedly, more than five thousand people were buried there (cf. Karpus, Rezmer 1997; Marcinkiewicz 2016). However, they were 'the others', 'strange soldiers': tsarist, Romanian, British, French and other POWs. As a regional expert Marek Piechocki said (an interview, April 21, 2017), after the war: "no one wanted to speak loudly about the camp and its horror". Naturally, the cemetery sank into oblivion and gradually deteriorated. The history of the camp is a story of human suffering and forced labour: weeks, months, and years spent behind a barbed-wire fence. This is a story of the death of thousands of POWs. I do not ignore this. However, such a narrative is only one way of thinking about the camp and its prisoners; about difficult heritage as such. My thesis is that archaeology can change/enrich the understanding of the camp's past by analysing the camp's material culture: all the destroyed, broken and rusted items connected with the everyday life of prisoners of war (e.g. Olsen, Witmore 2014). Below, I discuss biographies of three such artefacts (see more in Kobiałka 2019).

Example 1: A Mug

The few known memories of POWs imprisoned in Czersk present an image of permanent hunger. This is what one of them said after the war:

> On the day after we had been unloaded from cattle wagons, we were driven to clear a large stretch of forest. Exhausted from hunger, as we had been starved from the very first day of imprisonment, we had to work beyond our strength. 'If you want to have a roof over your heads', the guards would shout, 'you have to work really hard. After this stretch of forest has been cleared, you will build some dugouts for yourselves. No one is going to do it for you' (as cited in Milewski 1993: 9).

Every piece of bread was priceless, particularly in the case of Russian and Romanian POWs, who did not receive any food parcels (Marcinkiewicz 2016). An archaeological review of the camp's material culture suggests that

Fig. 4. An empty food tin or a mug? (photograph by D. Kobiałka).

Fig. 5. A close-up of the way the wire is attached around the empty food tin (photograph by D. Kobiałka).

every bit of such culture could have its value and significance. Even empty food tins were not always simply thrown away. Thus, their biographies were, so to speak, extended. The artefact shown in Figures 4 and 5 provides a perfect example. It is 7.5 cm in diameter, and 5.3 cm high. According to historical documents, the Danish Red Cross organised food relief for, among others, POWs from Czersk (Palmieri 2014). Thus, the tin could have been a part of such relief. Such tins were used for storing, for example, meat, bean, cabbage.

Biographical thinking means emphasising and analysing subsequent stages of life of a given artefact. This artefact got into the ground in a forest near Czersk thanks to the activity of the Red Cross. The contents of this particular tin was most probably eaten by a prisoner of war between 1914 and 1918. However, the empty food tin was not thrown into a garbage pit, as one could expect. An anonymous prisoner used two identical pieces of hard, heavy-duty copper wire (characteristic green patina has been preserved) to create a dish for drinking coffee, tea, water, or other drinks. A mug was an indispensable element of each POW's equipment. Without a dish into which water, coffee, tea or watery soup could be poured, one would die. This object is an example of how prisoners of war tried to survive in extreme conditions prevailing in POW camps. This is a story about the life of an object and its owner rather than about their death.

The pieces of wire are connected, which required the use of special tools (pliers?, pincers?). The artefact bears traces suggesting that the wire was cut with a sharp object. This provides new information, new stages of its biography. Then, the prisoner wrapped the tin so that a handle was created. And finally, two pieces of wire were wrapped around the tin near its lower edge in the exact

same way and twisted together. The excess wire was cut off with a sharp tool. The mug is so solid that it seems it could be still used today.

Ultimately, the artefact found its way into a garbage pit. At the beginning of the 21st century, it was excavated by Piotr Szulc and displayed on the Exhibition of the Nature of the Tuchola Forest and the Wda River Valley in Czarna Woda. The life of the object continues. Today, it is an archaeological artefact, offering an insight into the material dimension of the everyday life of prisoners of war behind a barbed-wire fence in Czersk.

Example 2: A Shaving Brush

Few iconographic materials from the camp in Czersk have been preserved. They include German propaganda postcards and photographs from a private collection of Bronisław Zieliński, MD, who worked as a camp doctor. Copies of these documents are now kept in the archive of the Town Hall in Czersk.

Fig. 6. Prisoners of war in Czersk (from the archive of the Town Hall in Czersk).

From the archaeological perspective, it has to be noted that these materials constitute important and valuable sources for studies into the spatial arrangement of the camp, at the same time offering an insight into the material culture used by the prisoners and the German administrative staff. An example can be seen

Fig. 7. A shaving brush made of an empty Mannlicher M1895 cartridge case, calibre 8 x 50 mm (photograph by D. Kobiałka).

Fig. 8. A close-up of the number of the cartridge case (photograph by D. Kobiałka).

in Figure 6. The photograph shows a group of prisoners of war. One can see the coats and hats they were wearing, what their boots looked like, how they wore belts with characteristic buckles etc. However, there is also another reason why this iconographic material is so interesting: it shows a group of clean-shaven prisoners. There have been some relics of such personal or even intimate activities as shaving found in the camp. Biographies of such items can also be extremely interesting and multi-layered.

The item shown in Figure 7 is a hand-made shaving brush. The cartridge case is 1 cm in diameter, and 5 cm high. Its numbers have been preserved on the bottom. According to them, the cartridge was manufactured in January 1915. The letter W indicates the manufacturer: Manfred Weiss Patronenfabrik in Budapest. The cartridge was meant to be used in the Mannlicher M1895 rifle, 8 x 50 mm calibre. Such rifles were used by the Austro-Hungarian Army during the First World War (Matuszewski, Wojciechowski 1986).

The life of things was inextricably linked with the fate of their owners; a social biography of a thing is the history of its use and re-use. The preserved and legible numbers provide the exact date and place of manufacture ('birth') of this specific cartridge case. However, a closer analysis allows to uncover a few more stages of its life. For example, on the bottom of the case, there are no characteristic marks that appear when a cartridge is fired. This means that the cartridge was never used.

There are certain limitations to archaeological analysis and the biography of things. It is impossible to reconstruct the exact circumstances in which the prisoner of war from Czersk received/purchased this particular cartridge. However, equally importantly, it allows to fully understand the complexity of the biography of the material culture analysed: how multi-layered the history of the item had to be if it was produced in January 1915 in Budapest and then thrown away/lost in the camp in Czersk. There are nearly a thousand kilometres between Budapest and Czersk.

The Mannlicher M1895 cartridge was never fired. The prisoner had to dismantle it. The bullet and the gunpowder had to be removed. The cartridge case was then used as a container for a bunch of hair. This is how an anonymous soldier from the camp in Czersk made a shaving brush which he then used, as it can be assumed, for many weeks, months or even years of his imprisonment. Only a few hairs from this artefact have been preserved. On the one hand this may result from the fact that a hundred years ago the artefact was used on a regular basis, but on the other hand post-depositional processes also contributed to damaging the brush and its hair.

This example clearly shows that trivial items can also have non-trivial biographies and that the life of things can be linked with the fate of individuals. The biography of this inconspicuous brush is even more complex. Its inherent element is the hair used to create it. It has been established that the item included tail horsehair (Beata Babińska, an interview, April 13, 2017). Of course, prisoners of the camp in Czersk had no horses. The animals were only owned by the German administrative staff of the camp. In this case, an archaeologist is not able to reconstruct the exact circumstances in which the prisoner obtained (stole?, exchanged?) a tuft of horsehair. However, the biography of things, as a kind of an interpretative framework, allows to think about the incredible complexity of the history of use/life of most of the material culture.

Today, in 2019, the brush still gets reinterpreted. It used to be an everyday item, an element of intimate and private practices such as shaving, and now it has become an archaeological artefact. It is precious and valuable heritage from the First World War, displayed in the local memorial room in Czarna Woda.

Example 3: 20 Kopecks

Despite the difficult or even tragic living conditions in the Czersk camp, prisoners would not only make items necessary for them to survive. They used and transformed the material culture in many different ways. The functional purpose was not always the aim, which is indicated by all kinds of ornaments from Czersk.

Figure 9 shows one of the most interesting examples of the re-use and re-interpretation of the biography of a thing. The artefact is one of the links of a bracelet made of coins. This is a silver coin of 20 kopecks, 22 mm in diameter. The year 1908 on its reverse clearly indicates the date of manufacture ('birth') of the artefact. The coin had a specific market value. The initial stages of its biography most probably involved circulation on the market of the former Russian Empire. It can be assumed that it was used as currency by many people between 1908 and the time of the Great War.

Fig. 9. The obverse and the reverse of a bracelet link made of a twenty-kopeck coin (photograph by D. Kobiałka).

Ultimately, the twenty-kopeck coin and its owner, most probably a tsarist soldier taken prisoner during the Great War, ended up in Czersk. The coin was of no great value in the camp. During the First World War, there were special tokens prisoners could use to buy products in the camp canteen (cf. Karpus, Rezmer 1997). This could have been one of the reasons why the coin was used as an ornament. It could be exchanged for food, cigarettes, alcohol etc. The precision with which the ornament was created shows that its author was a talented man with considerable experience in producing such items. Moreover, it seems that the reverse of the coin was more significant to the creator. Using proper tools, the artist carved a tsarist eagle, thus getting rid of any empty space. It can be said that the reverse of the coin became the obverse of the ornament. Another stage in the history of the use/life of the object was the soldering of

four symmetrical eyes to it. Thus a few coins were joined together, becoming links of a bracelet.

Similarly to the two other artefacts discussed above, also this item was lost/buried/thrown away in the camp, and it spent nearly a hundred years in the ground. Today, this fragment of an ornament is an archaeological artefact, which marks yet another stage in its history. It is a beautiful example of masterful skills and resourcefulness of people living a century ago.

Difficult heritage of the First World War does not only include stories about death, diseases, and work of the captured soldiers. The material culture of prisoners of war allows to emphasise and analyse the creative dimension of this difficult heritage. The biographies of things (a mug, a shaving brush, and a bracelet link) are social histories of the use/life as well as complex and multi-layered stories of the relationships between people, things and places. Difficult heritage has its bright, positive side, showing the complicated nature of the relationships between people and things.

Conclusions

A point of departure for the paper was an outline of the specific character of Polish studies with regard to archaeologies of the recent past. In the context of the twentieth-century heritage, archaeological field research is indeed research *with* and *into* difficult heritage. Thanks to such initiatives, the archaeology of the contemporary past joins in a more general discussion on the role and significance of painful remnants of the recent past. However, archaeologies of the recent past are not the only forms of narratives of death, pain, passage of time, and the 'duty to remember'. In other words, archaeologies of the recent past are not just the archaeology of martyrology. Thus, I have discussed the theoretical concept referred to as the biography of things as an interesting interpretation framework that allows to slightly shift the focus of the archaeological analysis of material culture related to places constituting the difficult heritage of the 20th century.

My case studies, showing the creative dimension of difficult heritage, were based on the relics from the First World War found in the grounds of a former POW camp in Czersk. Naturally, the history of the camp is a story of human suffering and forced labour: weeks, months, and years spent behind a barbed-wire fence. It is also a story of death of a few thousand prisoners (Marcinkiewicz 2016). Such a narrative could become a part of wider research trends within the archaeology of the contemporary past in Poland.

Material culture can broaden the understanding of the recent past and difficult heritage. A metal mug, a shaving brush or a bracelet link made of a

twenty-kopeck coin allow us to view the history of the camp from a different perspective. The biographies of these artefacts are connected with specific individuals: prisoners who used them every day and every month they spent in Czersk; this is a story of how the roles and functions of these artefacts changed over time. Biographies of things are stories of life as well as complex and multi-layered relationships between people and material culture. And finally, the artefacts are manifestations of great creativity prisoners of war displayed behind a barbed-wire fence (cf. Kobiałka 2018). These simple artefacts allow us to see and, in a way, touch this material dimension of the prisoners' lives. This is a perspective one cannot find in archival documents. Seemingly trivial items sometimes have remarkable biographies, and so, after a hundred years, an abandoned/lost/buried piece of rubbish becomes a part of archaeological heritage.

To sum up, despite its limitations, the biography of things can offer an important interpretative framework for reflection on the role and significance of the twentieth-century difficult heritage in the present times.

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Summary

Difficult Heritage of the 20th Century from the Perspective of the Biography of Things

This paper discusses the concept of difficult/dark heritage from a theoretical perspective known as the biography of things. First, I analyse Polish archaeological research on difficult/dark heritage. Second, I describe in greater detail the biography of things as a tool for studying relationships between people, things and places. The last part of the paper is a case study presenting the biographies of three objects found in the grounds of a prisoner-of-war camp in Czersk. I aim to prove the following theses: 1) archaeologies of the recent past cannot be understood simply as the *archaeology of martyrdom*; 2) material culture from the recent past allows us to create different kinds of narratives connected with dark heritage.

Keywords: difficult heritage, biography of things, archaeologies of the recent past, material culture, martyrology

Streszczenie

Trudne dwudziestowieczne dziedzictwo z perspektywy biografii rzeczy

Artykuł podejmuje problematykę tzw. trudnego dziedzictwa z perspektywy koncepcji teoretycznej określanej w literaturze mianem biografii rzeczy. W pierwszej części tekstu omawiam polskie badania w ramach archeologii współczesności nad trudnym dziedzictwem. Następnie szkicuję bliżej założenia biograficznego podejścia do badania relacji między ludźmi, rzeczami i miejscami. Ostatnia część pracy to studium przypadku, w którym krótko prezentuję biografie trzech przedmiotów pochodzących z terenu pierwszowojennego

obozu jenieckiego w Czersku – obiektu niewątpliwie będącego przykładem trudnego dziedzictwa. Celem pracy jest próba prezentacji tezy mówiącej, że archeologie współczesności nie mogą być sprowadzane jedynie do *archeologii martyrologii* i że kultura materialna z niedawnej przeszłości pozwala na szkicowanie różnego rodzaju narracji związanych z trudnym dziedzictwem.

Słowa kluczowe: trudne dziedzictwo, biografia rzeczy, archeologie współczesności, kultura materialna, martyrologia

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Archaeology of Us and the Local Identity An Interdisciplinary Context*

In recent years I have coordinated several research projects focusing on places and events in comparatively recent history[1], as covered by the scientific field referred to as the archaeology of the contemporary past (Buchli, Lucas 2001a: 5–8; 2001b). In the case of one of these projects, which involving research in the Polish Jurassic Highland, one aim of the scientific activity has become the diagnosis of the research methods applied (Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2016; Ławrynowicz 2016; Wejland 2016a; 2016b; 2016c). To put it very briefly, the project involves

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1 The most important was the research into Nazi places in the Natolin Forest near Warsaw in 2010, in the Okręglik Forest, and in the Lućmierz Forest near Łódź, conducted from 2011 to 2017 together with the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Łódź and the Łódź Branch of the Scientific Association of Polish Archaeologists; research project *Monopol Wódczany in Łódź. The Place and People*, carried out in 2014–2017 under the cooperation agreement between the Faculty of Philosophy and History of the University of Łódź and Virako Sp. z o.o.; research project *Places of Remembrance and Oblivion. Interdisciplinary Research of the Northern Part of the Polish Jurassic Highland* under the National Programme for the Development of Humanities run by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education in 2014–2019; research project *Muszyna – Plaveč: We Discover the Forgotten History and Culture of the Borderland Between Poland and Slovakia* conducted in 2018 under the agreement between the Muszyna Town and Health-Resort Commune and the Faculty of Philosophy and History of the University of Łódź, being a part of the microproject *Muszyna – Plaveč: We Discover the Forgotten History and Culture of the Borderland Between Poland and Slovakia* (European Regional Development Fund's Interreg V-A Programme Poland – Slovakia 2014–2020); research programme *Former Gestapo and Provincial Security Department Headquarters in Anstadta Avenue in Łódź*. The *interdisciplinary research of a place* was carried out in 2019 under the cooperation agreement between the University of Łódź, Łódź Special Economic Zone, and the Institute of National Remembrance.

interdisciplinary research into places of remembrance and places of oblivion in the landscape of the northern Jurassic Highland. Based on many years of research, I would like to share a few reflections, which to some extent can be of universal significance to the archaeological study of the contemporary past.

I mostly noticed that the term that probably best conveys the meaning of archaeology of the contemporary past is *archaeology of us*, which is most broadly defined as research into the relationships between the contemporary society and its own material heritage (*Modern Material Culture…* 1981; González-Ruibal 2014). In research practice, this definition should be referred to specific heritage and a specific community or even an individual connected with it (Holtorf 2014; Kobiałka 2017), being its more or less conscious custodian. Thus, what matters in this case, apart from the contemporary aspect, is the local aspect. *Archaeology of us* is thus an archaeology of specific people and communities living in a definable physical area in the present (here and now). This is very well described by the Polish term *archaeology of the contemporary past* (*archeologia współczesności*) as it is archaeology of shared (community – *wspólnota*) experience of the surrounding (more or less local) reality. Relics of this process include material traces of the existence of a given community in a certain area, and its members' remembrance of it. It is biographical, family or, more generally, local memory.

Despite numerous attempts to limit archaeology of the contemporary past to chronological ranges ending in the present time (Zalewska 2016a: 22–23), it seems most appropriate to define this field as archaeology concerning the remembered, or post-remembered, past, meaning a field within which knowledge of the past does not only come from secondary sources: school education, research papers, media etc. (Harrison, Schofield 2010).

Knowledge of a shared recent past is constantly brought up, recalled, processed, and distorted within the local discourse. It becomes a factor describing and constituting the local identity, which consists of shared time and physical space, including places in it, together forming a unique, local cultural landscape: a common heritage (Wejland 2016a: 40–41). In order to identify elements of material culture that can become research objects of archaeology of the contemporary past, one has to determine what is common and significant to a given community, and what constitutes and maintains a given local community. In other words: to determine the rhythm of events and activities binding the local community together to which the local physical space functioned.

The most general rhythm of continuity and change is imposed on the local community by the shared experience of everyday life, which, in a context, is often expressed by such words as 'once' and 'today'. This is how one describes

home, work, religious practices, education, consumption, free time, and more personal experiences, such as family and social celebrations, and overcome life challenges, as well as happy and sad events. A great value is attached to places connected with unresolved (mysterious, heroic, exceptional, difficult, complex, unwanted) past, which is related to such tragic events and processes as natural disasters (traces of fires, floods), epidemics (e.g. cholera cemeteries), and disasters (sites of communications and construction disasters). There is also a special public reception of and fascination with criminal events (such as murder traces, hidden burial places) examined by forensic archaeology (*Archeologia sądowa…* 2013). One shared and often unresolved traumatic past the time of war, which is the domain of archaeology of contemporary armed conflicts (Saunders 2007; Moshenska 2013; Zalewska 2016b) and the related past of occupation and oppression by totalitarian systems, in the case of which studies into material relics can be called the archaeology of totalitarianism (*Archeologia totalitaryzmu…* 2015). The spatial expression of war heritage is the landscape of conflict (*archaeology of conflict*), frequently completely unexplored by historical research (Shackel 2003; *Matériel Culture…* 2012; Ławrynowicz 2016: 92).

From an archaeological perspective, research into the present stands out on account of the necessity to employ broad methods of field research. This mostly results from the fact that we know 'quite a lot' about contemporary times from other sources, including our personal experience. We do not have to apply archaeological methods to obtain general data or look for the answer to the question 'How was it in the past?', which we would like to ask when examining, for example, a prehistoric burial ground. Usually, the most interesting thing is the location of the examined site (analysis of archival aerial photographs, remote sensing and geotechnical methods), and once we have decided what we want to explore, we settle for what can be seen, and for this purpose we only need non-invasive surface survey and inventorying methods, frequently limited to good photographic or video documentation (see Kobiałka 2016). If we decide to carry out excavations, in most cases they are limited to probe drilling, unless the research project concerns pre-investment rescue surveys or large-scale exhumation operations.

Another characteristic of excavations of relatively recent archaeological structures might be the necessity to separate discovered relics of objects considered to be historic from popular products, treated as contemporary waste. While all discovered objects should be included in the archaeological documentation, only some of them, those directly connected with the object examined or exceptional for other reasons, are inventoried and included in the historic material. In the case of mass objects (artefacts), it is suggested to collect and preserve a sample

of them. Despite its arbitrariness, such a procedure corresponds well with the subjective character of humanist research and the paradigm of pragmatism of archaeological field research, which is necessary due to such factors as limited storage space for museum collections. A unique characteristic of archaeology of the contemporary past is usually the possibility of analysing the historical material obtained during research more broadly than in the case of studies concerning earlier periods (cf. Rathje 1984; Rathje, Murphy 2001; Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2012). The reason for this is a relatively less advanced post-depositional process, meaning, for example, the biochemical decomposition of organic matter[2]. This mostly concerns textile, leather, wooden and paper artefacts. Particularly the last type might prove significant for identifying bone remains discovered together with documents allowing to identify the person buried and to determine the time and manner of death. Thus, in the case of archaeology of the contemporary past, I would call for a departure from the conservation doctrine, which is justified with regard to earlier periods, but requires minimisation of research using the excavation method.

In the archaeology of the contemporary past, archaeological research (non-invasive and excavation) concerns relatively new structures (movable and fixed), which have just gone out of use or have changed their original purpose. On the one hand these structures and artefacts are only at the initial stage of archaeologisation, but on the other hand, due to their recent age, they are usually not protected (listed as historic monuments), which makes them particularly prone to being destroyed by man (construction investments, amateur treasure hunters, acts of vandalism, lack of fire protection etc.). There is huge academic subfield that studies ruins and how the remains of abandoned industrial buildings in particular fall apart and decay (Edensor 2005). In this situation, it is important to register or, ideally, to inventory the preserved historic structures, securing the present information about the objects before they get destroyed any further or potential archaeological research is carried out at an undefined time in the near future. Some analogy can be drawn between written and iconographic sources from earlier periods, which offer a high degree of reliability, such as Erik Dahlbergh's drawings documenting the appearance of Polish cities and towns during the Swedish Deluge in 1656 before they were destroyed (Pufendorf 1696) and paintings of Warsaw by Bernardo Bellotto, called Canaletto, from the 1770s and the 1780s.

What matters greatly in the work of an archaeologist, is its social and community dimension. Over the last few years, this has resulted in the emergence

2 When excavating twentieth-century structures connected with military activity, it is important to exercise extreme caution due to the possibility of encountering buried explosives.

of a field called public or community archaeology (*Places in Mind…* 2004; Tully 2007; Zalewska 2014a; 2014b; Pawleta 2016). Involvement of the local community in joint activities aimed at getting to know and protecting archaeological heritage is particularly important to archaeology of the contemporary past. The contemporary past is a field of interest to amateur treasure hunters, which is why there is frequently a race against time, and more and more often why archaeologists come too late. However, archaeological research into the contemporary past, which is shared, and so relatively well-known to the society, carries a strong community overtone, reinforced by the media interest. This interest is closely followed by specific expectations of potential research sponsors, such as local politicians and company presidents, who would like to play the role of patrons of discoveries and get appreciated by their voters, customers, and business partners. Naturally, such problems also arise with regard to earlier periods, however, the contemporary past is less neutral in terms of emotions and worldview, particularly when it is connected with the memory of war, occupation and totalitarian repression (cf. Kajda 2016). A special place is occupied here by searches for postwar victims of Stalinist crime in Poland; one can get an impression that there is some competition for 'archaeological patriotism' between private foundations and the Institute of National Remembrance, which resembles the nineteenth-century search for relics of ancient cultures in the Mediterranean area and in the Middle East. When I studied the former Gestapo (1939–1945) and the communist Security Department (1945–1956) Headquarters in Lodz, the first question that I was asked by a television journalist who interviewed me was: 'What are you looking for?'. I protested and said that we were not *looking* for anything, but conducting research. Archaeologists, regardless of the period they deal with, cannot become hostages to the expectation of finding something. This is particularly important when it comes to research aimed at locating unmarked graves of victims of totalitarian repression, often hidden in hectares of forested land. It is important for the 'search' to methodically exclude area after area, so that research can be continued in the future.

Archaeology of the contemporary past should be perceived as a part of historical archaeology, which uses three basic types of sources: archaeological, written and iconographic (cf. Kajzer 1996; 2013). As technologies develop, over the last decades these sources have been extended thanks to such inventions as photography, film, and the Internet. However, the greatest difference between classically defined historical archaeology and the archaeology of the contemporary past lies in the fact that the latter can use another category of sources, meaning oral sources. Some of them, just like a great majority of written

and iconographic sources, are secondary sources. In oral tradition, secondary sources include sound recordings of, for example, memories, produced in the past as part of radio broadcasts or documentaries. One can also classify interview reports, drawn up during prosecutor's investigations and court trials, as secondary oral sources.

I believe that prompted sources are of particular significance to archaeology of the contemporary past, virtually constituting this field. If we analysed the history of any research into an archaeological site with chronology going back to a past that, from the point of view of the researcher, is contemporary past, it would turn out that the researcher used, to a greater or smaller extent, sources they prompted. In most cases, these are intuitive activities in the form of asking around among the inhabitants of the area near the research site or witnesses to the events the site is connected with. Sometimes, there are more formalised forms, such as calls for witnesses or sending out questionnaires. However, oral sources are usually prompted, obtained and analysed *ad hoc*, without following any procedure of professional ethnographic research (qualitative research). The interviewees are not selected, no proper interview conditions are ensured (meetings with the interviewee), no well-thought-out strategy of a qualitative interview is adopted, no recording devices are used, there are no professional transcriptions of the recordings or analyses of the interview recorded, and there are no repeat interviews in order to clear up doubts or meet with a group of interviewees to confront contradicting stories. On the other hand, applying ethnographic methods – or, in this case, simply ethnoarchaeology (cf. Prinke 1973; Kobyliński 2012) – which consist in obtaining and analysing oral sources in a proper way, can speed up the process of locating the searched object and prevent unnecessary time- and cost-consuming field research, including excavations. Ethnoarchaeological research can be thus treated as a method of non-invasive research, minimising the potential destruction of archaeological sources.

The research in the Polish Jurassic Highland, which I mentioned at the beginning, involved archaeological and ethnographic analysis of more than 200 locations and showed how ethnoarchaeology can extend knowledge of archaeological objects. Thanks to professional ethnographic interviews, archaeological findings concerning the location, chronology, form, structure, and function of an object as well as the possibility of reconstructing it get enriched with information about the shared or individual knowledge of the location, its past, former and present significance of the place, sources of knowledge of it among members of the local community as well as stories, legends and experiences concerning it.

An example I most frequently provide is the study of a forest grave located near Kontantynów in the Lelów Commune[3], carried out in 2016 (Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2017). It perfectly shows the complementary character of ethnoarchaeology applied to archaeology of the contemporary past. We learnt about this place from ethnographic interviews conducted with the inhabitants of the village, who said that there was a German soldier in his twenties buried there. They said he got to Konstantynów in January 1945, fleeing from the Soviet army.

In the place indicated, we found a human skeleton arranged anatomically. Large parts of the skull and phalanx bones of the left foot were missing, and there was a piece of clothing near the left foot. Examination did not reveal any dating evidence, such as documents, coins or cartridge cases with numbers. Thanks to research within the field of physical anthropology[4], it was established that it was a skeleton of a male aged 25–35 years. It was also estimated that the height of the man when he was alive was 175 cm. The researchers drew attention to healthy teeth, which had been carefully brushed and had fillings. This can be treated as an indication that the buried man had a relatively high social status. According to the forensic expert, the skeleton was damaged *peri-mortem*: there were many skull bone fractures. Their nature suggests that they could have been caused by gunshots, even though no entrance or exit wounds were found in the fragments preserved. Also a fracture of the left radius was identified. Based on the remains preserved, it was concluded that the probable cause of death of the man, was a central nervous system injury caused by gunshot.

By combining archaeological research with analyses conducted by a physical anthropologist, we were able to conclude that a few decades ago – which was indicated by the soft tissue decay and bone mineralisation – a young man was buried in a roadside, forest grave. The deceased died of a gunshot wound, and his left forearm had been broken, probably before his death. The almost complete lack of textile or leather fragments in the grave indicated that the body had been undressed prior to burial. It can be assumed that before burial the corpse was left exposed to weather conditions and forest animals; the

3 The grave is located in the immediate vicinity of the village of Konstantynów in the Lelów Commune, but this already is the Konstantynów Forest District (Złoty Potok Forest Division), which, in turn, is located in the Janów Commune. For formal reasons, the archaeological research site was called 'Konstantynów-Forest, Janów Commune'.

4 W. Lorkiewcz, *Analiza antropologiczna szkieletu ludzkiego odkrytego na stanowisku 1, Konstantynów-Las, gm. Janów*, Łódź 2017; a manuscript in the archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Łódź.

phalanx bones of the left foot, where missing and which it seems likely that they were bitten off by a wild animal, such as a fox.

The presence of gunshot wounds and the general appearance of the skeletal remains suggested that the burial was comparatively recent and most likely dated to the Second World War or period of Communist repression. Based on the fact that the body had not been exhumed and moved to the local cemetery, it could be inferred that the dead man had not been the village inhabitant. Considering knowledge of similar graves near Lelów and Janów, i.e. using the regional historical context, it seemed most probable that the dead man had been a German or Polish soldier killed during the Second World War. It seemed less probable that it was a single grave of a Soviet soldier who had died in 1945 as such graves had been exhumed soon after the war. At first, the grave in question had a rectangular mound and a wooden cross. There were a few burnt-out lights there, which suggested that the grave was sometimes visited.

The grave in the outskirts of the village of Konstantynów is an example of a place unexplored by historical research. The amount of information obtained through archaeological studies of a grave mostly depends on the dead person's belongings buried with him and the state of preservation of these belongings. When studying recent archaeological remains, which include structures from the Second World War, there is a chance of finding not only metal items, such as dog tags, rings, coins, and buttons, but also textile and leather elements of clothing, or even things made of cardboard and paper, e.g. identity documents, calendars, diaries etc. If the grave pit holds no such items, archaeologists are not able to verify whether the discovered remains are the remains of a Pole or a German, a soldier or a civilian. They are forced to draw conclusions based on the analysis of the location and structure of the grave, and on research in the field of physical anthropology. In this particular case, the only source of information about the dead man's identity and circumstances of his death could be the accounts of the inhabitants of Konstantynów. Ethnographic interviews confirmed and, to a large extent, supplemented our knowledge of the grave discovered. People said that a German military veterinarian in his twenties, a husband and a father of two children, was buried there. He stayed in the area in the middle of January 1945. He had come by car with another soldier, who might have been Czech, but they were both soon captured by the soldiers of the entering Red Army. The Czech was released, while the German, wounded in the leg, was kept in one of the houses, and then killed in front of the local inhabitants' eyes. The body of the shot German was buried in

the forest by one of the inhabitants. As the ground was frozen – being was January – the grave was shallow, which probably explains the fact that a part of one foot was bitten off by an animal. Later, on the initiative of a forester, the body was exhumed and buried in a place that the local community still takes care of.

Ethnographic research making use of collective memory explained the lack of clothes and personal belongings in the grave. It turned out that they had been taken by one of inhabitants right after the man had been killed. Thus, ethnographic interviews allowed us to confirm the immediate cause of death, i.e. a gunshot wound to the head. Observations of the physical anthropologist concerning the good condition of the dead man's teeth are explained by his veterinary profession with a high social and material status.

The main result of the combined archaeological and ethnographic research reflection on the grave in question is thus the conclusion that the human remains found are the remains of a young veterinarian of German nationality, probably serving in the army, who was killed in Konstantynów. Thanks to this we were able to hand over the remains to the German War Graves Commission so that they could be buried with due respect in the Cemetery of German Soldiers established in 1998 in Siemianowice Śląskie. The wartime story of a German killed by Russians is so deeply rooted in the collective memory of Konstanstynów that even though the remains were exhumed, local inhabitants keep lighting candles in the place of his burial and call him 'our German'.

The above example of ethnoarchaeological research in the Polish Jurassic Highland can create a false impression that ethnoarchaeology is just one of many sciences and methods supporting archaeology of the contemporary past. One could not be more wrong! Defining archaeology of the contemporary past as *archaeology of us* should point researchers towards ethnographic research into community and the community understanding of its heritage. Ethnoarchaeology, applied within archaeology of the contemporary past, should become a platform for interdisciplinary research that takes into consideration a wide array of concepts and methods, both from the shared ethnographic and archaeological perspective, and from separate perspectives: the ethnographic one and the archaeological one. In order to make it happen, it is necessary to form ethnographic and archaeological interdisciplinary teams, which is difficult as it requires overcoming many structural, methodological and administrative problems as well as stereotypes created over the years by specialists in both fields. This, however, is a completely different issue.

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Summary

Archaeology of Us and the Local Identity. An Interdisciplinary Context

In this paper, the Author presents the semantic and methodological scope and characteristics of a new field the archaeology of the contemporary past. In his opinion the essence of the archaeology of the contemporary past is best conveyed by the term *archaeology of us*, which refers to the relationships between individuals or communities and their own material heritage. Due to the community and local dimension of archaeology of the contemporary past, an important source in this field is oral tradition, which is obtained and analysed during ethnographic interviews. The author refers to his own experience, gained during many years of research in the Polish Jurassic Highland, and indicates the importance and research effectiveness of incorporating the methodology of ethnographic research into the perspective of archaeology of the contemporary past.

Keywords: archaeology of us, archaeology of the contemporary past, ethnoarchaeological research, interdisciplinary research, Polish Jurassic Highland

Streszczenie

Archeologia nas a tożsamość lokalna. Kontekst interdyscyplinarny

Autor w artykule przedstawia zakresy znaczeniowe i metodologiczne nowej specjalizacji, jaką jest archeologia współczesności, wykazując podstawowe cechy ją charakteryzujące. Uważa, że istotę archeologii współczesności najlepiej oddaje pojęcie archeologia nas (*archaeology of us*), odnoszące się do relacji konkretnych ludzi i wspólnot z ich własnym dziedzictwem materialnym. Wspólnotowy i lokalny wymiar archeologii współczesności powoduje, że ważnym dla niej źródłem są przekazy ustne, pozyskiwane i analizowane w trakcie wywiadów etnograficznych. Autor powołuje się na własne doświadczenia, przede wszystkim wieloletnich badań na Jurze Krakowsko-Częstochowskiej, i wskazuje, jak ważne i badawczo efektywne może być włączanie w perspektywę archeologii współczesności metodologii badań etnograficznych.

Słowa kluczowe: archeologia nas, archeologia współczesności, badania etnoarcheologiczne, badania interdyscyplinarne, Jura Krakowsko-Częstochowska

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Archaeology of the Contemporary Past vs Retrotopia in the Context of the Application of Remote Sensing Methods

Introduction

I discovered the possibility of using Zygmunt Bauman's concept of retrotopia (2018) thanks to a fragment of the introduction to his last book, in which he points out that the boundaries between the past and the future are blurred in the present day. This statement is very close to the issues considered in the work of V. Buchli and L. Gavin (2002) *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*. As a person agreeing with such an approach, I started perceiving the phenomenon of retrotopia as an issue that perhaps should also be dealt with by archaeologists. Retrotopia is a concept proposed by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman. It refers to the contemporary society that persistently sticks to the past and idealises it. Bauman draws particular attention to the significance of the past in the shaping of the present. Referring to historical relativism, he states that we do not have full knowledge of the past, and the gaps in it are used to create interpretations meeting the demand of the authorities. Thus, idealisation of the past leads to the recycling of old ideas and methods as 'ideal' solutions to contemporary problems, even though they failed before (Bauman 2018: 6).

Archaeologists as people who study the past are particularly responsible for creating the knowledge of the past, which is why they can respond to any emerging gaps in the knowledge of the past and make efforts to provide these areas with more data. Over the last years, one of such gaps filled in by archaeologists is knowledge of the contemporary past, which, combined with the emergence of new possibilities of conducting archaeological surveys, can offer new information about the twentieth-century heritage. Remote sensing methods,

and particularly airborne laser scanning, can be used to conduct research into the contemporary past as 'objective' tools that, if used properly, do not take into consideration such factors as ethnicity or ethnic conflicts. Thus, at least theoretically, their application should not be burdened with idealisation of the past or its selective use. The provided information about the landscape covers all its elements and not only the ones we would like to include.

The aim of my paper is to answer the following question: **Can the application of remote sensing methods within the archaeology of the contemporary past have an effect with regard to the concept of retrotopia and what the effect would be?** I would like to answer this question based on a case study of research into the transformation of the cultural landscape near Chojnice and Człuchów in the 20th century. I will analyse transformations connected with the end of the Second World War. The area near Człuchów, which at the time (until 1945) was located in Germany, was incorporated into Poland. As a result, a large group of inhabitants was resettled, while new settlers arrived. In consequence, about seventy homesteads and ten Evangelical cemeteries were abandoned: after 1945 they disappeared from the public space and entered the archaeological context. In this paper, I analyse one of such abandoned settlements – Witkowski Młyn.

Retrotopia as a Concept of Mythologisation of the Past?

The term 'retrotopia' is a combination of the words 'retro' and 'utopia'. Bauman explains this concept using the painting *Angelus Novus* by Paul Klee. It was first interpreted by Walter Benjamin as the Angel of History as follows:

> His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress (Benjamin 2012: 316).

Nearly a century later, Bauman (2018: 8) proposed a completely different interpretation of the painting:

> […] His face is turning from the past to the future, his wings being pushed backwards by the storm blowing this time from the imagined, anticipated and feared-in-advance hell of

> the future towards the paradise of the past. It has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them.

The basis for Bauman's concept of retrotopia includes two main phenomena: functioning within a global epidemic of Nostalgia defined by Svetlana Boym (2001) as "[…] an affective yearning for a community with a collective memory, a longing for continuity in a fragmented world", which is "[…] a defence mechanism in a time of accelerated rhythms of life and historical upheavals". This concept gives rise to the first part of *retrotopia* – "retro", meaning references to the past. The second part 'topia' means that it is a successor to the term 'utopia' proposed by Thomas More. More precisely, retrotopia comes from the double negation of utopia as proposed by More, meaning its rejection and then resurrection. Retrotopia refers to "[…] visions located in the lost/stolen/abandoned but undead past, instead of being tied to the not-yet-born and so inexistent future" (Bauman 2018: 5). According to Bauman, retrotopia consists of four main returns:

back to Hobbes;
back to tribes;
back to inequality;
back to the womb.

Each of them is made up of smaller components. Referring to them all would require an extensive study, which is why in the following part of this paper I will only refer to the one that is most connected with archaeology, meaning the phenomenon described as 'return back to tribes' (Bauman 2018: 88). It invokes the classical anthropological distinction 'we vs them' based on references to the ancestral heritage. Bauman once again cites the work by Lowenthal (1997), which states that faced with the fading hopes related to the development and the future, heritage offers us comfort in the form of tradition. Such tradition provides us with scraps of stability in today's rushing and changing world. Thus, we start to perceive heritage in the way that suits us, even if we do not know much about it. In his work, Lowenthal (1997: 134–135) notes that 'the past is more admirable as a realm of faith than of fact'.

Dichotomy: Realm of Faith vs Realm of Fact

Lowenthal (1997: 134) understands the realm of faith as heritage based on ambiguous and vague lore, as exemplified by the founding fathers Romulus and Remus or King Arthur. They are unspecified characters, the stories of whom are full of insinuations and leave recipients a lot of room for interpretation. On

the other hand the realm of fact is presented as history, which also talks about founding fathers, such as Jefferson (Lowenthal 1997: 135). However, we know so many details of his life and activity that it becomes very realistic, leaving very little room for interpretation.

Thus, the realm of faith presents vague, mythical and oblique past. According to Lowenthal, this intriguing, enigmatic nature of heritage is much more interesting than dry facts (Lowenthal 1997: 136). As he explains in the summary, which Bauman also draws attention to, the reason for this is that "[…] myopic rivalry is […] endemic to the very nature of heritage. To insist we were the first or the best, to celebrate what is ours and exclude others, is what heritage is all about" (Lowenthal 1997: 239).

Dichotomy: Polish National Narrative vs German Heritage

There is a similar dichotomy with regard to the twentieth-century German heritage in question, with the realm of faith represented by the contemporary society's idea about it. It is very limited, as proven by the work *Niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe Pomorza Wschodniego* (ed. Kwaśniewska 2017)[1], which provides ethnographic interviews with no elements of German heritage appearing for the area discussed in this paper and including the Communes of Chojnice, Człuchów and Debrzno (Klein-Wrońska, Kwaśniewska 2017: 150–152; Kwaśniewska 2017: 239–242). However, the researchers draw attention to the attitude of the society towards such heritage based on the way cemeteries are treated in Eastern Pomerania (Kwaśniewska 2016). To Kwaśniewska, the abandoning and devastation of Evangelical cemeteries constituting traces of Germans who used to live in the area prove that remembrance of the previous inhabitants is marginalised. This is a very good example of a situation in which people create their own heritage in opposition to 'the Others'. The Others in the area in question were Germans. The process of building local identity, which is completely new and different, was based on erasing the presence of former inhabitants, which corresponds to the attitude towards heritage described by Lowenthal as 'myopic rivalry'. This could happen thanks to gaps in the knowledge of the region's history.

Within the scientific narrative, the twentieth-century history of the region is only occasionally present in the comprehensive study of the region's history (cf. *Dzieje Sępólna Krajeńskiego…* 2010). No one devoted any scientific study to

1 Even though the subject of the research was non-material cultural heritage, its aim was also to document material elements, such as cemeteries (*Niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe Pomorza Wschodniego…*: 20).

the issue of the transformation of settlement after 1945, meaning the issue of the German heritage in the given area. There are some isolated grassroots attempts to revive the memory of its previous inhabitants[2], however, their effect on the society's knowledge is limited. Thus, one could say that, in the face of scarce historical studies, the narrative concerning this issue in the area in question is dominated by the realm of faith. Incomplete knowledge of the region's history before 1945 and the fact how easy it was to erase it when Germans left pushed the multi-national past of the area into the background.

The emergence of the ALS data in Poland and popularisation of its use have introduced into the archaeological discourse a new type of relics, i.e. remains of homesteads of the twentieth-century German heritage (cf. Zapłata, Ptak 2015; Duma, Łuczak, Piekalski 2017; Majewska 2017; Banaszek 2019). Objects of this type can be very easily captured using this method as they still have their own landscape form in forested land. A significant role is also played by the fact that forested land was very difficult to explore using traditional methods of archaeological survey, such as surface survey. Only the last few years and popularisation of ALS brought about an influx of new information about archaeological heritage in forested land. This is why I believe that using this method can play an important role with regard to the phenomenon of retrotopia by providing new information and filling in a certain gap in knowledge of the twentieth-century German heritage.

Witkowski Młyn – A Case Study

Until the 1940s, Witkowski Młyn was a small settlement located on the Kamionka River. Its whole existence was based on a mill. Witkowski Młyn was 'brought back to life' only in the 21st century, when a new house was built near the remains of the mill. We know very little about the history of the village. It is an out-of-the-way place which has never been studied. It is only mentioned in *Dzieje Sępólna Krajeńskiego…* (2010), chapter IX *Szkice z dziejów wsi podsępoleńskich*, and the last few decades of its existence are described on the information board at the remains of the mill.

During the research conducted, I adopted the following methodology:

1. I identified abandoned homesteads based on historical and contemporary cartographic sources;

2 This can be exemplified by the plaque in Witkowski Młyn, founded by the local organisation *Młodzieżowa Grupa Śladowców* in order to commemorate the settlement existing there before 1945. It includes photographs of the mill described from the time of its operation as well as brief information about its history.

2. For the abandoned homesteads identified, I analysed the results of airborne laser scanning in order to determine whether their material relics have been preserved in a given place. For the analysis, I used the measurement data in the *.las format. Based on it, I generated a DEM, which I used to create a number of visualisations. Then I analysed the visualisations and provisionally identified relics of homesteads;
3. I conducted verification field research in Witkowski Młyn with the aim to document in detail the preserved relics of homesteads and other elements of the twentieth-century cultural landscape that cannot be captured in the ALS data.

When analysing the historical cartographic sources, I determined that Witkowski Młyn, during its existence in the 20th century, consisted of thirteen buildings, four of which have preserved its landscape form visible in the ALS results (Fig. 1 no. 2, 3, 4, 7). The following step was to perform field verification and detailed measurements of selected buildings, during which it turned out that seven of the buildings have not been preserved (Fig. 1 A-G). However, I discovered relics of two buildings (Fig. 1 no. 1 and 8), which can be seen in the results of airborne laser scanning as irregular hollows. This is why they were not identified as relics of buildings during the first interpretation of the ALS results. During the field verification, I documented two relics of buildings that cannot be seen in the ALS data (Fig. 1 no. 5 and 6) because of the dense vegetation that impaired the data quality. The way two buildings (Fig. 1 no. 3 and 7) look on visualisations differs from their actual state of preservation. Due to the original classification of point clouds, the NE wall of building 7 and the SE wall of building 3 were removed from the relic visualisation. Nearly all relics of buildings have been preserved in the same form: as remains of foundations. Their brick parts were pulled down after the war[3].

During the field research, I also documented two other elements of the cultural landscape from the first half of the 20th century. The first includes fruit trees being relics of an orchard marked on a topographic map from 1935. Eleven trees have been preserved (nine apple trees and two pear trees). Some of the trees were cut down, but you can still see their stumps. The other element of the documented landscape includes remains of a cemetery, which was also marked on the topographic map from 1935. However, it is not a typical Evangelical cemetery as it has gravestones made of rocks (I documented ten of them). Similar cemeteries can still be found today in Germany, but with inscriptions on rocks made of metal letters. The rocks in the cemetery in Witkowy Młyn have no preserved letters. The cemetery has flora typical of such places.

3 Oral information from a present inhabitant of Witkowski Młyn.

Fig. 1. Remains of the twentieth-century landscape of Witkowski Młyn. Background – sky view factor visualisation (prepared by Filip Wałdoch).

During the field research, I also identified two chestnut trees (Fig. 1, two trees growing at the remains of a road), which were planted within this landscape by people (more about flora in abandoned homesteads: Wojciechowska 2008). They grow near a small depression, which may be what remained of a road leading to the cemetery.

The case study presented well exemplifies the challenges faced by the application and interpretation of ALS data in the context of research into the contemporary past. First of all, this method does not work very well in places with dense vegetation, which is proven by buildings 5 and 6, the remains of which cannot be seen in visualisations based on the ALS data (Fig. 2).

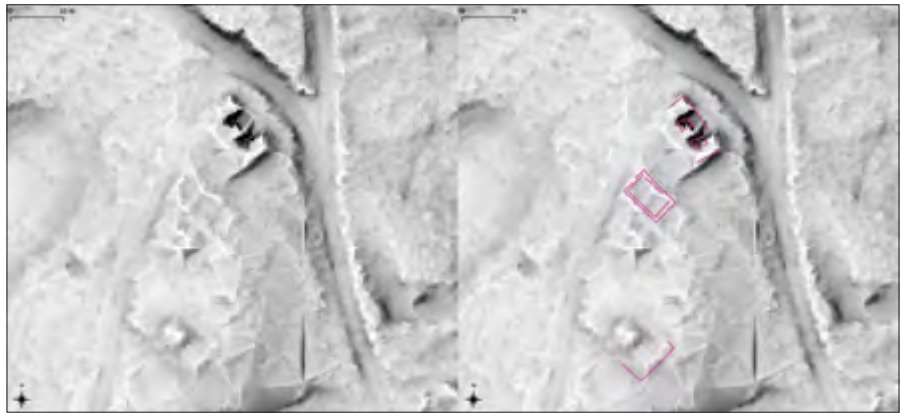

Fig. 2. Examples of relics of buildings (purple line – relics documented during field research) that cannot be seen in visualisations based on the ALS data. The visualisation used – sky view factor (prepared by Filip Wałdoch).

Another challenge presented to the use of such data is lack of the possibility of capturing small (e.g. gravestones) and atypical (trees[4]) objects, which are important elements of the landscape of Witkowski Młyn from the first half of the 20th century. The case study presented shows that in order to fully use the potential of this method it is necessary to combine it with other data sources.

What gaps in knowledge about the recent past are completed by the presented case study? An analysis of cartographic sources shows the disappearance

4 ALS data is successfully used by foresters for the identification of tree species. I made a similar attempt in this case (I presented it as a poster "Possibility of Tree Identification Connected with Households from the 19th/20th Century Based on Remote Sensing Data" at the Aerial Archaeology Research Group conference in 2017). Insufficient resolution of the data combined with irregular shapes of tree crowns made it impossible to explicitly identify fruit trees.

of the Witkowski Młyn settlement after 1945. Objects existing on the pre-war topographic map, such as a cemetery, orchard or buildings do not appear on post-war maps. Based on these sources, it would seem that there has been a complete transformation of the landscape. The buildings were removed and a forest appeared in their place. However, the use of ALS, complemented by field studies, shows the complexity of the process. Of the thirteen buildings identified on the pre-war map, relics of six of them are still visible in the landscape. Two more not included on the map were documented during field research. Thus, the objects from the pre-war map still exist, although in a very limited form of foundations. Just as relics of buildings have survived, so has preserved part of the orchard or cemetery, which are also included in modern maps. They lost their original role. The orchard passed into the hands of the forest inspectorate and its task ceased to be supplying apples. The cemetery ceased to serve as a place to bury the dead.

So the map as a certain schematic reflection of reality does not reflect all the processes taking place in the landscape. This physical gap is to some extent supplemented by ALS, which documents the topography of the terrain in a very detailed way, in which relics of buildings are still visible in varying degrees of preservation. Moreover, detailed field measurements show that these objects are preserved much better than it might seem after the initial analysis of ALS derivatives. Of course, this is not an ideal method (as shown in Figure 2) and must be used in a conscious way.

I believe that the application of remote sensing methods can fill not only physical gaps but also metaphorical ones. This twentieth-century German heritage thanks to ALS acquires a more material dimension. The abandoned settlement of Witkowski Młyn gains a new face. Based on which new history of this microregion should be created. In which German farms, buildings, orchards and cemeteries do not disappear from the landscape with their original users. On the contrary, they persist in the landscape, reminding of the 20th-century multicultural fate of these areas. Basing the narrative on these material relics can increase awareness of this type of heritage. Thus, by filling the gap in the memory of society which is indicated by the ethnographic research presented earlier.

Conclusions

Even though ALS is not a perfect method, it contributes much to the knowledge of the contemporary past. It may not offer us much new information about the appearance of Witkowski Młyn in the first half of the 20th century,

however, it allows to document its present condition. Combined with other information, it shows how many of its elements have survived until today. Such use of remote sensing data can thus contribute to an increase in the awareness of the twentieth-century German heritage.

It is also a fully inclusive method, which I understand as documenting all elements of the landscape, without being limited to objects related to a specific nation or culture. Of course, there are some limitations that I presented in this paper. It is influenced by the researcher who decides how to use it. It is not an objective method. The very fact of registering material relics of the contemporary past is only a prelude to a dialogue about the unquestionably difficult heritage discussed in this paper. Such a dialogue, as Z. Bauman notes in the summary of his work, can weaken retrotopia, which cannot be completely avoided.

Thus, remote sensing methods will never prevent retrotopia but they are new tools allowing to fill in some gaps in the knowledge of the contemporary past.

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Summary

Archaeology of the Contemporary Past vs Retrotopia in the Context of the Application of Remote Sensing Methods

This paper considers the issue of the application of teledection methods in the archaeology of the contemporary past with reference to the concept of retrotopia proposed by Zygmunt Bauman. It is based on one of the components of retrotopia, namely the approach to heritage adopted by Lowenthal (1997). From this perspective, relics of the twentieth-century German settlement in Witkowski Młyn (Western Pomerania) are analysed. In order to identify and document them, ALS data was used and then supplemented with verification field research. As a result, extensive relics of the twentieth-century landscape were documented, including relics of homesteads, orchards and a cemetery. The research presented show that teledection methods cannot prevent retrotopia, but they are new tools for filling in the gaps in knowledge of the contemporary past. Thus, they can lead to a dialogue which, according to Z. Bauman, is the best response to retrotopia.

Keywords: archaeology of the contemporary past, landscape archaeology, remote sensing, retrotopia, airborne laser scanning

Streszczenie

Archeologia współczesności vs retrotopia w kontekście aplikacji metod teledetekcyjnych

Artykuł rozważa kwestię wpływu wykorzystania metod teledetekcyjnych w archeologii współczesności w odniesieniu do koncepcji retrotopii zaproponowanej przez Zygmunta Baumana. Praca opiera się na jednej z części składowych retrotopii, a mianowicie podejściu do dziedzictwa prezentowanego przez Lowenthal'a (1997). Przez jej pryzmat przeanalizowane są relikty XX-wiecznego niemieckiego osadnictwa na Pomorzu Wschodnim w Witkowskim Młynie. Do ich rozpoznania i zadokumentowania zostały wykorzystane dane z lotniczego skanowania laserowego, uzupełnione weryfikacyjnymi badaniami terenowymi. Ich efektem jest zadokumentowanie kompleksowych reliktów XX-wiecznego krajobrazu składającego się z reliktów gospodarstw, sadów czy cmentarza. Przedstawione badania pokazują, że metody teledetekcyjne nie zapobiegną retrotopii, ale są nowym narzędziem uzupełniającym luki w wiedzy o nieodległej przeszłości. Tym samym prowokując dialog, który jest zdaniem Z. Baumana najlepszą odpowiedzią na retrotopię.

Słowa kluczowe: archeologia współczesności, archeologia krajobrazu, teledetekcja, retrotopia, lotnicze skanowanie laserowe

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Continuity and Decline. Temporal Expression of Denominational Cemeteries in Contemporary Times

Introduction – Difficult Heritage of Denominational Cemeteries in Time and Space

Burial places, which have been evolving over thousands of years, have become an important criterion for defining cultural, religious and national identity[1]. Cemeteries have not only been places where the dead are buried but also elements of the landscape that is shaped and created by man, which are very special due to their unique place identity that is difficult to remove. *Genius loci* in many cases determined its continuum – sacralisation of the original burial places (also called accommodation by Jacek Kolbuszewski (1996) or, quite the opposite – led to the intentional phasing out of the purposes served by the area (Wrzesiński 2014: 155–157; cf. *Sacrum pogańskie – sacrum chrześcijańskie…* 2010).

Denominational cemeteries are places the temporal continuity of which is strongly correlated to socio-cultural changes. Thus, they can become nearly 'frozen' within the landscape for centuries as material echoes of past generations. Cemeteries are frequently subject to destructive processes which, due to their sudden nature, can change the character of burial areas completely within months, weeks, or even days, sometimes virtually erasing them from the physical landscape. This is why cemeteries form heritage that is complicated in many different terms. As they combine the world of the living with the world of the dead, they have many emotional and symbolic resonances. They are among the indicators of identity and history of the community, holding it together, but

1 Some even refer to a phenomenon called necronationalism (Domańska 2018: 75–76).

in many cases they are also manifestations of divisions within the community (in cultural and religious terms). And finally, as surface objects full of religious symbols, they are significant elements within the cultural landscape, which in a way organise the space, particularly on account of their strong semiotic aspect. During wars, cemeteries, sacred to given religious and local communities, are among the first elements of the cultural heritage destroyed by armies seizing the land and new, different in cultural and/or ethnic (and frequently also religious) terms, communities – new settlers. Such phenomena are called by Andrzej Stachowiak (2016: 91) 'censorship of graves'. After all, according to the words attributed to Ferdinand Foch, "Motherland is the land and graves. Nations, losing memory, lose their lives" (Kolbuszewski 1996: 5; Stachowiak 2016: 90).

Denominational cemeteries often operate for decades or even centuries. In consequence, they become very complex, which is determined by both space and the passage of time. Thus, it can be said that as elements of the landscape's surface layer cemeteries have:

a. A specific scope – they are objects developed horizontally, occupying space that is usually separated from the surrounding landscape by physiographic or artificial boundaries;
b. Continuity in time (Kolbuszewski 1996: 37) – some indicate that they have characteristics of a permanent space, even if only in formal terms.

This can be confronted with the words of Barbara Szacka:

> […] in the image of each country, two dimensions – spatial and temporal – seem to occupy a special position. One cannot help but notice that a shared territory and a shared past are the two most important identification elements of human groups (Szacka 2006: 111).

As Barbara Lewicka points out (2012: 93), cemeteries combine the two categories cited (and listed above). However, this is only one of the reasons why they are such significant elements of the cultural landscape.

Even within a relatively short period from the middle of the 20th century to the contemporary times, the denominational cemeteries located in the territory of Poland have indeed become cultural texts, as indicated by Jacek Kolbuszewski (1996; cf. Długozima 2016: 16). Texts that collect the stories of people and religious, ethnic and national groups they form, but mostly of communities connected with a given land, which have forged the identity of not only states but also their personal micro-homelands (cf. Jaszczak, Dreksler 2013). Over more than seventy years that have passed since the end of the Second World War, denominational cemeteries have undergone transformations worth presenting and systematising. Starting with a more general analysis and gradually moving towards the stories of individual places

presented here, I will indicate a certain spectrum of spatial and temporal changes of cemeteries, which will explain why cemeteries can be referred to as examples of difficult heritage, mostly with regard to aspects connected with the (im)permanence of their material substance.

The Research Aim and Hypothesis

The main aim of this paper is to indicate and attempt to systematise, based on the criterion of the anthropogenic effect, the main directions of transformations taking place in the contemporary times in denominational cemeteries located in the territory of Poland. The analyses were limited to the period from the end of the Second World War to the present.

The research hypothesis formulated predicted that contemporary material structures and spatial arrangements of cemeteries result from the process of diversification of burial areas taking place over time due to natural and cultural conditions.

It was extended by an assumption indicating the dominant types of transformations of cemeteries in the temporal extension of the present time, identified based on the directions of the anthropogenic activity. Theoretical model paths of the temporal expression of cemeteries are presented on the graph below.

The notion of the cemetery's temporal expression was presented by Jacek Kolbuszewski in one of his works:

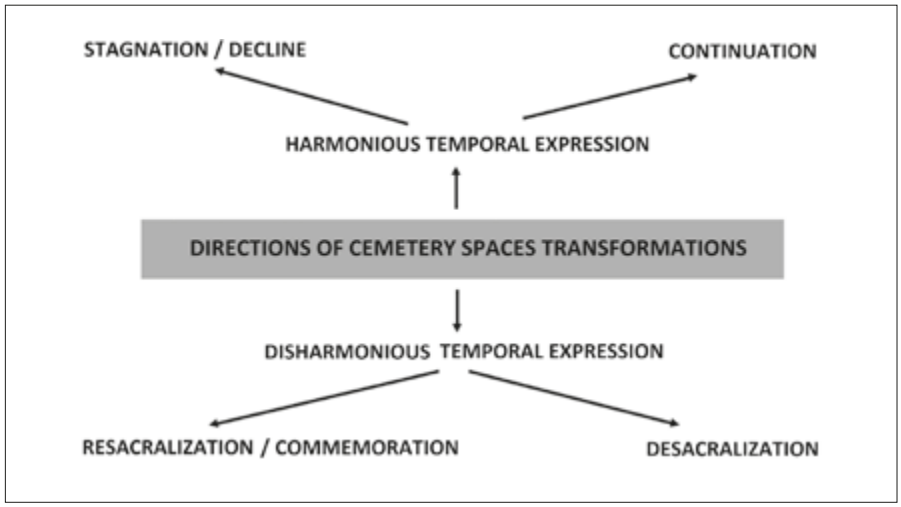

Fig. 1. Directions of the leading transformations of cemeteries based on the criterion of the anthropogenic effect (prepared by A. Majewska).

> Thus, there is something paradoxical about the fact that even though the actual essence of a cemetery is constituted by the bodies buried in the ground, the carriers of all meanings expressed by it are, in fact, elements forming its above ground infrastructure. And they are mostly the reasons why cemeteries become important cultural phenomena or, in other words, the already mentioned cultural texts. This is where our present meets the past in a tangible way. **A cemetery**, so to speak, **does not only develop in space but also in time, gaining a certain temporal expression** (Kolbuszewski 1996: 37; boldfaced by the Author).

The idea of the cemetery's temporal expression refers to the concept of time from the relational perspective, which is described by Zbyszko Chojnicki as follows: "just like the spatial distance is a separation between things, the temporal interval is a separation between different states", so it concerns continuity as a distance "between states of changing things, i.e. events or processes" (Chojnicki 1999: 254). Thus, the past, the present and the future of a cemetery are organised by different 'states of things', separated by a temporal interval.

Harmonious temporal expression involves transformations of a relatively uniform character, which are not invasive activities aimed at, for example, changing the purpose of the cemetery. Harmonious temporal expression takes place through continuation of the activity connected with the original use and the denominational status of the cemetery. It can also include periods of stagnation in the anthropogenic activity or its gradual disappearance in the area.

Disharmonious temporal expression appears as a result of a conflict between the original and the contemporary uses of the cemetery, for example, in consequence of its resacralisation – transformation and the granting of meaning by representatives of a different religious/denominational group, and possibly commemoration, or due to complex desacralisation processes: transformation of the cemetery for the purposes of the economic activity.

It has to be emphasised that the directions of the leading transformations of cemeteries[2] described further in this paper are not disjunctive. Individual categories of transformation can concern the same object at different stages of its operation and presence in the cultural landscape, undergoing various processes and co-determining the changeability of the temporal expression. These

2 Issues concerning factors that determine the transformation of cemeteries and stages of changes taking place within them have already been raised by some studies into burial places in the territory of Poland. Proposals of more or less complex systematisation of these conditions have been put forward. For example, factors determining the fate of cemeteries are cited from A. Brencz (2000) by A. Stachowiak (2016: 92), and divided into two main types of factors: objective (administrative and economic regulations, natural conditions) and subjective (cultural conditions, e.g. "the effect of traditional cultural models or introduction of new solutions that imitate foreign models").

processes, even though described separately, can occur in a given place simultaneously, e.g. a continued use of a cemetery and its desacralisation in the form of secularisation (e.g. parts of Jewish and Christian cemeteries in large cities).

The Study Scope and Methods

The research proceedings assumed a qualitative paradigm, as part of which an analysis path was determined based on a study of the historical and factual literature raising the issue of socio-political transformations and the situation of denominational groups after the Second World War, and particularly factors determining the way burial places such as cemeteries function. The research subject only covers places with a surface layer – historical cemeteries, however, on account of the complexity of the issue, only those that originated in the modern age. Only cemeteries with skeletal burial grounds were considered, or those with columbaria or separate quarters for urn burials.

Each of the directions of transformations distinguished was illustrated with a brief description of the processes that have taken place in the selected cemeteries. The processes discussed were selected based on the identified stratigraphy of contemporary cultural accumulations in the cemeteries[3]. The cemeteries were selected from among the places the Author had analysed in her previous research as the ones that best exemplify a given model of the temporal expression of cemeteries. Detailed analyses of burial grounds were based on the study of the literature, archival materials, and field documentation of the material structures of cemeteries, and on the observations made, which allowed to draw conclusions with regard to the changes taking place in time and space.

The paper does not contain any exhaustive discussion on the leading categories of the changes indicated, which was substituted with the explanation of terms only to the extent they are applied in connection with the material characteristics of the cultural landscape (material culture) of, in this particular case, cemeteries.

Harmonious Temporal Expression

A stage in the functioning a given cemetery in the landscape that can be called harmonious temporal expression involves uniform processes leading to gradual changes in the structure of the cemetery (without contradicting its unique character). This type of changes over time can be divided into two main directions of transformations:

3 More about the substantive basis: Myga-Piątek (2005: 73–74).

a. Those taking place with the involvement of the community that established the cemetery and continuous to use it (which means burying the dead in the cemetery and/or interfering in the physiognomy of the cemetery in order to preserve its original character and/or following regular religious practices in it);
b. Those connected with the gradual cessation of the use of the burial ground, where after the burials stop (regardless of the reason for this), the dominant role in the transformations taking place in the cemetery is played by natural processes connected with the way the natural environment functions.

Continuation

Continuation of the use of a cemetery in the present means the use of the burial ground in accordance with its purpose by the denominational group that established the cemetery. Such processes are most common in Poland in Roman Catholic cemeteries, which reflects the contemporary denominational structure. However, burials also take place in a number of cemeteries belonging to denominational and religious minorities, including Christian cemeteries: Orthodox and Protestant, and non-Christian cemeteries: Jewish, Muslim etc.

Fig. 2. Operating non-Christian cemeteries in the territory of Poland, as of 2017 (prepared by A. Majewsk based on: Muslim Religious Community in the Republic of Poland – www.mzr.pl, access 2 XII 2017; Rykała (2007); Majewska (2016b); Wspólnota bez Bram Mumon-Kai – http://www.mumon-kai.com/polen.html, access 2 XII 2017).

Particularly in the case of cemeteries in which religious principles forbid to disturb the graves (rendering their reuse impossible), internal landscapes reveal temporal and visual changes taking place in the material, above ground tissue of necropolises. These can be seen, for example, in the Tatar cemetery (*mizar*) in Kruszyniany. Visitors go around this Muslim (Tatar) cemetery as if following a timeline, passing simple headstones with weathered inscriptions from the 17th century, and gradually reaching modern, unified gravestones.

Apart from that fact that, as churchyards, they are denominational objects, cemeteries in small towns and villages are frequently treated by experts in the area mostly as mirror images of the communities that use them. This is confirmed by, for example, the anthropological reading of the area of a rural cemetery located in Złoty Potok in the Kraków–Częstochowa Upland made by Grażyna Ewa Karpińska (2017).

Fig. 3. The area of the *mizar* in Kruszyniany; a traditional headstone in the foreground, and a unified, contemporary gravestone in the background (photographed by A. Majewska).

The cemetery that was analysed by the Author as a case study concerning the transformation of a burial area in the context of the continuation process is the old parish cemetery in Lelów. It was established on a castle hill probably in the 1830s, on the remains of a defensive building (a wooden structure) erected there probably as early as at the end of the 13th century. The brick building erected in the 14th century during the reign of Casimir III the Great was altered a number of times over the following centuries, and ultimately pulled down at the beginning of the 19th century (Laberschek 1991: 530; Widawski 1973: 238). This is also indicated by the oldest graves identified in the cemetery with non-invasive methods. They come from the years: 1841 (Fig. 4), 1849, 1850, so from a period when Lelów still had town privileges (which it lost in 1869). Based on the inventory data (a total of 490 separate burial plots were documented), it was possible to determine a hypothetical direction of covering the area of the castle hill with graves (cf. Majewska 2017: 64–65) (Fig. 5). Graves were reused in the cemetery even in 2015 and 2016, which means it has operated continuously for nearly 150 years. Interesting aspects of the functioning of the place are small changes taking place on the level of its material structure, which also prove that the community cares about the local history, its continuity in time, and its material evidence in the cemetery. An example of this is the grave of Paweł Michalak, who was born in Mełchów on June 13, 1924, and, according to the inscription: "DIED FOR HIS COUNTRY / ON AUGUST 1, 1946 / KILLED BY UKRAINIAN BANDS / IN THE TOMASZÓW LUBELSKI / DISTRICT / FOUNDED BY / INHABITANTS OF THE LELÓW COMMUNE". A simple gravestone

from the middle of the 20th century in the form of a plinth with a cross was later replaced with a larger, granite gravestone with an upright slab, following new aesthetic standards (Fig. 6)[4].

Fig. 4. The oldest (according to the date provided by the epitaph) gravestone in the parish cemetery in Lelów. Locations of gravestones with dates of death up to 1850 (photographed and prepared by A. Majewska).

4 The Author conducted research in the cemetery in Lelów in 2016 together with students from the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Łódź. It was conducted under the project funded by the National Programme for the Development of Humanities "Places of Remembrance and Oblivion. Interdisciplinary Research of the Northern Part of the Polish Jurassic Highland" (manager: O. Ławrynowicz).

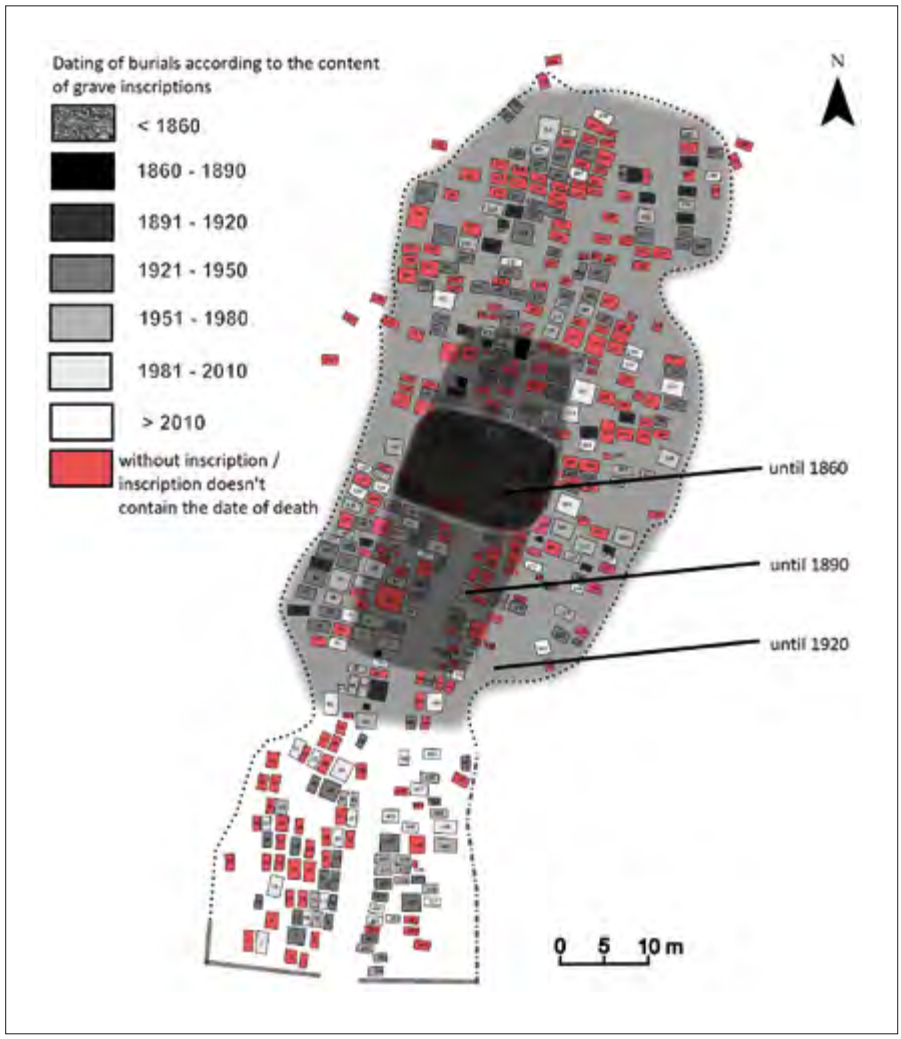

Fig. 5. The cemetery's spatial development: changes in the reach of the graves in the Roman Catholic cemetery in Lelów (prepared by A. Majewska).

A continued use of a cemetery by the denominational group that established is possible only if the burial function is upheld. This can be connected with conducting religious ceremonies in the cemetery and/or following traditions that are not related to any burial rites but are reflected by changes in the material structure of a given cemetery. Such phenomena concern, for example, Jewish necropolises that are used for religious purposes even though they

Fig. 6. Gravestones in the Roman Catholic cemetery in Lelów – an example of a replaced gravestone (photographed and prepared by A. Majewska).

no longer serve burial purposes and, in many cases, despite considerable damage suffered during the Second World War. This can be exemplified by the cemetery in Leżajsk. A famous tzaddik Elimelech Weissblum was buried there, and his remains rest today in a place over which a grand ohel was built[5]. Every year, on the twenty-first day of Adar, which in the Gregorian calendar is in early spring, groups of pilgrim Hasids come to the town and pray over the tzaddik's grave (Gładyś, Górecki 2005: 246) (Fig. 7). The grave is also frequently visited by Jews from many different countries all over the year. Hundreds of notes left at Elimelech's grave (*kvitelach*) with petitionary prayers for intercession with God and candles that are often lit inside constitute a certain continuation of the function of this unique place. They are superimposed on its material cultural heritage even though it remains extremely ephemeral as the notes are burnt as soon as the pilgrims leave the town (Malchrowicz-Mośko, Grzesiak 2013: 37). The cemetery

Fig. 7. The Jewish cemetery in Leżajsk on an anniversary of tzaddik Elimelech's death. Temporary changes in the cemetery's landscape and structure: division of the space into areas for men and women (photographed by A. Majewska).

5 In Leżajsk, it is an architectural tomb in the form of a small building with a separate room in which women can pray, and the main room with the tzaddik's grave.

in Leżajsk, apart from the area referred to by Jews as the 'house of graves', has also become a destination of temporary religious migrations of members of Hasidic religious communities.

A continuation of use is similar, even if less frequent, in other Jewish cemeteries with graves of wise men and leaders of Hasidic communities. It is worth mentioning Lelów (Częstochowa District), where an old Jewish cemetery, thanks to the Nissenbaum Foundation and Fundacja Chasydów Leżajsk Polska, was also transformed on the surface. The area of the cemetery was tidied up (after the Second World War it was partially developed), and an ohel of tzaddik Dawid Biderman was erected in its southern end (Majewska 2016b: 96; cf. *Żydzi lelowscy: obecność i ślady…* 2006). Cemeteries owned by denominational minorities are also places that help maintain community relationships, which sometimes results from the fact that burial places remain the only elements of cultural heritage one can tangibly identify with as they are the only elements to be still visible in the physical landscape (which is mentioned by Andrzej Rykała with regard to the Karaite minority, whose material cultural heritage in Poland includes only one cemetery located in Warsaw (Rykała 2011: 23–24).

Stagnation/Disappearance

One of the causative elements that determine other changes occurring in cemeteries is the official cessation of burial, which is connected with a legal change of the status of the place regulated in Poland by the Act on Cemeteries and Burials. This also co-defines the processes taking place in cemeteries the Author refers to as 'stagnation/disappearance'. The main indicator of this direction of transformations is the disappearance or complete cessation of any anthropogenic activity in a given place. Then, the decisive factors with respect to the changes occurring in the material structure are natural processes that are mostly destructive, such as weathering (chemical, biological etc.) and mass wasting[6]. Joanna Wałkowska, following the concept of H.J. Eggers, compares the domination of the cemetery tissue by (post)deposition processes aimed at the transformation of a necropolis into an archaeological site to the transition from 'living culture' to 'dead culture' and an oscillation between these two stages (Wałkowska 2017: 95).

The direction of anthropogenic transformations referred to as stagnation (temporally unspecified cessation of transformations resulting from the human activity) or disappearance (complete or nearly complete cessation of the human activity within a cemetery that is difficult to clearly define) frequently disrupts the cultural continuity in a given area. This may be connected with armed

6 More about the relationships between the anthropogenic activity and natural processes can be found in: A. Majewska (2016a: 259–266).

conflicts (e.g. extermination of the population), political transformations or natural disasters, as a result of which the heritage of a given community or religious group is left heirless. Apart from the processes related to disharmonious temporal expression, places that are foreign in cultural and/or religious terms frequently enter a stage of functioning within the cultural landscape during which the dominant role in their transformation is played by natural factors. Out of the contemporary denominational cemeteries in Poland, the group in which processes connected with changes in the material structure in the 20th and 21st centuries were to a large extent affected by natural processes includes cemeteries that used to belong to many local denominational communities. These were mostly minority communities, however, a lot of them dominated in the population structure of their settlement units. Most of them were Jewish and Protestant and communities destroyed during and as a result of the Second World War. The latter ceased to exist predominantly because of the Holocaust, and the former due to repercussions of the national affiliation and the destructive policy towards the previous cultural continuity (cf. Długozima 2016: 21; Sakson 2017: 117–123; Stachowiak 2015). Evidence of their former existence includes, among other things, material heritage that still co-creates the cultural landscape but outside its original social context. This is what happened to, for example, Masurian Evangelical cemeteries (cf. Żurkowska 2008). Many of those located in forests or thinly populated areas suffered from rapid degradation of their material structure. Graves overgrew and inscriptions on raw headstones weathered. In many cases, after devastation during or right after the war, it was the forest and not people that re-annexed the cemetery area (Fig. 8). Stagnation in the anthropogenic effect on the cemetery tissue followed

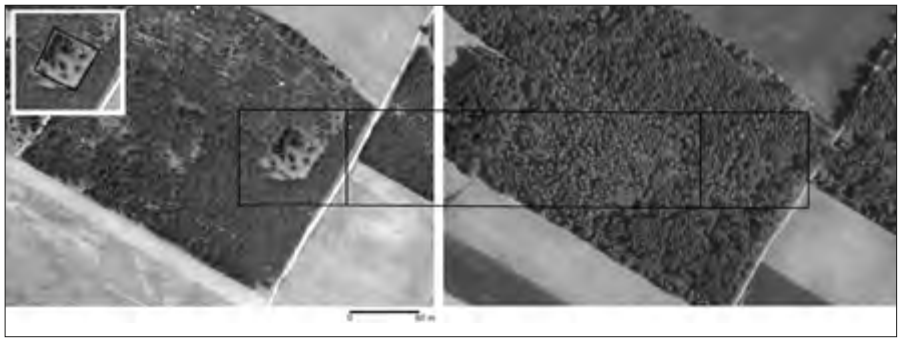

Fig. 8. The area of a mid-forest Evangelical cemetery in a former village of Kosaki (Pisz District) in aerial photographs from: a) 1979; b) 2015 (prepared by A. Majewska based on the materials from: www.geoportal.gov.pl; a photogrammetric photograph, file no. 8_6773, from the collection of the Main Centre of Geodetic and Cartographic Documentation).

by its cessation, ending in complete natural destruction, and in some cases also planned liquidation of its surface (and/or underground) part, sooner or later concerns virtually all denominational cemeteries.

Disharmonious Temporal Expression

A stage in the functioning of a given cemetery in the landscape that can be called disharmonious temporal expression usually means dynamic processes leading to changes in the structure of the cemetery (frequently in contradiction to its original denominational and/or physiognomic and/or functional character). This type of changes over time can be divided into a few general directions of transformations, which usually take place without any involvement of the community that established, used or continues to use the cemetery.

Desacralisation

According to the Author, it consists of two main processes: secularisation and profanation of the cemetery area. Unfortunately, there are few studies concerning this issue. Some of them, even though their titles refer to the direction of changes, e.g. *Niegdyś sacrum, dziś profanum – dawne cmentarze ewangelickie Poznania i okolic* (*The Sacred in the Past, the Profane Today – Former Evangelical Cemeteries in Poznań and Nearby Towns*) (Rydzewska, Krzyżaniak, Urbański 2011), do not offer any elaborate theoretical deliberations. Transition into the profane seems to be mostly understood by authors as interference in the material structure: destructive activities with the aim to remove the cemetery visually from the landscape, and this is the most common approach. Desacralisation processes taking place in denominational cemeteries in Poland after the Second World War have been frequently connected with a period of deculturation of the landscape indicated by Wiktor Knercer, which means removal of any visible traces of the presence of heritage that is 'foreign' to new settlers (Knercer 2016: 11; cf. Kopczyńska 2010). When discussing the transition of cemeteries from the sacred to the profane, it is also worth emphasising the dichotomous character of the processes we deal with. According to the Author, desacralisation as a direction of transformations concerning cemeteries consists of two main processes:

a. Secularisation – a desacralisation process mostly taking place through interference in the material structure of a cemetery, which leads to changes in its symbolic dimension; it particularly concerns the removal of the

characteristics determining the cemetery's religious/denominational character/specificity through different activities, such as adaptation of the cemetery's concept – a park/garden, unification of graves etc., at the same time preserving *differentia specifica* of the cemetery – also known as secularisation of the burial space; it is often an expression of secularisation, acculturation or assimilation (desacralisation understood in this way is presented by, for example, Irmina Gadowska (Gadowska 2017; cf. Kacprzak 2017: 9). Secularisation does not have such a negative overtone as profanation, which takes place within religious heritage of a given religious community against the will of its members and/or heirs to the cultural heritage, while secularisation can take place with consent of the members of a religious community the heritage is connected with;

b. Profanation – according to Arkadiusz Fordoński, it means physical violation of sanctity and "granting the act a character of an act of violence" (Fordoński 2015: 38); desecration of a place/places of burial refers particularly to devastation aimed at the elimination of the material surface and/or underground structure of the cemetery, which determines its character and purpose. Profanation processes, particularly brutal in their material dimension, took place during the Second World War in Jewish cemeteries. In many cases, they also continued after the war. A disgraceful example of such practices is the transformation of the material structure of the Jewish cemetery in Lubliniec (Silesia Province), where the pre-funeral house located in the cemetery was taken over by the State after the war, and in the 1970s it was handed over to a driver training centre of the State Defence League (Białas no date). A part of the Lubliniec Jewish cemetery, which had already been considerably devastated before 1945, was used for business purposes, with a part of it being converted into a manoeuvre practice area (Wirtualny Sztetl). The remains of gravestones were collected from the cemetery area, and a disposal site was created for them in its periphery (Fig. 9). Relics of the profanation are still quite clearly visible in space (e.g. black slag, concrete kerbs, and even car tires found between the gravestones) even though the Jewish cemetery was tidied up in the last few years and marked with an information board. However, it has to be emphasised that while Jewish cemeteries are more and more frequently subject to restoration and become significant elements in the process of reinstating and creating memory of prewar Jewish communities, profanation of rural and family Protestant cemeteries, located far from human settlements, remains a serious problem. In these cemeteries,

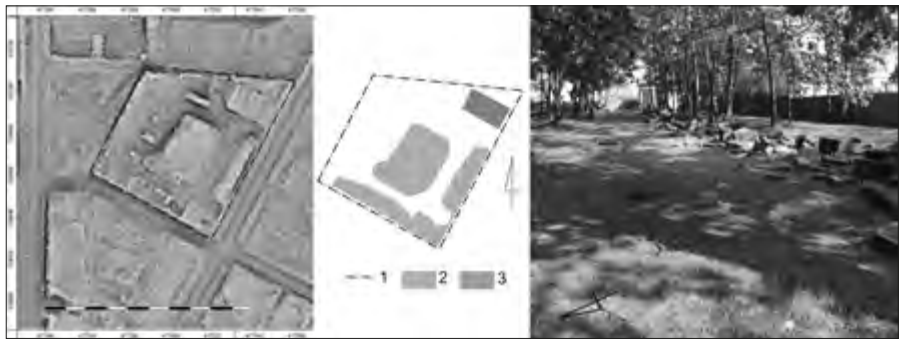

Fig. 9. Desacralisation of the Jewish cemetery in Lubliniec; the numbered elements: 1. cemetery boundaries; 2. matzevah disposal site; 3. location of the preserved part of the architectural tomb of the Koenigsbergers (photographed and prepared by A. Majewska).

Fig. 10. A cemetery located deep in the forest, near the village of Pogorzel Wielka (Pisz District). A devastated and probably robbed grave. At the end of the 1980s, one could still see a coffin with scattered remains in the desecrated, open grave (photographed by A. Majewska; archival photographs for comparison from the documentation of the Ełk branch of the Provincial Office of Monument Preservation, Cemetery Card no. 1909, filled in by D. Gospodarek, 1989).

much more frequently than in the Jewish ones, one can see evidence of profanation going beyond the devastation of the surface structure and concerning the desecration of what is, in fact, most important, i.e. human remains (Fig. 10).

Resacralisation and Commemoration

Resacralisation and commemoration are mostly connected with adaptation processes: assimilation and adaptation of heritage. Explaining the term 'resacralisation' as a modification of the term 'sacralisation', it can be said that it is (on the material level) restoration of the religious character of spatial elements (*Słownik wyrazów obcych* 2000: 988). On the other hand commemoration, despite being synonymous, has no direct relationship with the sacred within the extraliturgical sense. It also covers secular commemoration.

In this paper, the Author would like to present a unique case of processes taking place today in a cemetery, which can be described as resacralisation and commemoration (the material expression of which is even considered to be barbaric[7]). Transformations of this kind take place in the cemetery in Justynów (East Łódź District), which was established probably in the first half of the 20th century when a colony for German settlers was created[8]. At the time, it was located on the periphery of the village, approximately 70 m from today's Łódzka Street, south-east of the homesteads. After the land had been parcelled out for residential purposes in the 20th century, the cemetery was surrounded by buildings (Fig. 11). After the Second World War, it was taken care of by St. Matthew's Church of the Augsburg Confession from Łódź. People were buried in the cemetery until about 1960, and then it was closed for burial purposes (and the parish put it up for sale). The area was purchased by private persons, who still take care of this burial place today[9]. About 10–12 years ago, some of the remains in the southern part of the cemetery were exhumed, and now there is a group of cenotaphs there (Fig. 12). Many of them may cause controversy due to a compilation of forms of remembrance of publicly known people (e.g. those holding public offices and artists, such as Cyprian Norwid, and images of Saint John Paul II, Maria

7 Such an opinion about the transformations taking place in the cemetery in Justynów was expressed by the Author of a website devoted to Evangelical cemeteries in the Łódź Province – cf. http://www.cmentarzeewangelickie-lodzkie.pl/justynow.htm, access 4 XII 2017.

8 In *Studium uwarunkowań i kierunków zagospodarowania przestrzennego gminy Andrespol* it is dated to 1890 (*Studium uwarunkowań…* 2015: 78).

9 According to the information obtained from the people taking care of the cemetery.

and Lech Kaczyński) made on a small area as well as references to the history of the 20th century (e.g. the Holocaust, the Katyn massacre, with such inscriptions as: "KATYN / SMOLENSK / THE COST OF THE TRUTH IS SO HIGH", and a cenotaph devoted to Russian and Polish soldiers who fell in the territory of Poland) (Fig. 13). Furthermore, the material historical substance of the cemetery was reused to build a new, contemporary context as the cenotaphs were made of fragments of Evangelical gravestones. At the back of the gravestone of Auguste Schmidt, who died at the beginning of the 20th century, an epitaph in memory of Juliusz Słowacki and Adam Mickiewicz was carved (Fig. 14). On the cemetery gate, there are boards with the following information: "CEMETERY / OF THE POLISH COMMUNITY / ALL OVER THE WORLD / AND OF THE WORLD IN POLAND", and boards referring to the Evangelical content: "THE VALLEY / OF DRIED / BONES / SO IN EVERYTHING, DO TO OTHERS WHAT YOU / WOULD HAVE THEM DO TO YOU / FOR THIS SUMS UP THE LAW OF THE PROPHETS".

Today, one can clearly distinguish two stages of the cemetery's operation in time:

The 1st stage – the cemetery's operation as an Evangelical burial place;

The 2nd stage – the cemetery's operation as a 'garden of remembrance'.

The cemetery in Justynów is a case study that clearly shows transformations of the material structure of cemeteries taking place in the present as they have a very distinct form of a palimpsest (cf. Kijowska, Kijowski, Rączkowski 2011: 105–107). While a part of the former surface structure of the cemetery was erased from the physical landscape (approx. 30 legible graves remained), some new elements appeared that are commemorative and not genetically connected with the way the cemetery was originally used. It is worth emphasising that the only cenotaph referring to the historical

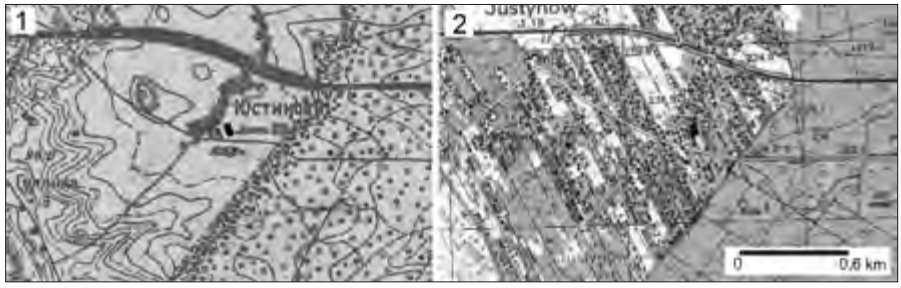

Fig. 11. Justynów on a topographic map from the second half of the 20th century and on the map from 1931. Location of the cemetery is marked in black (prepared by A. Majewska based on the following sources: www.geoportal.gov.pl; a topographic map 1: 25 000, sheet: 42-29-C, WIG, 1931).

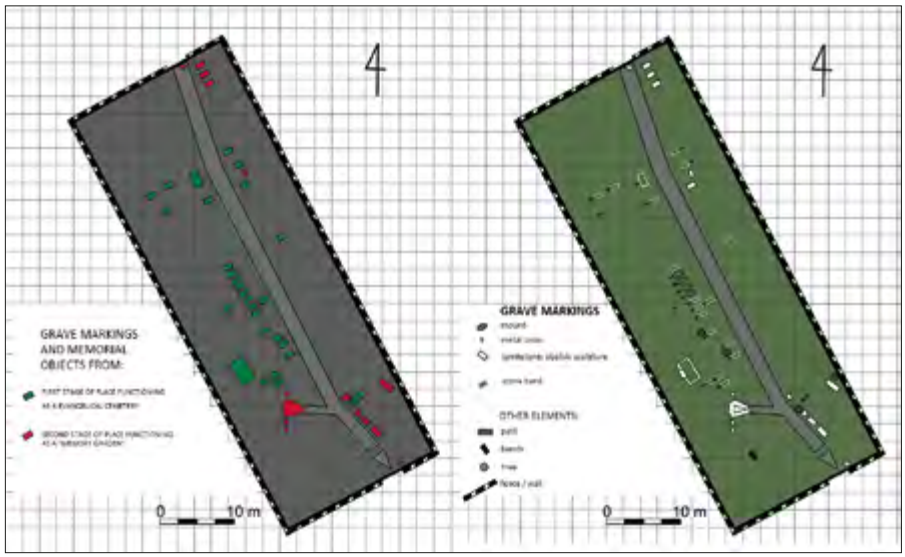

Fig. 12. Material representation of the resacralisation and commemoration taking place in the 19th-century Protestant cemetery in Justynów (East Łódź District) (prepared by A. Majewska).

Fig. 13. Transformations of the original material substance of the cemetery in Justynów (photographed and prepared by A. Majewska).

Fig. 14. Transformations of the original material substance of the cemetery in Justynów (photographed and prepared by A. Majewska).
A. Part of gravestone without epitaph table (XIX/XX century) (Justynów).
B. A gravestone plinth (XIX/XX century) with contemporary epitaph table (Justynów).

purpose of the place is a stele located near the northern gate of the cemetery with an inscription commemorating one of the people buried there: "IN THIS CEMETERY LIES / MICHAŁ WUDEL / 1873–1927 / EVANGELICAL / DESCENDANT OF GERMAN SETTLERS".

It is also easy to identify commemorative phenomena in the form of tidying up and restoring the cemetery area, particularly with regard to protecting the graves and the spatial arrangement and making them more legible. They can accompany all the leading directions of cemetery transformations presented above. Usually incidental or sporadic, rarely regular and long-term activities, mostly related to maintenance, have many exemplifications, which is proven by, for example, publications with reports on and documentation of such undertakings as well as guidelines for similar activities (cf. Rydzkowska 2009: 96–105; Klimowicz et al. 2017). The reasons behind them are also similar. Assumptions and goals of such activities can be:

1. Scientific – mostly historical and related to restoration:
   - Removal of vegetation and other elements destroying the cemetery's material elements (such as markings on the graves) or factors that can potentially destroy them;
   - Cataloguing and inventorying the cemetery for research purposes, including in particular markings on the graves, historical elements, flora; drawing up documentation serving as a basis for monument restoration activities;

2. Educational and related to the community;
   - Education of the youth and broadening knowledge of regional history, sensitisation to the value and significance of cultural heritage and its protection etc.;
   - Developing and maintaining local relationships and cultural identity.

Conclusions. Processes Occurring in Cemeteries and Ephemeral and Passing Landscapes

The issue of transformations taking place in cemeteries in the contemporary times is very complex, mostly due to the research perspective adopted: a description of changes observed in the time contemporary with the researcher, which, as G.E. Karpińska pointed out, implies even more clearly one's own interpretation of what we experience, i.e. 'reading' and 'writing' of these places (Karpińska 2017: 21). Such analysis can to some extent lose objectivity because we do not have the temporal distance necessary to define the long-term direction of the changes taking place (moreover, the contemporary scale is still open). Perhaps, in a hundred years, reflection on the leading directions of transformations of cemeteries in the contemporary times as we understand them today will differ from the one presented in this paper. This, in turn, leads to another issue, namely the question of the stability of the cemetery's landscape. Can a cemetery, as a place where natural and anthropogenic elements are strongly correlated like in a garden, be classified as a landscape with inherent ephemerality – the title continuity and decline over time? Of course, transformations occurring within the landscapes of cemeteries can be assessed based on objective scales used with regard to natural elements, such as the geological scale or the scale of the seasons, or anthropogenic elements, such as the scale of a human life or the scale of a historical period (Wojciechowski 2010: 39). However, the landscape of a cemetery, even though natural elements form an important part of it, is established by people who, apart from organising funerals, intentionally plant vegetation there. Just like the underground part of a cemetery constitutes its essence, the above ground part, marked with symbols and having a specific material structure that defines its *genius loci*, constitutes to some extent ephemeral land art (Herman 2011: 28). According to A. Długozima: "from the end of the 18th century, to paraphrase the words of an art historian Jan Białostocki, we can talk about cemeteries – green temples of death, in which Nature and Art intertwine" (Długozima 2011: 25).

The landscape of a cemetery as a construct is thus nearly entirely an artificial product disrupting the natural cycle and processes taking place in nature.

The anthropogenically made landscape of a cemetery undergoes rapid (on a human life scale) changes that can be easily identified, particularly when observing necropolises that are still used for burial purposes. Their ephemeral landscape is expressed in, for example, seasonal changes to their aesthetic aspects and appearance, which is connected with such occasions as the All Saints' Day and the All Souls' Day in Catholic and municipal cemeteries. We can also see spatial changes in cemeteries: an increase in the number of new graves, and physiognomic changes, such as liquidation of old graves and, in consequences, gravestones. Furthermore, cemeteries can be incorporated into the so-called passing landscape. According to Krzysztof Wojciechowski (2010: 40): "[passing landscapes – Author's note] are landscapes important aspects of which only change as a result of natural evolution of certain phenomena". Despite the fact that landscape ephemeras can be divided into two main categories: natural and caused by man, ephemerality connected with natural changes is particularly characteristic of the landscape. On the other hand cyclical changes, such as the vegetation cycle, are characteristic of seasonal landscapes that constitute a subcategory of passing landscapes. Natural and constantly progressing transformations of the landscape also determine its transience (cf. Brassley 1998; Palang et al. 2005).

The cemetery – despite the possible temporal orientation of the leading transformations towards 'continuation' occurring in functional or physiognomic and commemorative terms (e.g. with regard to the form of the historical place, being forcibly 'frozen' within the landscape) – remains only apparently constant in time. An inherent characteristic of cemeteries is their transience – 'stagnation' and 'disappearance' of the anthropogenic effect. These processes are sometimes accompanied by clearly distinct step-by-step directions of transformations referred to in this paper as 'desacralisation' and 'resacralisation'. Cessation of activity ultimately leads to the domination of natural (post)deposition processes and the transformation of cemeteries into archaeological sites.

Coming back to the initial assumptions, the paper distinguishes directions of the leading transformations of denominational cemeteries over time, identified based on the criterion of the anthropogenic effect, namely: continuation, stagnation/disappearance, resacralisation and commemoration, desacralisation. Directions of these transformations confirm the hypothesis that contemporary material structures and spatial arrangements of cemeteries result from the processes of diversification of the burial areas taking place over time under natural and cultural conditions. The main factor determining the changes occurring in these unique places is a specific type of the anthropogenic effect. The synthesis presented is an introduction to in-depth research concerning specific

phenomena taking place in cemeteries in the contemporary times. Undertaking it is recommended or even necessary to extend knowledge and understanding of transformations in the material structure of these complex objects of cultural heritage, being places of remembrance, historical mementos, and sources of information about religious and local communities.

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A photogrammetric photograph, 1967, file no. 8_6773, from the collection of the Main Centre of Geodetic and Cartographic Documentation.

Summary

Continuity and Decline. Temporal Expression of Denominational Cemeteries in Contemporary Times

The study attempts to systematize the leading transformations observed nowadays in denominational cemeteries located in Poland. The time frame of the analyses was limited to the period from the end of the Second World War to the present. Four basic types of transformations have been distinguished and divided into two main directions of changes reported over time, namely: harmonious temporal expression (stagnation/decline, continuation) and disharmonious temporal expression (desacralisation, resacralisation and commemoration). Each type of transformation is discussed separately based on selected examples. However, it needs to be emphasised that the proposed division is not disjunctive as considering the multitude of factors that determine changes in the material structures of cemeteries, processes sometimes run parallel to each other or overlap in time.

Keywords: cemeteries, archaeology of the contemporary past, historical geography, cultural heritage, profanation, secularization, religious objects

Streszczenie

Trwanie i zanikanie. Ekspresja temporalna cmentarzy wyznaniowych we współczesności

W opracowaniu podjęto próbę systematyzacji wiodących przekształceń zachodzących we współczesności w przestrzeni cmentarzy wyznaniowych znajdujących się na terenie Polski. Cezurę czasową analiz ograniczono do okresu trwającego od zakończenia drugiej wojny światowej do chwili obecnej. Wyróżniono cztery zasadnicze rodzaje przekształceń podzielone na dwa główne kierunki przemian zachodzących w czasie: harmonijną ekspresję temporalną (zastój/zanik; kontynuację) oraz dysharmonijną ekspresję temporalną (desakralizacja; resakralizacja i komemoracja). Każdy rodzaj przekształceń został omówiony osobno na wybranych przykładach. Należy jednak podkreślić, że zaproponowany podział nie ma charakteru rozłącznego, gdyż biorąc pod uwagę mnogość czynników determinujących zmiany struktur materialnych cmentarzy, niekiedy procesy zachodzą równolegle lub zazębiają się w czasie.

Słowa kluczowe: cmentarze, archeologia współczesności, geografia historyczna, dziedzictwo kulturowe, profanacja, profanizaja, obiekty religijne

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Three Lives of a Cemetery: the History of a Military Cemetery in the Village of Marcinowa Wola in Masuria[1]

The process of shaping contemporary social structures in Masuria started in 1945, when this territory was incorporated into Poland. This was also when nearly the whole population changed there. Most of the previously dominant German and indigenous population left this territory, and settlers from different parts of Poland, including Kresy Wschodnie, and people resettled as part of Operation Vistula, came in their place. There appeared, as Anna Szyfer put it, "… a unique, nearly laboratory possibility of watching social processes" (Szyfer 1998: 44), with cultural and civilisation patterns of different groups of people clashing. This is how a new type of society formed, which today can be called post-migratory. Its character was to a large extent affected by the varied course of migration (Sakson 1998: 37). Apart from the population who came there voluntarily, based on individual decisions or as part of organised group, there were also people on whom the resettlement was imposed. This, but also other factors, such as civilisation promotion or degradation, the composition and the size of different social groups in a given locality, and the state policy towards the newly created community all had an effect on the rate of the process of developing new identity among the local inhabitants.

During the anthropological research conducted in 2015 and 2016, the Author made an attempt to reconstruct this process in the village of Marcinowa Wola. It has almost 300 inhabitants, and it is located in Masuria, Miłki Commune,

1 The paper focuses on one of the issues the Author discusses in her MA thesis, namely the process of identity formation in a post-migration society and the course of the appropriation of a sacred object. Research into this issue was conducted in 2015/2016.

Giżycko District. It was selected based on previous observation of the village. Marcinowa Wola stands out among neighbouring villages mostly due to the level of activity of its inhabitants: it has a few social organisations, and people living there are highly interested in local affairs. These observations led the Author to a conclusion that there may be a largely crystallised sense of local identity in the community in question.

The analysis was based on in-depth interviews conducted with inhabitants of the village and people connected with it. The research covered representatives of three generations living in the village after the Second World War. In order to build up as complex an image as possible, the respondents were selected so as to include both persons involved in social activity and neutral persons. The issues raised concerned the local awareness of the respondents and their attitude towards their place of residence as well as the places from which they or their families came after the war[2]. Grassroots activities undertaken by the inhabitants, aimed at the improvement of the local social integration, protection of the cultural heritage etc., were also analysed.

Research Area

It can be assumed that Marcinowa Wola is a typical locality in The Western and Northern Territories. Just like elsewhere in the territory, its population changed after the Second World War, and in this particular case the change was complete. The last German citizens who had lived in the village left in the 1950s. The village was also a very attractive destination for postwar settlers coming to the so-called Recovered Territories. It offered relatively new and large buildings erected in the 1920s as part of the extensive rebuilding of the areas ruined during the First World War (Karczewska, Karczewski 2005: 104), and the Second World War spared it. Thus, the first newcomers appeared in Marcinowa Wola as early as in 1945, soon after the front had moved away[3].

The first wave of settlers consisted of the inhabitants of areas neighbouring East Prussia before the war, i.e. the areas near Białystok and Łomża. Soon they were joined by people from Central Poland. Over a few years, some families from Polish Kresy settled there, and in 1947 also families resettled as part of Operation Vistula. During the first years after the war, the new inhabitants were very mobile and they had a sense of temporariness. The group of

2 Note that all quotations from the interviews conducted are in italics so as to distinguish them from quotations from the literature, which are included in quotation marks.

3 Information obtained during the field research conducted.

newcomers from the former Polish territory was dominated by young people, often counting on 'a stroke of luck'. Having security in the form of a family house, they could freely look for good homesteads, without worrying too much about their future. An intensive process of appropriation started.

The Process of Appropriation

Appropriation can be defined as 'taking possession of, creating, and granting meaning' (Poniedziałek 2011: 22). It is a response to the sense of strangeness that accompanies those coming to a completely unfamiliar place, and it has one of the following forms: creation, adaptation, destruction, or oblivion. The first three are active ways of affecting the environment. Creation can be understood as filling space with one's own symbols and introducing known, native elements into the surroundings. Adaptation means adjustment of the existing elements to the requirements of the community and granting them new functions. Destruction can be treated as physical reduction or removal of an object. Finally, oblivion, as a passive measure, consists in passing over the presence of a foreign cultural landscape and leaving it be. It is connected with pushing the existence and significance of old products of culture outside the social awareness (Poniedziałek 2011: 23). The process of appropriation means the negation of historical, artistic, and aesthetic values of the taken-over space, and viewing it in utilitarian terms only (Mazur 2000: 827). In consequence, foreign cultural elements no longer have any sentimental value as they are only useful when they can be exploited.

This approach is visible on a larger scale in the case of sacred and historic objects, such as the analysed cemetery from the First World War located in the centre of Marcinowa Wola. Based on years of observation of this cemetery one can clearly see the change in the symbolism assigned to a place of worship. Cemeteries are relatively permanent. It happens that some necropolises are completely removed, but in most of the cases these places manage to survive for decades despite having been abandoned and devastated, and change their meaning over the years. Appropriation is a long-lasting process spanning a number of generations.

The Cemetery

The First World War cemetery in Marcinowa Wola is the largest feature of this kind in the Miłki Commune. About 300 Russian soldiers were buried there in two mass graves, together with about 160 German soldiers buried in one mass

grave and in individual graves. All those soldiers died during the fights in late 1914 and in early 1915. It is a terraced cemetery: there are cemetery lots on three levels, and on the top level, situated along the main road of the village, there is also a cross with an inscription in German dedicating the burial ground to German heroes who died fighting for their country. The perception of this place changed considerably between the postwar years and today. In this paper, each of the ways of understanding this place by the local population is referred to as a different life of the cemetery.

The First Life

The first life started right after the war. During the Second World War, the cemetery was not destroyed. Only after 1945 was the base opposite the entrance liquidated. For unknown reasons, its lowest part with an inscription in German was spared, and it has been preserved until today. The cross was also removed, which is recalled by one of today's inhabitants of Marcinowa Wola as follows: *After the war, they destroyed the cross that stood in the cemetery. Because it was Russian or German. They tore it down and broke it*. It is difficult to say whether this was only a grassroots initiative or perhaps an element of the then policy of the *deprussianisation* of the Recovered Territories. What matters is the fact that this was the only damage done to the cemetery as the graves remained intact. According to most respondents, the burial place of soldiers was relatively peaceful over the following years. The gravestones were to be preserved, however, without adequate protection: *But there used to be gravestones* […] *so wide, surrounded with T-elements* […]*, and you could go down the stairs there. But they were not taken care of*. It is particularly important concerning the fact that the other cemetery located in the village – a civil project located far from the buildings, surrounded by pastures and farmland – suffered a completely different fate. This cemetery was used and taken care of by the local population before and during the Second World War and, to some extent, also after it as long as the pre-war inhabitants stayed there. New, postwar settlers never used it as they had the parish cemetery in neighbouring Miłki at their disposal. According to the records, the civil cemetery suffered serious devastation and plunder after the war. […] *the village one was vandalised. I remember that there was a fence, a metal fence. There were also concrete gravestones, with surrounds. People took them, pulled them out and took them as, pardon my language, troughs for cows. They used these concrete elements*. In the following years, the area was used as a grazing land for cattle, and then it was left unattended. Today, there are very few gravestones there, and the whole area is overgrown with dense vegetation, which is nearly impenetrable. You can also find elements indicating that people spend their free time there, such as traces of bonfires.

It is interesting why the First World War cemetery has not been devastated in a similar way. Perhaps the reason for this was its location near the buildings. The inhabitants could have felt embarrassed by the presence of their neighbours, and this stopped them from damaging the place. A special role in its protection could have also been played by a man living nearby, who is recalled by some of today's respondents. The man came to Marcinowa Wola as a forced labourer during the war. He had no fond memories of the period: he frequently talked about how badly he had been treated. Still, he was always very sensitive to any indication of lack of respect for the cemetery. This is what one of the respondents said about him:

> Coming back from school, we would sit on the wall [of the cemetery] […]. And he would always say: 'Go away, brats! Don't vandalise it! Because', he said 'I can remember. I can remember the German fields, I can remember Germans. I was hit on the face by a German more than once', he said. 'But Germans lie here, Russian soldiers lie here, and you can't go there'.

This example shows the difference in the way former inhabitants of the village were perceived by individual settlers. Many of the people who came to Marcinowa Wola in 1945 and later might have viewed the pre-war local community as a completely foreign and thus less valuable group. *This cemetery is so overgrown because it's German, there is not a single Pole there*, as one of the respondents described the situation of the civil cemetery. A collective term 'Germans' was used, associated with a hostile nation because of the war. A completely different approach was adopted by the former forced labourer. Staying in Marcinowa Wola during the war, he got to know the then inhabitants of the village and even though he did not remember them well, he perceived them as people deserving respect. This approach translated into respect for the cemetery.

Perhaps these factors made the settlers shift from devastation to the tactics of forgetting. From the physical point of view, this is the mildest appropriation approach, however, from the perspective of memory, it is equally ruthless as destruction. Negating the existence of the cemetery and depriving it of any features distinguishing it from the surrounding landscape question the very historical presence of the community the cemetery belonged to. As it was accurately noted by Jacek Kolbuszewski,

> […] graves are explicit signs of ownership of a given area, and so their devastation and complete erasure are kinds of magic gestures that are supposed to deny the fact that this land used to belong to people buried in it (Kolbuszewski 1996: 19).

A sacred place gets removed from awareness, and the area of the cemetery, even though it is located in the centre of the village, symbolically ceases to be a part of it. To the inhabitants, the cemetery is dead.

The Second Life

The place is brought back to life in the 1970s, when the second postwar generation becomes adolescent, meaning people who were born in Marcinowa Wola or who came there as children. They have been watching the cemetery overgrow for years. The place is still excluded from the life of the village, which may be an irreparable loss to the youth. As it has already been deprived of its sacred function, young people cannot see any reason not to adapt the cemetery to their needs. It becomes a place where they meet. Memories of this period turn out to be very vivid:

> And this was our cultural centre. Almost everything happened in this cemetery… Mostly in the summer. […] Generally, our discos and meetings took place on the top level. It was fun, it was joyful, the music was playing. We didn't use the middle level, it was very short, and there were a total of three levels. And, of course, there were many graves, weren't there? […] But at the front there was this square, where we didn't step on any graves. […] And the largest section on the bottom. This was where we had bonfires.

Unfortunately, it was impossible to determine to what extent adults – parents and grandparents – approved of this. There were some objections, but they must have been voiced so weakly that they did not bring about almost any effect. According to one of the respondents, these actions resulted in the destruction of the gravestones: *There used to be nice gravestones there, and everything, but they destroyed them, smashed them. This was when those parties in the cemetery started. It was a disaster. I'll say it again – it was a disaster*.

From today's point of view, however, it should be noted that this was a very important stage of intensive adaptation of the forgotten feature. Zbigniew Mazur describes such adaptation as: "a stage of overcoming strangeness, settling in the new environment, and finally accepting it as one's own" (Mazur 2000: 845). The change in the purpose of the place allowed it to be re-integrated into the area of the village. However, the second life of the cemetery did not last long: young people soon became adults and stopped using it. A transitory period started; the cemetery overgrew again, and the inhabitants stopped visiting it: *My mother once told me that it was so overgrown with bushes that no one entered it, and at night everyone was scared*. Over the following years, though, the whole

locality changed considerably. The sense of stability started to form among the inhabitants already in the 1970s, and it grew more intense in the 1980s. There emerged a common belief that they would stay there for longer and that it was worth making investments, renovating run-down houses, and taking care of the appearance of the farmyards and the whole village. Isolated attempts to tidy the cemetery up were made, however, probably due to lack of resources, both human and financial, they did not produce any lasting effects. Only an external initiative managed to restore this place to its former state.

The Third Life

In 2010, the cemetery was renovated on the initiative of the German War Graves Commission in Kassel in collaboration with the Council for the Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom Sites, and the Polish-German Foundation 'Remembrance'. The gravestones were restored, bushes were removed, and a cross with the preserved fragment of the base with an inscription in German was placed in the middle. Thus, the original sacred meaning of the cemetery was restored, and the cemetery received another life. The third stage of appropriation started, which is described by Zbigniew Mazur as follows:

> the last and the most important stage, meaning the adaptation of the foreign cultural heritage by recognising its symbolic dimension and introducing it into one's own system of cultural communication. It involves initiatives aiming to recreate or reconstruct the symbols destroyed during the first stage (Mazur 2000: 845).

The cemetery is now owned again: the foreign cultural heritage is no longer foreign and it has been included in the set of symbols represented by the local community. No one can say that this is a 'German cemetery' any more. Now inhabitants of Marcinowa Wola say: "This is our post-German cemetery". There are commemorative plaques in Polish and German in the cemetery, as befits a historical site one can or even should boast about in front of visitors. Thus, the cemetery has become an element of establishing one's own identity: something to be proud of and something representing the community to the outside world. However, it is worth noting that in order to reach this stage, the earlier stages seem indispensable: the initial forgetting of the cemetery and its early adaptation pursuant to completely different rules defined by the community. This is what an appropriation process looks like: it is impossible to omit any of the intermediate stages. It is also worth pointing out that the main feature of the cemetery emphasised

by the local inhabitants today is its historical and not sacred value, which is another typical characteristic of appropriation – it always follows the rules determined by the dominant community.

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Summary

Three Lives of a Cemetery: the History of a Military Cemetery in the Village of Marcinowa Wola in Masuria

Marcinowa Wola is a typical locality in Masuria (northern Poland), where a nearly total exchange of citizens took place after WW2. Polish and Ukrainian people coming here after the war had to deal with the sense of strangeness connected with the German presence in the near past. One of the ways of overcoming that impression was appropriation of their surroundings – an act of adapting the cultural landscape to their needs. A very vivid example of this process is the cemetery from the Great War located in Marcinowa Wola. The perception of this place among the local inhabitants changed dramatically over the years. Although it is located in the centre of the village, the cemetery was out of the social life during the first years after the war. As it was not treated as a sacred place any more, it was eroding and overgrowing for years. Everything changed in the 1970s, when the next generation became adolescent. Young people started to use the cemetery as their meeting place and in this way they adapted it to a new, completely different role. However, when the youth grew up, the place was once again forgotten for some time, and only recently

did the inhabitants see its value as a cemetery, however, not in sacred but historical terms. It can be assumed that it was assimilated as an element of their own heritage, which means that the process of appropriation has been completed.

Keywords: cemetery, cultural landscape, appropriation of landscape, Masuria

Streszczenie

Trzy życia cmentarza – losy cmentarza wojennego w miejscowości Marcinowa Wola na Mazurach

Marcinowa Wola to typowa mazurska wieś, w której po wojnie nastąpiła niemal całkowita wymiana mieszkańców. Przybywająca tu polska i ukraińska ludność, dotknięta doświadczeniami wojny, musiała przezwyciężyć wszechobecne poczucie obcości poniemieckiego miejsca. Jednym ze sposobów zmagania się z nim był postępujący akt zawłaszczania – przejmowania zastanych elementów krajobrazu kulturowego i adaptowania ich na swoje własne potrzeby. Celem niniejszego artykułu stało się zrekonstruowanie tego procesu na przykładzie cmentarza z I wojny światowej, na którym spoczęli żołnierze niemieccy i rosyjscy. Miejsce, jakie zajmował on w świadomości mieszkańców, ulegało na przestrzeni lat radykalnym zmianom. Mimo że zlokalizowany w centrum wsi, cmentarz w pierwszych latach powojennych pozostawał zupełnie wyłączony z życia społecznego. Zanegowany jako miejsce przynależące do wspólnoty, odarty z sacrum, przez długi okres niszczał i zarastał. Gdy dojrzewać zaczęło kolejne pokolenie mieszkańców, cmentarz, nietraktowany już od dawna jako miejsce święte, otrzymał nową funkcję – centrum spotkań towarzyskich. Jednak gdy młodzież dorosła, o miejscu znowu na pewien czas zapomniano. Dopiero niedawno mieszkańcy zaczęli dostrzegać jego wartość jako cmentarza – nie tyle jednak sakralną, co historyczną. Można mniemać, że został on przyswojony jako element własnego dziedzictwa, a zatem proces zawłaszczenia osiągnął ostateczną fazę.

Słowa kluczowe: cmentarz, krajobraz kulturowy, zawłaszczanie krajobrazu, Mazury

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Dissonant Heritage as a By-Product of the Postwar Agrarian Reform in Poland From Postmemory to Ethnoarchaeology

Autoethnography and Postmemory

Initially, the notion of 'postmemory' was unclear to me, however, it drew my attention and seemed promising. I learnt about the perspective of Marianne Hirsch and the essence of postmemory (Hirsch 1997) while studying Anthropology at the University of Łódź, during a lecture of Professor Katarzyna Kaniowska dedicated to the memory as a cultural phenomenon. I immediately enriched my humanist dictionary with a new, attractive entry, which – as it seemed to me at the time – did not exist outside the academic context. Postmemory as a research category was added to my ethnographic toolbox. It opened to me, as a cultural anthropologist, a perspective that, without this category, had no *raison d'être*. Thanks to 'postmemory' what was far (in temporal terms) and methodologically impossible suddenly became close and possible.

What is the children's image of their parents' experiences? Postmemory as a research category validated – as a subject of humanist reflection – the memory of those who did not experience a given historical context but grew up surrounded by its echoes, in an atmosphere of recollections passed down in the family from generation to generation. Postmemory differs from memory because of the generational distance, and from history because of the deeply personal attitude (Hirsch 1997: 22). Synthesising the complex essence of postmemory, Kaniowska concludes that (1) by studying it, one can understand the personal attitudes and beliefs of contemporary people with regard to the facts forming a significant part of their family history; (2) postmemory, as it refers

to the experiences of one's loved ones, generates the sense of obligation to empathise and to make up for losses, which does not allow the person burdened with postmemory to break free from the solidarity with their loved ones who experienced 'it', or from the duty to take a stance on the past; (3) and finally, postmemory is a material individuals use to construct their identity and autobiographical self-awareness (Kaniowska 2014).

In my case, postmemory soon transformed from a really promising research category of enormous heuristic value into a part of my life. I clearly realised the power of postmemory not within the academic discourse but within the social practice, and I experienced this firsthand. Ultimately, I accepted the fact that postmemory really works, that, like it or not, I am its 'medium', and that I preoccupy myself with subjects which go beyond my experience and form a part of my family history. The mood of the article is emotional, confessional, and autoethnographic, which is distinctly different from the matter-of-fact academic style, because I write about my own postmemory and what it obliges me to do mostly as a member of the family the biography of which includes difficult heritage, but also as an ethnographer and cultural anthropologist.

What bothers me and what I have to work through is the postwar agrarian reform, the beneficiaries of which were, among others, my great-grandparents – Józef and Józefa Skorupa – farmers from Kolonia Ujazd (Ujazd Commune, Tomaszów Mazowiecki District, Łódź Province). They benefited from the division of the so-called post-German land. What was a stroke of luck for them, for their neighbours – German settlers – was a catastrophe, breaking their biographies in half. Many of them had been born here. They had no other homeland. Their world started and ended here. They took care of their farmsteads and sowed their fields until the implementation of the agrarian reform and repatriation. There was much land to divide after they had left, and there were many landless and small Polish farmers like my great-grandparents. In the 1930s, in Kolonia Ujazd, out of a total of fifteen households, four were occupied by German settlers, Protestants, whereas in nearby Maksymów, there was not a single Catholic. Based on private meetings with my grandmother's neighbours, I know that many of the families living today in former German households have no idea that difficult history is boiling up here, right underneath the hustle and bustle of everyday life. The postwar reform confiscated not only their houses and land, but also their identity. I am convinced by the arguments of Krzysztof Woźniak, who says that in this context, the word 'settler' is better than 'coloniser' because the latter connotes the judgement of the value of cultures, and refers to the myth of a German – *Kulturträger*, who justifies migration with the civilisation mission in the East. What is more, the epithet

I cannot avoid, following the rhetoric of my grandmother – 'German' – is also out of place; it is a popular mental shortcut diminishing the complex social and cultural identity of Western settlers. According to Woźniak, they migrated from different countries, sharing the language – mostly German – and religion (Protestantism) (Woźniak 2013: 7–11).

I was introduced to this difficult historical context by a post-remembering person – my grandmother, who was born in 1937 in Kolonia Ujazd, which means that when the agrarian reform was implemented she was only a child. Is it normal for children to pay attention to the personal details of their neighbours? Even though German settlers 'disappeared' from Kolonia Ujazd more than 70 years ago, my grandmother can still distinctly recall their names and say who now tills the land of the Puchsteins, the Schefflers, the Steinbarts, the Baumgarts, the Plantzes etc. She translates foreign names into Polish, simplifies and adapts them, as if they were as Slavic and local as Skorupa, Kopeć, Pryczek, Bożyk, or Sankowski. To her, Mr. Schätzke from Maksymów, a neighbour she last saw as a child, is Mr. Sieczka (which means 'chuff' in English); after the war, thanks to the reform, his land was handed over to my great-grandparents, adding to their modest pre-war acreage a strip of land between the main road (today it is a tarmac road) and the meadows at the river. My grandmother remembers Gustav Puchstein, who was forced by the socialist authorities to briefly work on my great-grandparents' farm after the war, as Gosiek. The agrarian reform left us with not only difficult heritage, but also piles of documents. I found Gosiek and his siblings in an archive in Tomaszów Mazowiecki. Dusty cardboard folders with seemingly innocent titles: "Rolnictwo i reforma rolna" ("Agriculture and Agrarian Reform") (1945), "Ewidencja Niemców z terenu gminy Łazisko" ("A Register of Germans from the Łazisko Commune") (1946–1947), and "Ewidencja Niemców" ("A Register of Germans") (1948) deprecate the tragic circumstances of the reform implemented a few years earlier and of the repatriation of Western settlers, men and women, young and old, those born 'there' and those born 'here'. The folders contain the peasants' letters of application for the post-German land, forming a record of harm, fears, dreams, and authentic and false images; long lists with full names of Germans – repatriates, who would soon disappear from the local cultural landscapes; lists of addresses: Strassfurt, Karsdorf, Mittweida, Bestensee, Schmorkau and other small towns in East Germany (APTM, 21, 390), where the repatriates would go; protocols on the distribution of former German homesteads among Polish neighbours; lists of Germans who would partly compensate for the wartime damage by working on the farms of their Catholic neighbours.

Here's Gosiek! Gustav was a son of Eduard and Emma Puchstein, my great-grandparents' neighbours. He was born in the same village as my grandmother on July 28, 1934, which means he was three years older than her. What would have been their relationship had there been no war, reform, and repatriation? As an eleven-year-old, he was sent to work on the farm of the Skorupas. His older brother, Ewald, was sent to the Bożyks. The documents do not mention their sister, Elisabeth (little Betti?). What happened to their parents, Eduard and Emma? What did they miss? What were they concerned about? My grandmother was too small to remember this, but I am ready to postremember and to turn this experience into a scientific activity.

The Postwar Agrarian Reform in Poland – the Origins of the Dissonant Heritage

The notion of the 'postwar agrarian reform in Poland' is another mental shortcut based on two historical inaccuracies. First of all, even though the reform was a process stretched over a period of several years, the Decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation of September 6, 1944, on the implementation of the agrarian reform (hereinafter referred to as the Decree) came into effect at the end of the war, during the Warsaw Uprising. Second of all, as Łukasz Skarżyński emphasises, even a hypothetical form of future Poland was unknown at the time (the Eastern front reached the Vistula River), and yet socialist authorities, anticipating the facts, initiated division of the land (Skarżyński 2016: 133).

Polish historical and sociological exegeses of the agrarian reform and its images in the literature mostly focus on political, economic, sociological, cultural and psychological circumstances of dividing among Polish peasants the land previously owned by the landed gentry – a social group robbed by the socialist authorities of what constituted a part of its ethos and the basis of its existence. For example, Anna Wylegała studied the peasant experience of the agrarian reform, but only in the context of the relationships between the peasantry and the dispossessed landed gentry. Without yielding to the temptation to present the problem from the macrohistorical perspective, which dominates in the scientific discourse, and shifting the emphasis from political and economic aspects to the socio-cultural dimension of the reform, Wylegała appreciated the emotions and attitudes of the social actors directly affected by the agrarian reform, namely the peasantry and the landed gentry (Wylegała 2017), however, she did not consider the perspective of the German population who – together with the landed

gentry – was dispossessed based on the same Decree in violation of the right of ownership.

In particular, their fate was determined by Art. 2 b) of the Decree, which sanctioned division of the land *owned by the citizens of the German Reich and Polish citizens of German nationality* (*Decree…*). On September 6, 1944, or, as the example of Ujazd shows, even a year or two later, this still was not fully 'post-German land'; the settlers did not disappear from the local landscape right away. For example, the Village Head of Bielina, declared: *there are no Germans or other nationalities in the village, there are only Poles here* (APTM, 21, 320) only on December 6, 1947. Andrzej Zieniewicz called the dispossessed, expelled Germans the 'silent Other' in the image of the Polish agrarian reform (Zieniewicz 2017), but he only focuses on the situation of the German population displaced from the Recovered Territories, after the Polish-German border was moved to the Oder-Neisse line. German settlers from villages near Ujazd, who lived in Poland not only after but also before the war, were in a different situation. They, among others, seem to be the true 'silent Other' in the Polish public discourse, however, this is beginning to change on the local level. I write about the activation of memory of the local Germans – settlers, neighbours and landscape designers – in the further part of the paper.

In the context of the agrarian reform, Skarżyński writes that communists acted faced with obsessive hatred of the Polish population towards Germans as the invaders and the willingness to quickly stabilise life after the war (Skarżyński 2016: 134). The proofs include the peasants' letters of application for the post-German land. Even though these are personal sources based on authentic experiences, frequently containing valuable elements of the peasants' autobiographies, they are still burdened with persuasion and ideology: their aim was to convince the socialist authorities to divide the land the way the peasants expected. Thus, one cannot exclude rhetorical practices meeting the demands of the socialist propaganda, a part of which was the discrediting of German invaders and collaborators, to whom, stereotypically, German settlers were included *en masse*, regardless of their actual emotions and attitudes.

Lavishly pompous, the Polish peasants' letters of application for the land of their German neighbours from the area of Ujazd, long lists of data concerning German inhabitants whom the authorities decided to repatriate, protocols on the division of the post-German land, and documentation of the allocation of German workers to farms that benefited from the reform make us realise how difficult the heritage we deal with is.

Why is the legacy of the local Germans difficult/dissonant heritage? It is impossible to give a factual answer to this question without resorting to the

invaluable observations of researchers into heritage, developing the theory about the phenomenon. *Dissonant heritage is the heritage 'that hurts' or that recall past events not easy to be reconciled with visitors' values and everyday experience* (https://dissonantheritage.wordpress.com). This short yet precise definition was created by researchers in the field of the heritage of Italian fascism and Yugoslavian socialism. These research contexts are very important and characteristic in this case. The notions of 'dissonant heritage' and 'difficult heritage' most frequently concern research problems the source of which was the tragic history of the 20th century, and mostly the Second World War, Nazism, totalitarianism, authoritarianism, and their repercussions (e.g. Macdonald 2009; Burström, Gelderblom 2011; Dragićević-Šešić, Rogač-Mojatović 2014; Battilani, Bernini, Mariotti 2018). The subject of my reflection is not very far from these contexts, and it can even be said that it lies within them. On the one hand the agrarian reform was a tool of postwar totalitarianism (communism/socialism), while on the other hand the dispossession and repatriation of the German population prolonged the tragedy of the Second World War.

In the article of Milena Dragićević-Šešić and Ljiljana Rogač-Mijatović about the tourist attractiveness of the Balkans, the notion 'dissonant heritage' refers to the process of dealing with ambivalent and frequently unwanted past of the region that has a multi-layered and transnational identity. Its different layers have the right to construct past from their own perspectives, which *gives space for the discordance and lack of consensus over the heritage* (Dragićević-Šešić, Rogač-Mojatović 2014: 11). Even though the region of Ujazd, which is the subject of my reflection, is nowhere near the Balkan multiculturalism, it does not mean that there is no risk of objectivisation of its dissonant heritage. The twofold identity and past of this place – Polish and German, Slavic and Germanic, Catholic and Protestant – may generate forms of memory and oblivion that resemble a constant sum game, with the gain of one player being the loss of another: it seems that the fewer those playing for the memory and the past, the easier it is to locate and attack the competing perspective. This cultural rule (or rather a hypothesis that needs to be tested) seems to explain the atmosphere surrounding the idea to protect the place where a Nazi Harvest Festival took place in 1933–1937 (Bückeberg, Germany) as a historic monument. Mats Burström and Bernhard Gelderblom, using this as an example of difficult heritage, write about a confrontation between two perspectives: the one of the local authorities (originators of the idea) and the one of the local population protesting against the protection of the place: *It has been argued that local people do not wish to be associated with the Harvest Festival and, with it,*

a shameful Nazi past (Burström, Gelderblom 2011: 275). Battilani, Bernini and Mariotti note apropos that *the unwanted past becomes an unwanted place.* […] *Finally, if dissonant heritage is used to highlight the uniqueness of a place, the distinctiveness can assume a negative connotation* (Battilani, Bernini, Mariotti 2018: 1420). Scientific curiosity and research into difficult heritage is one thing, but living surrounded by it is another. This difference is a significant context for those studying heritage. Sharon Macdonald adds that *difficult heritage may also be troublesome because it threatens to break through into the present in disruptive ways, opening up social divisions, perhaps by playing into imagined, even nightmarish, futures* (Macdonald 2009: 1). Thus, on the one hand studying it is an invasive undertaking that generates many ethical dilemmas, but on the other hand the conflict-generating 'infecting' of the public (even if only local) space by pushing difficult heritage out of the shadows fits in with the agonistic concept of democracy of Chantal Mouffe, who contrarily claims that conflict is something positive in a democratic society and that it cannot be avoided. Modern democracy needs it so that the Other can be treated not as an enemy that has to be destroyed but as a respectful opponent that one has to face and whose right to defend one's own ideas is not questioned. Agonists are not antagonists (Mouffe 2013).

Putting aside other aspects and effects of the agrarian reform, I advance the thesis that the difficult post-German heritage in the villages formerly inhabited by German settlers, from which they disappeared after the Second World War, is rooted in the agrarian reform, which changed the demography of these places very quickly by dispossessing and repatriating the German population, and by dividing their land among peasants being the beneficiaries of the reform. The difficulty of this heritage does not lie in the fact that it does not have any heirs; just the opposite – new heirs came before the old ones disappeared, and they are still here. The dramatic essence of this kind of heritage was accurately formulated by Monika Sznajderman: *I can live here because none of them are here. They left. They left a void behind them, with memories and things abandoned in it, leaving the landscape they had been co-creating for years*, writes Sznajderman about her post-Lemko Wołowiec, where she feels like a *late guest in someone else's world, a stranger from far away settling in someone else's place* (Sznajderman 2019: 33, 34). I could not describe better the affection accompanying me whenever I visit my grandmother in Kolonia Ujazd, cut the grass in the farmyard, help with the harvest, rest in the old apple orchard in front of the house, walk down roads no one will find on the map – roads with no cars, when I watch pear trees run wild and blackberry bushes overgrow former yards, and when

I destroy the dam built by beavers after the meadows have been flooded by the river in the spring.

The world around me changes right before my eyes. If Jacques Le Goff was right when he wrote that in the European culture *agri deserti* are the signs of regression, while the clearing and 'withdrawal' of the forest – the signs of civilisation development (Le Goff 1994: 41), then the issue of using the land near Ujazd, in former German villages, is controversial. The fields that used to be sowed with rye (which does not need fertile soil) by German settlers from Władysławów and other villages sharing its heritage lie fallow or are overgrown with a young forest. Leafing through *Rejestr mieszkańców,* vol. I, *Wsi: Jankówek, Kol. Władysławów, Łominy, Józefin* from the period 1932–1939 (APTM, 16, 824), and I do it slowly so as not to destroy the old, heavy and cumbersome book, I have one question: Is the word 'settlers' appropriate in this context? The word 'colonisers' is based on a stereotype and it is politically incorrect, while the term 'settlers' is too neutral and mechanical, emphasising allochtonism and omitting the whole context of life and landscape co-creation. The word 'inhabitants' seems to fit better as it indicates autochtonism, and it is marked emotionally and symbolically.

The dwindling area of crops and the expansion of the forest go hand in hand with demographic changes. Today, there are only 5 addresses in Władysławów, including the agritourism farm of the Zielińskis – a very important place in the topography of the difficult post-German heritage near Ujazd, which I discuss in the following part of this paper. Before the war, there were more than twice as many. In the archive I 'got to know' the pre-war inhabitants of Władysławów.

The Hentschkes, who took care of Otto Puchstein from Wykno[1], lived at number one. Didn't they have their own children? Adam Hentschke, son of Jan and Karolina (née Gust), was from here, he was born in Władysławów on December 22, 1888. His wife Emma Hentschke, née Schultz, was born on November 16, 1896 in Łączkowice. Protestants.

Marcin and Natalia Grunwald, who were Protestants, lived alone at number two.

August and Marja Nitschke with an adult daughter Ottylja, and with Wanda and Erwin, bastards from their family whom they took care of, lived at number three. Protestants.

1 In the paper I write about or only mention numerous villages near Ujazd inhabited by Germans before the Second World War. Villages significant for the topography of the difficult post-German heritage include: Aleksandrów, Ciosny, Dębniak, Józefin, Kolonia Ujazd, Lipianki, Łączkowice, Łominy, Maksymów, Niewiadów, Olszowa-Piaski, Stasiolas, Szymanów, Władysławów, and Wykno.

At number four: the Guderjans. Protestants. Him – Juljusz, son of Adolf and Wilhelmina, born on October 29, 1877, in Aleksandrów. Her – Natalia, née Lucht, born on August 6, 1886, in Szymanów. They had one daughter, Elza-Ottylja, who married Wilhelm Sommerfeld, and four sons: Gustaw, Paweł-Juljusz, Herman, and Emil. Willi Sommerfeld was born in Władysławów on July 9, 1938. He lived with his mother, grandparents, and four uncles. As the *Rejestr* (APTM, 16, 824) indicates, he was baptised a Catholic. A mistake or a symptom of the assimilation of German inhabitants?

Fryderyka Meier, née Guderjan, lived at number five together with her brother Emanuel Guderjan, who helped her on the farm after her two sons – Gustaw-Aleksander and Artur – had emigrated (to work?) from their home Władysławów to Łódź (16 Dąbrowska Street) in 1932. Protestants.

Natalia Guderjan, née Gesell, widow of Krzysztof Guderjan (who died in 1935), lived at number six with two daughters – Anna and Olga, and son Artur-Krzysztof; the other son, Erwin, emigrated to Łódź (38 Lipowa Street) a year after his father died. Protestants.

No one lived at number seven at the time.

Stanisława Stange, née Walewska, widow, lived at number eight with her son Wilhelm. The other son, Gottfryd, emigrated to Łódź in 1938. Protestants.

The Beiers lived at number nine. Bruno, son of Karol and Lidja, was born on May 15, 1903, in Widzew (which is now a district of Łódź). Eugenia-Joanna, née Scheibner, was born on November 7 in Łódź. Their children – daughter Herta-Edeltraut (a rare, beautiful Old German name) was born in Łódź in 1933, and son Harry was born in Władysławów in 1936. They emigrated from the city to the country (why?) when Herta was an infant. Protestants.

Julja Lück, née Hiske, widow, lived at number ten in one room. A Protestant. The whole Hiske family occupied the other room: Edward and Emma, their son and five daughters: Paweł, Elly, Irma, Marta, Emma-Joanna, and Wally, all born in Władysławów. Protestants.

The example of Władysławów shows the axiological difference between the notions of 'settlers' and 'inhabitants', measuring the local reference of the word 'minority'. Before the outbreak of the Second World War, many of the villages within a few-kilometre radius of Ujazd were inhabited by Protestants. In Władysławów, all inhabitants were Protestants, with names that definitely sounded foreign. Paradoxically, the failed attempt to make them more familiar through the Polonisation of the spelling only emphasises their foreign origins. In such places as Lipianki and Maksymów, Catholics and Polish peasants with Slavic names and surnames were in the minority (APTM, 16, 829; APTM, 21, 524). The postwar agrarian reform 'invented' the world anew, allowing this minority

to settle in someone else's place, and thus giving rise to difficult heritage based on ambivalence that consists of someone else's harm and one's own gain. The reform and its historical background (the war and the socialist propaganda) provided a context within which neighbours – the Other – became strangers in the anthropological sense overnight. This heritage, among other things, stigmatises the beginning of postwar, socialist Poland. As Zieniewicz wrote, it combined liberation with enslavement, hope with falsehood, and affection with hostility (Zieniewicz 2017: 221). This ambivalence of extreme emotions and attitudes, varying experiences of different social groups, and a multitude of perspectives make the post-German heritage near Ujazd difficult/dissonant.

The cultural landscape was also co-created by Jews – the other 'silent Other'. They lived not only in Ujazd, the local centre of craft and trade, but also in villages that were nearly ecumenical, where Catholics, Protestants and Jews were joined and assimilated through their work on the land and everyday life. However, the existence of difficult heritage of the local Jewish inhabitants is an issue requiring a separate paper.

The modernisation of agriculture, modification of crops, and afforestation of the local landscape are not only environmental but also cultural facts. They prove not only a change in the lifestyle and work style of the inhabitants and their attitudes towards the land as a subject of economic and symbolic evaluation, but also the local way of dealing with dissonant heritage. During pilot ethnographic research conducted in November 2017 on the contemporary post-German heritage in the Ujazd region, which served as an introduction to the planned ethnoarchaeological research, we met Elżbieta and Grzegorz Zieliński, who run an agritourism farm *Letnisko-Uroczysko* in Władysławów. It is located at the very end of the village in an old, wooden post-German house, which is, unfortunately, one of few preserved buildings of this type in the Ujazd region. Mr. and Mrs. Zieliński, who moved here more than ten years ago from Łódź in search for an alternative to a large city, realised the difficult history of Władysławów thanks to an old man from Germany who was one of their guests. His foreign name contrasted starkly with his quite correct Polish. It turned out that he was born before the war in Władysławów, in a house at the opposite end of the village, which has not been preserved. Today, there is a forest there. The man went to a Polish school in Lipanki, where he learnt Polish. He was surprised that his home village is now located in a forest and that no one sows corn. He remembers the view of Lipanki from Władysławów – the view that is no longer available and only exists in the mental space.

One can become aware of this difference in the local landscape by comparing the contemporary map (even the generally available Google Maps) with a

pre-war map. Suspiciously regular, as if cut out with scissors of green cardboard, contours of today's forests turn out to be following the arrangement of fields. This is not a primeval forest but evidence of desagrarisation and shrinkage in the area of crops. An unsown field becomes fallow, and after a few decades it is overgrown with a forest.

The Proposed Order of Research Steps

Researchers who base their projects on private motivations, personal emotions and their own biographical experiences have to be prepared for being accused of lack of 'scientific' neutrality, activation of involvement, and confusing their own lives with science. On the other hand, however, in cultural anthropology, involvement – together with empathy and sympathies – is not a troublesome, embarrassing by-product of research undertakings but an inherent or even valid characteristic of successful research projects (Kaniowska 2010a; Kaniowska 2010b). The proposal of ethnoarchaeological research also has this 'outer-scientific' quality, with the source being my own postmemory, a strongly involving impulse obliging me to empathise, act, and make up for losses. This is the first step which determines, or even – considering the imperative nature of postmemory – imposes, the subject and objective of the research undertaking. The aim is to repay the inherited landscape by reviving mentally its past and all those who created it, listing them by name and studying the past boiling up underneath the hustle and bustle of everyday life. It seems that difficult heritage requires some temporal distance in order to become a subject of reflection and research. Perhaps it is the domain of those who post-remember, and not witnesses or those who experienced given historical circumstances themselves.

The second step involves archival research. General registry, registers of residents, vital records, documents concerning the agrarian reform and repatriation are the traces of the lives of German inhabitants and their tragic disappearance from the local cultural landscape. They allow to reconstruct the genealogical trees and migration trails of individuals and whole families, and to identify their stopping points along the migration trails as well as family homes Germans occupied for generations. Thanks to this, one can visit every single house, leafing through old books. And finally, one can realise how difficult the heritage is by reading the letters of application for the land left by the dispossessed neighbours, protocols on the division of the land formerly owned by Germans, and other documents constituting a record of guilt and harm, on which dissonant heritage is founded.

The third step is the actual research based on the synergy of research perspectives drawn from ethnography, cultural anthropology and archaeology. In

the case of post-German material heritage in villages near Ujazd, ethnoarchaeological research should focus on the documentation of the contemporary, yet rooted in history, state of the following elements:

- Urban layout of the village (topography, appearance of the village may refer to the nature and origins of the settlement);
- Baulks, field borders (form and shape);
- Roads and paths (main and peripheral roads, official and unofficial, public and private, road surface types, condition of the roads, roadside trees, crossroads, road and direction signs);
- Farmsteads (arrangement and form of farmsteads, houses, barns, sheds, cellars and other buildings; their condition, material, architectural ornaments, equipment, and forms of contemporary transformation);
- Home orchards (tree species, orchard layout, age and condition of the trees);
- Home gardens (layout, plant species);
- Small-scale architecture (wells, dovecotes, beehives, outside toilets, benches, fences, and gates);
- Public utility buildings (inns, schools, houses of prayer; their present condition and forms of contemporary transformation);
- Industrial buildings (mills, windmills, oil mills, smithies, sawmills; their present condition and forms of contemporary transformation);
- Hydro-engineering structures (ditches, drains, pools, ponds, water gates on rivers, bridges, embankments);
- Cemeteries (fences, cemetery paths, cemetery layout, graves and their condition, inscriptions, crosses, the extent to which they are overgrown).

Each of these elements of the post-German material heritage corresponds with non-material aspects forming a kind of its 'fourth dimension'. For example, contemporary lights that can be found on post-German cemeteries prove how people deal with this heritage (it is an active form of remembrance of German residents). On the other hand, moss-grown, barely legible inscriptions on the graves indicate a completely different process. A similar situation was encountered by Macdonald when studying the place of the NSDAP rallies in Nuremberg, where she met a man in the overgrown with grass stand of the Stadium Zeppelinfeld, who shared with her his reflection on this heritage: *grass growing is like forgetting* (Macdonald 2009: 8).

Zieniewicz notes that what was divided among the peasants as beneficiaries, who thus had their share in power, was not only land but also all possessions, positions, and jobs (Zieniewicz 2017: 223). This is why ethnoarchaeological research should consider not only material but also non-material aspects of the heritage. This aim can be achieved by conducting ethnographic interviews

with the local population. However, as Wylegała rightly points out, interviews about the circumstances of the agrarian reform, requiring casting one's mind back to more than 70 years ago, have the obvious disadvantage related to the passage of time: you can only conduct them with people who were children or teenagers at the time (Wylegała 2017: 280). However, there is a solution to this problem. This is where the category of 'postmemory' comes in handy, inviting to speak those who cannot or barely remember division of the land previously owned by their German neighbours, but were raised here and have their own opinions about the agrarian reform and about what happened to the German settlers just because they live in post-German homesteads, and they approach this heritage in a specific way, practising different forms of remembrance and oblivion, and creating their identity and autobiographic self-awareness the way they do. After all, heritage is a question of selection and acceptance, planning and management (Ashworth 2015), thus being a dynamic subject of research that requires, with each fluctuation (which, in the case of heritage, is not a rare phenomenon), new documentation, inventory or professional interpretation and critical evaluation.

Ethnographic interviews allow to select for an archaeological inventory survey places of significance from the perspective of post-German heritage which require to be documented first. This idea goes hand in hand with the observation of Battilani, Bernini and Mariotti that *there are monuments, practices or memories, which deserve specific attention due to the origin and features of their dissonance* (Battilani, Bernini, Mariotti 2018: 1420).

Local Patriotism and Professional Ethnoarchaeology

Heritage is a subject of studies and reflection of researchers from the academic circles and, more and more frequently, regional experts, local patriots, history enthusiasts, local government members and politicians, who take matters into their own hands as local experts, cultural managers as well as heirs and creators of the cultural landscape. Academic and professional ethnoarchaeology of heritage should open up to local research initiatives so as not to force the door that might have already been opened by local activists conducting their studies outside the professional context, and yet offering enormous heuristic value. Local (internal) researchers have extremely valuable resources in the form of a network of contacts, informal relationships with the local inhabitants, mutual trust, and great topographic erudition. These are the resources external researchers lack; theoretical training, proper qualifications, academic degrees, research practice, and a professional toolbox might not be enough to ensure

research success, particularly with regard to research into difficult heritage, which requires not only factual knowledge, but also a certain context and familiarity or even intimacy.

The pilot research showed that the issue of post-German heritage near Ujazd is a subject of postmemory, local research initiatives and management. Jarosław Cielebon, instructor in the Communal Community Centre in Ujazd (GOK), promotes the concept of a bike trail following German settlements, developed in cooperation with heads of a few villages inhabited by Germans before the war. The idea emerged during the implementation of a different project, the aim of which was to analyse the cultural needs of the local population. It turned out that heads of former German villages wanted to deal with this difficult heritage.

> They are people who settled in these villages after the war. The present residents see the old buildings and they know who built them. Some of them would like to learn their history. Perhaps their fathers were not curious about it. They were afraid and aware of the fact that throwing away owners of these houses, people who had worked this land for generations, wasn't right. […] During the meetings of the GOK's History Club we selected places to be catalogued, we drew up a list of people we wanted to talk to, and we learnt the interview technique. […] During further meetings, we got to know the characteristics of post-German architecture and, unfortunately, we realised that our chances of finding an intact farmstead were slim. However, we know that there are some houses, barns or stables. And cemeteries. […] You have to bear in mind that the GOK's History Club mostly consists of elderly people, but we have many plans. We have to implement them one by one. At the moment, we are collecting documents and looking for witnesses. We may be able to show the remains of German farmsteads, but we are mostly shocked by the recollections of people who remember that world. It's like landing on a different planet, which is surprisingly different and, in consequence, strange. Those who don't know Janka Piwowarska's stories about the school in Lipianki, about good relationships between Poles and Germans before the war, about how the situation changed dramatically during the war, and about the sudden disappearance of the German population after the war should wait impatiently for the next meeting of the GOK's History Club. […] At the beginning of November, I was unexpectedly visited by a group of academics from the University of Łódź, who are going to run a research project on German settlement in the Łódź Province. I could not believe this. They visited GOK by a pure chance but it seems that both sides are very happy about this 'coincidence' (Cielebon 2017).

This citation includes many arguments and theses from my paper, presenting a perspective that is local yet close to my research proposal. First of all, Cielebon, even though he does not use the term 'difficult heritage',

indicates its existence in the context of lack of curiosity about post-German heritage among the witnesses of the agrarian reform and repatriation of the German population. These circumstance were ethically and politically controversial (dispossession, repatriation), so people probably did not want to or were afraid to recall them. Only those who post-remember (present heads of former German villages) have the courage to face history. Second of all, Cielebon emphasises that the social (the age of the potential internal researchers) and substantive (training in the interview technique) resources of history enthusiasts are too small to achieve the research goal. This forms the basis for a synergistic combination of the potential of the local research initiative and local experts with a professional ethnoarchaeological perspective (satisfaction with the meeting with academics from the University of Łódź, who have a similar research idea). And third of all, he emphasises two equally significant aspects of cultural heritage – material and non-material – which form the manifestation of the essence and beauty of ethnoarchaeology (post-German houses and memories of German neighbours that used to live in them).

Battilani, Bernini and Mariotti suggest how to deal with dissonant heritage: mostly by involving the local community in discussions on the heritage, and also by going beyond particularistic, parochial interests (Battilani, Bernini, Mariotti 2018: 1418). Ethnoarchaeological research into difficult post-German heritage as a product of the agrarian reform in Poland should consider the above suggestions; the first one – considering not only the issue of awareness and knowledge, but also methodological and research benefits of working with local experts and local inhabitants. The second demand results from, among other things, the general transformation faced by the contemporary discourse on memory, heritage and the past, particularly in the context of the Second World War. Krzysztof Pomian, apart from its other characteristics (such as democratisation, anthropologisation, existence in an interdisciplinary context), writes about the perspective of globalisation which helps many researchers to go beyond specific countries and national interests. This is also about a sensitive approach, the basis for which is the discrediting of xenophobia responsible for all great catastrophes of the 20th century, which is not focused on successes of one's own group at the cost of a different group, but on the universal human community of suffering (Pomian 2014: 24–25). This is important, particularly with regard to the study of difficult heritage, which is a meeting place for two ethnic and national groups whose relationships are the subject of the antagonising stereotype and myth.

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Summary

Dissonant Heritage as a By-Product of the Postwar Agrarian Reform in Poland. From Postmemory to Ethnoarchaeology

The subject of the paper is dissonant heritage exemplified by former German villages in Central Poland. The agrarian reform (1944) transformed the local social and cultural landscape by removing its German inhabitants. Today, former German farmsteads are occupied by families of the reform beneficiaries – Polish peasants. The paper is personal as it is based on the postmemory of the author, who used archival sources (including vital records and peasants' letters of application for the post-German land) and information from his grandmother, who remembers her German neighbours, in an attempt to 'revive' the multi-cultural past and those who used to be a part of this landscape. The author outlines the concept of ethnoarchaeological research into the dissonant heritage being a by-product of the agrarian reform (1944) in Poland.

Keywords: postmemory, dissonant heritage, cultural anthropology, ethnoarchaeology, autoethnography, agrarian reform after the Second World War in Poland, German settlers, Polish peasants

Streszczenie

Dysharmonijne dziedzictwo jako produkt uboczny powojennej reformy rolnej w Polsce. Od postpamięci do etnoarcheologii

Przedmiotem artykułu jest dysharmonijne dziedzictwo przedstawione na przykładzie poniemieckich wsi w Polsce centralnej. Reforma rolna (1944) zmieniła lokalny krajobraz społeczny i kulturowy, usuwając z niego niemieckich mieszkańców. W poniemieckich gospodarstwach, domach żyją współcześnie rodziny beneficjentów reformy – polskich chłopów. Artykuł ma charakter osobisty, opiera się na postpamięci autora, który bazując na archiwaliach (m.in. aktach stanu cywilnego, podaniach chłopów o poniemiecką ziemię) i informacjach od swojej babki pamiętającej swoich niemieckich sąsiadów, próbuje „wskrzesić" wielokulturową przeszłość i tych, którzy byli częścią tego krajobrazu. Autor w zarysie przedstawia koncepcję badań etnoarcheologicznych tego dysharmonijnego dziedzictwa będącego produktem ubocznym reformy rolnej (1944) w Polsce.

Słowa kluczowe: postpamięć, dysharmonijne dziedzictwo, antropologia kultury, etnoarcheologia, autoetnografia, powojenna reforma rolna w Polsce, niemieccy osadnicy, polscy chłopi

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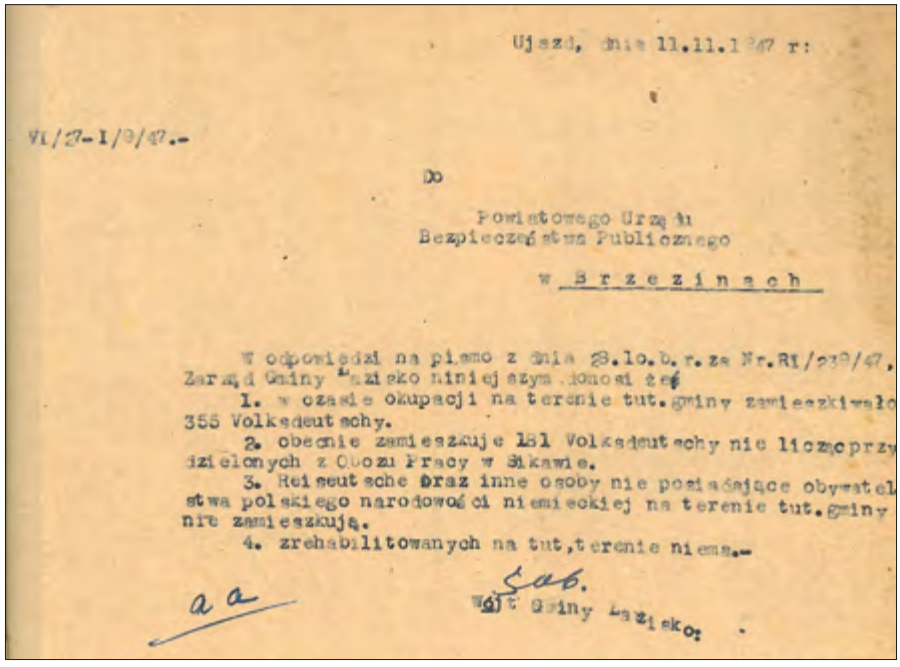
Photographs and Documents

Fig. 1. A no longer existing German house in Kolonia Ujazd. Today, an entrance to a gravel pit is located there, 2004. Photograph by S. Latocha.

Fig. 2. The road leading to former German farmsteads in Kolonia Ujazd, 2004. Photograph by S. Latocha.

Fig. 3. A former German house in Władysławów, today an agritourism farm *Letnisko -Uroczysko* owned by Mr. and Mrs. Zieliński, 2017. Photograph by S. Latocha.



Ujazd, dnia 11.11.1947 r:

VI/37-I/9/47.-

Do

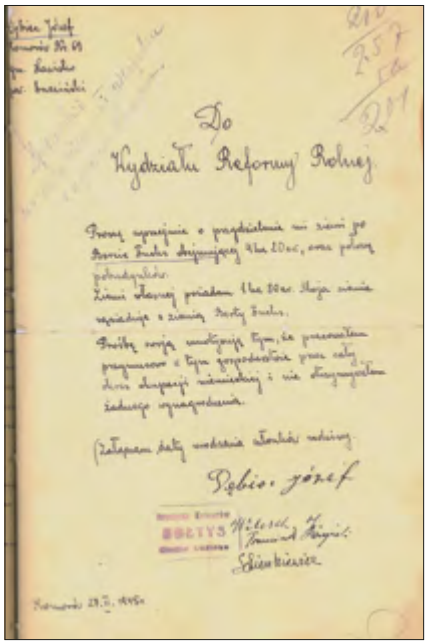
Powiatowego Urzędu
Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego

w Brzezinach

W odpowiedzi na pismo z dnia 28.10.b.r. za Nr.RI/239/47, Zarząd Gminy Łazisko niniejszym donosi że
1. w czasie okupacji na terenie tut.gminy zamieszkiwało 355 Volksdeutschy.
2. obecnie zamieszkuje 181 Volksdeutschy nie licząc przydzielonych z Obozu Pracy w Sikawie.
3. Reichsdeutsche oraz inne osoby nie posiadające obywatelstwa polskiego narodowości niemieckiej na terenie tut.gminy nie zamieszkują.
4. zrehabilitowanych na tut,terenie niema.-

Wójt Gminy Łazisko:

Fig. 4. A document of November 11, 1947, in which the Head of the Łazisko Commune with its seat in Ujazd states as follows: 1) During the war, there were 355 *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans without German citizenship, living outside the Reich) in the commune; 2) There are 181 *Volksdeutsche* living in the commune now, except for those sent to the labour camp in Sikawa; 3) There are no *Reichsdeutsche* (ethnic Germans holding German citizenship, living in the country) in the commune now; 4. There are no legally rehabilitated people. This document allows to estimate the scale of German settlement near Ujazd. APTM, 21, 320.



Do
Kierownictwa Reformy Rolnej

Dębiec józef

Fig. 5. A letter of application of February 27, 1945, in which Józef Dębiec asks for post-German land (4.2 ha) neighbouring his land (1.8 ha) in Komorowo. The reason for the request is his forced labour without any pay for his German neighbours during the war. APTM, 21, 288.

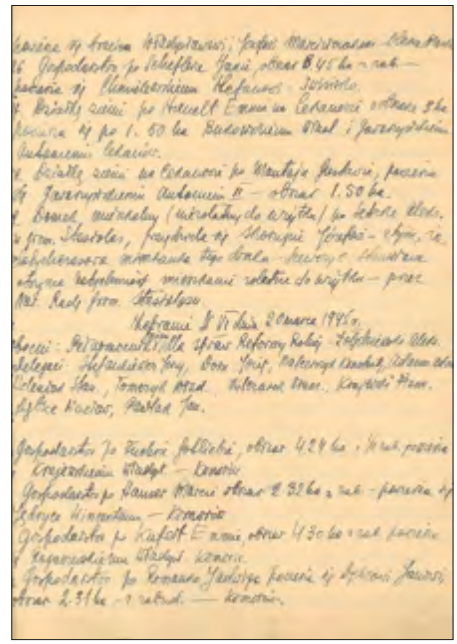
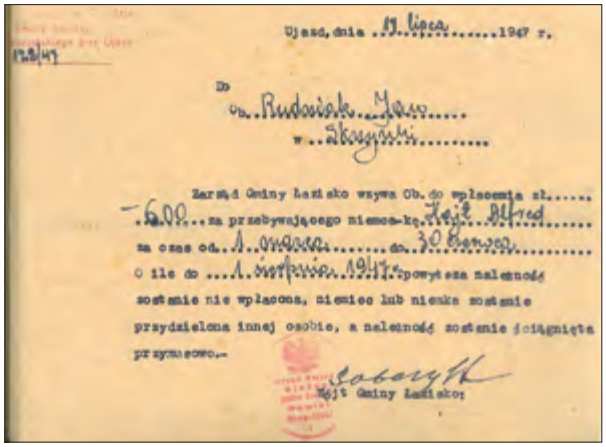


Fig. 6. A fragment of a protocol on division of the land formerly owned by Germans in the Łazisko Commune with its seat in Ujazd. Individual points provide the acreage, names of beneficiaries, and names of dispossessed Germans. Point 29 concerns my great-grandparents – Józef and Józefa Skorupa. APTM, 21, 287.



Ujazd, dnia 17 lipca 1947 r.

Do
Pn. Rudnicki Jan
w Skrzynki

Zarząd Gminy Łazisko wzywa Ob. do wpłacenia zł. 600 za przebywającego niemca-kę Heit Alfred za czas od 1 marca do 30 kwietnia
O ile do 1 sierpnia 1947 r. powyższa należność zostanie nie wpłacona, niemiec lub niemka zostanie przydzielona innej osobie, a należność zostanie ściągnięta przymusowo.

Wójt Gminy Łazisko:

Fig. 7. A document of July 17, 1947, in which the head of the Łazisko Commune with its seat in Ujazd, call Jan Rudnik from Skrzynki to pay PLN 600 to the commune on pain of transferring the German serving him to a different farmstead. This document confirms that after the war and before their repatriation German inhabitants served on the farms of their Polish/Catholic neighbours. APTM, 21, 320.

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Windmills as the Forgotten Cultural Heritage Returning to Favour

According to Jerzy Adamczewski, windmills are associated with "ruin, frequently a damaged building robbed of its wings" (Adamczewski 2005: 5). With this image in mind, we should ask ourselves a few questions: Why do they look like that? What activities have led to this situation? Or perhaps there have been no activities? What should we do to give windmills a second life? There are many answers to these questions; not all of them are simple, and some are even very controversial.

Wooden architecture is extremely difficult to preserve. The difficulties include: non-durable materials, susceptibility to damage, exposure to the destructive effects of insects, and many other factors. In many cases, the poor technical condition of the buildings resulting from their age and wear does not allow to preserve their original function or to convert them for functional purposes, at the same time complying with the technical requirements (Grabski 2012: 10). Whenever an idea emerges to change the function of a windmill, there is a problem with obtaining adequate financial resources for its conservation and restoration, and for the conversion work. And after the conversion, the building frequently loses some of its value (Tajchman 1999: 363–382; Gosztyła, Pasztor 2013: 67–68). Another problem is the fact that windmills are located in distant places, far from urban centres. Their conversion would most probably require relocation to a more convenient place, however, this would entail the need for additional financial resources.

Today, it is impossible for windmills to serve their original purpose. There are no specialists earning their living as millers/windmillers, which are dying trades. There is also nowhere to learn this trade. Millers are usually of advanced age, so they would not be able to cope with the hard work in a windmill, and they have no successors. Heirs to windmills have no plans for them,

and they use them as storerooms for fodder, tools, or firewood (Pawlik 1984: 153). Deserted buildings degrade very rapidly, which is frequently precipitated by acts of vandalism. They have no proper documentation, which is why they are forgotten and disappear (Tajchman 2007: 35–57; Nowakowski 2006: 1).

Privately owned windmills are usually left unsupervised. The owners do not have sufficient financial resources to conduct conservation work, and they do not know where to find sources of funding for the restoration of their property. However, the greatest problem is that they see no point in conducting such work. Investments in objects that have long been unprofitable seem unwise, while the windmills themselves become useless (Stefański 1969: 29). They were of importance when they provided goods to the local market. The owners' behaviour clearly indicates that they do not understand the value of these historic buildings. Windmills are perceived from a practical perspective and not as sources of knowledge of the technological development and production methods, or as an element of the Polish landscape (Jasiuk 1965: 25). Only a few of them have been renovated on the initiative and using the resources of their owners, but even though the reason for renovation was an attempt to preserve the buildings, it still is unauthorised construction. Examples of such buildings include: a paltrok mill in Orle (Kujawy-Pomerania Province) and a mill of the same type in Pomiany (Kujawy-Pomerania Province). They do not have the required documentation or a conservation plan based on previous research[1].

Fig. 1. A paltrok mill in Orle (Kujawsko-Pomorskie Province) (source: http://www.radziejow.pl/372,gmina-topolka.html, access 4 VI 2017).

An advantage of the work performed is definitely the fact that it contributed to the extending of the mills' life, and that the renovation was performed by millers who know well the unique character of such buildings. In case a miller is not able to perform the renovation work himself, he supervises the work. The construction work performed, however, frequently obliterates the traces of previous renovation, and so the mill loses its value. The new elements installed are not authentic, and in some cases, there are no attempts whatsoever to recreate them using the original technology and tools.

1 The necessity to prepare conservation documentation is described in detail by Maciej Prarat, an experienced researcher in the field of wooden architecture (Prarat 2015: 183–210).

There are also windmills located on arable land, hindering agricultural work (Rouba 2000: 49). If such a windmill is listed, the owner will not obtain a permit for its demolition. Then, a fire may break out, effectively eliminating the windmill from the local landscape.

Another great problem is lack of interest on the part of provincial conservator-restorers who sometimes even do not know the condition of the windmills located in their area, while destroyed windmills are still listed in the Register of Historic Monuments. Neither the owners of the mills nor conservator-restorers know how to use them. This was proved by a survey conducted at the end of the 1970s in which provincial conservator-restorers were asked about the condition and plans for conversion and further protection of windmills and mills located in their respective Provinces. Many of them failed to answer this question, while others only provided some data and ideas how to use the buildings, which should be viewed critically. They mentioned, among other things, conversion into a storehouse for tourist equipment, a country club, or a Scouts Chamber, and the use for tourist purposes (Uszyński 1978: 36). As it can be clearly seen, none of the ideas assumed preservation of the equipment of these buildings. Quite the opposite, the activities listed would require tidying up the interior of the mills and creating more floor space. The architectural shape of a windmill without its typical furnishings gives rise to some doubts as to the name of the building and its value.

In the former Konin Province, also in the 1970s, there were plans to concentrate the preserved windmills in one place and to operate them (Uszyński 1978: 35). However, they have never been implemented. Provincial conservator-restorers do not even ensure that the listed windmills have appropriate labels informing about legal protection.

In 2003, the Monuments Preservation Department of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage ordered provincial conservator-restorers to verify the data on historical monuments in Poland. The information gathered was then used to draw up a report on the condition of historical monuments in Poland. The data delivered to the National Heritage Board of Poland (before January 1, 2011, called the National Centre for Research and Documentation of Monuments) was very diverse and incomplete, with numerous errors and inaccuracies. Based on the comparison of different groups of historical monuments it can be said that industrial monuments are in a very poor and constantly deteriorating condition. The technical monuments mentioned also included windmills. The report emphasises that the reasons for the increasing threat to industrial buildings are the loss of their technological functions and difficulties with their conversion for other purposes, which can also be said about windmills. Only a few of the buildings have a good chance of getting converted.

Tab. 1. A list of windmills entered into the Register of Historical Monuments according to their types and locations (Provinces) (own work based on the analysis of the Register of Historical Monuments of the National Heritage Board of Poland, source: http://www.nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Zabytki_w_Polsce/rejestr-zabytkow/zestawienia-zabytkow-nieruchomych/Raport_o_stanie_zabytkow_2004.pdf, access 20 VI 2017).

The number of windmills entered into the Register of Historical Monuments					
Voivodeship	Post mills	Paltrok mills	Dutch windmills	Unidentified type	Total
LOWER SILESIA	5	1	11	2	19
KUYAVIAN-POMERANIAN	5	2	2	-	9
LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP	8	1	1	-	10
LUBUSZ VOIVODESHIP	10	-	2	2	14
LODZKIE	9	-	-	1	10
LESSER POLAND	-	-	-	-	0
MASOVIAN	11	2	6	1	20
MASOVIAN (WARSAW)	-	-	-	-	0
OPOLE VOIVODESHIP	2	-	4	-	6
SUBCARPATHIAN	6	1	-	-	7
PODLASKIE VOIVODESHIP	10	2	12	1	25
POMERANIAN	1	-	6	-	7
SILESIA	-	-	-	-	0
ŚWIĘTOKRZYSKIE VOIVODESHIP	1	-	2	-	3
WARMIAN-MASURIAN	1	1	7	2	11
GREATER POLAND	71	7	6	4	88
WEST POMERANIAN	3	-	10	-	13
TOTAL	143	17	69	13	242

According to the report, mills and windmills are among those industrial and technological monuments that are most likely to get destroyed because they are 'unnecessary' and their deterioration level is considerable. These wooden structures require expenditure on renovation that is incommensurate with the profit on their use.

One of the most urgent tasks the conservation services are faced with is thus the straightening out of the Register of Historical Monument, meaning

the removal of non-existent objects and verification of the record sheets from the 1970s and the 1980s. An example can be the record sheet of the paltrok mill in Sowa kept in the the Konin Branch of the Provincial Office of Monument Preservation in Poznań. The sheet contains a description and drawings of a random paltrok mill. The drawings do not correspond with the actual state of the monument. It can be said that the author included data of a different mill believing that all windmills of this type have a similar structure. There are some analogies, however, the buildings are not identical. The structure of paltrok mills can differ in terms of the number of intermediate columns, the arrangement and the number of stays, and the number of girts in each of the windmill's walls.

Windmills located in open-air museums are faced with slightly different problems. The first open-air museums were established in Poland as early as at the beginning of the 20th century. They developed after the Second World War, when the condition of folk architecture deteriorated considerably, with wooden industrial architecture having suffered the most damage (Kudła 1969: 26). In the 1950s, specialists called for the *in situ* protection of as many buildings as possible, however, in many cases the constantly deteriorating condition made it impossible. Preservation of monuments in their original locations was only possible after a new use had been found for them, which was not easy (Ptaśnik 1969: 7). Thus, the most valuable buildings were relocated to open-air museums, and 'the most valuable' meant that they met certain criteria. They had to be of great significance as technical monuments and to a given region (Kraszewska-Sikorska 2008: 215). Their condition also played an important role. A windmill in a good or very good condition would be put first on the list of buildings to be relocated to an open-air museum. Very old mills could not be omitted due to their historical value. Buildings selected for relocation had to have the original equipment and as few as possible accumulated structural changes (Jasiuk 1965: 26). In consequence, the most valuable windmills were those in which all integrally connected technical and architectural elements were preserved in the original form or with only a few modernisation or conversion changes (Pawlik 1984: 164). These aspects increased their value considerably and lowered the implementation costs of the open-air museum (Uszyński 1978: 34; Święch 1986: 184).

The state of preservation was less significant in the case of windmills dating back to earlier times and including unique structural or technological solutions. This had a negative effect on the survival of much younger windmills which frequently had no proper protection, and so they soon fell into ruin. Naturally, during the penetration testing conducted by ethnographers, abridged documentation for each of the windmills was drawn up. However, the very word

'abridged' indicates that the documentation failed to include many important aspects. What mattered a lot was the usefulness of the windmill in an open-air museum as it had to be adjusted to economic and social conditions.

The very idea of relocation raises some doubts. Its aim is to relocate a building to an open-air museum, to provide it with conservator's protection, and to make it available to visitors. However, relocation deprives it of its natural surroundings, and the original landscape against which a windmill used to function gets impoverished. In Poland, there are only a few open-air museums established *in situ*. All those displaying windmills were created in designated areas, which means that each of the windmills had to be relocated. Open-air museums do attempt to recreate the natural environment, however, it is man-made. Relocated windmills are not always exhibited in a proper manner. In many cases, the former lie of the land and location relative to other buildings are not taken into consideration. According to Jerzy Czajkowski, windmills frequently only supplement the exhibition of the open-air museum (Czajkowski 2001: 15). Displaying them against a complex of other buildings and arranging them on a limited area do not fully render their true nature. An example of such an exhibition is the paltrok mill in the Museum of Folk Architecture in Sanok. It received much free space, however, it is also surrounded with a few random buildings. On a flat area around it, there is a school and a homestead with grazing goats (as of July 2015). Had the windmill been located like this when it was used, it would not have been able to catch the wind that powered it.

Windmills relocated to open-air museums are to serve as tourist attractions. Thanks to the conservator's protection they are provided with they can survive, while making them available to visitors upholds tradition and shows the landscape of the villages of old. Attending exhibitions teaches visitors how to think in historical terms, develops social sensitivity, and heightens the aesthetic sense (Midura 1979: 47). Exhibitions in open-air museums ensure wooden mills historical continuity. They offer young people an opportunity to learn something, while for the elderly they are sentimental journeys into the past (Uszyńska 2009: 73).

Only a few of the windmills found in open-air museums today are used, even though they are fully operational. An excellent example is the Ethnographic Park in Olsztynek, which has four fully operational windmills. However, only one of them – a post-frame structure – has ever been operated (Kozłowski 2010: IV–V). In the whole country, there are two paltrok mills that are sometimes used, but they can only be seen at work a few times a year on holidays and during festivities. The paltrok mill in the Upper Silesian Ethnographic Park in Chorzów was first operated in 2014, while the paltrok

mill in the Ethnographic Park in Tokarnia is started up once a year on the Bread Day. The mill is prepared to work and used because it has to be shown to a group of visitors.

I believe that craftsmen's workshops operating in open-air museums and the use of industrial equipment should not be treated as shows for an audience. They should be production facilities aimed at business activity, self-sufficient in financial terms, or even generating profit for the museum. However, it should be ensured that the profits do not become more important than the educational purposes open-air museums are to serve.

Foreign exhibitions include many living molinological open-air museums that can be visited while the windmills are at work. There is an open-air museum in Etar, Bulgaria, with working watermills and windmills. They work continuously, servicing the local population, and the profit is a part of the museum's budget. The situation is similar in Zaan in the Netherlands, where windmills relocated from different places serve their original purpose, and the visitors can see millers at work. The mills are open to tourists, without any fees. Thus, the original function of these objects is preserved. The goods produced by the windmills are sold, while the profits go towards the budget of the museum. In Poland, the open-air museum in Chorzów sells flour produced by a windmill. However, it is not intended for consumption, and it only serves demonstration purposes.

The way windmills are shown, directly presenting highly-developed technological and structural solutions, teaches respect for the work of millers and tradition. And thanks to continuing tradition, there is a chance of preserving the dying trades. This form of using windmills complies with the ICOM Declaration from 1972, which introduced management forms presenting production processes called *living workshops* (Reinfuss 1976: 7).

All buildings placed in an open-air museum are under constant conservator's protection. After being relocated to the museum, they are subject to conservation and renovation work. This is justified, however, the effects of such work may raise some doubts. The use of agents strengthening construction materials interferes in the authentic substance. Each conservation procedure obliterates the traces of the previous work, rendering its proper interpretation impossible (Prarat 2011: 101). In the case of buildings in open-air museums, replacement of damaged elements is a matter of controversy. Despite recommendations that old wood should be used when replacing elements, it is not always available. New elements are prepared and aged so that the aesthetic value is not lowered. Thus, proper reception is distorted. These elements, even though they are not original, they appear to be so (Kowaleski 1972: 437).

In the process of selecting windmills for open-air museums, factors taken into consideration include the state of preservation, the authenticity of the equipment, and the uniqueness of solutions, however, during conservation work, these aspects are pushed into the background. Despite assumptions and assurances of open-air museums about constant control of the state of preservation of windmills and other buildings, the reality is sometimes different. This is particularly clear in the case of the windmill from Grzawa, converted from a post mill into a paltrok mill, which can now be found in the Upper Silesian Ethnographic Park in Chorzów. The windmill was brought to the museum in the 1960s. This was also when the construction material was strengthened with proper agents. The documentation from 1990 indicates that the windmill required complete renovation at the time. Its disassembled wings were deformed and rotten. The mechanisms, which had not been used for a long time, were to a large extent rusted, and the structural elements had areas of dampness. This means that the museum had not made every effort to protect the mill from damage, even though it had been obligated to do so. In 2008, the degradation of the windmill continued. It is impossible to operate the mill because its wings were incorrectly reconstructed during the repair. Structural elements are fungus-infested and there are many pieces missing. Only in 2013, when the condition of the windmill became a threat to the visitors and many of the elements were beyond recovery, did the Ethnographic Park decide to carry out revitalisation, which was to restore the original function of the mill and to start up the mechanism. The considerable extent of degradation of the windmill made it necessary to replace many authentic elements with new ones. Thus, the cost of the work automatically increased (Klajmon, Liboska 2013: 1–10). The revitalisation programme indicates that for many years the windmill was closed to visitors, and that the Ethnographic Park did not plan to start it up even though it was fully operational right after the relocation. Negligence on the part of the museum contributed to a considerable decrease in its condition. As a result of the revitalisation, many values originally possessed by the windmill were lost, and the renovation made the correct reception impossible. A great advantage is that the windmill was finally started up and it produces flour that can be bought in the museum's shop.

Apart from all the above problems with protection, preservation and conservation of windmills, there is also a list of good practices, mostly containing foreign examples. It is worth presenting here briefly the activities undertaken in the Netherlands. As early as in the 1920s, when there were still many windmills, the Netherlands started to work towards their preservation as tools that were still in use. On May 15, 1923, De Molen Hollandsche association was founded,

with the main aim to promote knowledge of windmills, generate interest in this field, preserve windmills and their environment in as good a condition as possible, maintain their original function, and find people interested in taking care of them. Members of the association were aware of the fact that windmills had played a major role in the economy of the Netherlands and were essential elements of the Dutch urban and rural landscape (Stokhuyzen 2010: 2). The development of windmills was supported so that maintaining them was profitable to millers. The value of mills was promoted in press articles, and an attempt was made to change the law in order to protect them. However, most of these plans were not implemented. In the 1970s, the basic goal established was to stop the decrease in the number of windmills and to preserve them as typical elements of the Dutch landscape. Different associations were established to protect the wind milling industry and to gather financial resources to be allocated for their restoration. Today, the aim is to preserve windmills in as good a condition as possible and, whenever possible, to restore their original function. Similar activities are conducted in France and Germany (Gola 2007: 30–42).

A very important step towards the preservation and protection of windmills is the activity of the Molinological Society in Portugal. In 1962, the Portuguese Society of Friends of Windmills and Watermills came up with an idea to organise an international conference devoted to the issue of molinology. It took three years to organise it. In late September and early October 1965, participants of the 1st International Molinological Conference met in Cascais (Portugal). The Conference was attended by representatives of molinological societies, museums, research centres and publishing houses from all over Europe. The International Molinological Society was established and the International Molinological Dictionary was drawn up. Such conferences are still organised in different European countries every few years. Each ends with a publication containing all the papers delivered, discussions, the conference programme, and a list of participants with their contact details (Szymański 1990: 290–292).

During the first Molinological Conference in 1965, a new term was coined: *molinology*, meaning the science of mills. It is a combination of the words *molinum* (Lat.) and *logia* (Gr.), and it has been commonly used since then. The science is interdisciplinary and it is concerned with the construction and architectural forms of mills, milling devices, and their functions. It also gathers information about the evolution of mills, hypotheses about their origins, economic and social conditions, terminology, and nomenclature (Szymański 1990: 291).

On February 29, 2016, inspired by the above events, a Molinological Forum was organised in Jaracz, which included a discussion on the establishment of the Polish Molinological Society, the condition of the milling industry in

Poland, and the organisation of the so-called Day of Windmills. It was attended by ethnographers, historians, architects, conservator-restorers, mill owners and people interested in the old milling industry. As a result, the first Polish Day of Windmills was organised in 2016 (with the second edition in 2017), and a website devoted to this event was launched (www.dzienmlynow.pl). In other countries, similar events have been organised for years: in Germany, on Whit Sunday, since 1993; in the Netherlands, at the second weekend of May, since 1973; and in France, in mid-June. There are similar practices in the United Kingdom and Switzerland. Such events offers an opportunity to see mills that are normally unavailable to visitors. Mill owners declare their readiness to take part in the event in advance, and then they give free tours of their mills, talking about the work of a miller. The Day of Windmills generates a great interest both among mill owners and visitors, also in Poland.

It is worth noting that over the last few years more and more initiatives have been launched with the aim to renovate windmills. Many of the buildings were restored between 2007 and 2013 under the Rural Development Programme as part of the 'Renewal and Development of Rural Areas' activity.

Fig. 2. A post mill in Budzisław Kościelny (Greater Poland Province) (source: http://www.konin.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/wiatraki-kozlak-w-budzislawiu-koscielnym-zdjecia,1948511,artgal,t,id,tm.html, access 20 VI 2017).

Examples of such activities include windmills in Budzisław Kościelny (Greater Poland Province), Duchowo (Lower Silesia Province), and Dębe (Greater Poland Province).

The windmill in Budzisław Kościelny was built in 1858, and together with the miller's house it houses the Memorial Room of the Country, Molinology and Agriculture. In 2011, having been renovated, it was made available to visitors. It attracts much interest among the local inhabitants and tourists staying at Budzisławskie Lake (www.konin.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/wiatraki-kozlak-w-budzislawiu-koscielnym-zdjecia,1948511,artgal,t,id,tm.html).

The post mill in Duchowo was built in 1671. The renovation work on the building was performed in 2010. It is now a venue for meetings of local inhabitants and a tourist attraction for visitors (www.dolny-slaskorg.pl/5274275,Historia_wiatraka_w_Duchowie.html).

Fig. 3. The post mill in Duchowo (Lower Silesia Province) (source: http://www.dolny-slaskorg.pl/5274275,Historia_wiatraka_w_Duchowie.html, access 20 VI 2017).

The windmill in Dębe dates back to the first half of the 19th century. In 2007, the Commune Office in Lubasz, due to the progressing degradation of the mill, started to apply for funds for its renovation and reconstruction. The preparation took a few years and required considerable effort on the part of many employees of the Commune Office in Lubasz and the Commune Community Centre. In 2009, the Commune received a grant from the Marshall's Office for the 'Renewal and Development of Rural Areas' activities under the Rural Development Programme, and at the end of June 2010 the mill was made available to visitors (www.otwartezabytki.pl/pl/relics/59150-wiatrak-kozlak).

Fig. 4. The post mill in Dębe (Greater Poland Province) (source: http://www.otwartezabytki.pl/pl/relics/59150-wiatrak-kozlak, access 20 VI 2017).

The open-air museum in Prusim (Greater Poland Province) has achieved a great success as in 2018 it relocated its second windmill: the first one was a smock mill, and the second one – a paltrok mill. The funds for the relocation, renovation and conversion work were received from the Greater Poland Regional Operational Programme for 2014–2020. The project aimed to introduce a cultural function and to make the mill available to visitors. On the first storey of the windmill, a film documenting the work connected with the relocation and conservation will be shown, together with a multimedia presentation on the windmill's history. The new cultural object is to be opened and made available in the middle of 2019 (http://www.mapadotacji.gov.pl/projekt/7306014).

Another smock mill has been adapted in a similar way in Polkowice in the Lower Silesia Province, and was incorporated into a large restaurant and conference centre. However, the mill itself serves a typical museum function. Individual storeys present the history of the town of Polkowice and of the windmill as well as some general information about the miller's trade. The exhibition makes use of modern multimedia technologies including installations, animations, and holograms (https://www.polkowice.eu/news,7805,Odbudowa-wiatraka-coraz-blizej.html). It is worth noting that the project involving conversion of this windmill was developed as part of a thesis in Interior Design written at the Univeristy of Zielona Góra (https://zszywka.pl/p/adaptacja-wiatraka-wiezowego-w-polk-13386095.html), and that there are more and more such practices. This may indicate that young people start to notice the dying architecture and make attempts to use its value so as to create new forms. Students creating conservator's documentation including measurement and drawing inventories, architectural studies, and photographic documentation, contribute to the preservation of these monuments, consolidation of knowledge of them, and creation of a carrier that can be a valuable source of information for the generations to come.

The interest of young people, and particularly architects, in the issue of cultural heritage protection allows to view the problem at hand in realistic and innovative terms. The idea that is more and more frequently promoted in the society is the conversion of old mills and windmills into apartments. Recreation of the original appearance and the use of the windmill's natural qualities can create a very atmospheric and original interior, thus raising the standard of the building and giving it a second life (www.rynekpierwotmy.pl). However, this entails a certain risk. In order to be able to use a mill for residential purposes, some conversion of the object is necessary. What matters is that after the revitalisation the windmill preserves as much of its original form as possible.

A few dozen kilometres from Polkowice, in the town of Radziechów, restoration and adaptation work on the ruin of a masonry smock mill is planned.

The building is to house a vantage point and an astronomical observatory, which aroused a great interest of the Polish Astronomical Society. The historical windmill is to become a part of the tourist bike trail leading to the Grodno Castle. One of the investors is the Kaczawskie Mountains Partnership – Local Action Group (http://www.radiowroclaw.pl/articles/view/67440/XIX-wieczny-wiatrak-z-Radziechowa-zostanie-odrestaurowany).

There are also more and more initiatives launched by private mill owners who want to protect the buildings and use them as a source of income. The boarding house in Lędzin (West Pomerania Province) is an interesting undertaking, with an old mill housing hotel rooms. The interior design makes use of the natural qualities of the historical building. The owners make sure that the facility is environmentally-friendly. They installed solar cells on the roof to provide the object with electricity, and there are thermal cells heating water. The owners claim that work related to the mill is their passion (https://gs24.pl/w-wiatraku-lub-na-wodzie/ar/5088798).

In Solca Wielka (Łódź Province), thanks to the financial and substantive support from the Łódź Provincial Monument Conservator, the Ozorków Commune, and the Łódź Province Marshall's Office, a 19th-century post mill has been restored. Today, it looks great and it is one of the greatest tourist attractions of the Ozorków Commune. A similar object can be found in the Chodów Commune (Greater Poland Province). It has been restored thanks to the funds from the Greater Poland Province Marshall's Office (Tomaszewski, Walczak 2018: 60). Had it not been for the funds from the communal or provincial budget, such windmills would have probably had no chance of undergoing any renovation. The cost of such work is huge, and private owners simply cannot afford it. Another important issue is the substantive support from the monument preservation services.

Naturally, the mills described above are only a few examples of the good practices closely connected with the protection and renovation of windmills. There are many similar cases. In almost all of them windmills have become cultural centres and have been made available to the broader public. They are frequently visited by the local community and tourists. Even though they no longer serve their original purposes, some of their qualities were deemed worthy of exhibiting, and thus the interest of the public was attracted. The renovated mills have become the trademarks of many communes and towns, inspiring further activities aimed at the protection of other monuments. They are also frequently included in bike trails. More and more people start to appreciate the value of windmills, meaning, of course, the intangible value that is invisible to the eye. It is a very positive factor contributing to an increased interest in these objects not only among those fascinated by the miller's trade, but also ordinary visitors. Naturally, the greatest problem that remains unresolved is the

obtaining of financial resources for conservation and restoration work. If one meets certain criteria, the available EU projects and programmes may provide financial resources but it is not enough to restore most of the still existing, valuable windmills. Considerable hopes are pinned on the wealthiest part of the society, who would be able to renovate mills and, for example, convert them for residential purposes, as it was already mentioned. The fact that windmills are located on hills, near rivers and meadows, creates perfect conditions for resting, recovering one's strength, communing with nature, and contemplation. Rearrangement of the interior and structure of windmills remains a matter of serious controversy as it entails the risk of erasing the most valuable elements. However, it is necessary in order to convert the building properly, to use its qualities, to partially preserve it, and to give it a second life.

There should be more studies into windmills, younger generations should be made aware of their value, and volunteers should be involved in the promotion of the so-called good practices, which will all improve the state of preservation of these monuments and popularise regional history including the history of the milling industry. Spreading the awareness and developing the understanding of the cultural heritage around us is a lengthy process. There are already some effects, and more will come gradually. The time will show to what extent we managed to protect historical monuments and how many of them will be available to the future generations.

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Summary

Windmills as the Forgotten Cultural Heritage Returning to Favour

Windmills are extremely interesting examples of architectural and technological monuments. For years, the objects located in Poland were neglected and their degradation was very rapid. There were many factors that contributed to this situation including unprofitable production, the ageing of staff, lack of successors, and insufficient financial resources of provincial conservators for the co-funding of conservation and restoration projects. Over the past few years, the number of initiatives, patterned on foreign practices, have been growing. Their aim is to preserve and popularise windmills. In many cases, windmills are converted into hotels or apartments.

Keywords: windmill, mill, conservation protection, monument

Streszczenie

Młyny wietrzne jako zapomniane dziedzictwo kulturowe powracające do łask

Wiatraki są niezwykle ciekawym przykładem zabytków architektury i zabytków techniki. Przez lata obiekty zlokalizowane na terenie Polski były zaniedbywane, a ich degradacja postępowała szybko. Przyczyniło się do tego wiele czynników, m.in. nieopłacalność produkcji, starzenie się kadry pracowniczej i brak jej następców, niewystarczające środki finansowe wojewódzkich konserwatorów zabytków na dofinansowanie prac konserwatorskich i restauratorskich. W ciągu kilku ostatnich lat, na wzór działań zagranicznych, zaczyna pojawiać się coraz więcej inicjatyw, których celem jest zachowanie i ochrona jak największej liczby młynów wietrznych oraz ich popularyzacja. Częstym zjawiskiem jest aranżowanie wiatraków na hotele lub do celów mieszkalnych.

Słowa kluczowe: wiatrak, młyn, ochrona konserwatorska, zabytek

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19th-Century Wooden Houses of Craftsmen from Zgierz – Precious Heritage or Troublesome Inheritance?

Introduction – Development of the Town of Zgierz Until 1830

Zgierz is located in central Poland, in the historic Łęczyca Land and the Bzura River Valley, on a territory that used to be densely forested. The town is located at the edge of the Łódź Upland, between Łódź and Łask mesoregions. The Old Town is located in the valley, at 180 m above sea level (*Zgierz. Dzieje miasta…* 1995: 40), whereas the New Town is located on a hill, with a market square on top, at 200 m above sea level (Jasiński 2002: 21).

The first written mentions of the town date back to the 13th century, and they concern a formed urban centre where dukes met and stayed. As early as in the first half of the 12th century, Zgierz had a customs house, and the oldest church existed here at the turn of the 13th century (Rosin 1981: 78). Archaeological research conducted in the town revealed that it had been inhabited at least from the 12th century. In 1318, in a privilege for the monastery in Wąchock, it is referred to as *Shegrz civitate*; earlier documents, however, allow us to determine that Zgierz was an urban centre even before 1288 (Rosin 1981: 84–86). In 1420, the town was rechartered according to the German (Środa) law (Rosin 1981: 89). There used to be a gord near the town, but it still have not been located. From 1345, it was mentioned in written and cartographic sources as remains of a gord west of the town, next to a crossing on the Bzura River (Rosin 1981: 84). The Old Town Market Square was located at the intersection of important traffic routes: the Piotrków–Łęczyca and Kalisz–Mazovia roads. The street arrangement in the town was irregular and adjusted to the lie of the land, with most buildings probably made of wood (Jasiński 2002: 15). This situation did

not change until 1820, when Rajmund Rembieliński, President of the Mazovia Provincial Committee, visited Zgierz in search for locations for new industrial centres. This is how he described Zgierz in his report submitted to the Viceroy of Congress Poland, General Józef Zajączek: "The town is shapeless, sprawling and in a poor state, without markets or fairs, even though it does not lack privileges, and generally it does not deserve to be called a town" (Ostrowski 1949: 48). The situation of the town was supposed to improve thanks to top-down government decisions: Zgierz, together with a few other towns in the Łęczyca District (including Łódź, Dąbie, Przedecz, and Gostynin), was selected as a location of a new weaving settlement. At that time and a bit earlier, also a few private towns with a similar production profile were created from scratch: Ozorków, Aleksandrów, Konstantynów (Krawczyk, Kopijka 2012b: 5–6).

Based on the Ordinance of the Viceroy of Congress Poland of September 18, 1820, preparation to establish an industrial settlement east of the Old Town started. Another important document, which later became a model for other industrial settlements created, was the so-called Zgierz Agreement signed on March 28, 1821. The document determined the rights and obligations of settlers and granted them numerous privileges. Pursuant to it, each craftsman received a plot to build a house and a garden with a surface area of 1,5 Chełmno morgens (approx. 0.8 ha) (Jasiński 2002: 19–20), six-year exemption of taxes and military duty, and wood for construction purposes. The settlers did not have to pay duty on the movable assets brought, and they received loans to start production. The government of Congress Poland supported the construction of evangelical churches. The craftsmen could establish rifle associations, and the Weavers' Guild was also created. Thanks to an extensive recruitment campaign among the so-called useful immigrants from German weaving centres, until 1828, between a hundred and two hundred thousand people came to Congress Poland, mostly from Prussia, the Grand Duchy of Posen, Pomerania, Silesia, Saxony, and Bohemia. A large proportion of them were immigrants of Polish descent from the Prussian Partition (Krawczyk, Kopijka 2012a: 6–7; Krawczyk, Kopijka 2012b: 12).

Between 1820 and 1830, thanks to an efficient policy, Zgierz experienced a true economic miracle. In 1828, the town, earlier competing with Ozorków, became the leader of cloth production in Congress Poland, producing 37% of the value of cloth export in the Mazovia Province, which constituted approx. 15% of the value of total cloth export of Congress Poland. This was possible thanks to a sudden population influx and the development of many new workshops. For example, in 1817 Zgierz had 664 inhabitants, mostly farmers; in 1821, this number increased to 1,010, and in the years 1825–1829 the population grew from 4,479 to 13,054 people including floating population. This means that between

1817 and 1829, the population increased by nearly 2,000%. Even though most inhabitants of the New Town of Zgierz produced cloth (cloth makers, shearers, dyers), there were also other craftsmen there, such as bricklayers, carpenters, joiners, locksmiths, shoemakers, tailors, bakers, confectioners and artists (musicians, painters). In 1828, out of 9,071 inhabitants, 5,281 people dealt with crafts and services (58% of the total population) (Krawczyk, Kopijka 2012a: 15–19).

The New Town of Zgierz as a Biedermeier Town[1]

Fig. 1. A street plan of the New Town of Zgierz prepared by Jan Leszczyński in 1821 (source: State Archive in Łódź, ref. no. 99; graphic processing: K. Barucha).

1 Not long before this paper was submitted, an article analysing the Biedermeier phenomenon in Zgierz was published: P.K. Krawczyk, A. Ozaist-Przybyła (2018), *Biedermeier w Zgierzu i wybranych miastach fabrycznych Królestwa Polskiego*, [in:] A. Rosales-Rodriguez (ed.), *Polski biedermeier – romantyzm udomowiony*, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa, p. 135–159.

The New Town of Zgierz was laid out east of the Old Town by a land surveyor Jan Leszczyński at the beginning of 1821. The centre created had a symmetrical street layout, with a square market (Fig. 1) in the middle, on top of a hill. The Market Square of the Old Town and the Market Square of the New Town were connected with Długa Street, a former Warsaw–Kalisz route, which became the axis of the new development. The border between the Old Town and the New Town was Błotna Street. Between the streets, rectangular blocks were created for one-storey houses of similar appearance. Inside the blocks, there was space for gardens and orchards. 258 plots of land for development were marked out, and until 1829, 200 of the plots were developed, mostly with wooden houses (Krawczyk, Kopijka 2012b: 6–11; Jasiński 2002: 20–25). The form of the buildings was a continuation of the architecture of Prussian cloth makers' settlements from the 18th century, combined with the local tradition of wood construction (Krawczyk, Kopijka 2012b: 13; Jasiński 2002: 42).

Even though the notion of 'Biedermeier style' is rarely applied to architecture, in the case of Zgierz, the urban layout, aimed at simplicity, functionality and reduced classical architectural forms, has all the characteristics of Biedermeier, which was a style of late classical period, with its peak in the 1820s. A famous example of a Biedermeier town is Baden in Austria, which was rebuilt after the fire in 1812. The Biedermeier architecture valued symmetry and harmonious proportions. It used classical architectural elements such as columns, pilasters, bossage, and jerkinhead roofs. The town was to provide for all the needs of its inhabitants, and the houses were to be the places of both work and rest. The urban development concept of the New Town and its social and economic functions can be recognised as a creation of a perfect town with regard to the concepts known from Renaissance (Krawczyk, Kopijka 2012b: 10–13). The New Town was created during a one-time construction and settlement operation and, as such, it was a unique urban phenomenon. Wooden construction, which is, by definition, temporary (brick houses were preferred), fully reflects the pioneer period of the town development.

The houses built by Zgierz craftsmen followed three designs produced by architect Trauzold. Unfortunately, the designs have not survived, and a description of the three variants would require a separate analysis. The appearance of the houses was typical and rather uniform: these were mostly wooden houses on a base course of cobblestones and bricks (Fig. 2), one-storey, with an attic combining residential and storage functions. On the ground floor, there was a production shop and prestige rooms. The houses were built with their roof

ridges parallel to the street. They had five or seven axes, with an entrance, frequently in a recess, and a through hallway along the main axis. In many cases, there was a mansard window along the axis above the main entrance, supported on decorative columns or pilasters flanking the entrance. The houses had walls of vertical-post log construction, joined in the corners with woodwork joints. They also had jerkinhead roofs, and the gable walls of the attic were framed walls with infill (the so-called Prussian wall) or without infill and boarded (Sitnicki, Heim, Bogusławski 2011: 14). The roofs were supposed to be tiled. Shingles were only allowed as a temporary solution and people had to paint them red so that they looked like tiles.

Fig. 2. The Weaver's House at 5 Narutowicza Street, as seen from Rembowskiego Street (source: the collection of the D.O.M. foundation).

Some changes to the imposed designs were allowed, mostly in relation to the outline dimensions, joinery, and architectural decor (Jasiński 2002: 37–38). Despite using mostly short-lived raw materials, i.e. wood, the houses were decorated. The walls were boarded with wide planks, and the elevations were painted different colours (imitating 'stone colours': yellowish and pale green; light grey and dark red, with bright and dark colours being forbidden, Jasiński 2002: 55–56). In order to add variety to the appearance of the elevations, pilasters with plinths and capitals flanking the entrance and optically 'supporting' the mansard windows were used, which granted the building a representative character, resembling a typical manor house of the period. The corners were also covered with vertical planks, sometimes imitating pilasters

(Fig. 3) or fluting (e.g. the house at 5 Kilińskiego Street). Below the cornices and on the mansard windows, there were openwork slats. Window and door joinery was decorative: double-layered doors, diamond-boarded (Fig. 4, Fig. 5), and frame-and-panel doors, with decorative hardware and woodcarving details, produced by local carpenters (Kopijka 2013: 41–87). Window ledges were supported on voluted conosoles and there were boards (Fig. 6, Fig. 7) imitating bossage on the corners, while façade boards (Fig. 8) had profiled edges that imitated ashlars (Jasiński 2002: 54–55). Some of the features (imitation pilasters, columns with plinths and capitals, bossage) indicate that the architecture in question drew on classical masonry construction. It is worth mentioning that the houses of Zgierz craftsmen were to be ultimately masonry, and wood was only allowed as an exception. It was cheap and easy to process yet short-lived, and so temporary. Thus, the meticulous attention to the aesthetic and individual finishing of the buildings and the fact that so many of them have survived until today are all the more significant.

Fig. 3. Pilasters flanking the entrance and 'supporting' the mansard window of the house at 23 1 Maja Street (source: the collection of the D.O.M. foundation).

Fig. 4. Decorative slats on the façade of the building at 16 Dąbrowskiego Street (photograph by P. Trzeźwiński).

Fig. 5. Decorative boarding on the façade of the building at 15 Długa Street (source: the collection of the D.O.M. foundation).

Fig. 6. A frame-and-panel door at 7 Narutowicza Street (source: the collection of the D.O.M. foundation).

Fig. 7. A diamond-boarded door, at 29 Narutowicza Street (source: the collection of the D.O.M. foundation).

Fig. 8. Voluted consoles under the window ledges of the house at 29 3 Maja Street, 1965 (photograph by M. Pracuta, the collection of the Museum of the City of Zgierz, hereinafter referred to as MMZ).

Craftsmen's Houses in the New Town of Zgierz

In the middle of 1827, the population of Zgierz exceeded 4,500. There were 362 houses in town, including only 12 masonry houses. Until 1844, more than 200 new craftsmen's houses were built in the New Town, but most of them were made of wood. Not all 258 plots were developed. Starting in the middle of the 19th century, the production was gradually moved to new factories and manufactures, and some of the houses or rooms were rented. Basements also served trading and service purposes, however, in some houses cloth was woven on manual looms until 1945. At the edge of the New Town (Zegrzanki Street, the northern part of Wysoka Street), masonry factory buildings started to supplant wooden craftsmen's houses. In 1860, the town had 12,000 inhabitants, 140 masonry buildings and 317 wooden buildings. This number grew steadily, but timber buildings still dominated (in 1878, there were 160 masonry buildings and 394 wooden buildings). At that time, some wooden houses were pulled down and masonry buildings were erected in their place, sometimes resembling the former (Jasiński 2002: 25–28).

During the interwar period, the twelve wooden craftsmen's houses in Kilińskiego Square remained intact. Under German occupation, a corner house was pulled down when a tram terminus was constructed. The clear urban layout from the time when the settlement was planned survived until 1945, dominated by wooden houses, with only a few factory buildings and tenement houses. Starting in the 1950s, the houses of weavers were gradually pulled down and the plots were developed, as a result of which the original subdivision of the New Town area was distorted. In 1965, the first local development plan was prepared for the town. It did not, however, recommend for any conservation work on the historic buildings. In the 1970s, the frontages of the Market Square and Długa Street were marked on the local development plan as having an established cultural value, but the demolition continued and service buildings were erected in Długa Street, at variance with the original building alignment (Jasiński 2002: 28–32).

In the 1980s, more craftsmen's houses were pulled down. In 1984, Dąbrowskiego Street was also marked on the local development plan as a historically valuable area. At the same time, the 19th-century houses were converted into trading and service buildings (mostly in Długa Street). In the 1990s, many factories and plants were closed down, and the degradation of the town centre increased (Jasiński 2002: 33). Some of the surviving craftsmen's houses on the left-hand side of 1 Maja Street (between 3 Maja Street and Kilińskiego Square) were pulled down, and a building was erected, which was to refer to Zgierz houses with passageways resembling triangular gables supported on columns,

however, the effect is rather grotesque. In the Market Square (Kilińskiego Square), a few 19th-century craftsmen's houses were demolished and modern architecture took their place, without any references to the historic buildings of Zgierz. After the war, the houses were demolished and no one intervened in the case of fire or their slow deterioration. Today, there are empty spaces in their place, used as, for example, car parks (39 Długa Street, 10 Kilińskiego Square – demolition after 2000).

After the Second World War, the historic craftsmen's houses were taken over by the municipality as most old owners and inhabitants had moved out, and communal flats were created there. This is when the most unfavourable period for the historical urban fabric started. The houses, initially single-family (rarely two-family), were divided into even as many as eight flats each. This entailed uncontrolled renovations using cheap materials unfit for the restoration of historic, mostly wooden, buildings. Ceramic roof tiles and wooden shingles were substituted with bitumen paper, and the original boarding was removed to install plastic siding boards. Window and door joinery was exchanged, which altered its original articulation. In many cases, this led to the disappearance of the architectural detail, or even complete erasure of the visible historical value

Fig. 9. The house at 15 Długa Street, 1960s/1970s (source: fotopolska.eu).

Fig. 10. The house at 15 Długa Street, today (source: the collection of the D.O.M. foundation).

Fig. 11. The house at 38 Długa Street, 1965 (photograph by M. Pracuta, the collection of MMZ).

Fig. 12. The house at 38 Długa Street, today (source: the collection of the D.O.M. foundation).

of the buildings (Jasiński 2002: 66–67). Examples can be the houses at 15 and 38 Długa Street. Starting in the 1980s, there were more and more negative changes (Fig. 9—12). In the conservator's photographs taken by Mieczysław Pracuta in 1965, one can see that many of the houses described, at least on the outside, had not suffered much from the time of their construction. Thus, it is all the more painful that despite the fact that the historic houses were gradually covered with official conservator's supervision, they received more and more adverse modifications over time, while their owners – including the Commune of Zgierz – failed to respond to this.

The interest in the houses in the New Town of Zgierz as historic buildings dates back to the Second World War, when German conservator's photographs mostly showing masonry architecture were taken. In the 1950s, a few of the buildings received provisional conservator's descriptions made by the Monument Conservation Office in Łódź. In the 1960s, M. Pracuta documented nearly all existing craftsmen's houses including those being under demolition at the time. This collection is an invaluable material for comparison within today's research[2].

The first scientific studies conducted with the aim to preserve the architecture and the urban layout of the New Town were undertaken after the Second World War. From the 1960s, selected craftsmen's houses were entered into the Register of Historic Monuments, and in the 1970s, an urban conservation area was established. Moreover, the Institute of Architecture and Urban Planning of the Łódź University of Technology developed land-use studies. However,

2 The photography collection is kept in the Museum of the City of Zgierz. The D.O.M. foundation would like to thank for access to it.

recommendations from these studies, also ordered by the Town Hall, were never taken into consideration when managing the urban space. This could probably be because the applicable guidelines did not specify the conservator's activities and were rather general (Jasiński 2002: 76–79). The reasons for the devastation of the historic buildings have always included: lack of idea how to use the buildings appropriately to their historical value, lack of any measures taken against their neglect and deterioration, and unawareness of their value. I believe that the last of the reasons listed is mostly responsible for the present situation.

Establishment of the Culture Park and Revitalisation of the Buildings

In 2003, as the Monument Protection Act changed, the authorities of Zgierz undertook activities with the aim to protect a small part of the historical urban layout of the New Town. The Town of Weavers Culture Park was established, covering Narutowicza Street (from 3 Maja Street to Dąbrowskiego Street), Rembowskiego Street (from Narutowicza Street to 1 Maja Street), and a portion of Dąbrowskiego Street (Fig. 13) (*Uchwała nr XV/142/03…*). The Culture Park was created to protect a fragment of the existing cultural landscape including two streets with a large number of preserved 19th-century houses. The plan was to restore the area to its former appearance through the revitalisation of the streets (with cobbles, pavements, trees, and gas lamps) and to gradually move the most valuable buildings from outside to the Culture Park and renovate them.

Fig. 13. The borders of the Town of Weavers Culture Park in Zgierz, a drawing attached to Resolution No. XV/142/03 of the Zgierz Town Council of December 30, 2003 (as reproduced in: Sakowicz 2009: 9).

In 2004–2008, three houses were revitalised (at 17 Rembowskiego Street, 10 Narutowicza Street, and 29 Narutowicza Street) (*Informacja…*). This was the first attempt to restore the craftsmen's houses and, from the conservator's point of view, it was not successfull.

The historical urban fabric suffered the greatest loss when the house at 17 Rembowskiego Street was demolished despite the recommendation of the Provincial Monument Conservator that "the conservation work should be performed with extreme caution and utmost care, preserving the original condition of the outer walls which constitute relics of wooden architecture" (*Informacja…*: 11). The building located at 17 Rembowskiego Street today was built from scratch and has no historical substance. However, it is still listed in the Provincial Register of Historic Monuments (*Wykaz zabytków…*, entry no. A/1014 of December 30, 1967).

Conservation and restoration work was conducted in the houses at 10 and 20 Narutowicza Street to later use them for pro-community activity. They were to be converted into community centres and NGO seats, and to guarantee new jobs. Their interiors had to be properly adapted to the requirements of different institutions (*Informacja…*: 22–23). These plans were implemented in the building at 10 Narutowicza Street, which now houses the 'Przystań' community centre. However, the house at 29 Narutowicza Street has never been adapted, its interior remains unfinished, and on the outside the house is getting to look almost like before the renovation.

Another attempt to bring the Town of Weavers back to life was made in 2009. Thanks to Norwegian funds (EEA Grants), until 2011, four wooden buildings were restored and two cobbled routes (Narutowicza and Rembowskiego Streets) were renovated, together with gas lamps (http://www.miastotkaczy.pl/o-firmie/historia-firmy, access 31 VIII 2017). Three of the buildings were located at some distance from the densely packed craftsmen's houses, in places that were to be covered by new development (two in Dąbrowskiego Street, and one in Dubois Street). Before they were moved and renovated, detailed archival studies were conducted and the construction work was thoroughly documented, a result of which was a scientific publication *Metodologia i wytyczne postępowania z zespołami budownictwa drewnianego z początku XIX na podstawie realizacji projektu "Rewitalizacja i rozwój historycznego kompleksu architektury drewnianej miasta Zgierza"* (*The Methodology and Guidelines Concerning the Handling of Wooden Building Complexes from the Beginning of the 19th Century Based on the Implementation of the Project 'Revitalisation and Development of the Historic Complex of Wooden Architecture in Zgierz'*) (Sitnicki, Heim, Bogusławski 2011). More importantly, as new findings emerged during work, it was possible to change the construction design. This is a very important issue, frequently omitted during revitalisation as its course and effects are often determined in advance, and any later alteration is impossible. In the context of wooden buildings, which can only be examined after they have been deconstructed, the possibility of

modifying the project on an ongoing basis is very convenient. Thus, the renovation of the houses of Zgierz craftsmen in 2009–2011 can be seen as a textbook example of how to implement such projects. The buildings were inventoried and dismantled, and then rebuilt using the same technique and materials as those used in the 19th century. Their original roof covering and elevation colours were restored. The renovated buildings now house the Tourist House, Wood Preservation Centre, Site Museum, a restaurant and offices of the Culture Park.

The Current State of the Historical Architecture of the New Town of Zgierz

The Town of Weavers in Zgierz includes two streets where craftsmen's houses from the first half of the 19th century prevail. A few of the buildings have been renovated, but most are in a poor condition and the rare repairs are made using plastic. The buildings that have not been renovated are divided into communal flats occupied mainly by impecunious people. The few renovated buildings mostly house cultural institutions, and none of them serves residential purposes. This cannot be called 'revitalisation' as the aim of such a process is to restore the living space in a material, and mostly social, sense. Thus, it can be said that revitalisation in the area in question has only begun.

Some effort is required not only in the area covered by the previous project, but the whole New Town as an urban arrangement and its individual objects.

Fig. 14. The house at 16 Dąbrowskiego Street in 2019 (source: the collection of the D.O.M. foundation).

Fig. 15. A plafond from the second half of the 19th century from the house at 16 Dąbrowskiego Street (source: the collection of MMZ, 2001).

Fig. 16. A no longer existing stove from the second half of the 19th century from the house at 16 Dąbrowskiego Street (source: the collection of MMZ, 2001).

Fig. 17. The preserved column capitals and the triangular gable added to the elevation of the building at 38 Długa Street (source: the collection of the D.O.M. foundation).

These are both wooden and masonry buildings constructed throughout the 19th century. However, wooden architecture, particularly from the first half of the century, is most prone to degradation. It is worth noting that many of the objects in question have been listed by Provincial Monument Conservator for years. Pursuant to the regulations on monument protection applicable until 2017, entry in the Register of Historic Monuments obliged the property owner to take care of the monument without receiving any active financial or substantive support. In fact, protection meant lack of interference with the historic substance, which frequently came down to leaving the building unsupervised, and this, in turn, ended in the building's slow technical death. The district register of monuments, on the other hand, offered no legal tools that could force property owners to take any measures. This presented a paradox as listed monuments were in a worse condition than the unlisted; the latter were used and renovated, while the former deteriorated. And yet most original historic substance can be found in the listed buildings that have resisted the flow of time despite their disastrous condition.

An example can be the building at 16 Dąbrowskiego Street, the elevation and side walls of which received virtually no modifications: the original boarding with decorative slats has been preserved (Fig. 14), and the gable walls have not been rebuilt as in most other buildings. The interior, until recently, still had all the furnishings from the second half of the 19th century. Since it was taken over by the present owner, the building has been degrading gradually and more and more rapidly, which was not stopped by the entry in the Register of Historic Monuments in 1967 (entry no. A/1005/243 of December 30, 1967). Its interior, rich in cornicing, plafonds depicting genre scenes, and a magnificent tile stove have been devastated[3].

An example of the opposite activity, meaning extreme interference with the structure of the building, is the already mentioned house at 38 Długa Street

3 The building described in text is being translocated and reconstructed since 2019.

(Fig. 11 and 12). It has been modified to such an extent that it barely resembles a historic building. Its elevation is covered with plastic siding panels, the roof has been lowered and a completely new triangular gable was added along the axis (which is proven by archival photographs – Fig. 11). The only evidence of its historic substance are the preserved column capitals, barely visible from under the contemporary cladding (Fig. 17). Interestingly, the district register of monuments lists the tenement house from the second half of the 19th century located at the far end of the same plot of land. The front wooden building, which, according to archival documents, dates back to the earliest period of the New Town development (before 1827), is not listed.

Zgierz is a town with still many objects to save. According to estimates, only in the New Town there are 80 buildings erected in the earliest period of the development of the craftsmen's settlement[4]. There are also many more younger objects, from the 19th and the 20th centuries, as well as those in the Old Town. This mostly results from lack of resources for dealing with old buildings and the fact that since the end of the war the focus has been on the development of new residential neighbourhoods, at the same time adapting historic buildings (mostly for low-standard flats). In Zgierz, there is no clear investment pressure that is exerted in large cities with a historic urban layout, such as nearby Łódź. In such cases, there is a great chance of preserving the historic fabric of the city. Unfortunately, historic buildings disappear from the landscape of Zgierz also because there is no idea how to develop the area after the demolition. For example, the empty plots left after the craftsmen's houses were pulled down in Długa Street and Kilińskiego Square today serve as car parks.

Social Aspects of the Protection of Zgierz Houses

I analysed the attitude of the residents of Zgierz to historic buildings and the history of their town based on the interviews I conducted with members of the D.O.M. foundation, which has its seat in the Town of Weavers, and information available online.

Foundation for Protection of Historic Furniture and Cultural Heritage in Poland D.O.M. has its seat at 6 Narutowicza Street in one of the houses revitalised in 2009–2011. The foundation members take active part in the life of the Town of Weavers and they know its residents well. According to them, these are impecunious people who were allocated flats in the craftsmen's houses. Most of them would gladly move to blocks of flats. However,

4 Estimates based on the analysis of archival documents carried out while preparing the publication *Historyczne domy Nowego Miasta w Zgierzu*.

they are aware of the fact that the place they live in is very special and that their houses, which are nearly two hundred years old, are unique historic monuments. This awareness was mostly raised by the establishment of the Culture Park and the accompanying information campaign. Narutowicza and Rembowskiego Streets look more aesthetically now, and in front of some of the houses there are boards describing their history. Undoubtedly, this increased satisfaction with the place of residence, but did not improve the residents' standard of living as they still live in low-quality houses.

The problem of neglect of Zgierz craftsmen's houses mostly arises from overlapping social factors. Information found on the Internet and gathered during interviews with local residents indicates that Zgierz inhabitants know little about their town. Whenever there is an opportunity to talk to them about the history of Zgierz they show some interest, but it is clear that they do not believe anything can be done about the houses (referred to as wooden shacks or ruins). It is worth noting that only a handful of people feel the need to explore the town's history and get involved in initiatives aimed at changing the present situation. The reason for this may be the fact that, except for a few isolated cases, no descendants of the settlers who built Zgierz live in the New Town. Many of today's residents are migrants who are not attached to their place of residence and do not feel they own it.

Another issue worth mentioning in the context of Zgierz is the proximity of Łódź, a large centre also connected with the history of the textile industry. Zgierz is sometimes compared with Łódź, and it is not a favourable comparison. In fact, few people know that Zgierz is much older and that it used to be a pioneer, and in some aspects even textbook, town. People forget that Zgierz is a separate centre with its own history and identity. It dates back to the Middle Ages, experienced the peak of its development much earlier than Łódź, and its character was different. Łódź has a considerable group of people interested in its history, including also young people who settled there relatively recently. Over the last years, along with revitalisation and image campaigns, Łódź focused on advertising itself through historic monuments. Thanks to this, many residents of Łódź and tourists interested in the city and its history, come to Zgierz, where the 'economic miracle' started. This should be seen as an opportunity to boost tourism connected with the history of the town but it has to be emphasised that Zgierz should advertise itself using its own history, regardless of Łódź.

The group most interested in Zgierz and its history are visitors and those who decided to settle in Zgierz. These are people who, thanks to a proper distance from the new place, are able to notice its beauty hidden under concrete

and destroyed elevations with a layer of hideous advertisements. A lot of faith can also be placed in the youngest generation, free of prejudice, who gets to know the oldest part of the town and the appearance of the 19th-century craftsmen's houses thanks to the educational activities conducted in the Town of Weavers and the Museum of the City of Zgierz. In the high season, many trips of schoolchildren come to the Town of Weavers from Zgierz and nearby towns. This helps to change the way of thinking about historic buildings, particularly wooden, which for many years were treated as signs of backwardness and poverty. Thanks to such a change and education about the history of the region, one can start thinking about all aspects of revitalisation including the use of historic buildings for residential purposes.

Proposed Solutions for Historic Building Management

The needs indicated above form the basis for the activity that should cover the historic New Town in Zgierz in order to restore it to a proper condition. The town residents and tourists realise the value of historic buildings thanks to the already mentioned educational activities including tours of the Town of Weavers, cultural meetings, and the activity of the Museum of the City of Zgierz, the Wood Preservation Centre, and the Site Museum. The history of individual buildings is described on educational boards that can be found all over the town. Regretfully, it has to be said that the activities mentioned concentrate in the aesthetic, renewed Town of Weavers, which creates an impression that only these two attractive streets in the New Town have some historical value. It is not emphasised enough that the whole historic urban layout should be protected.

There are other 19th-century buildings, both wooden and masonry, requiring renovation. Their condition differs considerably as wooden buildings deteriorate much more rapidly. What has to be noted in the case of Zgierz is the fact that when the Town of Weavers was created, it was assumed that historic wooden buildings would be located within the Culture Park, including the movement of front houses from places away from the Culture Park to the far end of plots in the Park (which happened on the plot at 1 Rembowskiego Street). This plan, however, cannot be implemented with regard to masonry buildings that also require some conservation work.

Thus, the removal of 'survivors' from the New Town should be thought through as perhaps it is too great a compromise, erasing the traces of the original layout of the craftsmen's settlement. Perhaps, it would be a better idea to adjust newly erected buildings to the historic ones, giving them historicising

forms and maintaining the original, regular division of the street frontages as well as their height and structure. Even though this might seem complicated, it is feasible, which is proven by such cities as Gdańsk and Warsaw, both rebuilt after the Second World War, where despite enormous pressure on builders and architects, a compromise between functionality and respect for the historical urban fabric was found. As it was already mentioned, there is no such pressure in Zgierz, which is why new solutions can be well-thought-out and implemented in a reasonable way.

Another important issue that should be raised is the use of the historic buildings of the town. None of the renovated buildings serves residential purposes but it seems that the following revitalisation stages should ensure that the houses offer residential standards adapted to the 21st century. It is necessary to install or renovate appropriate wiring, heating and sanitary systems. The original arrangement of window and door openings, roof covering, and, to the extent it is functional, the original room layout should be restored. Thanks to such a change, the concept of a single- or two-family house could be reintroduced, implementing the original idea of the creators of craftsmen's houses. Are all present occupants ready to take care of historic buildings? Definitely not. However, some of them can and should be entrusted with this task. There are also definitely people who are not connected with the town but would like to move to a historic weaver's house and make it a unique place to live.

It is worth referring to the Priest's Mill Estate in Łódź, a complex of post-factory and residential buildings from the second half of the 19th century, constituting a part of Karol Scheibler's textile plant. Since 2012, the complex, which used to be classified as a degraded area, has been revitalised and adapted for residential, cultural and trading purposes. Its residents, many of whom had lived there for generations, returned to their homes, thanks to which there was no complete exchange of occupants that would be against the assumptions of the revitalisation. It was similar in the case of the Nikiszowiec estate in Katowice, which comes from a different period but is much the same in functional terms. The estate was built in the first half of the 20th century as a settlement for miners who worked in the Giesche mine (called Wieczorek after the war). According to the concept of a perfect town, it was supposed to provide for all the needs of its residents (the estate had a church, a bath house, a laundry, an inn, and shops). Economic and social problems caused by the systemic transformation started piling up there in the 1990s. In 2005, the municipality initiated activities focused not only on the infrastructure renovation but mostly on encouraging the local population to take

care of the estate and to cherish its history. The examples of the Priest's Mill and Nikiszowiec show the importance of consolidated activities combining broadly defined care of the historic space and of its inhabitants. Revitalisation needs to include a certain social factor, which is the stimulation of the local community. While it is relatively easy in the case of Łódź and Katowice, whose inhabitants are descendants of the former workers and flat owners, the situation in Zgierz is more difficult because most of the occupants are inflowing population. However, it is important to build identity by developing the awareness of the place and its history regardless of the number of generations that have lived there.

In order to continue the craft tradition of the town, it would be worth encouraging artists and craftsmen to open their workshops there. A blacksmith's or a weaver's workshop operating in the 19th-century space using old technologies would serve educational purposes and attract tourists. There should also be a place for restaurants and service joints so that the town, according to its assumptions, provides for all the needs of its residents. An adequate impetus from the municipality might create conditions for the actual revitalisation of the New Town. This should include not only financial support but also the application of available mechanisms, such as the creation of a special revitalisation area or offering tax relief to owners of historic buildings. It is also necessary to provide substantive support to residents of historic houses that require constant conservation using appropriate materials. The present residents, without any guidelines and funds, renovate the houses on their own, and they frequently do it incorrectly.

Considering the functional programme that covers workshops and residential buildings for workers (in this case being the same place), Zgierz houses can be classified as a factory and residential complex. Apart from the already mentioned places of work and residence, it included other infrastructure elements aiming to satisfy the living needs of the residents, similarly to other factory and residential complexes (Walczak 2010: 229–231). Examples of such complexes are the already mentioned Priest's Mill in Łódź and the Nikiszowiec estate in Katowice. In Zgierz, this programme of 'a perfect town' was implemented by providing shambles, gardens, and a church. Treating the urban complex of the New Town of Zgierz in the same way as other post-industrial complexes would offer a comprehensive overview of the area in question, allowing to apply the methodology developed for factory and residential complexes to the revitalisation process.

The basic mistake in the way we think about Zgierz today is the limitation of revitalisation to two streets. The New Town of Zgierz has 80 buildings

listed in the district register of monuments, with 27 located in the Culture Park, and 53 located outside it (*Ewidencja Zabytków Miasta Zgierza*). Even though the conservator's recommendation is that the whole urban layout of the New Town should be protected, the actual activities only focus on the Culture Park, whereas the cultural landscape covers all historic buildings and they all require comprehensive protection and revitalisation.

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Summary

19th-Century Wooden Houses of Craftsmen from Zgierz – Precious Heritage or Troublesome Inheritance?

Zgierz, a town located in the central part of the Łódź Province, has a unique urban complex in the form of a craftsmen's town built from scratch in the first half of the 19th century. This was a result of a settlement operation carried out in Congress Poland to boost the economy of the newly created state. The settlers were mostly cloth makers of Polish and German descent, primarily from the territory of the Prussian Partition. Regular arrangement, with symmetrical streets and a market square in the middle, on a high river bank, went hand in hand with aesthetic and functional late classical architecture, which is why this centre can be called a Biedermeier town. Even though durable materials were preferred, most houses that have survived are made of wood, and yet decorative elements can still be seen on many of them. Today, the houses, divided into numerous flats and inhabited by qualifying occupiers, are used contrary to their original purpose and inappropriately for their status. So far, two attempts to revitalise the area in question have been made. In consequence, the Town of Weavers Culture Park was established, seven of the houses were renovated, and fragments of two streets were restored to their former appearance. The paper presents the past and present situation of the historic development of the New Town considering its social context, and attempts to summarise the revitalisation activities performed to date.

Keywords: Zgierz, 19th-century architecture, wooden buildings, heritage, revitalisation

Streszczenie

XIX-wieczne domy drewniane zgierskich rzemieślników – cenne dziedzictwo czy kłopotliwy spadek?

W Zgierzu, mieście położonym w centralnej części województwa łódzkiego, znajduje się unikalny zespół urbanistyczny miasta rzemieślniczego, założony od podstaw w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku. Działo się to w wyniku akcji osiedleńczej, którą prowadzono w Królestwie Polskim w celu ożywienia gospodarki nowopowstałego państwa. Sprowadzano głównie sukienników, zarówno pochodzenia polskiego, jak i niemieckiego, przede wszystkim z terenów zaboru pruskiego. Regularny układ miasta o symetrycznie rozplanowanych ulicach, z rynkiem pośrodku na szczycie zbocza doliny rzeki, zabudowany estetyczną i funkcjonalną architekturą późnoklasycystyczną, pozwala na określenie tego ośrodka miastem w stylu biedermeier. Choć w powstającym mieście starano się wznosić budowle z materiałów trwałych, większość z zachowanych do dziś domów wybudowano z drewna. Mimo to, ich dekoracyjna oprawa architektoniczna wciąż jest czytelna w wielu obiektach. Obecnie domy te, dzielone na wiele mieszkań i zamieszkałe przez lokatorów z przydziału, są użytkowane niezgodnie z ich pierwotnym przeznaczeniem i nieodpowiednio do swej rangi. Do tej pory podjęto dwie próby rewitalizacji omawianego obszaru, w wyniku których powołano do życia Park Kulturowy Miasto Tkaczy, wyremontowano siedem domów oraz przywrócono dawny wygląd fragmentom dwóch ulic. Artykuł przedstawia przeszły oraz obecny stan zagospodarowania zabytkowego budownictwa Nowego Miasta, z uwzględnieniem jego społecznego tła, a także podejmuje próbę podsumowania dotychczas podjętych działań rewitalizacyjnych.

Słowa kluczowe: Zgierz, XIX-wieczna architektura, drewniane budynki, dziedzictwo, rewitalizacja

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In the Factory, in Łódź, in the City. Reconstructing the Industrial Past of a Place

Łódź – Industrial Heritage

Łódź is a place created for industry and by industry – a suggestive exemplification of intense urbanisation and industrialisation processes from the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Industrial plants were important elements in the layout of Łódź, frequently influencing the size and form of quarters and determining the arrangement of streets. They were located along the two main rivers flowing westward: the Jasień and the Łódka, and in the city centre – also within the frontage line – among residential buildings. The specific character of Łódź is constituted by the fact that two worlds – the world of work and the world of private life of both workers and employers – were adjacent to one another and merged. Moreover, factories used to be the most monumental structures in the city, while factory and residential complexes were among few well-thought-out urban development concepts. The industrial landscape of Łódź is a perfect example of styles and trends in the art of the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. It also proves that Łódź was influenced by the main artistic centres of Central Europe (such as Berlin, Saint Petersburg and Vienna) (cf. Stefański 2016).

This legacy, particularly after the collapse of many industrial cities at the beginning of the 1990s, was not seen as capital that could form a basis for the identity of a modern metropolis or an image of a city attractive to tourism and investments. However, urban masters – decision-makers and citizens of Łódź

– just in time noted trends connected with revival of post-industrial cities and the potential of revitalisation programmes[1].

This gave rise to the image of Łódź as a creative city, heavily relying on its industrial past and unique territorial capital. This strategy is undoubtedly supported by the growing significance and potential of the industrial heritage. Let us have a closer look at its definition. According to TICCIH (The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage), an organisation established in 1978 that deals with the industrial heritage, and in particular its promotion, preservation, protection, documentation, studying and interpretation, it consists of:

> the remains of industrial culture that are of historical, technological, social, architectural and scientific value. These remains include buildings, machines, workshops, factories, mines with processing and clearing plants, storehouses and depots, plants producing, distributing and using electricity, transport and its whole infrastructure as well as places connected with the industry-related social activity, such as the housing industry, religious practices and education (Kronenberg 2009: 192).

Such heritage does not only include tangible objects, which is emphasised by the joint declaration of two international organisations: ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) and TICCIH, adopted in Dublin in 2011:

> Around the World, a great diversity of sites, structures, complexes, cities and settlements, areas, landscapes and routes bear witness to human activities of industrial extraction and production. In many places, this heritage is still in use and industrialisation is still an active process with a sense of historical continuity, while in other places it offers archaeological evidence of past activities and technologies. Besides the tangible heritage associated with industrial technology and processes, engineering, architecture and town-planning, it includes many intangible dimensions embodied in the skills, memories and social life of workers and their communities (*Joint ICOMOS – TICCIH Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage…* 2011).

This intangible aspect of heritage offers us the sense of identity and belonging to a community, builds cultural continuity, and stimulates the development of the social capital together with important factors of economic development.

1 In the paper, I do not analyse the notion of revitalisation (which is present in the discourses of history, geography, architecture, art history, economy, sociology, archaeology, and cultural anthropology), however, the subject itself indicates the issue of revitalisation practices. I will just emphasise that I understand revitalisation not only as a strategy for activities that repair, modernise and restore the existing infrastructure and boost the economy, but also as a set of cultural practices that have an effect on the creation of social relationships and the (re)construction of urban narratives.

Today, the list of Łódź factories and, more generally, structures of industrial origin that have been converted includes more than a hundred projects of different scale, with different scopes of the changes introduced and varying quality of architectural solutions.

What is particularly important here is the use of post-industrial grounds, which are – according to the definition – unused, not fully used, or initially meant to be used by business activity that ended (Słodczyk 2003: 155–156), for new purposes connected with entrepreneurship and broadly defined culture, science, creativity and services.

One of such projects is MONOPOLIS, developed in the grounds of the former Monopol Wódczany in Łódź (Vodka Monopoly Plant in Łódź), later called Zakłady Przemysłu Spirytusowego 'Polmos' (Spirit Industry Factory 'Polmos'). The investor, Virako development company, is creating a modern office and service centre there. The aim of the investment is to thoroughly modernise and renovate the historical buildings of the former factory complex. In 2014, at an early stage of the project, an idea emerged to conduct an interdisciplinary study into the past of this place. In 2014–2016, a team consisting of ethnologists, cultural anthropologists and archaeologists from the University of Łódź, implemented an ethnographic and archaeological research project *Monopol Wódczany w Łodzi. Miejsce i ludzie*[2] (*Vodka Monopoly Plant in Łódź. The Place and People*).

The aim of our activities was mostly to collect oral histories and artefacts, which not only documented the history of Łódzkie Zakłady Przemysłu Spirytusowego 'Polmos', but also presented the professional biographies of Monopol's workers, meaning people whose lives had been intertwined with the activity of the plant. We believed that these 'small' stories would allow to recreate the 'great' story, the history of the former Monopol Wódczany, together with the related events.

Thus, we made an attempt at reconstruction, defining it as simply as possible, i.e. as recreation of something based on the preserved fragments, remains, and stories. A result of this attempt and the project was a publication *Monopol Wódczany w Łodzi. Miejsce opowiedziane / Vodka Monopoly Plant in Łódź. The Narrated Place* (Karpińska, Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2018).

2 The project was implemented by employees of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the University of Łódź (UŁ Professor, G.E. Karpińska, PhD; A. Krupa-Ławrynowicz, PhD; UŁ Professor, A.P. Wejland, PhD) and the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Łódź (Olgierd Ławrynowicz, PhD) under a cooperation agreement between the Faculty of Philosophy and History of the University of Łódź and Virako Sp. z o.o. Students of Ethnology and Archaeology from the University of Łódź took part in the research.

A Very Brief History of the Place

The foundation of a distillery in Łódź was closely related to the introduction of an alcohol monopoly in the territory of the Russian Empire, including Congress Poland, in the late 19th century. This meant that the state had a monopoly on retailing spirit and vodka, and on manufacturing pure vodka. The reasons behind limiting competition were the protection of the fiscal interest of the state treasury and the state administration's attempt to control the supply of strong alcohol.

Another manifestation of the monopolistic policy was the launching of new investment and construction projects. In many places of the Russian Empire, storehouses and distilleries were built. Decisions about the construction of such industrial buildings were taken in the central offices of Saint Petersburg, which is why, in many cases, there are no details of their origins. For example, we have no information about the construction or the first years of operation of Monopol Wódczany, which appeared in the landscape of industrial Łódź, dominated by weaving plants, in 1902[3]. Monopoly in Łódź produced pure and flavoured vodkas, bottled spirit and methylated spirit.

The main factory building, modelled after spatial and functional solutions and architectural forms used in plants erected in large Russian cities at the time, was probably designed by Franciszek Chełmiński, who was a town planner known for designing many industrial buildings in Łódź. The whole factory complex consisted of an administration building, stables (later converted into garages), the main production building, a laboratory, and storehouses. A part of the plant was connected with a siding, and so, in functional terms, it was related to supply and dispatch. Some amenities were also built: a nursery, a canteen, and a three-storey residential building with a basement and a garden, the residents of which were higher administrative employees, i.e. department heads and directors (Fig. 1).

The First World War was a very stormy and eventful period for the Łódź Monopol. When the German army seized the city, the factory was closed down, and the production of alcohol was stopped. In June 1916, Germans handed the buildings over to the municipal council, and they were adapted for new, public purposes. They housed a mortuary, a city school, a beggars' shelter, a shelter for families of soldiers killed in action, and grain storehouses. New walls and wall barriers were added. The equipment used for vodka production was confiscated by the invaders. Despite a number of modernisation investments made, such as

3 Information about the history of Monopol in Łódź comes from the study of B.M. Walczak (2014) and materials gathered during field research and archive surveys.

Fig. 1. Monopol from Zagajnikowa Street (today's S. Kopcińskiego Street); a coloured photograph from the first quarter of the 20th century; as published on: Baedeker Łódzki (baedekerlodz.blogspot.com).

the digging of a well being the plant's own source of water, installation of central heating, and plumbing of a hot water system, most buildings could not be quickly restored to its pre-war condition to restart the production.

After the First World War, there were plans to use the former Monopoly as an excise inspectorate, however, they were never implemented. The property was taken over by the Treasury, which incorporated the plant into Państwowy Monopol Tytoniowy (State Tobacco Monopoly). In 1926, the production of tobacco products was moved, and in 1927, Państwowa Wytwórnia Wódek nr 14 (State Vodka Distillery no. 14) started operation in the factory, after some conversion work. It was a part of Państwowy Przemysł Spirytusowy (State Spirit Industry) in Warsaw.

The plant employed 300 people at the time, and a year later it had more than 600 workers. The plant was developing. In the 1930s, a clinic, a nursery, a library, a canteen, a workers' club, and a bathhouse were opened. Workers' children could go to health resort summer camps.

In 1939, after the Second World War started, most Polish workers were dismissed. One of the production floors was converted into a storehouse of food for the army, while the other was used for production limited to two bottling lines, but later it was also stopped. Production was only re-started in January 1945, after the city was liberated. Within a year, the factory reached its pre-war production volume.

After the war, the Łódź factory developed, with mergers with the production plant in Kutno and the industrial distillery in Sieradz. In 1963, the factory was renamed Łódzkie Zakłady Przemysłu Spirytusowego (Łódź Spirit Industry Factory), and in March 1973, based on a government decision, it was called Łódzkie Zakłady Przemysłu Spiritusowego 'Polmos' and became a part of a multi-facility Przedsiębiorstwo Przemysłu Spirytusowego 'Polmos' ('Polmos' Spirit Industry Company).

In 1960, a modernised department producing flavoured vodkas, sweet vodkas, and liqueurs was opened, and a year later, the first mechanised production lines in the Polish distilling industry appeared in the plant. This

modernisation allowed to speed up the bottling process and to increase production capacity. Eight bottling lines, filling 70,000 bottles during an eight-hour shift, were replaced with four bottling lines that could fill as many as 100,000 bottles. In 1967, the plant started exporting spirits to socialist countries, and to import raw materials for production. A clinic, a canteen, and a grocery kiosk were opened, and a recreation centre for workers and their children was built in Tworzyjanki.

In 1974, new Dutch production lines, the so-called Monoblocks, were installed, offering a capacity of 6,000 bottles per hour, and three years later new were added, with a capacity three times higher. Thanks to these and other efforts, monthly production volume of half a million 0.5 litre bottles of pure and flavoured vodkas was achieved. At the time, 620 people worked in the plant in two shift, with five production lines using automatic bottling systems, and one traditional line for filling non-standard bottles (e.g. 1 litre bottles sent to the Soviet Union) manually. The scale of production for foreign and domestic markets was proved by a wide range of alcohols produced: pure vodkas, flavoured vodkas, bottled spirit, and methylated spirit. The 'Polmos' in Łódź was considered to be the best in Poland (Fig. 2, 3).

Fig. 2. A bottling line, a private photograph; donated by M. Kołodziejczyk; as published in: Karpińska, Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2018.

In the 1980s, the production process was further improved through mechanisation. Lifts were installed to distribute the products between floors, electric pallet trucks were introduced, and the bottling machines were exchanged.

Fig. 3. A production line, a photograph from the 1990s; donated by M. Gabara; as published in: Karpińska, Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2018.

However, during the economic transformation, the Monopoly in Łódź encountered financial problems. In 1991, it became a state company operating based on free market principles and not as part of the state monopoly as before. A decision was made to build a factory shop and a floor for the production of cream liqueurs. These activities, however, did not improve the company's financial situation. The profits fell, and the business sustained more and more losses, as a result of which, in 1996, a special administrator was appointed for the company. There were attempts to find new markets by exporting Columbus and Szekspir vodkas to the USA and Canada. Another idea to save the company was to reduce production costs and focus on its most profitable range. However, none of these attempts was successful.

In April 2007, production was stopped, and a few months later, the last stocks from Polmos's storehouses were sold in the manufacturer's branded outlet at the corner of Kopcińskiego and Piłsudskiego Streets.

In 2013, the property, being the third largest factory complex in Łódź (after the weaving plants of Karol Scheibler and Izrael Poznański), covering the area of nearly 20,000 square metres, was bought by a Łódź developer – the Virako company. In the spring of 2014, the new owner announced that the former Monopoly would be called MONOPOLIS, and that it would become a space friendly towards cultural initiatives and a home for creative industries. The author of the visual identity and the logo of MONOPOLIS is a famous designer Janusz Kaniewski, while the name refers to the Greek word *polis* and can be understood as 'a city within a city', with the first part serving as a reminder of the industrial past of the place.

Krzysztof Witkowski, president of Virako and administrator of the space in its new form, emphasises that the new chapter in the biography of this place will combine modern functions with the historical fabric.

Research – Strategy and Effects

The activities performed as part of the *Monopol Wódczany w Łodzi. Miejsce i ludzie* (*Vodka Monopoly Plant in Łódź. The Place and People*) project employed research methods and tools of ethnologists, cultural anthropologists and archaeologists.

The interviews conducted by ethnologists were based on the assumptions of in-depth interviews (Lofland et al. 2009: 41; Charmaz 2009: 39–51). One of the characteristics of in-depth interviews, as a research technique, is their limited interrogation area, however, they are intensive and explore the issue through thematically-oriented and focused questions. In the case of the project described, the questions concerned work in the factory, the way work organised the everyday life of workers and their families (i.e. our interviewees), and how events from the private life fit into the life of the factory.

Questions interviewees are asked during in-depth interviews are open-ended questions, expecting detailed and exhaustive descriptions, and particularly stories. Questions with such structural and pragmatic properties were not without reason called by Jerzy Giedymin questions demanding a narrative (Giedymin 1964: 16). On account of the above, the interview itself can be called a narrative interview in a broad sense, without any direct references to the narrowing concept of Fritz Schütze (Schütze 2012; cf. Kaźmierska 1997; 2004; Rokuszewska-Pawełek 2002: 45–70).

Consequently, we recognised narratives as significant elements when recreating human experiences, allowing to reconstruct space and to help reach the 'time and place of the occurrence of a fact that had an effect on us (our interviewees – A.K.L.'s note)' (Halbwachs 2008: 137).

The eighteen stories we collected formed a meganarrative with a multitude of heroes/voices[4]. In a way, each of the narrators added their fragment of the story and filled it in with personal contents; when talking about the factory in their own way, each emphasised different dimensions of their biographical experience. The meganarrative of Łódzkie Zakłady Przemysłu Spirytusowego 'Polmos' consists of stories that concern, for example, the history of the factory – the official one and the remembered one; biographies of workers – circumstances of getting the job, career path, combining private life with professional life; the factory space and its organisation; production and technology – the formulas used for production; products and advertising; the rhythm and

4 The publication *Monopol Wódczany w Łodzi. Miejsce opowiedziane* includes extensive citations from the ethnographic interviews conducted (Karpińska, Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2018).

organisation of work – responsibilities connected with the job, bonuses, promotions, raises, punishments, and dismissals; social conditions – healthcare, company vacation centres; relationships between workers – joint celebrations of name days and holidays, mushroom picking trips, ways of smuggling vodka outside the factory; but also liquidation of the factory (Fig. 4).

In the project described, the archaeologists' task was not to carry out archaeological and architectural research of the post-factory complex, but only to inventory the artefacts connected with its past. Thus, the artefacts were not obtained through excavations but through an organised collection of the so-called mementoes provided by former workers of Polmos, members of their families, and citizens of Łódź. The idea behind the collection was connected with the plans to open a small museum in the MONOPOLIS complex, devoted to the former Zakłady Przemysłu Spirytusowego.

Nearly all the people who shared their mementoes with us later became our interviewees. We treated the artefacts handed over or lent as tangible relics of the contemporary past and, just like in the case of classical portable artefacts, we classified and inventoried them. Each of the two hundred and thirty-six objects received a label with an inventory number and brief information about the artefact and its owner.

Fig. 4. A shooting contest in Tworzyjanki; a private photograph; donated by K. Sakwińska; as published in: Karpińska, Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2018.

We divided the collection into four categories: items (bottles, glasses etc.), photographs (showing the former factory, its staff at work and after hours, e.g. during sports events, on holiday, and during official and private meetings), private and official documents (identity cards, diplomas, memoirs, certificates, public notices, letters to management, internal economic analyses), and trade and press documents (advertising folders and leaflets, product catalogues, articles from trade and everyday press (Fig. 5, 6, 7, 8).

The objects collected form an interesting example of tangible culture connected with the everyday work in a factory as well as the social and private life regulated by the work. We

Fig. 5. A half a litre bottle with a fragment of a label with a sign: "ŁÓDZKA WYTWÓRNIA WÓDEK W ŁODZI" ("Łódź Vodka Distillery in Łódź") and "DENATURAT, [Ł]ATWOPALNY" ("Metylated Spirit, flammable"), "[TRUCI]ZNA" ("Poison"), "0.5 [l] from the 1930s–1950s; donated by: J. Gołębiowska; as published in: Karpińska, Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2018.

Fig. 6. A promotional vodka glass with the trademark "Łódzkie Zakłady Przemysłu Spirytusowego. Rok zał. 1902"; donated by A. Jędrzejczak and Z. Banaszczyk; as published in: Karpińska, Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2018.

Fig. 7. Pages from an advertising brochure of Łódź Polmos from the 1990s; donated by W. Ossowski; as published in: Karpińska, Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2018.

treated them as sources of knowledge, and certain evidence forming a basis for drawing conclusions about culture, morality and social space of a given time and place. Despite the relatively short chronology of the objects as portable artefacts, many of them are unique as, paradoxically, they have small material and collector's value (except for older bottles and labels). Had it not been for the media and sentimental context that accompanied our collection, most of these object would have sooner or later become waste (cf. Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2012).

To us, the inventory of historical objects, made in a way typical of excavation research, was a kind of a manifesto, through which we wanted to show that the contemporary past is also an area explored by archaeology, which is referred to as *archaeology of the contemporary past* (*Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past…* 2001; Zalewska 2016). In the case of the artefacts from the former Monopol Wódczany we followed the same procedure for classifying, describing and interpreting we use with regard to artefacts of tangible culture studied by historical archaeology (Kajzer 1996: 206–250). What makes them different is the possibility of referring them to a specific group of people or individuals. They become parts of someone's biography and, thanks to the stories of their owners, they also receive their own biographies (cf. Kobiałka 2015; 2017).

In one of the cases, the artefact directed us towards the biographies of its owners. In 2018, during repair work on the roof of the filter house of the former Łódź Monopoly, a corked half a litre vodka bottle was found, with a piece of paper inside covered with text written with a copying pencil. At first, the text seemed illegible,

Fig. 8. An advertising box with a pack of cards with trademarks "Polmos Łódź" and "Łódzkie Zakłady Przemysłu Spirytusowego. 1902"; donated by A. Jędrzejczak and Z. Banaszczyk; as published in: Karpińska, Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2018.

but thanks to the help of Doctor Adam Sitarek from the Institute of History of the University of Łódź, it was possible to read it (a simplified version):

> This letter was written down by: two painters, one from Kalisz, and one from Łódź. The one from Kalisz is Stanisław Prusiewicz. The one from Łódź is Józef Pruskalski. Łódź, 26th November 1929.
>
> I, Stanisław Prusiewicz, the former defender of Warsaw in 1920. This paper is for remembrance. We are writing during work, it is 8 am, the day is Tuesday. We hereby sign: St. Prusiewicz, Józef Pruskalski. Please give this paper to painters. Born in the years: Stanisław Prusiewicz 1902, Józef Pruskalski 1907.

Fig. 9. A bottle with a letter discovered in 2018 during repair work on the roof of the filter house of the former Łódź Monopol; as published in: Karpińska, Krupa-Ławrynowicz, Ławrynowicz 2018.

The note is a letter for which a half a litre vodka bottle became a time capsule. On Tuesday, November 29, 1929, at 8 am, two painters: Stanisław Prusiewicz (b. February or May 1902) and Józef Pruskalski (b. April 1907), who were painting the internal, wooden side of the roof, wrote a letter to their colleagues (painters) from the future. It is worth noting that this was so important to twenty-five-year-old Stanisław and twenty-year-old Józef that they provided their full names, dates of birth, and places of birth (the first one was from Kalisz, and the other one from Łódź). Stanisław also emphasised that he had defended Warsaw during the Polish-Soviet War in 1920. After ninety years, the men's wish to be remembered came true more fully than they had expected: their letter did not only reach painters, but it was also published in the Łódź press (Fig. 9).

While working on the materials collected, we used archives, the press, and the Internet. This consisted in surveys of available archival sources and the existing studies and documents, both scientific and parascientific. We identified and analysed materials from a hundred archival units (mostly the collections of the State Archive in Łódź and the City of Łódź Archive) connected with the operation of the

factory (including architectural designs, financial statements, registers of invention designs, organisation charts, price lists, and commemorative books).

The survey also covered iconographic materials published online (ninety archival and contemporary photographs were collected and catalogued) and press releases available online and in library collections (forty-seven texts were collected and catalogued).

Moreover, the survey involved analysis of national and foreign museum projects and exhibitions, the topics of which were connected with the artefacts presented or the space used/converted and referred to the unique character of the factory we studied, which was why they could offer some practical hints about the ways of using the materials obtained during the project[5].

However, we mostly learnt about the history of the Łódź Monopoly from our interviewees. We were able to visit the past of a place, which had not been well explored before, thanks to the people who agreed to share their memories, impressive trade knowledge, personal archives and mementoes. Naturally, such reconstruction of the past of a place is incomplete. One of the reasons for this is the nature of the ethnographic material, the aim of which is not to show 'everything'. The memories collected are 'stories from memory', which – as anthropological researchers know perfectly well – implicates selectivity, and so fragmentariness. From the memory storehouse one can only obtain the best preserved fragments of a sometimes non-existent whole. In the narratives we used, the factory space was limited to one building, and sometimes even to the production hall. These are spaces the authors are familiar with thanks to their direct, everyday experience. Such selectivity of memory concerns not only the topography of the factory complex, but also events and people. Thus, let me repeat this, such reconstruction expresses individual and collective experiences and talks about a reality full of people, their biographies, and ideas, determined by events and actions.

A Place – New Urban Narrative

Sharon Zukin claims that a city promotes itself by skilfully modelling its material dimension, and in a post-industrial city revitalised spaces serve the role of its 'most important visual representations' (Zukin 1995: 16). The new administrators of the former Monopol Wódczany seem to understand this well. They

5 Transcripts of the ethnographic interviews, the artefacts collected (and their catalogue), and the results of surveys were provided to Virako Sp. z o.o. The part of materials the authors deemed most representative was included in the already quoted work on Monopol Wódczany in Łódź.

carefully select and pick the contents of this projection[6]. They implement their plans consistently and successfully, which is reported in the press, and which is confirmed by my observations (as a citizen of Łódź).

Even before the revitalisation, exhibitions, concerts, film screenings, photo sessions, and fashion shows were organised in the former factory. However, this temporary event space is only a fragment of the metamorphosis. MONOPOLIS wants to combine different fields of activity. Apart from the office part, there will be space for cultural events, leisure activities, and relaxation. The cultural and recreational offer will include music events, exhibitions and theatre shows on two stages: an outdoor stage and a stage in the former spirit storehouse, as well as restaurants in the former laboratory of flavoured vodkas. An important element of the offer will be a museum devoted to the workers of the former Polmos and technologies of vodka production (www.monopolis.pl). In their communications, the owners emphasise that one of the chief assets of the place will be its post-industrial architecture or post-factory character (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10. A promotional photograph of MONOPOLIS; as published on http://monopolis.pl.

The researchers, who in this case are burdened with involvement in the urban project described, can now only carefully and critically observe the transformation process.

Today, only a few people would question the statement that space is not only created by architects, urban planners, and investors, but also by ways in

6 Thus, somewhere in the margin, an old Lefebvre's question emerges: 'Who does the city belong to?' or, in other words, 'What has the right to be included in the dominant image of the city?' (Zukin 1995: 11).

which it is re-constituted or transformed by the 'everyday practice', meaning the experiences and activities of entities that exist in a given space and use it. From this perspective, the MONOPOLIS space is only a potential space; it is a new urban narrative. When talking about urban narratives, we have to consider three notions: place, memory, and activity (Michałowska 2014: 249).

Places are not only connected with a spatial factor, but also with an identity-related factor (because a 'place', according to the phenomenological interpretation, is a consequence of the sense of belonging). Places are created by the work of memory (it can be said that they consider the temporal dimension – continuity or its end), while activity triggers a narrative acting as an intermediary between places and memory. This is of significance to architects and investors who create their own narratives and take into consideration the narratives of places; it is also significant to people whose lives made narratives using the urban fabric. As Robert A. Beaurogard wrote:

> All sites exist first as places. Before places become objects of urban planning and design, they exist in personal experience, hearsay, and collective memories. Standing between planners and designers and the sites on which they hope to act are socially embedded narratives. And, while these place narratives can be ignored, they cannot be wholly erased. Places are never empty (Beaurogard 2005: 39).

It is thus worth remembering about the obligation to include constant de-re-construction processes in different plans and on different levels, as Anna Zeidler-Janiszewska emphasises. The city is a residence of past and future generations[7]. Their 'voices should be present and heard just like ours' (Zeidler-Janiszewska 1997: 8). Urban narratives lead to the past, shape the present, and design the future at the same time, thanks to different records of memory and experiences occupying the same space simultaneously.

'Voices' or, in other words, 'urban narratives' are factors giving meaning to space. People give meaning to the space they live in thanks to their ideas and actions they take. Narratives reveal the significance of space, hierarchising its value in individual and social terms. They are also action-related as they are

7 I leave aside the tempting and quite obvious with regard to the issue in question category of palimpsest, which became a metaphor of a postmodern city as an effect of Ricoeur's hermeneutics of trace (Huyssen 2003; Karpińska 2004; Rewers 2005; Turner 2010). It is popular among architects and writers, but also cultural anthropologists and archaeologists who want to express the multilayer structure, sensuality and historic nature of the urban fabric. Perceiving the city as a palimpsest allows to see the rhythm of history, construction and destruction, and accumulation of one culture over the other. The idea of a palimpsest consists in combining all layers, at the same time drawing attention to their temporariness.

expressed through the relationships between objects and space, and the 'participation of bodies in the discourse' (de Certeau 2008: 116), meaning activities and all moves made by participants in the urban space.

Will the narratives of former workers of Zakłady Przemysłu Spirytusowego Polmos function along new narratives, and if yes, then in what configuration? This question is yet to be answered.

However, this discussion leads to another observation which – even though it appears at the end – is constitutive for the city as a character. It concerns the acknowledgement that the city is, by nature, never finished. Here is what Tadeusz Sławek wrote about it:

> What happens in the city, what is built in the city (the city, in its present (de)form(ity), strikes its inhabitants with the emergence of new structures, repairs, and demolitions, which are signals of anonymous powers, for which the city is a perfect environment; we could even go as far as to say that – using Plato's language – the city is a home for these anonymous powers), and what requires a specific de/re/construction of perspective (Sławek 2010: 20).

The city is only on its way to itself, not ready, and its seemingly most lasting structures are, in fact, most fragile and misleading, while each interference in the city fabric is connected with uncertainty that accompanies any shift in the significance of a place which we cannot fully predict.

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Summary

In the Factory, in Łódź, in the City. Reconstructing the Industrial Past of a Place

The paper discusses an interdisciplinary research project (2014–2016) concerning the industrial heritage of Łódź, as exemplified by the former Monopol Wódczany, which is today converted for the purposes of new, cultural and service functions. The aim of ethnographic and archaeological activities was to collect oral histories and artefacts, which not only documented the history of the factory, but also presented the professional biographies of its workers, meaning people whose lives had been intertwined with the activity of the company. Thanks to such a research assumption, the researchers were able to reconstruct the industrial past of the place based on memories, artefacts collected, and archive surveys. The Author describes the idea behind the project, its methodology and results, using the notions of industrial heritage and urban narratives as the analytical context.

Keywords: industrial heritage, ethnographic research, archaeological research, urban narratives, Łódź, Monopol Wódczany in Łódź, Monopolis

Streszczenie

W fabryce, w Łodzi, w mieście. Rekonstruowanie przemysłowej przeszłości miejsca

W artykule omówiony zostaje interdyscyplinarny projekt badawczy (2014–2016) dotyczący dziedzictwa przemysłowego Łodzi, na przykładzie dawnego Monopolu Wódczanego, dzisiaj adaptowanego do nowych funkcji kulturalno-usługowych. Celem badań etnograficznych i archeologicznych było zebranie przekazów ustnych oraz artefaktów, nie tylko dokumentujących historię fabryki, lecz również przedstawiających zawodowe biografie pracowników, czyli osób, których życie splecione było z działalnością przedsiębiorstwa. Dzięki takiemu założeniu, badaczom udało się zrekonstruować przemysłową przeszłość miejsca na podstawie wspomnień, zgromadzonych przedmiotów oraz kwerend archiwalnych. Autorka opisuje ideę, metodologię oraz rezultaty projektu, wykorzystując jako kontekst analityczny pojęcia dziedzictwa przemysłowego i miejskich narracji.

Słowa kluczowe: dziedzictwo przemysłowe, badania etnograficzne, badania archeologiczne, miejskie narracje, Łódź, Monopol Wódczany w Łodzi, Monopolis

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The Right to the City, the Right to Heritage – Material and Non-Material Traces of Scheibler's 'New Weaving Mill' in Łódź

The complex spatial nature of Łódź, its history and status of a post-industrial city have contributed considerably to selecting it as a kind of a testing ground for revitalisation in Poland. The gradual downfall of industry had its effect on the appearance of the urban fabric. Unfortunately, the industrial heritage was initially disregarded, and even today it is sometimes ignored. This is what Gałuszka wrote about the attitude of the municipality, inhabitants and representatives of the private sector towards the city:

> Meanwhile, at the beginning of the 1990s, Łódź irretrievably lost a great portion of its industrial heritage as a result of not only illegal demolitions but also operations that were in accordance with the municipal regulations. Due to legal loopholes, similar demolitions take place in the city regularly. Thus, it would be difficult to agree that rhetorical references to the myth of industrial Łódź are reflected in dynamic municipal activities aimed at the preservation of the spatial and architectural industrial heritage (Gałuszka 2013: 9).

The case of Łódź as a city requiring and undergoing revitalisation processes is complex. The very chain of changes has to concern not only the fabric of the city centre, neglected quarters and tenement houses which do not meet the present housing standards, but also post-industrial buildings that are still

numerous despite all legal and illegal demolitions. This is significant not only for planning and economic reasons (improved visual and infrastructural aspects of the city), but also for social and cultural ones. The post-industrial heritage does not only include physical traces of a unique urban development but also its semantic meaning preserved in the consciousness of the city inhabitants. Charles Landry draws attention to the fact that a drastic change in the driving force of a city and its character from industrial to post-industrial is not connected with an equally sudden change from industrial culture to post-industrial culture, so it does not make the citizens immediately and readily abandon their old models of life and work related to the industrial context of the surroundings and shift towards the postulated open, 'creative' models. This is why it is so important for revitalisation changes to cover the post-industrial space so that, despite serving a completely different function, it is not left to annihilate and can remain a significant element the collective memory of the city inhabitants is built upon and can refer to (cf. Landry 2013: 128).

Łódź as such a city, looking for a new identity, is a very interesting case, with tensions and different attitudes existing, different forms of commemoration being tested as well as traces of neglect and oblivion.

Cities that undergo changes need new ways of talking about their space, activities taking place there, and the meanings that are assigned and deciphered[1]. These ways are to make it possible to describe the present, to recall the past, and to outline the future. It is thus worth paying attention to the possibility of including studies in the field of archaeology of the contemporary past in activities aiming to create a narrative of different types of urban space. As Anna Zalewska indicates when outlining the scope of interest of this field of archaeological research: "this does not mean, however, that the object of research in the field of archaeology of the contemporary past is limited to material remains of the acts of violence or violation of rights and dignity of individuals and communities" (Zalewska 2016: 22). Violence in this case refers mostly to typical, tragic events occurring throughout the 20th century. The author draws attention to the fact that violence is not the only indicator archaeology of the contemporary past is interested in. Let us think about the possibility of extending the category of violence and the potential role of archaeological research in supplementing the narrative of economic and social violence. The sudden political and economic transformation after 1989 turned out to be particularly severe in the

1 Interestingly, in her article *Self, Belonging and Social Change*, Vanessa May notes critically that it is unfair to perceive the past times, traditions and places as constant and unchangeable elements, frequently juxtaposed with the tangled present (May 2011). It is also worth realising that such a perception of cities is a part of a broader discourse and that it stems from earlier conditions, including philosophical and historiographic contexts.

case of Łódź. The lack of any system support for the textile industry (to various extents offered to the mining and shipbuilding industries) soon resulted in the collapse of many factories in the city, which, in turn, led to a huge increase in the unemployment rate. It is not without significance that a large proportion of employees in this industry were women who, due to the cultural and social context, were not a group the dissatisfaction of which would pose a threat to policy-makers[2]. There have already been some studies conducted by archaeologists and anthropologists into the transformation and attempts to restore/supplement the memory and history of the everyday operation of Łódź factories. An example of such studies was a project connected with the transformation of the former 'Monopol Wódczany' factory into *Monopolis* for commercial purposes, conducted by the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology and the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Łódź. The project coordinators were Prof. Dr Hab. Grażyna Ewa Karpińska, Dr Aleksandra Krupa-Ławrynowicz and Dr Olgierd Ławrynowicz.

In this article, we would like to have a closer look at the remains of one of the largest industrial areas in Łódź, meaning the space of the *New Weaving Mill* in Kilińskiego Street, which used to be a part of Karol Scheibler's empire. We will use this example to present the tensions between the actors of the urban life and the related right to the city, which in this particular case is also the right to heritage. At the same time, we indicate the significance of involving different actors in the process of creating narratives (also those contributing to the extension of the research field) of it. This necessity to include changes in the status of different holders of the right to shape the interest in material artefacts is also mentioned by Zalewska:

> …tendency to disregard the actual social and cultural factors that have a significant effect on the necessity to extend the social interest in material relics of the past. Ignoring or diminishing the role of stakeholders other than archaeologists in determining the scope of archaeological research that is significant in social and cognitive terms may stem from earlier habits according to which only scientists indicated the object of research (Zalewska 2016: 23).

Let us turn towards viewing this space as a space of everyday life and work, which was marked with an extraordinary event, namely the visit of John Paul II

2 A paradoxical and significant exception is the Łódź hunger march of female textile workers of 1981, which is rarely mentioned within the general historical discourse. However, more and more activities are undertaken with the aim to bring this historical event back within such areas as herstorical currents.

in 1987. This, in turn, will be the point of departure for describing the strategies for commemorating/forgetting in the context of municipal practices connected with the creation and commemoration of heritage.

Karol Scheibler bought the land to build a factory as early as in 1873. Over the following years he built there a bleaching mill, a new finishing mill, dyeworks and warehouses, and in 1910 he finally managed to open the heart of the whole industrial complex – the power plant, which was one of the largest facilities of this type in Congress Poland. In 1899, the *New Weaving Mill* was also erected in Widzewska Street (today's 187 Kilińskiego Street). The building, which is U in plan, covered 3 ha. It was eclectic with some neo-Renaissance elements. After the First World War, two Łódź giants – the factories of Scheibler and Grohman – merged, forming the largest cotton conglomerate on the Continent at the time. After the Second World War and nationalisation, the buildings housed the Defenders of Peace Cotton Industry Plant 'Uniontex'. One could learn this name from a huge inscription on the New Weaving Mill, which employed more than 6,000 people. Initially, the factory manufactured cotton products but in the 1950s it started manufacturing products of artificial and synthetic fibres (such as elana, textra, argona). The production of Uniontex was sold in the country and abroad. At first, the extended offer translated into an increase in the number of employees (5 years after the war it was 14,000), however, over the following years, this number dropped due to modernisation. It has to be emphasised that women were always in majority among the factory's employees. And meeting female textile workers was one of the aims of John Paul II's visit to Łódź in 1987.

On June 13, 1987, during his third pilgrimage to Poland, John Paul II paid his only visit to Łódź. There were a few events planned during the visit, starting with the pope's meeting with the city inhabitants at the Łódź-Lublinek airport. The last event of the pope's visit to Łódź was quite unique as it was a meeting with the workers of 'Uniontex'. It was unprecedented mostly because it was the first time the pope would meet with workers (and in this particular case – female textile workers) in their workplace. It is also worth noting that the factory to be visited by the Pope was initially different: Julian Marchlewski Cotton Industry Plant 'Poltex'. As Dr Sebastian Pilarski, historian from the Historical Research Office in Łódź, Institute of National Remembrance, says:

> The authorities did not agree to it because Marchlewski was too closely related to the period of the Solidarity union's legal operation. They chose 'Uniontex' instead because this factory was treated as a model socialist plant (as cited in Karcanewicz 2018).

It also seems significant that the employees of 'Uniontex' were mostly women. This might have affected the decision of the authorities who probably assumed that this would ensure a peaceful visit. The meeting itself lasted about an hour, and the factory management only allowed employees of that plant to participate. The meeting was not broadcast on television (thus, the only visual mementoes are photographs including the one you can see today on a banner hanging next to the former entrance to the factory) but only on the radio. Even though the authorities turned off the PA system so as to make it impossible for the people gathered near the factory to listen to the meeting, the crowd could hear the transmission from the radios people from the nearby houses put in their windows.

In his speech, John Paul II mostly referred to the specific character of his audience: women, textile workers, who performed a number of roles, and he appreciated the great amount of their everyday work. He repeatedly emphasised his surprise and how impressed he was by visiting a workplace that employed virtually only women. In his speech, he valorised women, including working women, in accordance with the teachings of the Catholic Church. The characteristic issues the message covered were: 1. the uniqueness of the place where women are in the majority; 2. he called them representatives of all working Polish women in different life situations; 3. he emphasised the relationship between women and Virgin Mary (the Catholic Church designated 1987 a Marian Year); 4. he recalled the history of the creation of man and woman (Genesis 1, 27) and the Biblical message according to which people should subdue the earth they were given; 5. he also cited the Old Testament story of the 'virtuous woman', which he interpreted as praise for the work of women (Book of Proverbs 31, 10); 6. he said that the work of women consisted of chores around the house, which was their workshop and the basic form of their work; 7. he emphasised the change that had taken place after the separation of home from work, and so leaving home for work, which was experienced by both men and women; 8. he reminded the audience about how arduous work and life in general could be; 9. bad working conditions lead to the destruction of women's health, which translates into the health of the children they give birth to; 10. to him, separation of home and workplace was particularly difficult for women, and he said: 'not, most of all, man for work, but work for man', which is why humanism is so important in the way people, and particularly women, are treated at work; 11. the woman is the heart of the house, giving life and bringing up children, and he added: '[…] of course, she is supported by her husband and regularly shares with him all parental and childcare responsibilities. However, it is known that the human body can no longer live when the

heart stops working. The analogy is quite clear. No family can survive without the one who is its heart […]'; 12. thus, the Church called for appreciating what women did at home as mothers and carers; 13. women's professional work outside home should respect their calling as wives and mothers; 14. he emphasised the significance of women's participation in strikes that spread all over Poland, including women from Łódź, mostly textile workers, fighting '[…] for the dignity of man of work so that everyone can determine their fate and their work according to their capabilities and skills; so that everyone can choose their moral ideals, live following their beliefs, and publicly state and practice their religion […]'; 15. he recalled women's achievements in the history of the country, particularly during the hardest times, and said that '[…] immeasurable are – throughout this history – the debts of the whole nation to Polish women: mothers, carers, workers… heroes […]'[3].

An interesting example of a 'reconstruction' of this event is Piotr Kosiński's film available on YouTube, in which contemporary black and white pictures/photographs of the devastated New Weaving Mill are juxtaposed with the recording of John Paul II's speech. In the film description, the author points to the presence of this event in memory:

> The Uniontex factory is now in ruin. However, history recorded the day when the pilgrim, Saint John Paul II, visited this place, Łódź, in 1987. It is as if the words spoken then still resounded among the remaining walls of the Uniontex factory. What was then and what is now say clearly: *panta rhei*. This is my reflection whenever I go down Kilińskiego Street between Milionowa and Tymienieckiego Streets. The place is the same but the time is different and Łódź is different, and we are older. The time never stands still but the earthly existence can also be heartening. *Panta rhei…* let's listen to great thinkers who understood the world better than an average man (Kosiński 2017).

The New Weaving Mill in Tymienieckiego Street, also referred to as the Papal Weaving Mill, can be treated as a special case of a place in which memory and significance accumulate; a place connected with an event that was to be 'commemorated' through material transformation of the post-industrial space. The

3 As cited on: http://ekai.pl/biblioteka/dokumenty/x493/przemowienie-do-wlokniarek-z-lodzkich-zakladow-przemyslu-bawelnianego-uniontex/?print=1. In his final words, John Paul II gave an example of Stanisława Leszczyńska as the most important Łódź heroine (from the point of view of the Church; she was declared Servant of God). She was a midwife born in Łódź in 1896. She was sent to the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp for helping Jews from the Łódź ghetto. In the camp, she also worked as a midwife. She did not agree to kill the babies born by prisoners even though she reported to Dr Mengele. After she left the camp, she worked in one of the Łódź hospitals. She died in the 1970s as a practising Catholic who was against the destruction of life.

disintegration and destruction of the New Weaving Mill are related to its deconstruction – decomposition into smaller categories and meanings, but also different ways of interpreting and constructing new semantic configurations. Places of remembrance, as understood by Pierre Nora, are owned by a group in the consciousness of its members and carriers of not only one value but things that are important for the community in general. But what happens when these values are not supported by classical commemorative forms such as statues, museums and restored or revitalised urban spaces? It might be useful to refer to the interpretation and deliberations of Dariusz Czaja with regard to anthropological categories that describe spaces: places of remembrance, non-places, and heterotopies, which, according to the author, seem to most closely correspond with the spaces exemplified by the New Weaving Mill.

> Heterotopies are in a way beyond all places, however, one can point to their locations. They are significantly disparate (*heteros*), different, peculiar. […] Heterotopies are located halfway between the familiar and known real places (*topos*) and places deprived of real space, which only exist as an imagined, thought-up being (*ou-topos*). Heterotopy exists but in a different way than places that are routinely available, visited and experienced. It maintains an incommensurable relationship with the rest of the surrounding space. It functions within it as a different, separate and distinct being. It is a breach in the ordered spatial structure (Czaja 2013: 14).

Fig. 1. A fragment of the buildings located at the main entrance in Kilińskiego Street – Alicja Piotrowska's private archive.

Today, the New Weaving Mill, just like many similar post-industrial spaces and abandoned urban spaces, is a heterotopy attracting with its suspension between the known and the unknown. Degraded places are, among others, destinations for the so-called urban exploration, one of the main aims of which, apart from spending free time and pursuing an alternative form of tourism, is a certain objection against the deprecation and the abandoning of some elements of the urban fabric for others; fight for commemoration (mostly through photographs and films) and the right to understand heritage in

different ways, including those inconvenient or, in the case of the New Weaving Mill, 'postponed' ones, where the material (market) value turned out to be more important than the immaterial value (remembrance, heritage, events).

After the transformation in 1989, the factory grounds (including the New Weaving Mill) had a few owners. First, it was bought by a known Łódź construction company 'Varitex'. Then, the land was bought from an official receiver by the owner of the E.Leclerc hypermarket chain with the intention to build a large-format store there. However, the municipality did not want to approve this plan. After a series of negotiations, the mayor of Łódź signed an agreement with the investor, pursuant to which the property could be sold to an entity selected by the municipality. The store was not built, and the factory was deprived of any supervision, which was when the gradual robbery of scrap materials started. The best proof of the failure of these plans is a nearly faded billboard with an image of the pope. The next owner of the property was the 'Opal Property Developments' company. In 2007, some activities were undertaken to create a place commemorating the visit of John Paul II to the weaving mill of Uniontex in the grounds of the former weaving mill, next to purely commercial facilities. In the notarial deed confirming the purchase of the property from the French company, the new owner obliged himself to create such a space. Even a competition for a design of the centre was organised. Investors presented their ideas for the development of the area purchased. 'Priest's Mill Estate', i.e. an artistic and business urban space for the inhabitants of Łódź and tourists, was supposed to be an exclusive example of the transformation of post-industrial space for commercial purposes. The investment was to cover 37,000 square metres, with the first stage including 6,000 square metres. It was to house cafés, coffee bar clubs, interiors shops, sports shops, clothes shops as well as architecture offices, advertising agencies and photographic studios.

In the meantime, other ideas for the development of this space appeared, such as the idea to build a city stadium named after John Paul II in the grounds of the former weaving mill, put forward during one of the meetings of the Municipal Sports Commission.

From 2014, the owner of the property connected with the former empire of Karol Scheibler has been the Griffin Group company, which bought it for PLN 26 million at a collector's auction. The company is going to transform the former factory buildings into a commercial and residential centre. The contractor is the Echo Investments company, and the work is underway. This time, the investor decided to involve inhabitants and the potential target public at the construction stage and invited them to take guided tours of the buildings,

including the power plant, which is most attractive visually. This is a very interesting idea proving the awareness of the growing popularity of urban exploring – in this particular case everyone can experience and see the abandoned urban spaces under controlled conditions. The Art Nouveau power plant designed by Latvian engineer Alfred Frisch became representative of the whole investment – a kind of a symbol. Thus, the first stage of the work connected with residential construction takes place around it. It is difficult to say whether the remaining part of the area will be adapted for new purposes. Information about the investment available at the moment concerns the part covering the area between Tymienieckiego Street, Milionowa Street, Art_Inkubator and the planned extension of Słowiańska Street.

The future fate of the New Weaving Mill, the progressing degradation of which is already very advanced, remains unknown. It has been gutted for further investment, then scrap metal collectors got interested in it, and finally its roof collapsed. Moreover, in May 2012, there was a dangerous fire in the weaving mill, which only made the damage worse.

The New Weaving Mill can be analysed as an example of space that can give rise to the right to use and shape the urban space as a place of conflicts of interest between its users (past, present and potential) and those who dispose of it on the decision-making level. Peculiarly, space is the most tangible thing a deficit of which is immediately visible, at the same time being the most desired, which is why it falls prey to all forms of appropriation. Concepts of the right to the city emphasise the undeniable fact of the value of and the fight for space, and help us see the danger described by Harvey as follows:

> This is, surely, a far better tale by which to explicate the true tragedy of the urban commons for our times. Those who create an interesting and stimulating everyday neighbourhood life lose it to the predatory practices of the real estate entrepreneurs, the financiers and upper class consumers bereft of any urban social imagination (Harvey 2012: 117).

In contemporary cities, we often see the taking over of attractive spaces which are centres of cultural life or are conveniently located. Sometimes, however, these takeovers are not hugely successful.

On the part of owners and investors, commemoration connected with the New Weaving Mill, limited in this case to one event/Pope's pilgrimage, basically has had the form of unattractive banners, paper plans and declarations used as bargaining cards in negotiations with the city authorities (who also used this space and promises to transform it as campaign promises). The present investment in this area remains an open question.

Fig. 2. A banner next to the gate in Kilińskiego Street – Alicja Piotrowska's private archive.

However, these forms of commemoration are accompanied by grassroots, private initiatives: there is a metal image of the pope and a wooden cross on the main gate.

Fig. 3. The gate in Kilińskiego Street – Alicja Piotrowska's private archive.

The city, which functions as a centre of activities and a centre of influence and disposal of different goods, is also perceived by some researchers and activists as a centre, an arena of fight for power over the characteristics and possibilities it offers. Such an approach suggests viewing the city not as a set of properties and assets but jointly used and owned goods.

Thus, the right to the city is mostly the right to activity within the urban space. As David Harvey emphasises, it is collective and focused (Harvey 2012: 188). Its holders are not only the authorities or elites. Its aim is to extend the group of people making decisions about the city: from this perspective, city inhabitants become its rightful owners. Ideologically, it is obviously connected with the belief that the dominant system of management should be accompanied by a certain anti-capitalistic way of talking about the city and its development. Urban exploring can also be an objection against the aggressive taking over of places by investors whose aim is to profit and not to shape the urban space in accordance with the needs of its functional and symbolic inhabitants. Moreover, activities connected with urban exploring (publication of photographs, films and frequently their descriptions in the social media together with discussions about different interesting locations) can also be seen as practices including other narratives and other ways of viewing the past, history and cultural heritage in the public discourse, or even a different way of perceiving the city, also in the tourist context (cf. Robinson 2015: 142).

Concepts of the right to the city emphasise the undeniable fact of the value of and the fight for space, and help us see the danger described by Harvey as follows:

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In contemporary cities, we often see the taking over of attractive spaces which are centres of cultural life or are conveniently located. At the same time, this is not only about intercepting places but also the values they represent and incorporating them into a tale about ownership that is convenient for the new owners (this is what the so-called SoHo effect is). The basis for the right to the city is the equality of diversity characteristic of its inhabitants. It is not only connected with urban space and its use but also requires a shift in the way of thinking about it and about the way urban character is implemented as a lifestyle. This is why the author of the concept, Lefebvre (2012), says:

> The right to the city is like a cry and a demand […] The right to the city cannot be conceived of as a simple visiting right or as a return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed right to urban life (as cited in Majer 2014: 184).

Thus, a city is to be mostly open to diverse possibilities of living in it, with the diversity becoming its major value. As we wanted to show, from this perspective, its essence gives rise to the right to diverse heritage and the ways of commemorating, cultivating, appropriating, and forgetting it.

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Summary

The Right to the City, the Right to Heritage – Material and Non-Material Traces of Scheibler's 'New Weaving Mill' in Łódź

The paper presents the case of post-industrial space of the New Weaving Mill in Kilińskiego Street in Łódź, which was a part of Karol Scheibler's empire. We use it to illustrate the tensions between actors of the city life and the related right to the city including the right to heritage. At the same time, we indicate the significance of involving different actors in the process of creating narratives (also those contributing to the extension of the research field) of it. In our discussion, we mostly perceive this space as everyday space – space of work that was marked with an unusual event: the visit of John Paul II in 1987. Thus, we consider the practices and strategies for commemorating/forgetting in the context of urban practices connected with the construction of heritage and the right to it.

Keywords: city, post-industrial space, Łódź, material heritage, non-material heritage, right to the city

Streszczenie

Prawo do miasta, prawo do dziedzictwa – materialne i niematerialne ślady „Nowej Tkalni" Scheiblera w Łodzi

W artykule przybliżamy przypadek przestrzeni postindustrialnej Nowej Tkalni przy ul. Kilińskiego w Łodzi, będącej częścią dawnego imperium Karola Scheiblera, który posłuży nam do zaprezentowania napięć pomiędzy aktorami życia miejskiego i związanego z tym prawa do miasta, w tym także dziedzictwa. Jednocześnie wskażemy na istotności włączania różnorodnych aktorów w proces kształtowania narracji (również tych wpływających na rozszerzanie pola

badawczego) o nim. W swoich rozważaniach wykorzystałyśmy przede wszystkim perspektywę spojrzenia na tę przestrzeń jako na przestrzeń codzienności – pracy, która została naznaczona wydarzeniem niecodziennym – wizytą Jana Pawła II w 1987 r. Zastanawiamy się więc nad praktykami i strategiami upamiętniającymi/zapominającymi w kontekście praktyk miejskich związanych z konstruowaniem dziedzictwa oraz prawa do niego.

Słowa kluczowe: miasto, przestrzeń postindustrialna, Łódź, dziedzictwo materialne, dziedzictwo niematerialne, prawo do miasta

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Stone Age Archaeological Sites in the Landscape. Monumentalisation of Sites on the South Korea Example[1]

Dozens of new archaeological sites are being discovered around the world every year. Most of these discoveries are well protected and secured. Research documentation and portable artifacts are moved to museums and research institutes. Some of them are examined and meticulously analyzed, and the resultant research papers published. However, the most interesting archaeological sites that contribute most to science are only sometimes provided with special protection. Prehistoric strongholds, fortified settlements or megalithic tombs are sporadically reconstructed on the site of excavations and are a subject to legal protection functioning as parks or archaeological reserves, permanently inscribing in the regional landscape. For example, in European tourism, such activities are considered the most attractive ways to illustrate and tell the story of the history of the region and have the greatest impact on tourists (e.g. Rajewski 1964; Hensel 1973; *The Reconstructed Past…* 2004). Everything that has been mentioned above is related to the use of archaeological sites for educational, tourist and promotional purposes.

However, what about archaeological sites, the remains of which are not visible in the landscape?

1 This article is based on research conducted by the author at the archaeological sites discussed in this article. Since 2015, the author of the article has been associated with the Korean scientific program, "Suyanggae and Her Neighbours". The main purpose of these cyclical conferences is to exchange experiences and determine the main directions of development of research into the Stone Age in the world, with a focus on the Far East. So far, he has had the pleasure of being in South Korea twice. He has also had the honor to meet Professor Lee Yung-Jo and Professor Kidong Bae, the Korean archaeologists mentioned in this article. This article was created thanks to research financially supported by the Foundation of the University of Łódź, the Institute of Korean Prehistory and the Jeongok Prehistory Museum.

Archaeological Sites That Are Not Visible in the Landscape

In fact, there are many different types of archaeological sites. One of the best classifications of types of such "archaeological evidence" is the one proposed by Timothy Darvill: he separated three types of sites[2] – Standing remains, Earthworks and Buried features (Darvill 1987).

In the case of sites visible in the landscape (standing remains) the creation of archaeological reserves is a relatively easier task than creating an open air museum in a place where only portable artifacts, buried deep in the ground were found. When reconstructing a castle, hillfort or ancient tumulus one can easily capture the entire historical context and create an almost perfect replica of the site in its exact, original location. However, how to deal with presenting open archaeological sites from the earliest periods of human settlement, in which only portable objects were used most often of everyday use, the diversity of functions of which were very small?

On the premises of numerous Paleolithic or Mesolithic archaeological sites, flint tools, remains of hearths, bones and bone tools can be found, all of which have been sporadically scattered, and which are associated with the nomadic lifestyle of our Stone Age ancestors. These sites are called "buried sites" and they are the ones that are most vulnerable to destruction and loss of the context of the find due to their typical invisibility and fragility (Darvill 1987; Lee 2018). An archaeologist reads the history of such a place from objects and their mutual arrangement in a broader context. Often, these sites "end up" described in scientific publications, and the entire collection in a museum warehouse. And what if a site has extremely high scientific value and is extremely important for the world of science? How do scientists manage to show the site in the field in such cases? How can one promote such a place and introduce it into the cultural landscape permanently?

Management of Stone Age sites in South Korea, discovered mainly thanks to rescue research, can be a good example of dealing with all of the problems mentioned above.

2 1) Standing remains: built structures, ranging from the upstanding walls of buildings, or field boundaries, through to stone constructions such as stone circles, standing stones, or burial chambers. These constitute some of the most visually impressive sites in the landscape.
2) Earthworks: soil-covered remains of any sort, which can be seen as surface undulations at ground level. These include the covered remains of ruined buildings or their foundations, as well as banks, mounds, lynchets, dykes, ramparts, ditches, gullies, and hollows.
3) Buried features: soil-covered remains which have no visible surface trace at ground level. The depth of burial varies greatly, not necessarily according to the age of the features, but as a consequence of the circumstances under which the evidence became buried.

A Brief Introduction to "Buried Site" Archaeology in South Korea

At the end of the 20th and in the 21st centuries, locating new archaeological sites in South Korea is mainly associated with rescue research. Rescue excavations are carried out before construction of new housing estates and office buildings (Bale 2008; Kwon, Kim 2011; Lee 2018). All sites that are threatened with destruction are protected by the Cultural Heritage Administration, for which the South Korean government is responsible and headed by the Minister of Culture and Tourism (Bale 2008). Non-compliance with laws imposed by the government is, of course, punished severely.

Today, these regulations are generally known to developers and construction companies, but in the second half of the 20th century, a large increase in the use of land – and consequently excavations, caused conflicts between developers and archaeologists who were demanding protection for archaeological sites (Shoda 2008).

Since then, one of the main trends in National Museum projects cooperating with the South Korean government has been towards the popularization of archaeology and moreover, to promote the protection of cultural heritage among the public. For example, in 1977, at the National Museum of Korea, the "Museum College" program was started, which involved training hobbyists in archaeology, history and the history of art (Kwon, Kim 2011). Students included in the program could gain knowledge at master level, and later work as tour guides for Archaeological Reserves and Museums. This program has been implemented by several Regional, National and University Museums. In addition, an educational and training program on cultural heritage is run by the Korea Land and Housing Corporation – a state-owned company responsible for land development in cities, as well as land maintenance and housing. After receiving a diploma, students can work on rescue excavations, and the program itself is rated highly (Kwon, Kim 2011).

Today, there are practically no conflicts related to protection of archeological sites between developers and archaeologists in South Korea. The successes of the ever-evolving field of public archeology are considerable. Protection of archaeological resources has become a key topic of interest in Korean archeology in particular, as well as in Korean society in general (Lee 2018).

To protect the "buried sites" better, all stakeholders, be they archaeologists, conservators, local or national government, are trying to commemorate the site. If such a site is extremely important, the government and interested parties strive to open an archaeological reserve in this place. In addition, at every prehistoric site, even one that has not been designated a protected zone, a monument is erected to commemorate it.

Paleolithic Sorori and Suyanggae sites, which were discovered through rescue research, constitute two very important archaeological sites in the context of displaying monuments in the field and educating the public about the Stone Age in South Korea.

Sorori

The town of Sorori is located in Cheong-won County, Chungbuk Province, South Korea, about 14–16 kilometers north-east of the city of Cheongju (in the center of the Korean Peninsula). This region is surrounded by relatively low-lying hills, forming a flat valley abundant in farmlands. The valley is crossed by a calmly flowing branch of the Guam River called Miho-cheon.

The Sorori archaeological site was discovered during a site survey carried out in the area designated for the construction of the Ochang industrial complex (Lee, Woo 2003). Archaeological work was led by Professor Lee Yung-Jo from the Institute of Korean Prehistory in Cheongju. During the work performed in the years 1997–1998 and in 2001, late Paleolithic cultural layers were discovered. Also late-Paleolithic flint tools were found at the site (Lee, Woo 2003). However, grains of ancient rice laying among the stone implements were the most important finds. During the excavations at Sorori, 59 grains of rice were found, including 18 grains of ancient rice and 41 "quasi rice" (Lee, Woo 2002; 2003). Ancient rice could have been a predecessor of two species of rice found today: Japanese (Oryza sativa japonica) and Indian (Oryza sativa indica) (Lee, Woo 2002; 2003). The age of sedimentary layers of the site, which was probably the first domesticated rice in the world, was determined by isotope dating (Geochron Lab. USA) and C14 (Seoul National University; NFS Arizona AMS Laboratory) (Kim et al. 2015). For the lower layers, dates of 12.500–14.800 BP and 16.300–17.300 BP were determined.

Sorori Monument

A part of the area of former excavations at the Sorori site has been developed by production halls. Now any trace of past human activity in this place can be seen only in museums (including the Chungbuk National University Museum). There are traces of excavation works in the area next to one of the industrial halls, but they can only be noticed by an experienced archaeologist. This piece of land is the only evidence of excavations carried out in this area. However,

Professor Lee Yung-Jo and his team sought to commemorate the place where the oldest rice grains were found.

In Korea, erecting monuments in order to commemorate archaeological sites is of vital importance. This tradition is cultivated at all significant sites. Each place has a stone nearby with a designation and a brief description of what was found there. In the case of Sorori, there is also a commemoration stone, but the importance of this place and marking it in a more sublime way was one of the most important goals of local authorities and companies that funded the project.

On November 23, 2016, a large monument commemorating the explored site was erected. The monument was built by the expressway right at the entrance to the industrial complex. It measures about four and a half meters in height and represents a grain of ancient rice, surrounded by bands, each representing a time loop of 2.000 years. There are eight such loops, so one can quickly calculate how many years have passed since the first settlement of Paleolithic societies to the present day.

A local school building, which was closed some time ago, is also under conversion to a Museum of the Sorori site. This place is extremely important for discussion on the world archaeology forum, which is why the stakeholders are concerned about the protection and commemoration of the Sorori site, which constitutes the earliest archaeological evidence of rice cultivation.

Suyanggae

The archaeological complex of Suyanggae, located at Aegok-ri, Jeokseong-meyon, Danyang County, Chungbuk Province, by the South Han River is another very important site for Korean Prehistory. This archaeological complex was discovered in 1980 when exploring the area where the Chungju Dam was to be built. Construction of the dam began in 1978 and ended in 1985 (Lee, Woo, Lee 2015). The dam was built in response to the need for regional development but its construction threatened Korea's valuable cultural heritage. As in other developing countries, construction of the dam was once a key to industrialization of Korea (Bale 2008).

The site complex has been explored by archaeologists from the Chungbuk National University Museum (Lee 2007; Lee, Woo 2008; Lee, Woo, Lee 2015). On July 21, 1980, a team of students and employees from the afore-mentioned museum risked their lives – risked drowning by working during a period of record high rainfall – 750 mm per m^2 (Lee 2007; Lee, Woo, Lee 2015). These conditions were not friendly for the researchers; however, thanks to them strong

rain streams washed Paleolithic flint tools from deeper layers of riverside terraces and thus, enabled their registration on the surface.

The Suyanggae complex consists of open sites. Over a dozen excavation campaigns have been carried out so far, and this site is among the most notable archaeological sites in East Asia. Moreover, the site was designated as National Historic Relic No. 398 (Lee 2007; Lee, Woo 2008; Lee, Woo, Lee 2015). Excavation works included localities I, II, III and VI. Only locality II shows remains of a settlement from the beginning of our era (Lee et al. 2014). The other sites are mainly flint workshops from the Upper Paleolithic, where the total sum of flint implements is over 100.000. The first works began at locality I in 1983–1985. Immediately after the work was complete, the site was flooded when the Chungju Dam was built. The same happened to locality VI, located more than 3 kilometers from locality I. The research was undertaken there in 2013, in connection with the construction of another dam on the South Han river. In this place, apart from flint tools and products, fragments of Paleolithic portable art and one pebble stone with engraved lines were found (Suh et al. 2015; Lee et al. 2015). However, the most important fact is that the Suyanggae complex was primarily a large flint workshop, used seasonally during the Paleolithic period (Lee 2007; Lee, Woo 2008; Lee, Woo, Lee 2015). These findings undoubtedly testify to the high development of representatives of the Suyanggae culture and the importance of this site for world science.

To Show the Invisible

Thanks to rescue archaeology, such an important site was saved from destruction by flooding. Consequently, the priority was to ensure the protection of artifacts and the undertaking of accurate documentation. In 2006, the Suyanggae Museum was built. The area devoted for the construction of the museum was thoroughly examined and it turned out that the layers of the third river terrace also included Paleolithic artifacts (Lee, Woo, Lee 2013). This shows the importance of the so-called "buried sites". As we can see, it is very easy to skip very important pieces of the puzzle, which after assembling can provide answers and further our understanding of such a complex of sites as Suyanggae.

The lack of any traces of huts or shelters observed during excavations did not facilitate the process of land development planning for the construction of an open-air museum. It was necessary to show tangible evidence for the existence of Paleolithic culture in this place thousands of years ago to the local residents, local authorities and investors.

The artifacts exhibited in the Suyanggae Museum are palpable evidence of the existence of Paleolithic culture in this place. In the museum itself, many original artifacts have been exhibited. Care was also taken to show "themed scenes" from the life of Stone Age hunters and gatherers on multimedia devices and by appropriate arrangement of artificial human figures. The building of the Museum, towering over the meandering southern Han River, together with the surrounding area, with an open archaeological excavation pit and sculptures depicting hunters and gatherers captured during their daily activities constitutes indirect evidence, which is very important for tourists to perceive this place as very important for local and world prehistory.

Education plays a very important role here. From the very beginning the museum team led by Professor Lee Yung-Jo, made sure that knowledge about this important site was disseminated. The Suyanggae museum runs lessons for children from nearby schools, as well as themed events and archeological festivals.

Jeongokri

Jeongokri is the most famous Paleolithic site on the Korean peninsula, which is another site majestically set into the surrounding landscape.

The Paleolithic site of Jeongokri (Chongokni) is located in the province of Gyeonggi, next to the city of Jeongok-ri, in the basin of the Hantan and Imjin rivers, about 40 kilometers north of Seoul. It is a well-known site among researchers of the oldest human history around the world, thanks to the first discovery of the first Acheulian-type handaxe in Eastern Asia (Bae 2012; 2014; 2015a; 2015b). Moreover, Jeongokri represents the largest protected archaeological site in South Korea (Lee 2018).

In 1978, Greg Bowen – an American Air Force pilot, stationed in the city of Dongducheon, near the DMZ (demilitarized zone) about four kilometers from the village of Jeongokri, was going for a walk when he noticed an unusual stone protruding from the ground. The American had some knowledge of the Stone Age archaeology because before joining the Air Force, he had studied Anthropology at Ohio State University (Kang 2015). The stone was the first Acheulian-type handaxe to be found in Eastern Asia. This find weakened Movius' hypothesis, which had proposed a dichotomous Paleolithic tradition between the East and the West of the world (Bae 2012; 2014). In 1979, the site was designated Historic Site No. 265 on account of its academic value (Bae 2014; 2015a).

For 30 years, from the discovery to 2009, 17 research expeditions were carried out. From 1979 and the 1980s, excavations were headed by Professor Kim Wonyong from the National Museum of Seoul University. Subsequent research was carried out by Hanyang University, and Professor Kidong Bae who became a leader of the research. Thanks to interdisciplinary research, the age of the lowest layer containing the oldest stone tools was estimated at 350,000 BP (Bae 2012; 2015a; 2015b).

Problems of the Jeongokri Paleolithic Site

From the very beginning, the researchers of the Jeongokri site had problems with protection of this heritage site (Bae 2012; 2015b; Lee 2018). Local people from the village of Jeongok considered the Paleolithic site as inhibiting economic development and blamed archaeologists and governmental organizations of cultural heritage for neglecting this issue. Town residents made many complaints about strict regulations prohibiting the development of the area around the Paleolithic site. Agriculture was also a problem. The area around the site had to be protected from plowing, which would have caused great damage to new, potential locations of prehistoric artifacts located close to the surface.

The above mentioned problems resulted mainly from the "invisibility" typical for a "buried site". Visitors to this place could only see archaeologists at work, digging deeper and looking for flint tools. Lack of any architectural evidence in the landscape undermined the importance of this site among the non-academic community.

The Largest Paleolithic Festival

A new method for managing and promoting this place, which is so important for knowledge on human evolution, came in 1993. Professor Kidong Bae initiated an archaeological festival to commemorate the site (Bae 2014). For the purpose of the festival an exhibition hall was created in a small field station to show the local community basic information about the Jeongokri site (Bae 2012; 2015a; 2015b). The festival was a great commercial success, which allowed organization of its subsequent editions in the following years. Until 1998, the festival was carried out without external financial support (neither from the local nor national government) (Lee 2018).

Jeongok Festivals organized in the 1990s attracted attention of the archaeological world. Television broadcasts, newspaper ads promoting the event each year went ever further. Every year, an increasing number of tourists came to

visit the place. As a result, the local government of Yeoncheon County began providing financial support, and since 2000, it has been one of the festival's main sponsors (Lee 2108).

Since 2000, over half a million people come to the festival every year. The record was recorded in 2009, where during the scientific festival and concerts, during five days, the reserve area was visited by almost a million tourists (Bae 2012; 2015a; 2015b). Not only the Paleolithic site and archeology itself started to be promoted, but also local folklore, cuisine and Korean tradition. Guests from all over the world were invited to the event. Also concerts of the biggest K-pop stars were organized.

In the center of a huge festival square, located in a protected archaeological area, a place for scientists has been exposed. Representatives of museums and prehistoric reserves from all around the world, including Japan, Germany, Lithuania, Spain and even Chille or Tanzania are invited to the archaeological festival in Jeongokri. During these few festival days, experimental archeology workshops, scientific games for children, as well as seminars and presentations for adults are conducted. The main theme of the presentations is the protection of cultural heritage, ways of preserving archaeological discoveries and showing scientific achievements of the invited archaeologists.

The "Spaceship-Like" Museum and the Surrounding Area

The first successes of the festival led to an idea to build a museum at the Jeongokri site and create an archaeological park for visitors. In 2007, the design of the building in which the museum would be housed was selected, and its creators included known architects from the French company "X-TU". The facility was opened on April 2011 (Bae 2012; 2015b; Lee 2016).

The museum building resembles a spaceship that landed on the edge of a basalt cliff. The round, aerodynamic silhouette looks like a machine from science-fiction movies, and the shiny walls of the building reflect the beauty of the surrounding landscape like mirrors. Such a design is not accidental. The main slogan that stimulates visitors' imaginations is: *Gate to Prehistoric Ages*, and the design of the building is like a "time machine" transporting tourists back to the earliest times, during which man evolved through all his forms, as the main exhibition entitled: *Grand March of Human Evolution* shows (Lee 2016). To stay in harmony with the landscape, the building was designed to be fairly flat and rounded. Thanks to this, visitors, regardless of whether they are in the museum or on its roof, can always admire the surrounding geological landscape (Bae 2012; Lee 2016).

The inside of the museum was designed in such a way that the tourists could move freely between the exhibitions. Individual sections are not strictly separated by walls. In this facility, the latest technologies have been applied, such as interactive systems or three-dimensional (3D) exhibitions, which constitute an interesting way to educate people about our ancestors and about the environment in which they used to live in prehistoric times. There are also many attractions for children – among others, the "Kid's Archeo-Lab" where children can learn about secrets of archeology work (Bae 2015b). In the main hall there is a permanent exhibition, *Grand March of Human Evolution*, which shows reconstructions of most forms of hominids from *Sahelantropus* to *Homo sapiens*. Of course, artifacts from this Paleolithic site are also exhibited.

Near the main museum facility, a building was built to protect the authentic archaeological remnant of the archaeologists' work. An excavation pit containing actual stratigraphy and reconstructed stone artifacts, lying exactly as they were found by scientists during their work, is intended to make tourists aware of the fact that relics of the activity of antecessors were actually found in this place (Bae 2012; 2015b; Lee 2016).

The Museum and Archaeological Park in Jeongokri management is also planning to restore two different types of vegetation within the reserve: endemic vegetation of the temperate zone and glacial vegetation that occurred there thousands of years ago (Bae 2012). The glacial nature of the vegetation was to be reconstructed by planting pine and birch species that grow at high altitudes. The initiated experiment aims at, though to a small extent, to reflect the ancient nature and character of this place.

Visible is What is Invisible

The Jeongok Museum is one of the best known institutions of this type in the Far East. Its success that has been achieved in just a dozen or so years, from the first festival in 1993 to the construction of a worthy museum building in 2011 and is due primarily to the first-class way the site has been managed and (or perhaps above all) the manner in which the community, the local and state government were convinced that the Jeongokri site is of great importance to the world science and to the development of the region.

The support of the government and private entrepreneurs was the most important goal (Lee 2018). Purchase of surrounding areas to provide protection against destruction of this valuable archaeological zone was a priority.

At this point, one can start wondering if this whole "festival envelope" is not a more attractive element than the prehistory of Jeongokri itself. It is

possible that for some tourists these festival details are important, but it should be remembered that the advertising campaign is focused on encouraging tourists to learn about the oldest human history in the Far East. In addition, in the museum and in the reserve, reconstruction of artifacts and teaching methods are prepared by outstanding specialists – archaeologists, reconstructors and didactics. Many attractions can attract, but it is the history of the place that will stop and intrigue the tourist for longer.

Positive results were obtained thanks to the determination of people who will be forever associated with the history of creation of the Jeongok monument. The monument consists of a museum building, remains of real archaeological excavations, the whole area with a beautiful geological landscape and for the festival, which is well known to and remembered by an increasing number of tourists. This is a monument, which was erected in honor of the first ancestors who arrived in the Korean Peninsula. Without a doubt, the spirit of the ancestors watching over this place is visible and perceptible.

Conclusions

The rapid industrialization of the Korean Peninsula allowed locating "buried sites". Despite conflicts between archaeologists and developers and local communities, a certain consensus was achieved in South Korea giving an opportunity to protect and commemorate important Stone Age sites.

The monumentalisation of prehistoric archaeological sites has become widespread in Korea, especially where no remains of prehistoric living that is visible in the landscape have survived. Creating Archaeological Parks, with the consent of the local population often with objections to such undertakings and gaining political support of local authorities, which also must adapt to the needs of the society, is a very difficult task.

The patriotic factor plays a significant role here. For the general public, getting to know the oldest history of the Korean Peninsula is very important due to their attachment to tradition and culture. The best way to learn a story is to get in touch with it. The most difficult task is to show the sites without an architectonical form visible in the field. The most important issue for such an undertaking is having a strong presentation concept to exhibit an archaeological site, which greatly simplifies learning about the most ancient aspects of history. South Korea, and especially the three sites from the different Paleolithic periods discussed in this article, constitute a very good example of public education and of how to convey to the public the huge significance of archaeological Stone Age sites.

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Summary

Stone Age Archaeological Sites in the Landscape. Monumentalisation of Sites on the South Korea Example

The aim of the article is to show selected ways of presenting Stone Age archaeological sites in the landscape. The forms of prehistoric archaeological sites monumentalisation in South Korea served as an example here. Displaying Stone Age sites in the landscape is popular in Korea, especially where no remains of former human activity visible in the landscape have been preserved. Establishing reserves, museums and monuments nearby an explored archaeological site is very important for the majority of stakeholders in South Korea. Patriotic factor plays an important role here as for the society in general getting to know the oldest history of the Korean Peninsula is very important, due to the people's attachment to their tradition and culture. The sites described in this article are among the best-known by the researchers and the general public in South Korea. The Sorori site, showing first attempts at rice domestication, was discovered thanks to site prospection carried out before the construction of an industrial complex. The Suyanggae site is the biggest Palaeolithic flint workshop located in the Korean Peninsula, discovered during the rescue excavations connected with construction of a dam on the South Han River. The Jeongok site – one of the most important sites in Eastern Asia due to the discovery of the first Acheulian-type

handaxe outside the borders of the Movius line – was accidentally discovered by an American pilot from the nearby military base. All three sites of prehistoric human activity are very important for the world of science as well as for entities responsible for the protection of cultural heritage, being a model for ways of managing museums, reserves, and culture parks established at excavation sites. What is more, in the article a short presentation of developing rescue archaeology is provided, related to rapid industrialization of South Korea.

Keywords: Archaeology of South Korea, monumentalisation, buried sites, Sorori site, Suyanggae site, Jeongok Paleolithic site

Streszczenie

Stanowiska archeologiczne z epoki kamienia w krajobrazie. Monumentalizacja stanowisk na przykładach z Korei Południowej

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie wybranych sposobów prezentowania stanowisk archeologicznych z epoki kamienia w krajobrazie. Jako przykład posłużyły tu formy monumentalizacji prehistorycznych stanowisk archeologicznych w Korei Południowej. Pokaz stanowisk z epoki kamienia w krajobrazie jest szeroko rozpowszechniony w Korei, szczególnie tam, gdzie nie zachowały się żadne pozostałości dawnej działalności ludzkiej w postaci form terenowych. Tworzenie rezerwatów, muzeów i pomników przy przebadanym stanowisku archeologicznym jest bardzo ważne dla większości interesariuszy w Korei Południowej. Dużą rolę odgrywa tu czynnik patriotyczny, ponieważ dla ogółu społeczeństwa istotne jest poznanie najstarszej historii Półwyspu Koreańskiego ze względu na przywiązanie do tradycji i kultury. Stanowiska opisane w artykule są jednymi z najbardziej znanych wśród naukowców i szerokiej publiczności w Korei Południowej. Stanowisko Sorori, wykazujące ślady pierwszych prób udomowienia ryżu, zostało odkryte dzięki prospekcji terenowej przeprowadzonej przed budową kompleksu przemysłowego. Stanowisko Suyanggae – największy paleolityczny warsztat krzemieniarski zlokalizowany na Półwyspie Koreańskim – odkryto podczas badań ratunkowych związanych z budową tamy na południowej rzece Han. Stanowisko Jeongok – jedno z najważniejszych stanowisk Wschodniej Azji z powodu odkrycia pierwszego pięściaka typu aszelskiego poza granicami linii Moviusa – zostało odkryte przypadkowo przez amerykańskiego lotnika stacjonującego w okolicznej bazie wojskowej. Wszystkie trzy miejsca pradziejowej działalności człowieka są bardzo ważne dla świata nauki oraz dla podmiotów zajmujących się ochroną dziedzictwa kulturowego, stanowiąc wzorzec dla sposobów zarządzania

powstałymi w miejscu wykopalisk muzeami, rezerwatami i parkami kulturowymi. Ponadto w artykule zawarto krótkie przedstawienie rozwijającej się archeologii ratowniczej, związanej z bardzo szybką industrializacją Korei Południowej.

Słowa kluczowe: archeologia Korei Południowej, monumentalizacja, stanowiska niewidoczne w terenie, stanowisko Sorori, stanowisko Suyanggae, paleolityczne stanowisko Jeongok

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Fig. 1. Sorori monument. Photograph by M. Bartczak.

Fig. 2. Landscape nearby Suyanggae site complex (South Han River). Photograph by M. Bartczak.

Fig. 3. Suyanggae Museum. Photograph by M. Bartczak.

Fig. 4. Jeongok Museum. Photograph by M. Bartczak.

Fig. 5. Jeongok Museum. Photograph by M. Bartczak.

Fig. 6. The main exhibition entitled Grand March of Human Evolution at the Jeongok Museum. Photograph by M. Bartczak.

Fig. 7. A remnant of the archaeologists' work – the excavation pit. Photograph by M. Bartczak.

Fig. 8. Stone tool making workshops for children, at Jeongok Festival. Photograph by M. Bartczak.

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An Attempt to Calculate the Number of Inhabitants in Relation to the Social Dimension in Neo-Babylonian Residential Architecture on the Example of Babylon

Introduction

The article attempts to reconstruct the approximate number of residents of households from the Neo-Babylonian period. The example of the ancient city of Babylon was chosen due to the good condition of the households and the continuity of architectural features and residential traditions from antiquity till the present day. In the first part, I discuss the characteristic features of Neo-Babylonian households. In the second part, based on ethnographic sources, ways of adapting the household to the needs of its residents are presented. In the third part, an analysis regarding the calculation of the number of residents in a household based on the surface area was undertaken.

The three main residential areas date back to the first millennium BC and were discovered in southern Mesopotamia: in the area of Merkes in Babylon (Reuther 1926: 77–122), in Ur (Woolley, Mallowan 1962: 43–48) and Uruk, in the west and southwest of the temple of Eanna. The article will discuss 15 examples of households: 12 households from the Merkes area, one household al-Bayati (al-Bayati 1985: 113–116) located to the west of the Greek theatre and the Ishtar temple, 2 households (E-1, E-2) (Wetzel, Weissbach 1938) located near the gate of the 4th temenos of Etemenanki.

The households of the Merkes area are usually much larger than ordinary households built during this period. They range in size from about 100 to over 1000 square metres while a standard household has an average area of

approximately 400 m^2 (Miglus 1999: 307–310). The overall location of the residential area in relation to the city plan was the same as in previous periods[1] in Babylonian cities, i.e. within the inner-city walls[2]. The Neo-Babylonian households had one or two main entrances, most of which opened directly onto the main street. A characteristic feature which they shared was the central courtyard, which was the main source of ventilation and provided light throughout the household. All rooms whose walls surround the courtyard had thicker "partition" walls which was beneficial as it ensured better thermal insulation. There were also examples of households which had more than one courtyard, which may indicate that they served as multi-family households[3], or had an economic function as in the case of household IV[4].

The main salon stood out with its dimensions as the largest room among all rooms. It was always located on the south side of the courtyard to avoid and reduce light falling in parallel during sunrise and sunset. Often the main living room was surrounded by smaller rooms: a bedroom in the south and a bathroom or toilet from the east or west. Those rooms constituted the main salon in the household. The number of living rooms depended on the number of courtyards, and each courtyard had its own apartment in its southern part.

In order to maintain privacy, the main entrance to the household was placed on the opposite side of the residential part of the household (courtyard and main living room), or other rooms separated them. Sometimes near the entrance was the so-called reception room which separated the courtyard from the main salon (see Fig. 14, room 5).

The Household

Archaeological research alone cannot provide complete information on the operation of households, there it is important to use ethnographic data to reconstruct the functionality of the home. The attempt to determine the relationship between the surface of households and the number of inhabitants is based on many cultural and biological factors. The difficulty lies in the precise determination of the home development cycle and the proper recognition of the possible effects of changes to the household plan in the archaeological record.

1 As for example, in the Old Babylonian period (1800–1595 BC).

2 See city plan of Babylon (Merkes area).

3 In my opinion, each courtyard with a main salon belonged to one family.

4 The texts from the temple archives demonstrate that small craft production could take place in residential households. For more on this topic, see Castel (1992); Baker (2010).

According to P. Laslett (1972) and H.D. Baker (2010), a "household" is defined as a "roommate housing unit". Based on their research, we can divide the household into the following types:

1. The "simple nuclear family" consists of parents and their children, without slaves[5].
2. A "family conjugal unit" consists of a marriage without children or one widowed spouse with children and with or without slaves.
3. The "extended household" consists of a "family conjugal unit" with additional family member(s) and with or without slaves.
4. A "multiple household" consists of more than one "family conjugate unit" joined by marriage or kinship.

Families consisting of small cells were led by the head of the family. As stated by Marten Stol: in the first half of the first millennium BCE, monogamy was the norm in Mesopotamia, and a marriage could only be annulled when the previous spouse had agreed to it or if the wife had not given birth to children (Stol 1995: 488–489). It was unusual for families to have more than five children living together at the same time. One of the reasons for this was the high mortality rate among children (Matthews 2003: 21), while life expectancy at this time was around 50–60 years (Castel 1992: 102; Tenney 2010: 140)[6].

The distinguishing features of the four household types that developed in response to different conditions and directly affected the lifestyles of inhabitants can be described through reference to ethnographic sources and described as follows (Baker 2010):

1. Division of inheritance.
2. The need for physical division within the household. An example is household II, in which a new main entrance was built because of the newly built household III, which blocked the old entrance to household II (see illustrations; Reuther 1926).
3. Household rental. Written documents can provide substantial evidence indicating a variety of joint ownership scenarios. From these, it can be determined that the whole household (or part of it) was rented. Households II, III, IV, X and al-Bayati (see illustrations) can serve as good examples of rental practice. Rental may occur in homes that have more than one main living room (*bīt il-tāni*) and more than one courtyard (*tarbaṣu*)[7].

5 Schloen claims that for the entire first millennium BC in Levant, most households consisted of a simple nuclear family (Schloen 2001: 125).

6 Other examples are classified by scholars based on ethnographic texts as follows: 40 – beginning of life, 50 – short life, 60 – maturity, 70 – long life, 80 – old age, 90 – extreme old age (see Gurney, Hulin 1964; Sjöberg 1974).

7 For more details on Babylonian terminology describing the rooms of the household versus functions, see Baker (2015).

4. The division between various sides, when the household is inhabited by more than one family who are related to each other, without the introduction of any modifications to the household plan.

After analysing these factors, no clear correlation can be found between the size of the households and the number of families. It should also be taken into account that slaves lived in the same household[8]. Considering the size of the property, it must be remembered that the number of inhabitants does not have to correspond to the area of the entire household. Therefore, it can be assumed that the size of the household indicates the status of the family in the social hierarchy. It should be noted that in the light of current research, it is uncertain whether the hierarchical family structure in question was the same in all regions and whether it affected all social groups.

Methods for Calculating the Number of Inhabitants Using Residential Areas

The methods for calculating the number of inhabitants in a residential home have been analysed by many researchers (including Fakri 1981; Kolb et al. 1985). In this approach, the results of considerations by the American cultural anthropologist, R. Naroll (1962), were adopted. Based on research in eighteen societies from four continents, he proposed 10 m^2 as an average living space for one person. This is described by the following formula:

$$\text{POPULATION} = \text{AREA} / 10\ m^2\ (\text{NAROLL'S CONSTANT})$$

Steven LeBlanc proposed calculating the required area for one person, taking into account only sheltered living spaces in the household (without public spaces) (LeBlanc 1971: 210). Considering these assumptions, the compiled data for three cultural regions (Samoa, Iran, South America) assume values from 7 to 10 m^2 per person (Pfälzner 2001: 28). For military camps, it is estimated that this space is much smaller and ranges from 2 to 4 m^2. As for the application of the above formula for archaeological data, the residential area should be distinguished from the storage space and the separate area occupied by animals, and take into account all parts of the building or rooms that were used at that time.

S. Cassellberry stated that calculations for culturally diverse areas do not include types of households, and the number of square meters per person is not determined biologically, but culturally (Casselberry 1974: 117–122). He rejected the general

8 Baker (2010: 184) quotes an example where slaves lived with their masters.

calculation of the number of inhabitants and suggested setting appropriate values for each specific type of household. For large open households, inhabited by many families, he accepted an average of 15 m^2 per person. For example, for Aliabad in Iran, an average area of 10 m^2 can be counted per person in multi-family households for basic and extended families, while in Hasanabad for the same type of household, this area is approx. 7.3 m^2. In both cases, the calculations were carried out taking into account only the surface of indoor living spaces. At Tall I-Nun in Iran, there are larger fluctuations in population density and type of households – in former villages, the population density was 33 m^2 per person, while in modern villages it is approximately 200 m^2 (in both cases these values apply to the general area of the household). For roofed areas of households with high performance standards discovered in i-Nun, this value reaches 11 m^2 in former villages and 30 m^2 in the cities of today. Ethnographic research indicates that the demand for living space varies even within one geographical region. This can be demonstrated from a comparative analysis of *pueblo* settlements located in south-western America. Households in tightly built-up estates are larger than households in areas with loosely placed buildings, although not many residents live there (Pfälzner 2001: 29). The size of living space per person increases in densely built-up settlements. However, fluctuations in size do not depend only on economic, cultural or existential factors. K. Dohm (1990) demonstrated that a higher population density in sediments increases the need for privacy.

A great deal of archaeological research has focused on determining the number of inhabitants based on excavations of households. It is generally accepted that nuclear families lived in small households, and extended families lived in larger buildings, which in turn allows the approximate number of inhabitants to be determined per square meter of the living space of the household. The main concern turns out to be the relationship between the number of inhabitants, the size of the household and their linear increase relative to the area of the household. Depending on the model, it is assumed, for example, that the average area that an inhabitant could occupy is 5.9 m^2 per adult according to P. Wiessner (1974). S.F. Cook and R.F. Heizer, who studied the Aboriginal society, assumed the value of 6 m^2 per inhabitant, and additionally, the observed deviation was about 3 m^2 (Cook, Heizer 1968: 102).

To make calculations possible, the research and the difficulty in estimating the total area of the household must be considered in cases where the working and living areas are not equal. One should also remember that in rural areas, up to 54% of the total area of the household was reserved for animals, while the living area was only about 35% of this value (Fakri 1981: 74). Furthermore, to validate the results, it is worth considering the climatic conditions, which means that in areas with a hot climate, many tasks could be performed outside. However, the

above factors depend on the type of population studied, the size of the assumptions and the potential mobility of the population (Castel 1992: 100).

The extent to which people interact with their environment can also have an impact on the management of space. Many authors claim that these factors can only be effectively analysed at the regional level (Castel 1992: 100) due to significant differences in local conditions that interfere with modelling.

As shown in ethnographic research, there are many settlement models that usually result from the characteristics of a given society and its culture. It is difficult to use the concept of linear dependence of the population in the household space, because the expansion of the household does not have to involve an increase in the number of its inhabitants, with the exception of the need to adapt the building to the appearance and architectural requirements of the environment.

Reconstruction of social structures can often be the result of fragmentary excavations – for example, the wealth of the inhabitants of Ur corresponds to the material status of people living in Babylon (Woolley, Mallowan 1962: 46–47). Many studies have ignored the surroundings of large households, which has led to a lack of comparative material. The size of the household did not necessarily reflect the prevailing trends. The high material status of residents can be confirmed by the materials used to build households and objects inside. The best solution would be to compare homes by status rather than by location. Otherwise, the results may be affected by comparing, for example, households in capital cities with those in provincial areas.

Discussion and Conclusion

Estimated sizes of living space presented in the work of Cook (1972) and Cook and Heizer (1968) based on different data sets are 13.92 m^2 (i.e. 2.32 m^2/person) for the first six inhabitants and 9.29 m^2 for each additional person. In the case of luxury homes, the possibility that their owners could have had more space regardless of the number of people living in the property must be taken into consideration. The desire for more space could have derived merely from the human necessity to have more physical space and comfortable surroundings or it could also have been an expression of the social status of the owners. The size and luxuriance of the household could also be demonstrated by its location in the centre or better part of the city. Households from the Merkes district in Babylon and the households from Ur provide good examples. Taking into account the ethnographic research carried out by Joannes, Naroll and Cook Models, and Modern Household Research in Iraq[9], I assume that for each of the first seven members

9 Central Statistical Organization (CSO), http://www.cosit.gov.iq/ar/.

of the family (the parents and 5 children) (Castel 1992: 102)[10] living space should equal around 40 m^2 for each family member living in a luxury home; 20 m^2 for each family member living in an average household and 8 m^2 for each additional person in the same household. In cases where there is more than one family living in the household, this space should be doubled.

According to C. Castel (1992: 104) luxury homes are distinguished by such features as: floors, walls, plastered and painted, benches, as well as valuables: ivory elements, luxury ceramic production and cylindrical seals. The presence or absence of bathrooms, latrines, sewage installations and wells was also considered. Plans of households were evaluated in terms of the comfort of living, the existence of two courtyards (when both courtyards are to be recognised or whenever they are supposed to exist), the location of the rooms relative to each other (the presence of a room located on the southern axis, where there were private rooms or "main rooms").

The formula for calculating the number of inhabitants for "luxury homes" with a minimum floor space[11] of over 400 m^2:

$$\text{NUMBER OF INHABITANTS} = (\text{LIVING SPACE} - (280\ m^2)) / 8\ m^2$$

The above value of 280 m^2 is the result of the following calculation: 7 (main family members) x 40 (area for each main family member).

The formula for calculating the number of inhabitants for "average households" with an area of less than 400 m^2:

$$\text{NUMBER OF INHABITANTS} = (\text{LIVING SPACE} - (140\ m^2)) / 8\ m^2$$

The above value of 140 m^2 is the result of the following calculation: 7 (main family members) x 20 (area for each main family member).

If the living area is 140 m^2 or less, this means that this family did not have slaves or they did not live with them. In this case, the mathematical formula is as follows:

$$\text{NUMBER OF INHABITANTS} = \text{LIVING AREA} / 7\ (\text{FAMILY MEMBERS})$$

Based on the above formulas, the number of inhabitants in each household was calculated (calculations are presented in a separate diagram enclosed in this article)[12].

10 Another example of a household is *bit* Egibi, where the nuclear family consists of 8 members (Wunsch 1995–1996: 42–43).

11 The smallest "luxury" household according to Castel (1992) has a living space of 400 m^2.

12 Total areas and households are determined on the basis of Miglus calculations (1999).

When designating living space, it is essential to consider the issue of roof construction and the number of floors. Unfortunately, there is no relevant archaeological data on this subject. The highest remaining walls of households in Babylon reach a height of 2–2.5 m (Reuther 1926). It can be assumed that a roof with a flat structure was built of palm wood and clay[13]. No remains of vaulted structures were found at the Neo-Babylonian sites (Miglus 1999: 186). Herodotus describes that there were mainly three or four floors in Babylonian households, but this description was not confirmed by evidence (Herodotus 2013: 80). O. Reuther (1926) found no signs of the upper floors, which was argued by the observation of multiple elevations of the floor; from the very beginning, ceilings were not build at a height of 1.5 metres (Reuther 1926: 79f). A.H. Lenzen suggests that the stairs in Neo-Babylonian households were portable and stood between two walls (Lenzen 1962: 13). On the basis of this argumentation, we can make the assumption that most of the households were single-storey, as presented by Reuther (1926) in the case of the Merkes district.

One topic not often undertaken by researchers with regard to old residential buildings is that of demography and calculating the number of inhabitants in specific households. This is an interesting issue due to the lack of a direct and unambiguous relationship between the size of individual households and the number of their inhabitants. As mentioned earlier in this article, fewer residents could be present in large homes than one would expect, given the total surface area of these buildings. In smaller households, despite the small area, relatively many household members could live.

Despite the detailed research that has been published so far, there is no comprehensive approach to demographics of households from the Neo-Babylonian period. The article comprises the first to collect and analyse many factors and dependencies taken into account by scientists, that resulted in one coherent image. In accordance with previously known calculation formulas, I made a new classification based on living space (in m^2), whose purpose was to present the population of the household. This classification can be used as a basis for the division of households into "luxury" and "average".

13 Reuther (1926) refers in this case to connections with the remains of roofs in the Neo-Babylonian temple of Ishtar in Babylon.

Tab. 1. Babylon – data on the area of households.

	Total area m²	Living space m²
HOUSEHOLD I (Fig. 1)	745	400
HOUSEHOLD II (Fig. 2)	575	280
HOUSEHOLD III (Fig. 3)	1475	822
HOUSEHOLD IV (Fig. 4)	630	360
HOUSEHOLD V (Fig. 5)	365	182
HOUSEHOLD VI (Fig. 6)	260	130
HOUSEHOLD IX (Fig. 7)	340	196
HOUSEHOLD X (Fig. 8)	585	315
HOUSEHOLD XI (Fig. 9)	200	103
HOUSEHOLD XII (Fig. 10)	235	114
HOUSEHOLD XIII (Fig. 11)	190	89
HOUSEHOLD E-I (Fig. 12)	315	169
HOUSEHOLD E-2 (Fig. 13)	220	107
HOUSEHOLD AL-BAYATI (Fig. 14)	1914	985

Tab. 2. The results of calculations of the number of inhabitants according to the indicated formulas.

Babylon	Type of household	Maximum number of inhabitants[a)]
HOUSEHOLD I (Fig. 1)	Luxury household	One family + 15[b)]
HOUSEHOLD II (Fig. 2)	Average household	Two families or one family + 17
HOUSEHOLD III (Fig. 3)	Luxury household	Three families or two families + 33 or one family + 68
HOUSEHOLD IV (Fig. 4)	Average household	Two families + 10 or one family + 28
HOUSEHOLD V (Fig. 5)	Average household	One family
HOUSEHOLD VI (Fig. 6)	Average household	One family
HOUSEHOLD IX (Fig. 7)	Average household	One family or one family + 7
HOUSEHOLD X (Fig. 8)	Average household	Two families + 4 or one family + 22
HOUSEHOLD XI (Fig. 9)	Average household	One family
HOUSEHOLD XII (Fig. 10)	Average household	One family
HOUSEHOLD XIII (Fig. 11)	Average household	One family
HOUSEHOLD E-I (Fig. 12)	Average household	One family or one family + 4
HOUSEHOLD E-2 (Fig. 13)	Average household	One family
HOUSEHOLD AL-BAYATI (Fig. 14)	Luxury household	Two families + 53

a) The remaining living space does not have to be filled by slaves or additional residents, but the numbers shown in the results represent the maximum hypothetical number. The remaining surface area can always be used for other purposes.

b) The number itself will indicate that of people assumed to be slaves.

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Summary

An Attempt to Calculate the Number of Inhabitants in Relation to the Social Dimension in Neo-Babylonian Residential Architecture on the Example of Babylon

In the article, I attempt to estimate the number of inhabitants of Neo-Babylonian households based on archaeological data based on the example of Babylon (Neo-Babylonian period: 1100/1000–539 BCE). In order to discover how the household or an individual room was used, we must reconstruct the way that a household functioned. However, since no households can be found in archaeological research, it is necessary to turn to ethnographic sources. The article has been divided into three parts. The first part contains key information on households in the Neo-Babylonian period, indicated on the basis of ethnographic sources and compared with archaeological remains. In the second part of the article, I analyse various mathematical formulas used to calculate the number of residents on the basis of archaeological data. The third part comprises a discussion presenting my own mathematical formulas regarding the collected data.

Keywords: Babylon, house, household, Neo-Babylonian period, population, Merkes

Streszczenie

Próba obliczenia liczby mieszkańców względem wymiaru społecznego w nowobabilońskiej architekturze mieszkalnej na przykładzie Babilonu

W niniejszym artykule podejmuję próbę oszacowania liczby mieszkańców nowobabilońskich gospodarstw domowych w oparciu o dane archeologiczne i na przykładzie Babilonu (okres nowobabiloński: 1100/1000–539 p.n.e.). W celu poznania sposobu wykorzystania gospodarstwa lub pojedynczego pomieszczenia należy zrekonstruować sposób funkcjonowania gospodarstwa domowego. Z uwagi jednak na to, że w badaniach archeologicznych nie uwzględniono zabudowań domowych, niezbędne jest zwrócenie się ku źródłom etnograficznym. Artykuł podzielono na trzy części. W pierwszej części zawarto najważniejsze informacje dotyczące gospodarstw domowych w okresie nowobabilońskim, uzyskane na podstawie źródeł etnograficznych i porównane z pozostałościami archeologicznymi. W drugiej części artykułu analizuję różne wzory matematyczne stosowane do obliczania liczby mieszkańców na podstawie danych archeologicznych. Trzecia część obejmuje omówienie przedstawiające moje własne wzory matematyczne odnoszące się do zgromadzonych danych.

Słowa kluczowe: Babilon, dom, gospodarstwo domowe, okres nowobabiloński, populacja, Merkes

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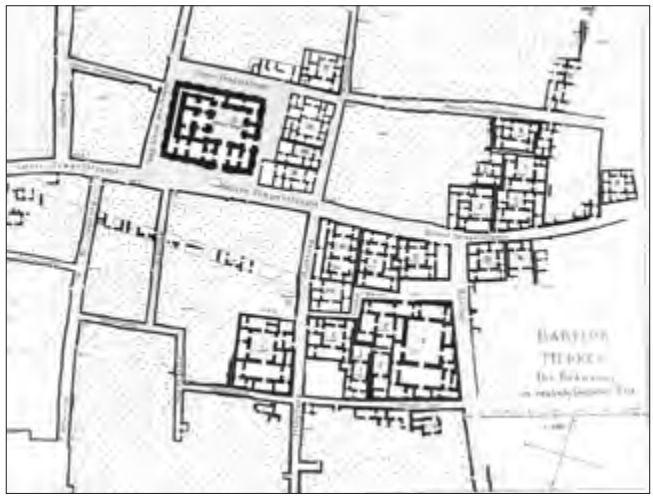

Merkes – residential area in ancient Babylon (Reuther 1926: Taf. 17).

Fig. 1. Household I – courtyard according to the excavator (4), (Castel 1992, vol. II: pl. 19).

Fig. 2. Household II – courtyards according to the excavator (4, 15), (Reuther 1926: Abb. 66, 67, Taf. 17, 19).

Fig. 3. Household III or the "Great Household" – courtyards according to the excavator (4, 19), (Reuther 1926: Abb. 68–70, Taf. 17, 19).

Fig. 4. Household IV – courtyards according to the excavator (2, 12), (Miglus 1999: Abb. 410).

Fig. 5. Household V – courtyard according to the excavator (4), (Reuther 1926: Abb. 73, Taf. 17, 19).

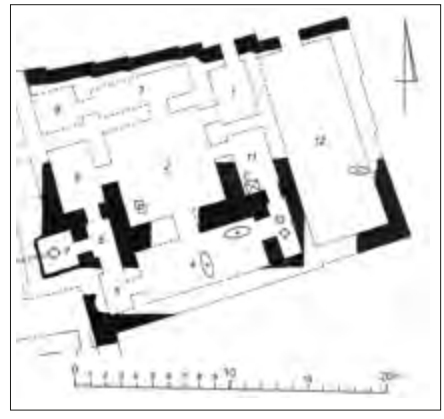

Fig. 6. Household VI – courtyards according to the excavator (2, 12), (Castel 1992, vol. II: pl. 29, b. 31).

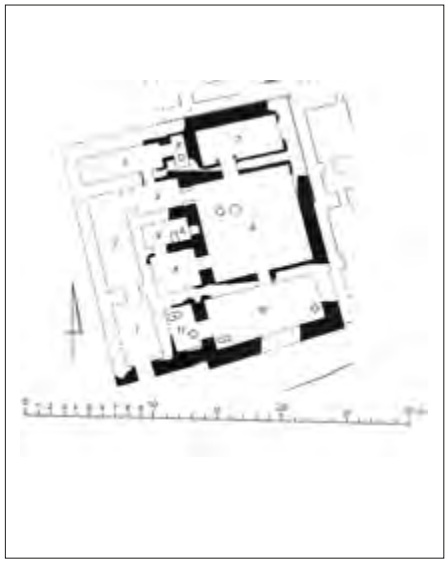

Fig. 7. Household IX – courtyard according to the excavator (6), (Reuther 1926: Abb. 77, Taf. 17, 20).

Fig. 8. Household X – courtyards according to the excavator (4, 18), (Miglus 1999: Abb. 411).

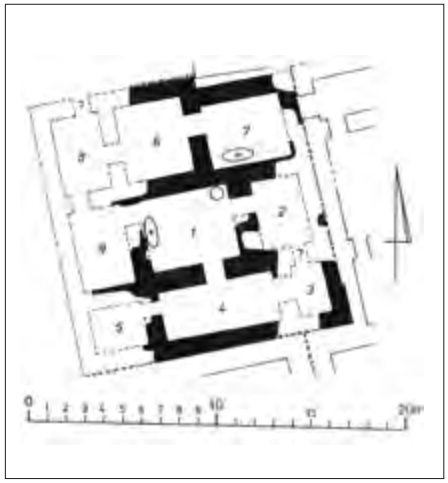

Fig. 9. Household XI – courtyard according to the excavator (1), (Castel 1992, vol. II: pl. 20, 35).

Fig. 10. Household XII – courtyard according to the excavator (3), (Reuther 1926: Abb. 81, 82, Taf. 17, 20).

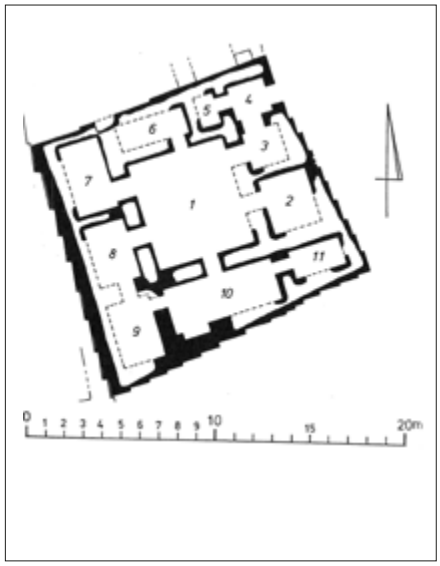

Fig. 11. Household XIII – courtyard according to the excavator (1), (Miglus 1999: Abb. 398).

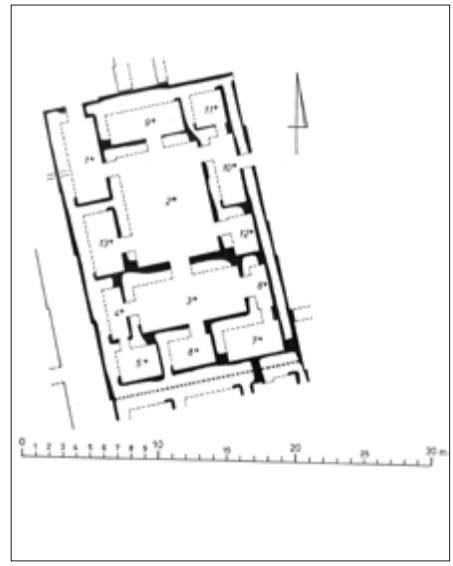

Fig. 12. Household E-1 – courtyard according to excavators (2), (Wetzel, Weissbach 1938: 18, Taf. 7).

Fig. 13. Household E-2 – courtyard according to excavators (2), (Wetzel, Weissbach 1938: 18, Taf. 7).

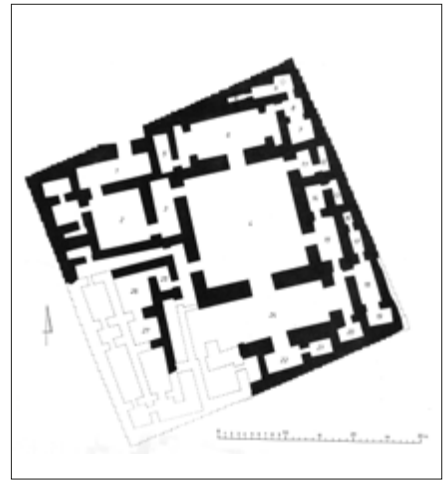

Fig. 14. Al-Bayati Household – courtyards according to the excavator (2, 4), (Al-Bayati 1985: plan 1).

243–253 Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. **Folia Archaeologica** *34(2019)*

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'Historical Craft from the Artisan's Point of View'. Analysis of the Results of the Survey Conducted Among Craftsmen Specialising in Historical Reconstruction

Introduction

Objects displayed in museums are not always the original objects excavated by archaeologists. In some cases, when an artefact has not survived or is in a poor condition, its contemporary reconstruction is exhibited. Such objects, former everyday items, meticulously reconstructed and placed in museum display cabinets, rarely raise questions about the reconstruction accuracy in technological terms. Were they really made using ancient methods?

To archaeologists specialising in prehistory, material heritage is particularly important on account of scarce written and iconographic sources that can provide some information. In the case of the Przeworsk culture, we have abundant and diverse burial materials and, thanks to them, also data on the period. The information lost due to funeral rites involving burning the dead are compensated for by specialist analyses of the artefacts that allow archaeologists to recreate a relatively accurate image of the past.

Ethnographic research methods, such as ethnographic interviews, obviously cannot be employed in the case of the Przeworsk culture. However, it is possible to use these methods when studying issues concerning ancient crafts

and to conduct ethnographic interviews with experienced folk artisans as long as one takes into account certain limitations connected with the specific character of the crafts produced in modern, or even contemporary, times. This can be easily illustrated with a blacksmith working in the 20th century and producing mostly agricultural tools. The work of an analogous craftsman in the ancient times covered a much wider array of items including ornaments, other clothing elements, arms, and many other iron objects. The above comparison shows that studies based on the knowledge and skills of folk artisans cannot provide answers to all questions asked by researchers interested in ancient crafts. Considering the above, the best research results can be obtained by analysing the working methods of craftsmen who specialise in artefact reconstruction.

However, one should first decide when an artefact is a good reconstruction, and when it is only an item resembling or imitating the original visually. According to the assumptions of experimental archaeology, in order to perform an experiment leading to the creation of the expected reconstruction, one should meet certain requirements. Most of all, one has to use the same materials and methods that were available in the period in question, establish the goal of the experiment, and verify its results by reproducing them (Coles 1977; Ławrynowicz 2012). We decided to conduct our own survey and ask the artisans what they thought about their work and products.

The Survey Goal, Scope and Methodology

In this paper, we would like to present the results of the survey we conducted at the end of 2016 and at the beginning of 2017. It has to be noted that this was qualitative and not quantitative research as the number of respondents falling within our research interests does not exceed a few dozen people in Poland. We prepared a questionnaire for Polish artisans who deal with historical reconstruction and present their products at archaeological festivals to promote archaeology and history. The number of respondents is small due to a high level of professional knowledge and practical skills that are required to produce faithful copies of objects created in the antiquity. Such a combination is rarely acquired by one person. Twenty-four persons filled in our questionnaires, and four refused to take part in the survey[1].

1 We would like to thank the twenty-four respondents who took part in the survey. Nineteen persons consented to the publication of their names. The respondent list: Krzysztof Dziewiętkowski, Monika Fik, Małgorzata Gławińska, Bartosz Głuszczak, Paulina Gorazd-Dziuban, Łukasz Kieferling, Damian Kołtuniak, Mateusz Kosiński, Bartosz Kowalski, Dagmara Łaciak, Michał Majcher, Kasia Małusza, Daniel Marciniak, Eryk Popkiewicz, Andrzej Przychodni, Łukasz Sajnóg, Łukasz Sędyka, Ewa Wojtyła, Adrian Wrona.

In the group we analysed, there were at least thirteen archaeologists, which proves their specialist qualifications for the handicraft work they perform. A high proportion of the respondents have higher education (including three Doctors, two PhD students, at least eight Masters of Arts, and two students[2]). The survey participants practice different crafts. The group included three potters, four shoemakers/leather workers, six people dealing with metalwork[3], seven specialising in textiles, and four dealing with other types of production.

The aim of those artisans is to reconstruct artefacts using technological methods and designs identical to those used in the past. In order to make our survey as reliable as possible, we limited its framework to the crafts from one historical period: antiquity[4]. In this simple way we are going to demonstrate the relationships between a small group of craftsmen who reconstruct antiquities and the academic world, and how important it is to acquire historical and archaeological knowledge and to find ethnographic inspirations in order to solve the problems of craft techniques.

The survey included 12 questions the aim of which was to obtain answers concerning difficulties and dilemmas artisans face when recreating artefacts.

Survey Results

1. *What is the greatest problem when reconstructing an artefact?* The greatest problem indicated in 46% of the answers is access to documentation and the artefact itself. Despite a large number of readily available publications, they do not always contain the basic information necessary to reconstruct an artefact. A frequent complication is the lack of a sufficient number of sections. In the case of pole weapon heads, merely two or three sections do not provide full information about changes in the artefact's geometry. Rough drawings raise more questions than they give answers. A solution, at least to some of these doubts, would be good photographic documentation in publications.

According to the respondents, direct contact with the artefact is sometimes difficult or even impossible on account of limited access to museum resources. The exhibits in display cabinets are usually arranged in a way showing only one side, while in order to reconstruct them, one needs to see them whole.

2 The question about education was not obligatory and not all respondents answered it.

3 This number includes persons who deal with smelting, smithery, and bronze work.

4 For the purpose of this article we use the term "antiquity" to describe the time of the Przeworsk culture.

Another important problem indicated by our respondents is the obtaining of raw materials that are identical to the historical ones or at least have analogous properties. It is worth paying attention to this issue. Artisans reconstructing pottery do not encounter any problems with obtaining the right material. The clay we use today has the same properties as the clay extracted in the antiquity. The situation is completely different in the case of textiles as some sheep breeds popular in the antiquity are no longer bred or are bred to a very limited extent, and so access to their fleece is very poor. It is even more difficult for blacksmiths who want to practice their craft employing ancient methods. Their raw material should only be bloomery steel meaning iron smelted in a slag pit bloomery furnace. Today, only a small group of specialists use bloomeries for smelting. They do it for experimental or popularising purposes, and the iron they obtain is unique and difficult to come by.

A problem indicated less frequently is the lack of time the respondents can devote to crafts. In isolated cases, the largest challenge turns out to be the recreation of the whole process of creating the original object. When a replica is ordered, there are sometimes problems with coming to an agreement with the ordering party.

2. *How do people respond to what you do?* With this question, we wanted to learn how the crafts employing ancient methods are perceived by people who are not directly connected with the academic circles. Twenty-two respondents received positive feedback, and sometimes even admiration. This does not mean, however, that the respondents have never encountered any negative responses. Some of them reported bewilderment or even aversion. This is well illustrated by a fragment of one of the answers: '[People's responses are] rather positive but one of the boys I dated said that I had to be immature to be dealing with reconstruction. This was our last meeting'. According to the respondents, positive and negative responses depend on the person and not on what they do or how they do it.
3. *Are you in contact with the academic circles?* This question concerned the surveyed artisans' contacts with the academic circles of archaeologists exploring the issue of ancient crafts. As many as thirteen people openly stated that they had archaeological education, conducted scientific experiments on their own, and publish their results. This shows that in order to practise crafts employing the techniques used in the reconstructed period one needs highly specialist knowledge, the exchange of conclusions and observations with other specialists, and the performance of one's own experiments.

Let us sum up this question with a quote from one of the artisans: 'Of course. I cooperate with both museums and archaeologists. However, I receive the

greatest support from archaeology students, to whom sharing their knowledge is as obvious as breathing. Cooperation with conservative scientists is a bit more difficult as they do not take my activities connected with experimental archaeology seriously'.

4. *What do scientists (e.g. archaeologists) think about your products?* We established that all respondents had contacts with scientists. But what does the scientific world think about their activity and products? Once again, most respondents (15) said they were received in a positive way, just like the author of the following words: 'The scientists I work with appreciate my products and their cognitive value connected with the educational possibilities offered by the presentation of the replica or the reconstruction of the production processes'.

However, there were also some negative experiences described: 'Some people treat it as popularising activity, but others see it as something frivolous or believe that copying archaeological artefacts is a violation of the copyrights of the artefact's owner'.

5. *Which circles are most interested in your products?* Which circles are most interested in reconstruction? Most respondents indicated historical reenactment groups. They also mentioned museums, archaeologists, and educational institutions. Some respondents indicated their friends or people interested in handicrafts.

This is how one of the artisans surveyed described his experiences: 'These are mostly people connected with ancient reenactment and archaeologists. This is perhaps because they are more aware of the effort it requires to prepare an accurate reconstruction'.

6. *Where do you get information about the production technology from?*,
7. *What are your sources of historical/archaeological knowledge?* and
8. *Do you derive inspiration from ethnographic research?*

The most important element of artefact reconstruction is proper technical knowledge. In many cases this involves looking for guidelines and techniques related to the crafts the artisans practise. Fifteen respondents mentioned academic papers and historical sources as their basic and necessary starting point for acquiring technical knowledge. However, it has to be emphasised that all respondents gave more than one source of information, with many answers indicating the Internet as the basic source. In their answers to this question, the respondents frequently referred to specialist papers published online, praising easy access to them. A few respondents also emphasised the significance of sharing experiences with other artisans and how the method of trial and error helped them develop their skills. Fewer answers indicated historical material

analysis. The artisans noted that, with certain knowledge of the production technology, you can resolve many doubts surrounding the creation of the artefact when you see it. A considerable proportion of the respondents dealing with practical aspects of ancient crafts are people who studied archaeology. Thus, their knowledge is based on the information they obtained as students, and in some cases also on the experience gained during field research which they took part in or conducted. The smallest group of the respondents treat ethnographic knowledge as a potential source of information.

As many as sixteen of the respondents confirmed that they supported their activity with ethnographic analogies. Seven artisans used them but not very often. It is worth emphasising that in their struggles with crafts all respondents used this source of knowledge at least once. At the same time, it has to be noted that in the case of some of the crafts, ethnography is the basic, and sometimes the only, source.

9. *Do you use raw materials that are one-hundred percent historically accurate?* According to the survey, one of the greatest problems encountered by artisans today is the use of one-hundred percent historically accurate raw materials. A large number of artisans try to use raw materials obtained or produced in the same way as in the antiquity. In the case of crafts for which it is not difficult to obtain raw materials, this is the standard procedure. In other cases, a difficult barrier to overcome is the price of raw materials, which is why the artisans are forced to use cheaper, contemporary substitutes. Thus, a basic distinction between an artefact reconstruction and a product that looks exactly like the original has to be made. This distinction is made clear by one of the answers: 'If the reconstruction is made for scientific purposes, then yes. But if the product is commercial, then it only needs to imitate the artefact visually'. What also needs to be considered is the fact that the use of one-hundred percent historically accurate raw materials may simply not be technically viable.
10. *Do you employ production techniques that are one-hundred percent historically accurate?* Reproducing ancient production techniques seems to be much easier and cheaper than using historical raw materials. Nearly a half of the artisans surveyed already use the same tools and techniques as in the antiquity, and many of the others are aiming to follow such practice, which is connected with the market demand. The use of contemporary power tools speeds up the work considerably. The visual difference in such cases is sometimes difficult to notice, which is why some of the artisans employ historical production techniques only in reconstructions undertaken for experimental (and scientific) purposes or to their own satisfaction. It is worth

quoting here the words of one of our respondents: 'When I want to verify the usefulness or effectiveness of a tool, then I use its replica, however, it takes much time, so I don't do it in the case of commercial products'.

Foreign artisans have a similar attitude towards reconstruction. A useful analogy is that of the work on recreating the Huldremose skirt, described by Anna Nørgaard, a professional weaver, who meticulously selected materials and planned the production technique before she started weaving. In the process, she mostly considered the ultimate application of her work: whether the skirt was made for educational purposes, whether it would be touched or only watched, and how much the reconstruction could cost (Nørgaard 2008).

11. *Why do you reconstruct artefacts, what is your purpose?* Why are objects from different periods reconstructed? To nearly a half of the artisans, the motivation is the cultivation of their interests. However, this is not the only reason why they specialise in reconstruction. The respondents are also driven by the satisfaction derived from this kind of work and by material gain.

Another recurring answer was given by the respondents who believed that their craft was closely related to archaeology. Sometimes, the only way to get to know the technique for the production of historical objects is to verify it through experimental archaeology. To many of the respondents, artefact reconstruction is thus a significant contribution to science, which also allows to popularise history and archaeology.

12. *What other problems do you encounter when you reproduce artefacts?* The last question was supposed to supplement the previous answers, offering a chance to reveal problems that were not directly linked to the subjects of the earlier questions. Most respondents, however, once again talked about the issues causing them most troubles. The most important of them was incomplete documentation lacking information that would allow them to reproduce the item. In extreme cases, only careful, direct observation of the artefact makes it possible to accurately reproduce its appearance. Unfortunately, museums never display some of their most valuable artefacts, which creates another barrier to artisans. Poor condition of artefacts further limits the possibility of interpretation.

To most artisans, the crafts are only an additional source of income or even a hobby. In the contemporary society, the interest in the reproduction of antiquities is still too small for even the finest artisans to be able to earn their living this way. The necessity to find a different job naturally entails problems with finding sufficient amount of time that is necessary to practise a craft as a profession.

Another problem specialist artisans are faced with is ecology as it does not always go hand in hand with experimental archaeology. Protected plant and animal species often constitute a significant problem for artefact reconstruction. Some of the objects created in the antiquity were made of raw materials acquired from plants and animals that are now protected. In order to produce such artefacts it is necessary to find substitutes or use completely different materials. A good example is the *gladius* (sword) found in a Danish bog in Illerup Ådal, which has an ivory hilt (Ilkjaer 2007: 80).

Conclusions

Analysis of the above answers leads to both positive and negative conclusions. We would like to start with the latter. The fundamental problem connected with artefact reconstruction is the lack of sufficiently detailed archaeological documentation and limited access to originals, which translates into a limited possibility of closely examining the object. This proves the crucial role of specialist analyses and accurate drawing and photographic documentation allowing to determine the dimensions, weight, material, and many other characteristics of the artefact to be reproduced. The results of the artisan's work depend to a large extent on the above information (or its lack).

An alternative or a supplement to printed documentation can be direct observation of the artefact in the museum. Unfortunately, in many cases the way exhibits are displayed does not match the artisan's expectations and does not allow any close examination.

The perception of the crafts and their products is not always positive. The reason for this may be a lack of understanding for the reconstruction itself or insufficient specialist historical knowledge among the recipients. Potential sources of such knowledge are archaeological festivals organised more and more often in the whole Poland, the scientific value of which increases each year thanks to the involvement of people who have archaeological background. The events mentioned combine popularisation with displays of experimental archaeology prepared by entities cooperating with research institutions.

Our respondents also noted that the greatest sceptics about historical reconstruction are researchers who encountered it only at the beginning of its way, when it was on a relatively low level. Today, a large proportion of people dealing with experimental archaeology are representatives of the young generation of archaeologists, who readily base their research on the experience

of artisans specialising in their issues of interest. Thus established cooperation between scientists and artisans is founded on mutual trust, which results from the high level of the artisans' knowledge they derive from their own experience and from academic publications. Moreover, many people dealing with artefact reconstruction strive for perfection in their jobs, and they are frequently inspired by ethnographic analogies. The multitude of sources of knowledge and experiences ensures very high quality of the final product. Thanks to this, it is getting easier and easier for qualified artisans to establish cooperation with museums and educational institutions interested in their work.

A phenomenon worth emphasising is the growing number of archaeologists who explore the technological aspects of artefact analysis through artefact reconstruction. This entails a completely new perspective on the material heritage that is carefully studied by scientists. It should be noted that the interest in experimental archaeology is not limited to antiquity, but it is also practised in connection with other periods, mostly Early Middle Ages. Even museum branches are established, such as Żmijowiska Hillfort – a branch of the Museum on the Vistula in Kazimierz Dolny, or Grzybowo Hillfort, which is an entity managed by the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica, the activity of which focuses on experiments and the popularisation of knowledge of the past (*Archeologia doświadczalna w Muzeum Nadwiślańskim…* 2007; Łukaszyk 2012).

To conclude, based on the results of the survey we conducted it can be said that the quality of the reconstructions produced in Poland is constantly growing, which translates into the growing understanding of the problems encountered by contemporary artisans in their work. This is an optimistic prognosis for the development of future research into the production technologies of the past.

We decided to end with a quote from one of the respondents who well answers the problem raised in the title of our paper: when an artefact is reconstructed, and when a product only resembles an item from a different period:

> I believe that for an object to be called an artefact reproduction, the following criteria have to be met: it has to be made with the same raw materials as the original; the raw materials need to be obtained/produced in the same way as in the period the artefact comes from; it has to be made with tools and raw materials used in a given period, employing the same technique/technology; and it has to be fully functional, which means that it has to have the same properties and serve the same purpose as the original. If an object fails to satisfy the above criteria, then it should not be called a reconstruction.

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Summary

'Historical Craft from the Artisan's Point of View'. Analysis of the Results of the Survey Conducted Among Craftsmen Specialising in Historical Reconstruction

The paper presents the results of the survey carried out by the authors of this paper, the subject of which was experimental archaeology. We asked a group of artisans that deal with historical reconstruction a set of questions about the difficulties they encounter during their reconstruction work. What is their biggest problem? Where do the craftsmen derive information about the ancient technology from? How are their products received by recipients? The chronological framework of the reconstruction industry was narrowed down to one historical period (the time of the Przeworsk culture, that is the Pre-Roman Iron Age, the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period). This clearly showed some connections between a small group of craftsmen using ancient methods in their work and the academic world, and how important it is to acquire historical and archaeological knowledge and to find ethnographic inspirations in order to solve the problems of craft techniques. The survey covered artisans practising various crafts, from metalwork to pottery, which added a broader perspective to the issues studied.

Keywords: experimental archaeology, artisan, artefact reconstruction

Streszczenie

„Rzemiosło historyczne okiem wytwórcy". Analiza wyników badań ankietowych przeprowadzonych wśród rzemieślników specjalizujących się w odtwarzaniu zabytków starożytnych

Artykuł przedstawia wyniki ankiet przeprowadzonych przez autorów, których przedmiotem była archeologia eksperymentalna. Do grupy rzemieślników zajmujących się rekonstrukcją skierowano pytania dotyczące trudności, z którymi spotykają się podczas swojej pracy odtwórczej. Co jest największym problemem? Skąd rzemieślnicy czerpią informacje dotyczące technologii wytwórstwa? Jak ich wyroby są przyjmowane przez odbiorców? Ramy chronologiczne odtwórstwa zawężono do jednego okresu historycznego (czasu występowania kultury przeworskiej, a więc okresu przedrzymskiego, okresu wpływów rzymskich i okresu wędrówek ludów). Pozwoli to uczytelnić powiązania między niewielką grupą rzemieślników zajmujących się rękodzielnictwem metodami starożytnymi a światem naukowym, zdobywaniem wiedzy historycznej i archeologicznej oraz inspiracji etnograficznych w celu rozwiązania problemów technik rzemieślniczych. Badaniami zostały objęte osoby zajmujące się różnymi rzemiosłami, od obróbki metalu po garncarstwo, co pozwala spojrzeć na owo zagadnienie z szerszej perspektywy.

Słowa kluczowe: archeologia eksperymentalna, rzemieślnik, rekonstrukcja zabytku

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