Photography and Cultural Heritage in the Age of Nationalisms:

Europe's Eastern Borderlands (1867–1945)

Ewa Manikowska

BLOOMSBURY

PHOTOGRAPHY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE AGE OF NATIONALISMS

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PREFACE

Several years ago, at a conference on the photographic archives of art history held at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, I presented a paper on an early twentieth-century provincial Polish survey photographic collection. To my big surprise the presentation stimulated a lively discussion differing from a typical academic debate. Its participants, scholars from various European countries, inspired by the photographs of provincial Polish villages, churches and communities ended up recalling their own, often very personal, ideas on and experiences of cultural heritage, photography, nation and identity. This book forms an attempt at capturing and analysing the provincial Polish photographic collection as one embedded with still graspable and meaningful universal, European and ever-living qualities.

I start out by looking at the small archives of a Polish civic society founded in the final years of the Russian Empire and focused on monument preservation in a wider geographical, chronological and cultural context. I analyse the photographic framings of cultural heritage in the context of empire- and nation-building in Eastern Europe, and in particular, I trace the emergence of such a national identity(ies) of Poland from the time of the first applications of photography of this kind to the establishment of an independent Polish state in the aftermath of the First World War. To fully grasp this phenomenon, I examine the parallel, competing and interrelated photographic visualizations of the same lands in other – imperial (Russian, German and Austro-Hungarian), national and ethnic (Ukrainian, Jewish) – contexts. This is a phenomenon that has barely been studied, thus I build my argument by analysing chosen case-studies of photographic surveys, collections, exhibitions and illustrated atlases and albums. Their selection was often a matter of chance and intuition, thanks to which I was literally able to unearth fundamental documentation in often unexpected and usually not inventoried library, museum and archival collections.

My main argument is that universal qualities of photography and the Western concept of cultural heritage covering visual framings of monuments, landscapes and peoples were a strong and appealing tool of national, imperial, cultural legitimization. The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photographs of provincial churches, synagogues or ethnographic types were at the same time statements of national uniqueness and of belonging to the European civilization. Moreover, such framings reflected and sprang from the values embedded in monuments, customs or landscapes by the local communities.

I hope that the uncovering of the cultural potential hidden in the barely known visual archives and projects will form a contribution to the recent conceptualizations of European heritage. Today this is an ambiguous concept. On the one hand, it is seen as the founding stone of European identity. On the other hand, the Western notion and canon of cultural heritage are also being estranged, framed in the pejorative sense, as a legacy of nationalism and colonialism. In the Eastern European context, moreover, the current rise of populism has discredited the core of the very idea of heritage. The conflict surrounding the opening of the Museum of the Second World War, a project launched in 2007 in Poland, is here an emblematic example. Conceived as a comprehensive presentation of this global cataclysm in its human dimension, it has been accused of being universal and anti-Polish by the right-wing Polish authorities. The national white and red ribbons strapped by the citizens on the fence of the construction site of the museum in a gesture of solidarity with its creators, and its large and unceasing affluence following the museum's opening in April 2017, clearly reveal, however, that the national, universal and visual values embedded in heritage are unbreakable and, just like in the nineteenth century, they still form the binding elements of European societies.

* * *

In this book, I use contemporary toponymes. With certain exceptions for well-known surnames, Cyrillic script is here rendered by a simplified version of the British Standard system. Translations are my own.

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In working on this book, I have benefitted greatly from the help and advice of many individuals and institutions. I would like to acknowledge the financial support offered by the Foundation for Polish Science within the framework of the Pomost programme (2012–2015) and the institutional assistance provided by the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences. I owe special thanks to Elizabeth Edwards. Her research guidelines, encouragement and invaluable advice through the entire period of the project made this book come true. This study also benefitted from the support and comments of Piotr Jamski, who assisted me in my research trips to the libraries and archives in Ukraine and Russia. For advice and suggestions at different points in my research I would like to thank Costanza Caraffa, Almut Goldhan, Eva Pluhařová-Grigienė, Herbert Justnik, Wojciech Walanus, Maciej Górny, Beate Störtkuhl, Estelle Sohier, Monika Faber, Sergey Kravtsov, Stefanie Klamm, Izabela Kopania and Iwona Luba.

A number of issues discussed here were first presented at various conferences, including the *Photo Archives* conference series organized by the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, *Photography and Visual Orders in the History of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union* held at the German Historical Institute in Moscow in 2013, the Klaus Zernack Colloquium, the *Hybrid Photography: Intermedial Practices in Sciences and Humanities* conference organized at Humboldt University in 2015 and *Reflecting the World: Museums and Collections of Visual and Sound Documentation around 1900* held in Lausanne and Geneva in 2015. Special thanks to the participants of the *Survey Photography and Cultural Heritage in Europe. Expanding the Field* workshop for stimulating discussions and to the members of the Heuright research project. Parts of Chapter 4 have been previously published in *Acta Poloniae Historica* vol. 115 (2016) and *Apologeten der Vernichtung oder 'Kunstschutzer'* (2017).

In addition, my research has been reliant on the skills and assistance of numerous library and archival staff. In Poland, this included the National Museum and the

National Library of Poland; the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences; the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences; the Ethnographic Museum in Cracow; the Polish Ethnological Society in Wrocław. In Ukraine – the Stefanyk National Science Library, the Museum of Ethnography and Applied Arts and the Central State Historical Archives in L'viv. In Russia – the Russian Geographical Society, the Russian Museum of Ethnography, the National Library of Russia and Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg; the Archives of the Russian Federation and Russian State Library in Moscow. In Austria – the Austrian National Library, the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts and the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art in Vienna. In Israel – the Central Archives for the History of Jewish People in Jerusalem.

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Last but not least, I wish to thank my family for their encouragement, counsel and support.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AL	Academy of Learning
IAC	Imperial Archaeological Commission
IDO	Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit
IMC RAS	Institute of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences
IRGS	Imperial Russian Geographical Society
JU	Jagiellonian University
MAS	Moscow Archaeological Society
MEAA	Museum of Ethnography and Applied Arts in L'viv
NMW	National Museum in Warsaw
Oss. Lib.	Ossoliński Library
PAS	Polish Academy of Sciences
PAAS	Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences
PHLS	Polish Historical and Literary Society
RME	Russian Museum of Ethnography
SARF	State Archive of the Russian Federation
SPAM	Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments

Introduction

In 1876 Michał Greim, a Pole and photographer in Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi (one of the main urban centres in the south-western outskirts of the Russian Empire), made several versions of the city's panorama. In the same year, they were published in *Kłosy*, the most popular Polish illustrated monthly issued in the empire. The fortress of Kam'ianets' with its impressive position on a hilltop in the bend of the river Smotrich and its picturesque profile marked by walls, battlements, tall bell towers and minarets – easy to depict in all its glory from the surrounding valley – certainly formed an ideal photographic subject. However, it had already been discovered by another Pole, Józef Kordysz, the first photographer in Kam'ianets' and Greim's predecessor (Figure 1). Thus, at first glance, Greim's three- and five-piece 1876 panoramas and Kordysz's view from afar are just captivating examples of the transnational reach of photographic subjects and models and of their fast spread, not only in the European metropolises but also in small and provincial centres of its peripheries. For Greim, however, Kam'ianets' was not so much a marketable topic and not even a photographic challenge but an important means of taming and understanding the city, its culture, its past and present, the complex political, national and social reality of eastern Europe, of which Kam'ianets' was one of the border points.

Among the pictures shot in 1876 there is an exceptional view, known today only from one preserved copy, focused on a small fragment of the city walls with a row of apparently insignificant houses. This photograph, presumably taken on the margin of the panorama cycles, is provided with handwritten descriptions of the depicted buildings: 'the houses where Greim's son Józio and Lunia were born', 'the property of the deceased wife Oktawia', etc. Preserved among several folders, which Greim compiled to document the important moments of the life of his family, the view is an intimate interpretation of the city through its architectural tissue closely linked to Greim's private life.[1] In the same folder, Greim also pasted a type group of beggars juxtaposed with a family visit to the cemetery on All Saints' day, as well as an oval portrait picture of his two sons taken at the time of their university education in St Petersburg. If one removed all of these photographs from their original context, they would serve as a perfect illustration of the offer and output of Greim's studio:

FIGURE 1 Józef Kordysz, view of Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi, albumen print, 1868? Courtesy of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences.

portraits, panoramas and types. However, in the family folder they are visual markers of personal legacies and of the process of inscribing the surrounding cultural space with Greim's own memories, histories and meanings.

Greim's private photographs are arguably a perfect exemplification of David Lowenthal's words that 'heritage starts with what individuals inherit and bequeath'.[2] The views of Kam'ianets's insignificant row of houses or the beggars inscribed in the intimate scene of the cemetery visit are inextricably linked to and bear the same meanings as Greim's panorama and type cycles, compiled as a gift for various scholars, scientific societies and important intellectual and political personalities. Provided with descriptions and explanations, the cycles consciously depict Kam'ianets' and its region through its historic buildings, monuments, documents, peculiar landscapes, ethnographic portraits and views. Such a 'heritage focus' should be applied even to Greim's commercial portrait activity. In this provincial centre, portraits were conceived as personal and family legacies: executed once in a blue moon, usually in the occasion of important family events (weddings, jubilees, etc.). For Greim such private depictions, just like the private view of the city walls, were inextricably linked to wider interpretations as expressed in his official sets of panoramas, views

and types. Not only did he often stage his portrait models in the guise of types but he also included examples of commercial portraits in his official cycles intended for important personalities and learned societies.

While the pictures in Greim's private archive show the importance of heritage for the construction of individual legacies and identities, his official cycles reflect the role played by heritage and by the photographic language of description in the shaping of the complex and often competing collective identities in the entangled political and ethnic reality of this part of Europe. Greim's close-ups of the city of Kam'ianets' reveal its turbulent past and the complex present-day multi-ethnic reality under the imperial rule. The views provided with accurate descriptions unmask the picturesque towers, roofs or domes of temples of the various denominations: Catholics, Armenians, Orthodox, Lutherans. The tower of the inactive minaret of the cathedral of St Peter and St Paul points to the 1672 Ottoman occupation of the town, when several Catholic churches were transformed into mosques. The ramparts of the fortress recalled the Polish–Ottoman wars and the deeds of glorious Polish leaders. Greim's preserved (or only known from sources) panorama cycles, presented to such institutions as the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (IRGS), the Cracow Academy of Learning (AL) and such personalities as Eliza Orzeszkowa, the noteworthy Polish writer, or Sultan Abdul Hamid II, reveal the varied dimensions of the city's heritage. While the cycle donated to the learned society in Cracow focused on the monuments from the times when Kam'ianets' was the main fortress in the south-eastern outskirts of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the IRGS panorama by equally highlighting the monuments pertinent to the various ethnicities, which inhabited the city and the region, reflected the idea of the harmonious multi-ethnic coexistence in the Russian Empire. Thus, we may presume that the cycle offered to Abdul Hamid II, known only from sources, focused on the multiple Ottoman traces in the city's artistic and architectonic foundation and was supplemented by a set of close-ups on the main Muslim monuments, such as the minbar in the former Dominican Church.

Greim's cycles are a spectacular example of the photographic projects that are at the heart of this book. Undertaken with the advent of photography from the initiative of leading professional photographers, scholars, learned societies, museums, administrative and governmental offices, princes, monarchs and emperors – both in the metropolises and in such provincial centres as Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi – they aimed at establishing reliable, academic, political visions of the cultural space in eastern Europe embedded with authority. By depicting historical monuments, precious objects, landscapes, folklife, vernacular objects, expressed in the transnational genres of panorama, view, type, depictions of art works or archaeological relics, they consciously confirmed the existing political and cultural boundaries or conversely – in spite of them – marked such spaces as imperial, Polish, Ukrainian or German.

To define the subject of such projects, their essence and photography as such, I use David Lowenthal's definition of heritage as the sense of the past that shapes identities. With the means of heritage an individual, a family, a group, a nation or a state defines

and authorizes its existence, uniqueness and prestige, and creates bounding myths and traditions.[3] Thus, heritage should be seen as a practice in which the means of updating, upgrading and excluding the past is being altered, idealized, selected and imagined in order to create an appealing vision and celebrate a construction fitting the present day needs of individuals or communities.[4] I also turn to Laurajane Smith's concept of the Authorized Heritage Discourse, which springs from the methods of Critical Heritage Discourse Analysis, on the one hand, and on Michel Foucault's discourse analysis, on the other.[5] According to Smith, heritage must always be considered as a discourse of power, embedded with the power of legitimization and delegitimization of cultures, and of establishing values.

In this book, I focus on the material remains of the past, that is on those elements that could be pictured and visualized. I consider cultural heritage as a complex process in which a corpus of places, art objects, archaeological relics, monuments, folk objects and traditions are being negotiated as markers of identity. Thus, I consider as cultural heritage not the objects themselves but the identity narrations constructed around them: collections, museums, exhibitions, books, albums or legislation. Photography, with its visual narrations expressed in photographic archives and collections, albums, photographic books or exhibitions, will be considered here as a fundamental heritage practice.

In the title of her groundbreaking book on the English survey movement, Elizabeth Edwards by evoking a 1916 booklet with guidelines for photographic fieldwork – *The Camera as Historian* – points to the past as one of the main guiding forces behind the important phenomenon of amateur photography, which bloomed in the years from *c.* 1885 to 1918 in England and at around the same time elsewhere in Europe.[6] She argues that the English amateur photographic movement, which visually celebrated and domesticated the material traces of the past, was an important outcome of the expansion of photography as a hobby and a response to the sense of loss and fragility caused by the fast growing changes in the surrounding cultural landscape resulting from industrialization.[7] Her revealing analysis confirms what is inscribed in the quoted 1916 title: photography is inextricably linked to the practice of heritage. Importantly, as Edwards stresses in her introduction, this refers not only to the amateur photographic movement but to photography as such.

The example of Greim, generally regarded as one of the pioneers of Polish photography, shows that heritage from the time of the invention of photography was inscribed in and inseparable from its everyday practice. Such affinity sprang from the evidential qualities of photography, the technological authority which made it a reliable and universal scientific tool, and nineteenth-century encyclopaedism. Heritage, even in the provincial and borderland centres of eastern Europe, was an important element of everyday experience and the visual and universal language of photography was from the beginning a powerful organizing tool, which created a sense of orientation in a given place and space.

This book will not focus on personal photographic heritage practices, such as the ones preserved in Greim's private archive. Instead, it will present heritage as a primordial means and photography as a powerful language for expressing collective (imperial, national, ethnic) definitions of the cultural and political space of eastern Europe at a period of dramatic sociopolitical transformations, entangled with the slow rise of national and ethnic consciousness of the various groups inhabiting these regions, the dawn of empires, the outbreak of the First World War and the emergence of a new fragile nation-based political balance. Following the definition of the nation as cultural construction, expressed in Benedict Anderson's theory of an imagined community[8] or Ernest Gellner's concept of industrial culture,[9] I will look at the emergence of the various collective identities in eastern Europe through the focus of the photographic constructions of cultural heritage.

By using the concept of eastern Europe, I will not refer to a clearly defined geopolitical space but to an old cultural stereotype well ingrained already in the early medieval times. The idea of the barbarian East, covered with desolated forests, characterized by a rough landscape and harsh climate, inhabited by primitive people, was developed at the time of the Enlightenment in opposition to the civilized and developed West.[10] As Larry Wolff argues, eastern Europe – with Russia in the centre and its bordering Slavic lands – was an important point of reference for the definition of the West and its cultural and civilizational superiority.[11] Similarly, the fixation on the West is still today a valid and defining aspect of eastern European identity.

Cultural heritage is indeed a Western invention, and photography – with its scientific and technological qualities, and with the universality of its language – is a transnational and essentially Western practice. In this book I will argue that the various, often competing or excluding, photographic constructions of the spaces of eastern Europe should be seen not only as a means of imperial, national or ethnic self-definition, but also as a means of overcoming the Eastern civilizational complex and of claiming a place among Western cultures, states and nations. Moreover, each of the photographic projects analysed in this book inscribed cultural heritage into, and defined it with reference to, the Western models and canons.

I focus on the photographic projects undertaken in and pertinent to the geopolitical space of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Established with the 1596 Union of Lublin, this was the largest state of sixteenth-century Europe. Under the umbrella of a political project it united Catholics, Protestants, Greek Catholics, nobles of Polish, Lithuanian and Slavic origin, who referring to citizenship and civilization defined themselves as the Polish nation. The late eighteenth-century partitions split the territories of Poland–Lithuania under the rule of three nineteenth-century European empires (Plate 1). It is in this period of submission that the various peoples inhabiting these lands started to define themselves as nations according to religion and language. After the First World War, the then arisen Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Belarusian nations framed themselves in the context of independent states and Soviet republics.[12]

In Chapter 1, I examine the visual framings of the former lands of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth subjected to the Russian Empire and constituting its Polish and western provinces, as part of Russia's national and imperial identity. Extending its dominion over many peoples and huge territories in the eastern European peripheries and over vast lands of the Asian continent, the tsarist empire was built on the basis of imported western European institutions, technologies and cadres. Russia's official imperial and national image and identity were constructed in reference to western European models.[13] The imperial conquests in Asia were pursued in the name of the Western civilizing mission and of the Western sense of cultural superiority. Russian national identity, springing from the conviction of the predominance of Russian culture and of the Orthodox religion, was shaped in contrast or in superiority to the Western canon. The late nineteenth-century idea of imperial civic order unifying Russia's imperial rich geographical and ethnic diversity in a process of national homogenization and assimilation into the culturally predominant Russian core formed a reflection of the Western nation- and state-building processes.[14]

The Russian cultural heritage discourse was thus shaped through the Western models, on the one hand, and in opposition to the Western canon, on the other. By turning to the medieval kremlins, to the oldest Orthodox monasteries and churches, the most precious icons and regalia, the earliest frescos, the precious Scythian archaeological relics unearthed on the shores of the Black Sea and describing them with the means of a vanguard transnational visual language (chromolithography, photography), the Russian scholars and learned institutions claimed the primacy and antiquity of its just discovered culture. I analyse how imperial scholars and learned societies by focusing on Orthodox churches (both newly erected and transformed from existing Unite and Catholic churches), Slavic relics and folklore, and by marginalizing the alien Polish artistic and architectonic landscape marked by castles, medieval churches or baroque palaces, not only created footholds in the annexed Polish territories for the imperial core but also reinforced a Russian cultural identity.

Norman Davis in his *God's Playground* repeated a well-rooted myth according to which Poland was always regarded as the last outpost of Western civilization.[15] The identity of the emerging Polish nation – the most self-conscious national movement and a pioneer in the region – was built around its affinity with the West, reflected not only in the tradition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth as a paradise of liberty and as a rampart of Christianity but also in the belief in the affinity of Polish cultural heritage with Western models. The Temple of Sybil in Puławy – the first Polish heritage narration – was created at the same time as the Museum of French Monuments, under the influence of Alexandre Lenoir and Dominique Vivant Denon. Here, the precious objects from the treasuries of aristocratic families, shrines of former great deeds and the recent Napoleonic battlefields, showpieces and bonding elements of an ancestral citizenry, for the first time, envisaged a community of the Polish nation. In Chapter 2, I will present several photographic and visual projects

undertaken from the time of the invention of photography up to the outbreak of the First World War in an unofficial Polish academic and cultural milieu. Produced with the international context (the universal exhibitions, the libraries of the most prestigious learned societies and institutions) always in mind and the Western canons and models (both of heritage and of its visual description and presentation) in focus, they aimed at framing and legitimizing the European identity of a stateless nation.

While the Polish national identity has been shaped from the early nineteenth century in the milieu of the potent aristocratic families and intelligentsia, the awakening of the other national and ethnic groups inhabiting the lands of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth only slowly started to bloom in the second half of the century with the emergence of the respective elites. In Chapter 3, I focus on several projects undertaken in the region of eastern Galicia and in the western provinces of the Russian Empire where Poles, often in a minority, lived side by side with other national and ethnic groups. I analyse the Polish interest in the colourful culture of the Ruthenian highlanders of eastern Galicia and in the provincial Jewish cultural heritage, juxtaposing it with the first Ukrainian and Jewish photographic projects focused on such heritage. The regional focus shows the complexity of the distinct, and at the same time interpenetrating, definitions of cultural space: the same photographic project expressed Polish and Ukrainian or Polish and Jewish identities and framed the eastern European space in wider imperial and Western contexts.

In Chapter 4, I focus on the visual definitions of Poland as a state with the means of cultural heritage. Despite the widespread popularity of photography, of cheap reproduction techniques, of the everyday omnipresence of photography, I argue that Poland defined itself and its identity by reusing the exclusive nineteenth-century atlas genre, with the highest quality drawing and photography, and the expensive reproduction techniques of chromolithography and heliogravure. What distinguishes such projects from the ones analysed in the earlier chapters is the definition of the cultural space as expressively Western and Polish. The wooden synagogues or Greek-Catholic churches, the Ruthenian highlanders with their colourful costumes and the bearded figures of Jewish savants are depicted as folkloristic elements in no way disturbing this new simplified picture of the complex cultural spaces of the former Poland–Lithuania.

In Chapter 5, I argue that photographic definitions of the East were essential in the shaping of German national and imperial identity. *Ostforschung*, the German scientific stream focused on the eastern provinces of Europe, was institutionalized in numerous academic and research institutes, and while photography was its rightful tool, cultural heritage constituted one of its main subjects of enquiry. I pay attention to the visual survey projects undertaken with the German expansion to the East at the time of the two world wars. Despite the clear propaganda and ideological overtone, their output (archives, albums, photographic books and exhibitions, etc.) formed a definition of Germany and Germanness. I argue that given the peculiar German sensibility towards landscape and heritage, and the widespread popularity of amateur

photography, such visual projects should be considered not only in the framework of science and propaganda but, referring to the title of Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius's book, as a German experience of the East.[16] I will also outline the impact of the German projects undertaken in eastern Europe on the development of survey photography in independent Poland.

The geopolitical and cultural space of eastern Europe as expressed in the photographic heritage projects becomes very specific and split by clear national borders in the aftermath of the First World War. In the concluding chapter, I examine the Polish surveys produced with the post-war peace treaty negotiations in mind. I argue that cultural heritage was an important argument on which the official Polish territorial claims were based. Its definition in photographic books, albums or exhibitions acquired in this period the status of a legal argument and the scholarly authority of a map.

In this book I discuss ambitious projects, which shaped not only the various national, ethnic or imperial identities but went to the heart of the idea of the European civilization and the complexity and exceptionality of the eastern European space. Such projects converge the various – national, imperial, regional, ethnic – cultural heritage narrations, on the one hand, and are centred on the East–West dichotomy, on the other. As the first mature photographic initiative of its kind, I consider the 1867 All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition based on a photographic survey performed by professional and amateur photographers in the Russian Empire and in the centres of the Slavic world with the aim of creating Russia's own imperial vision of the East and establishing the primacy of Russian culture and the Russian nation. My latest examples are the photographic projects undertaken in the framework of the fascist scientific *Ostforschung* Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit (IDO) established in Cracow in 1943, which I consider as the last photographic vision of such breath and ambition.

All the projects discussed in this book were conceived in the highest cultural scientific and political circles, in the framework of the established institutions and societies, by the main intellectuals, aristocrats or artists usually educated in the best European universities and active in the transnational scientific and cultural networks. I will recall here such names as Vladimir Stasov, Fedor Solntsev, Théophile Gautier, Ivan Franko, Shloyme An-ski, Paul Clemen and Henryk Sienkiewicz. The output of such projects was usually exclusive, expensive, unique or issued in a limited number of copies designed for the most prestigious libraries and collections. They can be defined as a kind of academic and aristocratic utopia, embedded with great authority and the power of persuasion but with an influence limited to the world of the elite. Despite the popularization of photography in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the growth of a wider awareness about history, art and its precious material traces, the photographic heritage discourse essentially remained in the elite domain in eastern Europe. Similarly, the discovery of, and the interest in, folk and vernacular culture were the pastime of the wealthy and well born. Even the projects undertaken in Poland in the interwar period were characterized by the same aura of uniqueness.

The photographic projects will be analysed in this book as parallel to, or strictly interconnected with, other visual heritage discourses: collections, exhibitions, lithographic albums or chromolithographic atlases. They will be inscribed in a tradition which had already begun during the time of the Enlightenment.[17] I will argue, however, that photography not only brought new technical possibilities and an unmatched veracity and documentary quality but it also profoundly changed the heritage discourse itself. This is particularly striking in the case of visual definitions produced in the aftermath of the First World War, which through the photographic language gained the meaning of a quasi-legal argument and of a scientific truth. By focusing on the photographers in the region – such as Michał Greim, Karol Beyer or Jan Bułhak – I will also contribute to the little-known history of photography of this part of Europe that still waits to be written.

CHAPTER ONE

The Empire Looks Westward: Russia's National and Imperial Identity and Its Western and Polish Borderlands

In this chapter I will discuss the visual surveys of the Tsarist Empire as an important element of nineteenth-century Russian imperialism and nationalism. I will argue that the Western concept of cultural heritage and the most up-to-date tools of its universal description (ethnography, monument protection, chromolithography, photography, etc.) were important means of framing and harmonizing Russia as a nation and as an empire, of blurring the internal tensions, of strengthening the tsarist rule and of creating its appealing official visions. In particular, I will focus on the Russian surveys of its western and Polish provinces during and in the aftermath of the January Uprising (1863–1864). The final defeat of this large-scale Polish insurrection against the tsarist rule was followed by planned 'cultural Russification', an assimilation policy of the non-Russian ethnic groups through special government measures, Russian-language schools, bans on speaking and publishing in certain languages, etc.[1] I will argue that cultural heritage and imperial surveys played an important role in the assimilation of the troublesome western and Polish provinces of the empire.

The invention of cultural patrimony in imperial Russia followed the Western models. Awakened at the time of the post-Napoleonic romanticism and sentimentalism, it stimulated in the elites the same interests in their nation's historical

monuments and the same desire for their survey and preservation. As early as 1826 the Ministry of the Interior, following Nicholas I's order to compile an empire-wide register of architectural antiquities, instructed the provincial governors to collect data on the monuments of architecture in their governorates, supply their visual surveys and prevent their demolition. Although this first official survey was a true failure (the local administration didn't know how to identify the historic and antique buildings and it feared that such a project would generate additional expenses and troubles),[2] it was soon followed by others, which applied the newest developments of science and the latest survey tools. The interest in surveys was pursued in particular by the learned voluntary societies that were being established in St Petersburg, Moscow and in the provincial centres of the empire and modelled on the example of their Western equivalents. Independently or in collaboration they undertook, in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, ambitious projects aimed at documenting the cultural treasures of the empire.[3]

I will provide two examples from among the main institutions. The Imperial Archaeological Commission (IAC) was set up in 1859 as part of the Ministry of the Imperial Court in order to deal with all types of antiquities and monuments in Russia.[4] In a sense, it was the official imperial conservation and registration office: by an 1889 imperial decree it granted the necessary licences to carry out excavations in public territories; controlled the market of the excavated antiquities; and consulted on and granted permissions for any kind of restorations, enlargements or demolitions performed on historical and artistic buildings.[5] It also gathered documentation on monuments throughout the empire in an impressive survey archive, with monuments and archaeological sites organized geographically in separate folders. A similar attention to the study and documentation of the peoples inhabiting the lands of the empire can be observed in the activities of the various ethnographic and geographic learned societies being established at around the same time. The IRGS, founded in St Petersburg in 1845, was not only one of the oldest organizations of this kind but also the most active Russian scientific association.[6] This private institution was closely connected to and controlled by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which regarded it as an agency of imperial and colonial expansion. Its ethnographic division privileged the study of Russian folklife in the quest of revealing the essence and features of the Russian nation. Simultaneously, it organized large-scale field-trip projects, making extensive use of the latest ethnographic and geographic research methods and modern survey tools, centred in particular on new territorial acquisitions in the central Asian, Siberian and far eastern regions of the empire.

At first glance, the scientific exploration of the empire, documented in the IAC's, IRGS's and other Russian survey archives, seems a harmonious project, marked by an obsession with surveying, mapping and describing, in which every monument, locality or region was equally important. Thus, the two surveys carried out almost in parallel – one in the Russian core of the empire, the other in the peripheral Polish province – are characterized by an equal accuracy, completeness and the use of

similar documentation tools. I am referring to the extensive scientific visual survey of the most precious Russian medieval and early modern antiquities carried out in the 1830s and 1840s by a young graduate of the Imperial Academy of Arts, the Russian Fedor Solntsev (1801–1892), and to the survey conducted between 1844 and 1855 led by the Polish archivist, antiquarian and collector Kazimierz Stronczyński (1809–1896) with the aim of documenting the monuments of the Polish Kingdom.[7] Both surveys received official support: while Solntsev's project was generously sponsored by Nicholas I, Stronczyński's travels received the official support of the local government. Both produced watercolour paintings, hundreds of detailed antiquarian and architectural drawings and accurate historical descriptions, following the same style of survey and similar selection criteria (the age of the monument, its links with a historical figure or event, etc.). Moreover, the outcome of both were luxurious and prestigious atlases.

While the projects were entirely consistent in their formats and visual description of monuments, they were hardly comparable in their subject matter. The world of the ancient Orthodox churches, monasteries, icons, kremlins and regalia of the Russian tsars was quite different from the landscape marked by castle ruins and Catholic churches, full of references to the glorious past of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Despite the initial plans, the output of Stronczyński's project was never published and its impact on the official perceptions of the cultural patrimony of the Russian Empire can hardly be compared with that of Solntsev's watercolours published between 1849 and 1853 as the *Antiquities of the Russian State*, a lavish six-volume chromolithographic atlas, considered as the first articulation of a distinct Russian national culture.[8]

Thus, a closer look at the Russian survey project reveals that, in the first place, it was an expression of an important dichotomy between the imperial and the national identity. For example, the surveys and archaeological excavations pursued by the IAC were focused on the Russian core and on its central Asian provinces.[9] The learned societies, usually closely connected with, controlled and sponsored by the state, pursued the imperial politics and mission in their research, and attempted to create a harmonized vision of the multinational and multi-ethnic culture of the empire as a whole and to establish its Russian historical and cultural nucleus.[10]

In the aftermath of the January Uprising, when the last bastions of autonomy in the Polish Kingdom were definitively crushed, Stronczyński's Polish vision of its cultural patrimony and identity, initially inscribed in an official framework of the Russian survey project, lost its significance and meaning. Its five volumes of handwritten descriptions and seven atlases of watercolours, forming a complete inventory of monuments in around four hundred localities, grouped according to the then-existing administrative divisions, elegantly bound and provided with the Romanov coat of arms were deposited in the Governmental Library in Warsaw and just forgotten. Accordingly, the new political situation required a redefinition of the cultural patrimony of the rebellious provinces.

Two initiatives of the Moscow Archaeological Society (MAS) undertaken in the 1870s and pertinent also to the Polish and western provinces of the Russian Empire well illustrate such new survey ambitions and political aims. The first one was a never-accomplished archaeological atlas of the Russian Empire, conceived as a collection of maps by governorates, executed according to the same guidelines and focused on, inter alia, the prehistoric settlements, cemeteries and other peculiar proto-Slavic monuments (such as the balbals, kurgans or hill forts).[11] The second one was a questionnaire for the registration of historical Orthodox churches.[12] Both survey initiatives should also be juxtaposed with the archaeological congresses held every three years in different towns of the empire, of which the MAS was originator and organizer. Sponsored and controlled by the state authorities, these congresses were in perfect accordance with domestic policy and strengthened imperial doctrine. As Aleksander Smirnov has noted, six congresses held in the western centres of the empire on the express order of Alexander III were used to propagate orthodoxy and the Russian language.[13] Similarly, the survey and presentation of the empire through the archaeological and architectonic focus – inscribed in the archaeological map and Orthodox church questionnaire projects – directed attention to its Slavic and Russian core and aimed at facilitating the integration of its troublesome provinces of former Poland–Lithuania. All three initiatives were an important element of the politics of Russification pursued in the aftermath of the January Uprising, when the imperial administration had to not only stifle the strong Polish national and separatist movements, but also underpin the empire's territorial and cultural integrity.

The main strands of Russia's imperialism and nationalism of the second half of the nineteenth century – the control over its ethnic and national diversity and the cultural and civilizational predominance accorded to its Russian and Orthodox core – are well reflected in the two case studies of visual surveys discussed in this chapter. The 1867 All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition is a symptomatic example of the role accorded to ethnography and to the new genre of type photography in the official assimilation of the Polish and western provinces in the aftermath of the January Uprising. The chromolithographic and photographic atlases and albums – outputs of the Russian surveys of the western provinces – intentionally focused only on Orthodox monuments, exemplifying the policy of Russification on these territories.

PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE ETHNOGRAPHIC TYPE: IMPERIAL UNITY IN DIVERSITY AT THE ALL-RUSSIAN ETHNOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION

In 1864 Anatolii Bogdanov (1834–1896), a professor of zoology at the University of Moscow inspired by the anthropological section of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, presented the idea of a similar ethnographic show to the recently founded Moscow Society of Friends of Natural Sciences. Struck by the absence

of the people inhabiting the Asian dominions of the Russian Empire and by the reach and lure of the exhibition's formula, he suggested staging a similar show in Moscow, which would include the omitted territories of the Russian dominion.[14] His idea was twofold: on the one hand, it would popularize knowledge about the empire among the larger public, and on the other, thanks to a planned anthropological section based on scientific surveys, it would give an impetus to serious anthropological research in Russia. In terms of popularization, Bogdanov planned to repeat the London show and supplement it with a small choice of examples of the Russian 'other', that is of the tribes inhabiting the Asian provinces of the empire. The initial concept of the exhibition evolved and changed due to Crystal Palace's refusal to make copies from the diorama mannequins and also because the organizing committee included Vasilii Dashkov and Nil Popov. The idea of presenting Russia's research, both in its scientific and popular aspects, in the wider context of Western colonial anthropology and exhibition culture, was transformed into a politicized national and imperial project. Dashkov, a generous sponsor who lent 20,000 roubles for the exhibition's preparations, opted for the visualization of the national and ethnic microcosm of the Russian Empire using mannequins in peculiar regional costumes. Moreover, on the initiative of Popov, a Moscow University history professor and Slavophil, it was decided to include also the Slavic peoples from Austria–Hungary and the Ottoman Empire.[15] The central place accorded to the Russian people and the inclusion of a distinct and as complete as possible Slavic section gave the narration a political and nationalistic overtone. Furthermore, the possibility to view the show through a pan-Slavic prism was reinforced by the Slavic congress, which accompanied its inauguration and was attended by the representatives of scholars, amateurs and politicians from the main centres of the Slavic world. In the German newspapers in Austria–Hungary as well as in the Polish intellectual circles in all three partitions, the congress was defined as a dangerous and offensive political provocation. For the Austrian authorities even a vague suggestion of the formation of a unified Slavic state under Russian rule was unacceptable, while for the Poles the claims to national superiority were regarded as a clear expression of extremist Russophilia.

The exhibition itself was striking in its scale, uniformity and ambitious scope. Using over three hundred mannequins, executed according to detailed instructions by a group of established Moscow artists and arranged in over sixty ethnic groups, it 'mapped' the Russian Empire and its links with the Slavic world. The comparison to a map is not accidental: in the vast room of the Moscow Manege the groups were arranged in order to recreate a real geographical space. The more or less detailed overviews of the exhibition in the Russian and European newspapers, which described the groups one after the other as if moving a finger on a map, show just how suggestive this spatial impression was. An anonymous reviewer in the Cracow daily *Czas*, for example, observed that 'according to the geographical position next to the Croats we will find a group of Serbs'.[16]

The idea of a vast space recreating the real geopolitical borders marked by groups of people defined by costumes and attributes of their peculiar occupations or ceremonies was based on the centuries-old and the European-wide popular graphic genre of the costume silhouette.[17] Established as early as the sixteenth century with the spread of print and the expanding perspective in the era of geographical discoveries, it appeared in costume and city books, travel guides, maps and atlases, and was still in popular use at the time of the exhibition, inter alia, as a newspaper illustration motif. In the early modern era, dress was considered as one of the main determinants of the social and geographical order, and costume silhouettes symbolized the inhabitants of a given city, region or representatives of a given social group. A collection of silhouettes in a costume book or placed on a map was an important category which helped both to categorize the world as a whole as well as to build local identities. While in the early modern period the silhouettes pictured the inhabitants of the main cities and the representatives of various social groups or professions, in the era of nation-states and empires it was the ethnographic type to mark regional and national identities. Thus, the Moscow exhibition should be seen as a three-dimensional, life-size recreation of a late nineteenth-century illustrated map, which by means of costume silhouettes represented the unity in diversity of the Russian Empire.

A good example is the *Karta Evropeiskoi Rossii s kartinnym izobrazheniem tipov naroda i ego promyslov* (Map of European Russia with a Pictorial Representation of its Nationality Types and their Trades), compiled in 1899 by Nikolai Shipov, the history and geography teacher at a gymnasium in Kherson, which listed 241 nationalities and represented the most peculiar ones in the form of types.[18] The appeal of such visual maps and their ability to present the unity in diversity were used during this period in popular maps addressed to the wider public. Such was the case with the 1885 first illustrated map of the Polish Kingdom, in which the twenty folk silhouettes played a foreground role among the 2,500 illustrations with depictions of fauna, flora, monuments and factories among others (Figure 2).[19] I would posit that in planning the exhibition the Moscow committee referred both to the appeal of the Crystal Palace show and to the genres of visual maps and costume silhouettes, in which the code of dress pictured perfectly the multi-ethnic mosaic of an empire lying between Europe and Asia.

The geographical space, recreated by means of group staging, first and foremost reflected an imperial and national order. The largest group, consisting of seventy-three mannequins illustrating Russian ethnicity, was centrally placed and featured. Moreover, the exhibition 'path' wound from the heart of the Russian Empire through its western borderlands, the interconnected Slavic regions in Austria–Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, leading back to the empire shown in the peoples of its Asian dominions. The presentation of Russia through its ethnic diversity, in the era of its colonial expansion, aimed to produce a clear and organized image that distinguished its core and showed its relations with its peripheries. The impressions of the visitors as described in the papers were largely of a fascinating spatial journey among costumes,

FIGURE 2 Jadwiga Wójcicka, Map of the Polish Kingdom, lithograph, 1885. Courtesy of the National Library of Poland.

faces and objects. While the exotic characterized the imperial Asian dominions, the ethnic richness and variety of the Slavic world distinguished its European part. The presentation of the East in a colonial framework expressed an imperial and civilizing dominion; the inclusion of the whole Slavic world blurred the national distinctiveness of the troublesome western borderlands. The latter was particularly 'successful' in

the case of Poland. 'After the Little Russians it was the turn of the Poles or rather (as the Holy Rus' does not recognize this name) Masurians, Krakowiacy, Podlachians, Lithuanians, Samogotians and so on.' According to the Polish literary critic, Julian Klaczko, Poland as a historical and territorial entity was shred into a mosaic of ethnic and national minorities and completely lost its entity and identity.[20]

The clear and ordered impression of the empire and of the Slavic nations as a uniform three-dimensional visual map was achieved using the means of mannequins carefully arranged in dioramas, showing the ethnic groups in typical everyday or festive scenes, which also included – just like the nineteenth-century visual maps – truthful presentations of fauna, flora, housing and home industry. Every detail was executed with utmost faithfulness and based on documentary visual material produced during surveys. The uniformity and similarity of style of the dioramas representing such distant places as a village in the environs of Warsaw or a camp of the Yakuts in central Siberia certainly sprang from the fact that all the life-size mannequins were created in Moscow by a group of established academic artists. Moreover, the organizers prepared detailed guidelines in order to homogenize the surveys conducted on such a vast geographical area and focused on acquiring authentic costumes, props and the visual documentation which would guide the Moscow organizers in the execution of mannequins and in their proper staging.

The exhibition was a true joint venture, engaging numerous scholars, artists, societies and official organizers, both in the empire and abroad. In Austria–Hungary the project was coordinated by the dean of the Russian embassy church in Vienna, Mikhail Raevskii, who published and dispatched a brochure containing the guidelines for collecting material for the exhibition.[21] He managed to involve local Slavophiles and amateurs, who often on their own and at their own expense prepared the materials needed to stage groups representing their region. In the empire the surveys were organized following the existing administrative divisions and were coordinated by the local statistical committees and administrative or military offices.

In the Polish Kingdom the survey was coordinated by the Department of Arts and Crafts of the Governmental Commission of Internal Affairs, which organized a confidential meeting of local artists and scholars to present the instructions and discuss the Polish contribution.[22] Two foremost Warsaw painters and illustrators, Aleksander Lessel and Franciszek Kostrzewski, as well as Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890), a clerk of the Warsaw-Vienna railroad and folklorist, were involved. In 1867 Kolberg had already published the first volume of *Lud* (Folk), his monumental series of regional monographs on the ethnography of Poland, a project which initially was focused only on the territories of the Polish Kingdom but soon expanded to the former lands of Poland–Lithuania.[23] The choice of the groups reflects Kolberg's focus on the regions, on the one hand, and his ambition to describe the ethnography of the former Poland–Lithuania as a whole, on the other. It included the most peculiar ethnic groups from the Polish Kingdom and from other Polish territories, such as the Krakowiacy from western Galicia, the Kaliszacy and Kujawiacy, two ethnic groups

inhabiting the regions split between the Russian Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia, and the Lubliniacy who inhabited the south-eastern part of the Polish Kingdom and the territories of the western provinces of the Russian Empire.

The Moscow committee envisaged the exhibition not only as a mosaic of peoples defined by dress and peculiar occupations, but equally as an anthropological panorama of the empire and of the Slavic world. This meant that the mannequins were provided with faithful reproductions of the faces (which aside from the hands were the only uncovered parts of the body). Initially it was planned to make papier-mâché casts from the models, however, due to the fragility of such material it was decided to rely instead on photography.[24] Such documentation was used in Moscow as a pattern for the wax heads of the mannequins. Following instructions sent from Moscow the preliminary budget of the Warsaw survey provided an allocated sum for the photographs. The guidelines were very clear in requiring en face and profile pictures of the typical representatives of each folk group in larger format (at least 20 centimetres in length).[25] The photographic material dispatched to Moscow by the single surveyors and the institutions involved was, however, varied and hardly graspable as a homogenous group. The collection preserved today in the Russian Museum of Ethnography in St Petersburg,[26] numbering about one half of the original stock of two thousand photographs, shows that the scholars and institutions responsible for the survey either employed professional photographers in the nearest centres, or organized a field survey of the less accessible places. For most of them the ethnographic–anthropological survey was a new challenge, conducted in strict collaboration with scholars.

The twenty-six atelier photographs dispatched from Warsaw, preserved in the Russian Museum of Ethnography, were executed by three professional photographers.[27] Despite the initial plan of organizing a photographic expedition, such documentation was in the end produced in the photographic studios. A set of five photographs of types from the environs of Cracow and Rzeszów was presumably made in the studio of the Cracow photographer Walery Rzewuski (1837–1888), who in the following years collaborated with Kolberg, providing him with illustrative material for his ethnographic research and publications. There are no hints as to the identification of the authorship of six photographs of people from the environs of Włocławek. Finally, the largest set of pictures, illustrating the folk from the Kalisz and Warsaw regions, was shot in the studio of the first Warsaw professional photographer, Karol Beyer (1818–1877).

As Beyer's example shows, the survey for the Moscow exhibition was not only a photographic and scientific challenge, but also a truly logistical enterprise and a social event. The chosen folk representatives travelled to Warsaw and were photographed in Beyer's studio, converted for the occasion into a rural house, a wheat field or a rural landscape. The models, dressed in the costumes acquired for the exhibition and provided with all the indispensable props, arrived at the square in front of the studio in one of the main Warsaw streets, undoubtedly arousing the interest of passers-by.

The survey was extensively described in the papers and chosen photographs were reproduced in popular Warsaw illustrated magazines.[28]

The analysis of the pictures dispatched from Warsaw and preserved in St Petersburg makes it possible to trace the methodology of such documentation. The three photographers, indeed, followed the Moscow instructions only in general terms. All the pictures are of a similar size, most of them are coloured and follow similar compositional patterns. The photographs may be divided in two groups: full or three-fourth size portraits (en face and/or in profile) and folk groups arranged in everyday occupations. While the costumes, coloured with great attention to every detail, were undoubtedly the most important and elaborated part of the pictures, the facial features are not captured in accordance with the general anthropological rules of the instruction and often remain blurred under thick layers of paint. Thus, the photographs gave detailed particulars for the staging of the scenes and for the proper dressing of the mannequins, however, they provided only very general hints as to the facial features of the types.

A good example is provided by the folk couple from the environs of Kalisz, documented by Beyer in five different framings. A folk scene with the couple holding hands showed how to stage the group, both the woman and the man were also captured separately in three-fourths en face and in profile (Plates 2 and 3). The latter four 'anthropological' pictures reveal Beyer's unquestionable talent as a portraitist and his photographic sensitivity. The glass of water in the man's hand and the rose in the woman's are, from the scientific point of view, just superfluous props, but they add a poetic sense and beauty to the pictures. Moreover, Beyer didn't even try to achieve an anthropological image, not wanting to sacrifice the feeling of ease and the psychological features of his models. Similarly, his folk groups are staged with a true picturesque sensitivity. The people from Wilanów, for example, were shown in agricultural settings: there was a woman with a sickle staged among bunches of rye; a youth raking real hay represented against the background of a painted landscape; a small boy resting in the hay and playing a flute (Figure 3); a farmer posing against the background of a wooden wall with his tools on display; a woman serving soup to a peasant; and even a woman milking a cow.

Beyer's types and folk groups, which can hardly be defined as anthropological, sprang from the cross of his photographic skills and intuition with Kolberg's folkloristic interests focused on the material world of costumes, objects, traditional occupations and customs. Kolberg, who in his research collaborated closely with artists, presumably not only proposed the selection of everyday occupations determining each group but also actively participated in their staging. The few illustrations in Kolberg's books comprised reproductions of drawings and watercolours of exactly the same types as the groups staged in Moscow. Moreover, their picturesque, idyllic and idealized qualities and features closely resemble the ethnographic watercolours and drawings published as types in contemporary newspapers and reproduced by Kolberg in his regional series. Thus, the academic character of the survey is revealed

FIGURE 3 Karol Beyer, a type from Wilanów, albumen print, 1866. Courtesy of the National Library of Poland.

in the extensive descriptions of the pictures (every type is mentioned by name and age, their activity is accurately described) rather than in the photographs themselves. The survey was the result of the overlap of Beyer's portraitist sensibility with Kolberg's illustrative predilection for idyllic folk scenes.

The photographic surveys dispatched to Moscow from the various centres of the empire were the result of the possible readings and applications of the anthropological instructions by different photographic temperaments and scientific personalities, on the one hand, and of their visual imagination, on the other. The anonymous pictures documenting the Cossack woman from the Ural region, for example, by reproducing only the face against a neutral background, captured in exact profile and en face views, reveal a true scientific dash.[29] The pictures are provided not only with the name of the model but also with exact anthropological measurements of her height, head circumference, and the profile from chin to the hair and from the hair to the neck. Interestingly, however, the woman is captured in a decorative hat, which points to the inevitable clash between the anthropological and the ethnographic focus of the exhibition.

FIGURE 4 Anonimous, the group of the Gail Valley at the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition, albumen print, *c.* 1867. Courtesy of the National Library of Russia.

Several photographic sets, such as the ones from the regions of Arkhangel'sk or Nizhnii Novgorod, follow similar patterns of representation and reveal an analogous anthropological sensitivity.[30] All of them illustrate the main area of interest – the lands inhabited by the Great Russians[31] – and even though they came from different photographic studios, we may presume that their execution was directly overseen by the Moscow anthropologists from the exhibition committee. The photographic documentation of the people from the Gail Valley illustrate how to stage a Slovenian representative group (Figure 4). Commissioned in a Villach photographic studio by Matija Majar, the avid Slavophil involved in the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition survey, it shows another understanding of the instructions and a visual sensitivity of an amateur folklorist.[32] The photographs, focused on the detailed disposition and staging of the group, are very stiff and give the impression that both Majar and the photographer arranged the scenes with the lifeless mannequins in mind. The outstanding photographs sent by the Greek Catholic priest Ilarion Nizankovskii are yet another example of a response to the expectations formulated by the Moscow committee.[33] Documenting the folklife of

several villages in the environs of L'viv, in particular Zavadka and Mal'chytsi, they were the result of an outdoor survey. The small format pictures[34] show the everyday and Sunday occupations of the folk against the larger background of the villages, of the countryside and of the interiors of homes. The groups, even those staged against the backgrounds of white sheets, are very natural, which seems to indicate that the photographer was well known to the communities.[35] The survey also aimed at picturing the folk groups in the context of the local social and ethnic relations and of the peculiar cultural landscape. Thus, it documented villages inhabited by different ethnic groups (Boikos, Lemkos) and a group of the Polish landlords, and it included pictures of monuments (the exterior and interior of the Greek Catholic church in Mal'chytsi) and landscapes.

Such a variety of photographic and survey attitudes was reflected in the dioramas. The Kalisz models were staged in the same pose and with the same ease as in Beyer's picture; however, as the photographic documentation didn't allow to faithfully reproduce the features, both faces only generally resembled the original models. The Ural Cossack woman, on the other hand, was equally characterized by her colourful costume as by her lifelike features. The execution of the mannequins and the staging of the diorama of the group of Great Russians were entrusted to the most experienced artist involved in the project and supervised by the historian of Russian peasantry, Ivan Belyaev. The surveyors of this group were provided with detailed colour samples of skin, hair and eyes and took anthropological measurements of the heads. Presumably, in this section the organizer's quest for scientific accuracy and for the visualization of the racial features reached its heights. As noted by Nathaniel Knight, such a documentary fidelity, however, aroused general concern, disgust and even mockery among the exhibition's public. Even the tsar Alexander II was embarrassed.[36] Significantly, many of the reviewers focused on the mannequins' features. According to the foreground journalist of the *Moskovskie Vedomosti* (Moscow News), Mikhail Katkov, there was not even one beautiful female face among the thirty mannequins of the Great Russian group: 'One sees nothing but bulging senseless eyes and potato noses.'[37] Such a response to the Great Russian section indeed reflected the inevitable clash between the academic and the ideological and propagandistic aims of the exhibition. While in Poland or in Slovenia the local organizers carefully chose the most exceptional costumes and staged picturesque scenes, in Russia the focus was anthropological and on the 'typical'. Thus, realistic faces could not stand up to the comparison with the idealized figures in new costumes sewn especially for the exhibition.

The All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition was an important photographic event in its own right. The surveys dispatched to Moscow were not only used as documentary material in the staging of the dioramas but also shown in a separate space of the exhibition, provided with the order number, following more or less the geographical disposition of the mannequins. This part, which included separate sections on Jews or Roma, was more extensive and complete than the dioramas. The

exhibition's photographic guidelines preceded the 1871 IRGS's extensive instructions for the taking of anthropological and ethnographic photographs, and the exhibition's photographic output should be considered as the first collection of such size and territorial reach devoted to the ethnography and anthropology of the empire and of eastern Europe. The impressive set of two thousand photographs was not dispersed but handed on with all the exhibits to the Dashkov Ethnographic Museum, founded in the aftermath of the exhibition. Importantly, its appeal went beyond the narrow confines of ethnography. Some of the foremost photographic studios in the Russian Empire were involved in the surveys – Beyer in Warsaw, Barro in Nizhnii Novgorod, Kordysz in Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi among others – and the collection as a whole should also be considered as a panorama of the empire seen through the focus of photography as a profession.

The concept of photography as an authoritative and autonomous means of presenting the concept of the empire was at best expressed in the 1878 two-volume *Al'bom Kostyumov Rosii* (Album of the Costumes of Russia).[38] Commissioned by the Ministry of Internal Affairs with the aim to provide patterns for a national military uniform at the time of the establishment of universal conscription, it was a set of 532 photographs illustrating the typical folk male costumes of the peoples of the empire.[39] The choice of the genre of photographic costume types, presented as patterns in a project aimed at designing a military uniform, is striking. Indeed, a set of 1:1 delineators would have been more practical and reliable. This certainly points to the more universal aims and ambitions behind such an official imperial enterprise. The project of a harmonized imperial military uniform, based on the survey of the costumes of peoples inhabiting all the territories of Russia, was arguably a strong expression of the idea of the imperial unity in diversity.

The pictures, commissioned by the governors in local photographic studios, followed clear guidelines. Costume was definitely the centre of attention: the most elaborate surveys contained winter and summer versions, with the coat buttoned and unbuttoned, in frontal, back and side views (Figure 5). The models, judging from their features, were representatives of the peasantry; however, their stiff posture limited their role to that of showcase mannequins. They were provided with handwritten or printed annotations with a list of the name of the governorate, sometimes also the specification of the *uiezd* (the secondary-level administrative unit) and of the ethnicity of the person pictured. On the back a printed and handwritten description of the costume was provided, containing its name, fashion, material, ways of wearing and price. Their silhouette style and arrangement in the album were an expression of an anachronistic and simplified understanding of space and society in early modern costume books. At the same time, however, the album illustrates the emergence and appeal of a new universal visual language based on photography and science.

The apparently odd coexistence and interpenetration of the two different picturing conventions – the silhouette and the photographic type – resulted in a visual synthesis

FIGURE 5 Konrad Brandel, types from the Warsaw governorate, albumen print. From the *Al'bom Kostyumov Rossii*, 1878. Courtesy of the National Library of Russia.

worthy of its place in the Imperial Public Library, the leading Russian book collection, which contributed to its cultural and imperial status. Accordingly, the pictures, which in the end did not serve their original purpose, were donated in 1878 to the library, where they were elegantly bound in two albums. The photographs, in various formats – from the *carte de visite* to the cabinet picture – were arranged on the pages of the album in couples or larger groups with their backs on view and organized alphabetically by governorates. In the catalogue of the library's photographic collection the album was listed under the category of 'national types and portraits', and defined as an 'extraordinarily diverse and complete picture of the Russian male costumes […], a gallery of types and physiognomies of the people inhabiting the European and Asian Russia' and as a gallery of Russian photographers and photographic studios.[40] The description included a detailed list of all the pictures, classified according to the governorate, the represented type and the name of the photographer.

Even though the album's impact cannot be compared with the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition photographic show, which attracted the attention of thousands of visitors, in the Imperial Public Library itself it was imbued with the same meaning and importance. The album was arguably defined as an appealing and harmonious synthesis of the empire.

Importantly, the ideas of the 1867 Exhibition were also expressed and immortalized using photography. In the 1880s, when the exhibition's mannequins

were on display in the Dashkov Ethnographic Museum, Torval'd Mitreiter, the Rumyantsev Museum photographer, was commissioned to produce their photographic survey.[41] In its output – the set of two hundred and fifty photographs, showing the mannequins solo or in couples against the same indistinct outdoor background with a low-hanging horizon – the exhibition's idea of the imperial unity in diversity was finally achieved. The photographs, in the same cabinet format, thoroughly and faithfully coloured and elegantly mounted, formed a uniform set of silhouettes, in which the conspicuous imperfections of the Great Russian mannequins disappeared in the photographic mediation and under a layer of paint. The geopolitical space of the empire, with the centre and peripheries clearly marked, could now easily be depicted by means of a deliberate choice from such photographic collection and its arrangement on a wall or in an album.

PHOTOGRAPHY, ORTHODOX MONUMENTS AND THE POLITICS OF RUSSIFICATION

The All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition marginalized the troublesome Polish national issue by means of the ethnic criterion. It split the Poles in the Polish Kingdom[42] into smaller groups related to the old tribes or inhabitants of the historical regions, and it omitted them among the inhabitants in the western provinces. In this way it also subconsciously and effectively unveiled several other nationalities: Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians and Samogotians.[43] The presentation of the western provinces as a mosaic of peoples sprang from the recent wider political and academic interests in these lands, which up until the 1860s were considered Polish national territory.[44] Under the pressure of both the rise and institutionalization of ethnographic research and of the current politics of the Russian Empire, within the time span of a few years the geopolitical framing ingrained in the Polish historical conception of the Commonwealth was completely overturned.

While the earliest serious survey project of the western provinces was only launched by the IRGS's Ethnographic Division in 1867, the first works, atlases and maps presented with the new imperial focus appeared well before this date. The statistical schematization of the peoples inhabiting the western provinces, an official political tool at the time of the abolishment of serfdom (1861), produced several explicit and clear visions testifying to their territorial and cultural integrity with Russia.[45] In 1864 the *Atlas narodonaseleniya Zapadno-Russkogo kraya po veroispovedaniyam* (Demographic Atlas of the Western-Russian Territory According to Confessions) was published. Consisting of ten maps (one for each of the nine governorates and a cumulative one), it presented the spread of the population according to denominations.[46] The *Atlas* was prepared by the military cartographer Aleksandr Rittikh (1831–1914) and based on data gathered by a high official of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Pompei Batyushkov (1810–1892), who from 1859 carried out research into the religious composition of the inhabitants of the western provinces.

The ideological meaning of the *Atlas* was very clear: on one hand it showed that the Catholics (Poles in the first instance) constituted a minority of about 9 per cent of the entire population, while on the other it presented – using the umbrella of orthodoxy – the majority of all the other Slavic national groups as essentially Russian. Thus, while the Belarusians and Ukrainians were mostly reduced to Orthodox, the Lithuanians and Samogotians were shown as Catholics.[47] The division of the Catholics and Orthodox, as well as other religious groups, into single nations and ethnicities was presented only in the captions and statistical tables.

The *Atlas* formed a piece of anti-Polish cultural and scientific propaganda carried out on multiple levels aiming at the marginalization of this national group and at the demonstration of Russia's eternal cultural and historical rights to the region. Two years earlier, in 1862, Batyushkov published a historical map presenting 'the Borders of the Polish Kingdom and Grand Duchy of Lithuania-Rus' from the most ancient times until the union of Lublin', which by taking as a boundary date the year of the establishment of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569) 'erased' over two centuries of the region's history and linked the imperial reality directly with a Rus' unity in medieval times.[48] Similarly, the confessional criterion of the *Atlas*, by affirming and reinforcing the new religious order introduced in the western provinces with the 1839 abolition of the Unite (Greek Catholic) church and the forced conversion of its faithful to orthodoxy,[49] erased centuries of the Polish–Lithuanian tradition on these lands, in which the Unite church played a fundamental role.

Cultural heritage was also an important tool in the Russian cultural appropriation of the western provinces. The 1864 *Atlas*'s statistical data was gathered by Batyushkov on the 'margins' of an official project of the survey, conservation and erection of Orthodox churches in this region, whereby from 1858 to 1867 the impressive number of around 1,700 churches were built or restored.[50] In particular, the census of the historic Orthodox churches was considered by Batyushkov of utmost political and ideological importance, as the often-neglected monuments were an explicit testimony to the tradition of Kyivan Rus' and of their prevailing value for the local communities.

> The great ruins of the Russian churches were ignored by the local and central authorities, but they remained in the hearts of the Russian autochthones. Legends and epic songs were passed down from generation to generation in these distant times, in which Russia was holding high its banner. The times of Vladimir of Kyiv, Daniel of Galicia, Mstislav of Chernigov and numerous other princes and guardians of the national faith, which defended the ancient Russian national principle from the Western, Polish and Latin, enemies of alien stripe and faith […] and from Tatar hordes from the East.[51]

With the outbreak of the January Uprising, Batyushkov's project, conceived initially as a simple census, turned into a serious historical survey with the distinct

aim of describing the Russian cultural heritage in the western provinces as a whole.[52] In 1864, together with Dmitrii Strukov (1828–1899), a graduate of the Imperial Academy of Arts, Batyushkov was entrusted by the Vilnius Governor General with the mission of surveying the monuments destroyed as a result of the uprising. The route of this survey – Riga, Vilnius, Chełm, Volodymyr-Volyns'kyy, Luts'k, Ostroh, Zhytomyr, Ovruch, Kyiv – went well beyond the area affected by the uprising. Its output, an impressive multi-volume series, the *Pamyatniki russkoi stariny v zapadnykh guberniakh Imperii* (Monuments of Antique Russian Art in the Western Governorates), gave particular importance to the visual means of documentation, as the accompanying elegant *in folio* lithographic and chromolithographic atlas was published first.[53] The drawings, watercolours and short captions devoted to the Volhynia Governorate were presented for consideration to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and to the emperor. The four fascicules, issued in 1867 with imperial support, were prestigious editions based on and connected to the main imperial research and editorial initiatives on the cultural heritage of the empire.

Strukov, who documented the monuments in drawings and watercolour, was an important figure in Russian artistic and academic life and one of the main artists involved in leading projects aimed at documenting and preserving Russian monuments. Already in the 1850s he surveyed historic sites both in the heart of the empire (Moscow, Nizhnii Novgorod, Murom) and in its provinces (Caucasus, Crimea); moreover, from 1859 he was involved in the documentation and conservation of the Moscow Armoury. According to Batyushkov, following the tsar's wishes the drawings were revised and prepared for printing by Solntsev. In this way the atlas was unequivocally connected to the official canon of Russian monuments and to the highest traditions of its representation, as expressed in Solntsev's *Antiquities of the Russian State*.

The first four black and white fascicules were published in the renowned St Petersburg lithography workshop of Karl Beggrov, famous for the Imperial Society for the Encouragement of the Arts' cycle of St Petersburg views. Only a few of the lithographs, however, recalled his romantic city panoramas and monument views. The *Atlas* rather followed the idea and archaeological rules of faithful reproduction and the order of the most prestigious nineteenth-century luxurious illustrated publications on Russian antiquities. Usually devoted to a city, a given region or a monument, they were provided with a stylized city plan and the Orthodox churches were shown both in views and in exact plans and elevations, seen from various sides. Each issue of the *Pamyatniki* was entirely devoted to just one leading Kyivian Rus' *gorod* (borough) in Volhynia: Volodymyr-Volyns'kyy, Lutsk, Ostroh and Ovruch. In each case the presentation and the choice of illustrations followed the same pattern. A stylized plan of the *gorod* with the historic Russian monuments marked came first, followed by its panorama view, the reproductions of the churches dating back to the times of Kyivian Rus', the sites and monuments connected to famous princes or saints from this period, as well as other Orthodox or converted Catholic churches. In the

case of Ovruch, for example, three plates illustrated the early medieval ruins of Saint Basil's Church, considered to be founded by Vladimir of Kyiv. The set consisted of the elevation seen from two sides, the plan, the reproduction of the remains of fresco painting as well as a never-realized reconstruction project. The Ovruch tables also included views of sites from the environs of the city, which were strictly connected to famous historical persons: the tomb of the Varangian Prince Oleg of Novgorod and the riverside of Uzh where Olga of Kyiv killed in a heated *banya* (sauna) a delegation of Drevlians in revenge for her husband's assassination.

The first volume of Batyushkov's atlas seems a bit bland when juxtaposed with the *Pamyatniki Moskovskoi Drevnosti* (Monuments of Moscow Antiquities, 1842–1845), the first work of Russian visual antiquarianism based on Solntsev's drawings and watercolours.[54] The number of tables is much smaller, not even one is coloured, reproductions of precious historic objects are absent and the descriptions are basic. However, all this was updated in the four subsequent and much larger fascicules: two of them devoted to the Lithuanian and Belarusian governorates (1870 and 1874) and two to the Chełm Land, a region in the boundaries of the Polish Kingdom with a large Orthodox population (1885). Consistent with the previous fascicules, the main cultural, political and religious centres of the regions – Vilnius, Chełm and Lublin – were the focus of attention. The preparatory drawings and watercolours were executed by a team of renowned Russian artists, in particular by Ivan Trutnev (1827–1912), another graduate of the Imperial Academy of Arts. In 1866 he was called to Vilnius by the local authorities to organize a local Russian art school and presumably also to pursue the atlas project.

The Vilnius and the Chełm/Lublin volumes – provided with city plans, panoramas and depictions of the main historical and contemporary Orthodox churches – repeated in general lines the layout and arrangement of the Volhynia fascicules. However, they stood out by their skilful and expensive chromolithographic plates, published in the Berlin Winckelmann & Sohn workshop in the case of Vilnius, and in the St Petersburg workshop of Stadler and Pattinot in the case of Chełm/Lublin. Moreover, both volumes also contained illustrations of icons, iconostasis, liturgical objects, precious illuminated manuscripts and tombstones. The sophisticated reproductions can be juxtaposed with the most elaborate contemporary works of Russian antiquarian illustration. The eleventh-century Gospel Book from the Vilnius Public Library, for example, was reproduced in two 'facsimile' pages and in a font in natural size. The icon of the Chełm Madonna appeared both in the original and in the reproduction of a seventeenth-century engraving, as well as two natural size close-ups of small remains of the golden riza stripped off from the icon during the 1261 Tatar siege of Chełm.

The high-quality chromolithography, the meticulousness of the reproduction and the atlas format linked the Chełm/Lublin and Vilnius volumes not only to the highest imperial examples of antiquarian illustration but also to prior Polish editions. As clearly stated in Batyushkov's introduction, one of the main aims of his atlas was

subversion of the belief ingrained in Polish 'propaganda' of the cultural and historical links of these lands with Poland. For instance, the sumptuous title pages clearly alluded to the monumental *Album Wileńskie* (Album of Vilnius), the first Polish chromolithographic atlas, issued in fascicules from 1845 to 1875 and dedicated to the monuments of Vilnius and Lithuania.[55] The French neo-Gothic ornamentation of the decorative frame situated the art of Vilnius in the Western tradition. The statues of the two Lithuanian princes, Vytautas and Jagiełło, the coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the views of the late-Gothic church of St Anna and of the baroque church of St Theresa were woven into such ornamentation as clear symbols of the former glory of Lithuania and of its Roman Catholic and Western cultural traditions (Plate 4).

In contrast, the title page of the Vilnius volume of the *Pamyatniki* can be described as its intentional antithesis (Plate 5). The ornamental frame uses decorative elements of old-Russian style and alludes to Orthodox church building. The Glagolitic title's lettering follows several motifs from the old Slavonic manuscripts. The monuments represented inside such framing – the fortified Orthodox churches in Supraśl and Muravanka or the ruins of the Vilnius, Lida or Trakai castles – refer to an appropriated Orthodox and Russian past. The Chełm volume did not have its Polish equivalent, but its title page was kept in the same convention. Its frame was complemented by the Romanov shield and the Orthodox churches and castle ruins – by the centrally located Chełm Madonna.

After the January Uprising, the Chełm Madonna – according to the legend 'written' by St Luke and donated to the Chełm cathedral by Vladimir of Kyiv – became one the main objects of the new regional Orthodox and Russian identity.[56] In 1875 the diocese of Chełm, the last bastion of the Unite church in the Russian Empire, was abolished and the cathedral renovated in order to emphasize its new links with Orthodoxy. At around the same time the icon was placed in the iconostasis, soon becoming the centre of an all-Russian, state-sponsored pilgrimage movement. Batyushkov's luxurious atlas was the most prestigious among the many propaganda editions which legitimated the new imperial cult and Orthodox order. *Kholmskaya Rus'* (Chełm Rus'), the accompanying volume with erudite texts, contained a large historical essay devoted to the painting; moreover, several popular works addressed to the wider public of pilgrims and students were also issued. Aleksandr Budilovic, the Russian Orthodox priest, author of the erudite work on the icon in the *Kholmskaya Rus'*, clearly articulated the role accorded to monuments in establishing a new cultural order in the western lands of the empire in the aftermath of the January Uprising.

> From the ancient times the miraculous Chełm icon of the Mother of God, today preserved in the cathedral, has been an object of exceptional devotion, both in the city and in the whole region; it is also known and venerated well beyond its borders. This

> holy icon and the cathedral are important indicators of the political and ecclesiastical Russian-Orthodox heritage of the region beyond the Bug river. They point to the true past of the Kholmskaya Rus' and to the present-day identity of the city and of all the region of Chełm and Podlachia. [57]

By connecting the contemporary Orthodox cult of the icon with the times of Kyivan Rus', Budilovic not only erased the centuries of the Unite and Polish history connected to this symbolic object but also blurred the geopolitical boundaries based on the former historic space of Poland–Lithuania. On the one hand, in his essay he omitted important Polish legends, traditions and miracles (such as the victories in the battles of Berestechko and of Racławice), while on the other he emphasized the pan-Slavic cult of the icon, alive both among the Orthodox of the empire and the Slavs in the bordering regions of Bukovina and Galicia. Such a political and ideological message was also expressed in the atlas, which contained a lithograph commemorating the 1795, 1839 and 1885 synods, which brought the Unites to join the Russian Orthodox Church, and a map of the medieval Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia.

Even more striking was the symbolic 'appropriation' of the Blessed Virgin Mary venerated in the Roman Catholic Gate of Down chapel in Vilnius. This seventeenth-century painting had nothing to do with the Orthodox tradition except for the sumptuous silver and golden riza. Not only was it considered as one of the main miraculous paintings of the former Poland–Lithuania but it symbolized the struggle with the Russian oppressor. In particular, at the time of the January Uprising numerous patriotic manifestations were organized in the chapel and in the street outside. In the *Album Wileńskie* the Blessed Virgin Mary was given a distinguished place and its reproduction was the only one to appear twice: first, in the same neo-Gothic framing of the title page, in which the figures of the Lithuanian princes were replaced with the patron saints of the Commonwealth – Casimir and Stanislaus; and second, in the representation of the whole altar in front of which a mass is celebrated. The chromolithography of the Russian atlas, in total contrast – even in contradiction – to both *Album*'s tables, is deprived of any connotations pointing to its links with the Roman Catholic rite. By reproducing the unframed painting and describing it as the Icon of the Gate of Down Mother of God the painting was inscribed in the Orthodox tradition.

Batyushkov's atlas is the most impressive example of a larger project undertaken by the Russian administration, artists, intellectuals and civic societies, with the aim of visual re-definition of the cultural landscape of the western provinces in the aftermath of the January Uprising. One of its most potent means was the exercise of control over photographic activity – both professional and amateur – introduced in the western provinces after 1864.[58] Not only could the right to open a studio be granted by the governor general but even outdoor surveys, both in the cities and in the provinces,

required special administrative permission. In the first years of the new regulation the severe restrictions imposed on local photographers were accompanied by official survey initiatives.

Ivan Pietrov,[59] a graduate of the Imperial Academy of Arts who in 1864 opened the studio *Russkaya fotografiya* in Vilnius, was presumably called in from St Petersburg by the governor general. He was entrusted with the first large-scale professional photographic survey to be undertaken in the region: the documentation of the Monastery of the Annunciation in Supraśl, the main bridgehead of orthodoxy and Russian culture in Lithuania from 1824. Founded at the turn of the sixteenth century as the second most important Orthodox monastic centre of the Commonwealth, it was soon transformed into an important centre of the Unite church and culture, famous for its monuments, library and printing house. Pietrov's survey of 1864 produced a set of at least fifty-four photographs with general views and the most precious liturgical objects, manuscripts and frescos (Figure 6).[60] Importantly, it was also connected to Batyushkov's atlas project. The 1875 fascicule contains not only a reproduction, based on Pietrov's photograph, of the Supraśl monastery on the title page but also two lithographs printed in 1867 in Beggrov's workshop documenting the frescos and a sixteenth-century metalwork in the form of a pigeon, which minutely repeats even the photograph's masking.

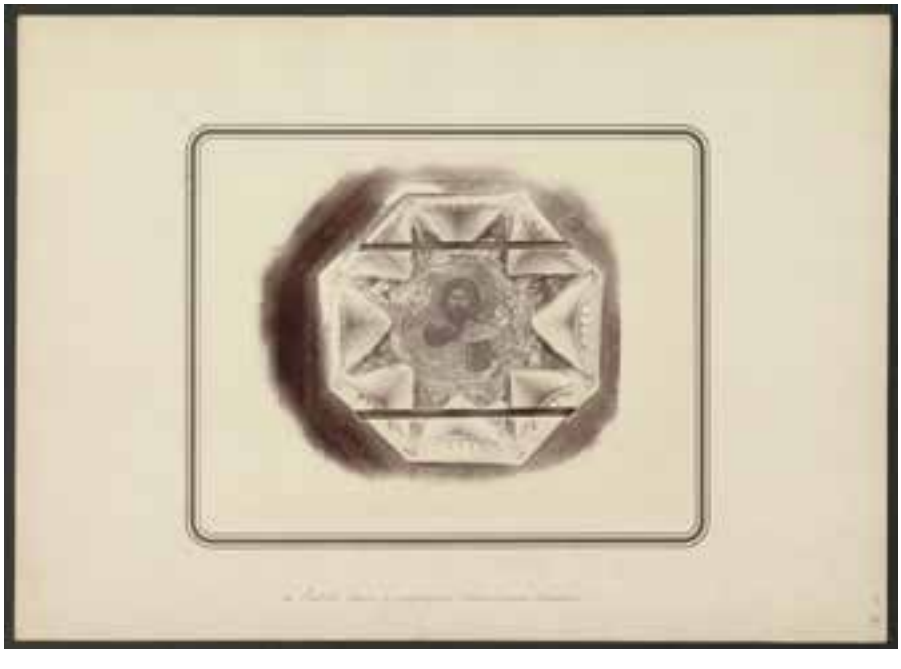

FIGURE 6 Ivan Pietrov, frescos in the main dome of the Supraśl Lavra, albumen print, 1864. Courtesy of Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania.

The atlas, which was based on the Supraśl photographic documentation, was an important inspiration for a photographic survey undertaken in 1891 in the Chełm Land by the Orthodox priest Feodor Gerbachevskii, and compiled in the same year as the *Khudozhestvenno fotograficheskiyi al'bom russkiia drevnosti i pamiatnikov pravoslaviia Kholmsko-Podliashskoi Rusi* (Album of Artistic Photography of the Monuments of Orthodoxy in Chełm-Podlachia Rus').[61] Its title page, consisting of photographs of views and monuments in a decorative frame alluding to the Kyivan Rus' medieval manuscript and goldsmith ornaments, was undoubtedly modelled on the title page of the *Kholmskaya Rus'*. On one hand Gerbachevskii referred to the collage concept of the main historic buildings, and on the other to the Old Russian stylization of the frame and of the Glagolitic title. Moreover, he placed the reproduction of the Chełm icon in the same central spot. His choice of over sixty photographs included the same buildings, sites and objects, which were pictured and framed in an analogous way. They were presented on elegant cardboards and provided with a description, printed in gold Glagolitic lettering, with two or three photographs per page in the case of liturgical objects, manuscripts or icons.

Despite the striking similarities between Batyushkov's atlas and Pietrov's as well as Gerbachevskii's photographs, the surveys were conceived as independent projects. Pietrov, with his exceptional photographic and antiquarian skills, produced a collection of the highest quality. One set of prints on elegant cardboards, provided with descriptions in gold lettering, was deposited in the Vilnius University Library, presumably as the gem of a future photographic collection of the Orthodox monuments in the western provinces. It is very likely that another set was compiled as a gift for the emperor. In the Romanov palace libraries it would find its place next to Gerbachevskii's album and the complete set of Batyushkov's atlases.[62] Presumably all three projects were conceived from the beginning with such a prestigious imperial context in mind. All clearly referred to the expensive and sophisticated surveys undertaken by the main St Petersburg and Moscow archaeological societies and institutions, and to their output: the luxurious albums and atlases sponsored by the tsar. Batyushkov's choice of the printing technique of chromolithography was a clear reference to the *Antiquities of the Russian State*, which still at the turn of the twentieth century was endowed with the authority of being the unrivalled atlas of Russian antiquities. Pietrov's and Gerbachevskii's unique albums, both of the highest quality and finish, were an expression of the same prestige accorded to the photographic language.

The two photographic albums and the lithographic atlas under consideration here acquired – when placed on the shelves of the imperial libraries among similar visual syntheses of the artistic and historic landscape of the empire (both in its Russian core and in the provinces) – a broader meaning. They were not just simply authoritative cultural definitions imposing and legitimizing the imperial rule in the western provinces, but pieces of a larger puzzle making up the image of the Russian and imperial cultural patrimony

as a whole. All three surveys were indeed a consequence of the current political events. However, at the same time they were part of a broader project aimed at the documentation and preservation of monuments in the empire and reflecting the obsession with the 'Russian style', embodied first of all in the historical sacral art and architecture.[63]

The IAC launched, in the second half of the nineteenth century, several empire-wide surveys focused on the Orthodox patrimony, and established relative regulations and conservation guidelines. Importantly, the genuinely Russian provincial religious art and architecture constituted the perfect material for a national patrimony and a source for a common national consciousness.[64] Thus, the surveys expressed the

FIGURE 7 Title page of Feodor Gerbachevskii's *Russkya drevnosti i pamyatniki Kholmsko-Podliashskoi Rusi*, Warsaw 1892. Courtesy of the National Library of Poland.

firm belief in the eternal links connecting the folk with the Orthodox monuments. The title page of the first volume of Batyushkov's atlas consisted of an imaginative elevation of a church in the old-Russian style, with folk groups on both sides of the entrance. Similarly, the title page of Gerbachevskii's album (republished in the printed version of the album) included a photograph of a folk group (presumably a whole parish community) and used a mix in the framings of old Russian and folk decorative elements (Figure 7).

The concept of national patrimony as shaped by the Russian architects and scholars did not, however, coincide with a similar understanding of the historic Orthodox churches by the local communities, religious and state authorities. In the Polish Kingdom a special imperial fund was established with the aim of creating a network of great Orthodox churches, parishes and cemeteries. Thus, the Russian and Orthodox affiliation of the cultural landscape was marked by impressive old-Russian-style buildings with monumental domes, erected in the aftermath of the January Uprising.[65]

The *Pamyatniki* and Gerbachevskii's survey were also issued in cheaper, popular versions addressed to the wider public. In both of them visual language played an important role. The 1887 school edition of the *Kholmskaya Rus'* consisted of a general historical essay written by the history professor of the Ecclesiastical Academy in Kyiv, Mykola Petrov, with simple black and white engravings based on the tables of Batyushkov's atlas. Gerbachevskii's *Russkie drevnosti i pamyatniki pravoslaviya Kholmsko-Podlyashskoi Rusi* (Russian Antiquities and Orthodox Monuments in the Chełm and Podlachia Rus')[66] discussed the monuments of the Orthodox and 'Russian' culture of the region, illustrated with all the photographs from the album compiled for the tsar. In both cases, however, the core of the atlas and of the photographic album was reduced to a simple illustration. The perfection, accuracy, refinement and aura of luxury, which created the scientific authority and autonomy of the visual language of the originals, were lost.

* * *

Ekaterina Pravilova, in her groundbreaking study on the emergence of the public domain in tsarist Russia, has shown how the shaping of the notion of cultural patrimony in the Russian Empire was grounded in Western models, on the one hand, and in power, social and property relations, on the other.[67] She presented the emergence of Russian cultural heritage as a process of framing, in the public domain, objects and buildings through the same academic and institutional language as employed in France, the United Kingdom or Germany. However, such attempts often failed due to the legal sanctity of the ownership of the Orthodox Church, of the tsarist family and of private collections. Russia did not live up to any cultural heritage protection legislation or state administration in imperial times. As already mentioned, such activity was pursued by societies and institutions intertwined

with and strictly connected to the imperial cultural policy and patronage, in which the public and private aspects were hardly distinguishable. The Imperial Academy of Arts, the Academy of Sciences and the IAC functioned within the structure of the Ministry of the Imperial Court. Moreover, the IAC was connected with the Imperial Hermitage and enriched its collections with the finds of its archaeological expeditions. Such strong ties between the court and the civic and public scientific and cultural institutions well reflected the fluid boundaries between the public/state and private/Romanov property rights with respect to the cultural patrimony of the empire.

Thus, it should come as no surprise that the overall imperial policy with respect to the cultural landscape and collections varied in the individual governorates and was strictly connected with the current imperial needs and demands. In the western provinces this was a policy of appropriation and omissions, exacerbated after each national uprising. On the one hand, the imperial administration strongly restricted the emergence of official local/national patrimonies by controlling the registration and conservation of monuments and by restricting or prohibiting the activity of local/national learned societies, museums and monument preservation societies. On the other hand, it shaped the cultural landscape of the region by drawing out and accentuating certain of its elements while omitting others. The visual surveys played an essential role in this process of imperial demarcation and appropriation of the cultural past.

On the shelves of the Romanov palace libraries, among the pages of the *Moskovskii Publichnyi i Rumyantsovskii Muzei* (Moscow Public Rumyantsev Museum) album, one could also find a small selection of ten of Mitreiter's photographs of the All-Russian Exhibition mannequins.[68] Inaugurated in 1862, the Rumyantsev, as it was called in short, was a complex and expanding Moscow museum institution consisting of several collections: a library, an art gallery and the Dashkov Museum (established on the basis of the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition collection).[69] The Rumyantsev was not only the first Moscow public museum and a very popular one but – with its gallery of Russian paintings, the ethnographic mannequins representing the whole of the empire, and with its particular stress on Russian history in its library collection – it was perceived as a central institution of Russian culture and heritage. The lavish photographic album formed its perfect summary and interpretation. Opening with two photographs of portrait engravings of the tsars Nicholas I and Alexander II, a portrait of count Nikolai Rumyantsev (the founder of the precious library collection) and a picture of the Museum's seat in the Pashkov House opposite to the Kremlin, it was followed by the views of its interiors and reproductions of the exhibits. The deliberate choice of the most precious European and Russian manuscripts and important prints, archaeological finds, paintings and sculptures of renowned Russian artists was followed by a short statement about the empire's ethnic richness in Mitreiter's photographs, with the group of Great Russians coming first. The Russian and imperial vision of the cultural patrimony, its hierarchies, priorities

and clear links with the official ideology, politics and ruling family was contained and organized in the Romanov libraries' impressive collection of photographic albums and luxurious and often-oversized atlases. It is here that the Orthodox monument surveys of the western provinces acquired the right proportion and meaning.

The illustrated publications, visual collections and archives of the learned societies, library and museum institutions in St Petersburg and Moscow – the two cultural and political centres of the empire – formed an extension of the vision from the Romanov palace libraries. The albums and atlases edited by the IAC were sponsored by the court, and the lantern shows organized by the IRGS to present its surveys had the tsar's imprint and blessing. By means of print, lantern slides, exhibitions, the exclusive picture of the empire emanating from the private Romanov libraries was becoming public and official, expressing and fixing the idea of cultural heritage as a public domain.

The timeless vision of Russia as a nation and empire produced under the Romanov patronage and blessing was expressed each time with improved and superior technical and artistic means. Sergei Prokudin-Gorskii's (1863–1944) colour slides – the last monumental exemplification of the Romanov Empire – are here an emblematic example.[70] Produced during surveys undertaken in the years from 1903 to 1916, by the talented chemist and photographer, owner of the St Petersburg Photozinkographic and Photographic Studio, editor of the *Fotograf-Lyubitel* (Amateur Photographer) and active member of the Imperial Russian Technical Society, they were envisaged as an innovative and technically advanced photographic project. Prokudin-Gorskii, who assisted Alfred Miethe in 1902 in the experiments in colour photography, upon his return to St Petersburg refined this method achieving the most lifelike effect in colour photography of the time. The survey of the Russian Empire not only provided him with a set of motives fitting at best the new photographic method but was also in line with other projects and initiatives undertaken in the scholarly circles in St Petersburg and Moscow. It should be juxtaposed, for example, with Dmitrii Mendeleev's[71] attempt at a new cartographic projection of the empire accomplished with the means of the most advanced scientific tools and methods in view of its rational, spatial, economic and social planning.[72] Addressed to the governmental circles this was a modernizing and imperial project, expressing Mendeleev's belief in Russia's mission to 'overcome the thousand-year divide between Asia and Europe, to reconcile and to unify two distinct worlds'.[73] The never fully accomplished photographic survey, from 1907 carried out under the auspices of Tsar Nicholas II and envisaged as an ambitious educational mission – a visual synthesis of the empire to be shown in schools during slide projections – not only in its scholarly and technological but also in its ideological and political dimension arguably resembled in many ways Mendeleev's cartographic projection. Indeed, both projects should be considered as the crowning achievement of the imperial project.

The western provinces found in Prokudin-Gorskii's photographic synthesis of the empire their own modest place. The Polish Kingdom was totally ignored and the few

landscapes from Little Russia marked with the outline of Orthodox churches and folk scenes recalled similar views and scenes captured by him in the Russian governorates. Vilnius, the only city pictured in the western provinces did not appear on the colour slides, but was included in an album with views of the 1812 Napoleonic campaign area compiled by Prokudin-Gorskii in occasion of the hundred year jubilee of the Great Patriotic War. The city was characterized equally in its peculiar panoramas as in the views of the monuments of the imperial rule: the monument of Catherine the Great, the chapel commemorating the crashing of the January Uprising, the Roman Catholic Church of St Casimir converted into a Russian Orthodox Church in the aftermath of the January Uprising (Figure 8). The overall impression of the western provinces and their relation to the Russian core (represented at best in shots of ancient Orthodox churches and treasures of Orthodox art) and the empire (particularly capturing in the colourful pictures from Samarkand) was fully in line with their image established at the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition and in Batyushkov's, Pietrov's and Gerbachevskii's albums and atlases. At the twilight of

FIGURE 8 Sergei Prokudin-Gorskii, Views of the Napoleonic campaign area: Vilnius, albumen prints, 1911–1912. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

the outbreak of the First World War, Prokudin-Gorskii, faithful to the ideological and picturing conventions, totally ignored the rising self-determination movements strongly disintegrating the imperial balance. He also remained blind to the bloom of national surveys undertaken spontaneously in the western provinces by national civic societies in the aftermath of the 1905 tolerance edict.

CHAPTER TWO

Within the Imperial Frameworks and under Western Influences: The Making of the Cultural Heritage of a Stateless Nation

In the Polish national context, the photographic types produced by Karol Beyer for the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition (analysed in Chapter 1) enjoyed a surprising and long-lasting popularity. Up until the outbreak of the First World War, the same pictures, which in Moscow served to blur the national distinctiveness of the peoples inhabiting the empire, were collected, reproduced in scholarly books and shown at exhibitions in order to exemplify and describe a distinct Polish ethnicity.

In this chapter, I analyse the emergence of the concept of the Polish cultural patrimony and the rise of its photographic definitions. On the one hand, I present the first survey initiatives and projects of their kind in the framework of the entangled political and cultural situation of the stateless nation that was subjected to the rule of three empires. On the other hand, I link them to the contemporary cosmopolitan, scientific, exhibition and photographic culture.

Polish cultural and academic life at the time of partitions was mostly the domain of a restricted group of mundane aristocrats and the intelligentsia. It was rooted in unofficial private initiatives undertaken not only in the main centres of the partitioned lands of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth but also in the capitals of the three empires and in centres of Polish emigration. It was carried out in aristocratic salons, national civic and learned societies, the editorial offices of scientific and cultural

journals, and artistic and/or photographic studios, and was adapted to the various restrictions imposed on activities of a national character. In the main urban centres of the Kingdom of Galicia and Londomeria, endowed from 1861 with a high degree of autonomy, it was continuously anchored at Polish universities, civic and learned societies, and municipal museums. Whilst in the provinces of Posen and Prussia, and in the Russian partition in the aftermath of the January Uprising, it had to struggle with the anti-Polish politics of Germanization and Russification, respectively. In the Russian Empire, up until the 1905 tolerance edict, any kind of national activity could not be officially performed through civic organizations, and in the Prussian partition it had to contend with the local German museums, universities and societies, which imposed a German vision of the annexed lands. However, such restraints didn't limit unofficial private initiatives which were based on connections with other scholars or artists and with learned and cultural societies abroad, and easily crossed political and geographical borders. The initiatives undertaken in the centres of the three partitions and Polish emigration can be seen as strongly interlinked due to the mobility of the main actors of Polish cultural and scientific life and their extensive correspondence networks. Importantly, national cultural and scientific life was inscribed in the wider imperial and international contexts. The members of this informal community were educated in the best European universities and were active participants in the international academic and cultural networks of learned institutions and societies, international congresses and exhibitions; hence their activities were rooted in their cosmopolitan entanglements and ambitions.

Karol Beyer – recognized as the pioneer of Polish photography and as an influential Polish antiquarian – is the guiding thread of the case studies presented in this chapter.[1] The already-mentioned survey of Polish folk groups produced for the All-Russian Exhibition,[2] his surveys of Polish historic towns and architecture, and his first photographic album of a Polish antiquarian exhibition demonstrate that Beyer was arguably the originator of the photographic narration centred on the traces of a national past. His deep commitment to such expensive and unprofitable projects sprang both from his photographic ambitions and antiquarian interests, as well as from the importance the foreign and Polish cultural and scientific elites attached to photography as a fundamental discursive and representational practice. Behind each of Beyer's projects stood a close collaboration with the foremost Polish amateurs, scholars and collectors, and with learned societies – both Polish and imperial – as well as his knowledge of the contemporary scientific, cultural and photographic transnational trends and models. Beyer's photograph shot in the Krasiński Palace in Warsaw, one of the main centres of Polish cultural sociability and collecting in the Russian partition, is emblematic of this. It represents one of the treasures of the Krasiński collection: the golden goblet of Wincenty Krasiński, a hero of Napoleon's campaigns, The object is based on a pile of four luxurious volumes of the *Gabinet Medalów Polskich* (Cabinet of Polish Medals), one of the main Polish antiquarian publications issued in Berlin between 1838 and 1843 from the initiative of Edward

Raczyński, the main collector and animator of Polish cultural life in the Prussian partition. Moreover, the picture was shot at the time of the planning of the first true Polish antiquarian exhibition, modelled on Western examples (Figure 9). Thus, Beyer's photographic projects should be viewed in the framework of his engagement in the national and international antiquarian culture as well as of his photographic experiments and career strategies.

FIGURE 9 Karol Beyer, the golden goblet of Wincenty Krasiński, albumen print, *c.* 1856. Courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw.

The context of Beyer's professional activity was both local and imperial. As with most of his contemporaries, his daguerreotype and photographic studio income came mainly from portraiture. He also tried his hand at other enterprises which went well beyond the Warsaw market. For example, in 1874 in the context of a joint venture with three other Polish photographers, he conceived and realized a large-scale graphic publishing enterprise of an all-imperial reach:[3] a cheap cycle of imperial family portraits addressed to the citizens of the empire, to be published in Warsaw and distributed through the administrative channels in the Polish Kingdom and the western provinces. Another example of Beyer's activity was the collotype workshop he opened in 1869, which counted among its clients antiquarians and societies from outside the Russian partition. Its most prestigious edition was the 400th anniversary *Album Kopernika* (Copernicus Album), published in connection with an initiative of the Poznań Society of Friends of Sciences and revered by Franz Joseph of Austria.[4] From the beginning, Beyer also framed his photographic activity in a wider, international context. He learned the art of daguerreotype in Paris, and throughout his whole life, he mastered his professional competences in such centres as Paris, Munich, London and Vienna. He also attended international exhibitions or congresses such as the Crystal Palace Show or the 1874 Archaeological Congress in St Petersburg. Moreover, he was a renowned numismatist, praised both for his expertise and as an intermediary in the antiquarian market. Founder of the Warsaw Numismatic Society, he was well known in the Warsaw, trans-partition and international circles of scholars and collectors.[5]

In what follows, starting from Beyer's pioneering photographic experiments and surveys, I will trace the emergence of the photographic definition of Polish patrimony and space: of the national canon of historical and artistic objects and of a land marked by the towers and the walls of monumental churches, castles and towns which were seen by folk as a reflection of national features. First, I will trace the rise of a peculiar and appealing definition of Poland in the 1870s and 1880s, using the medium of the genre of photographic types. I will argue that it was the involvement of Polish photographic studios in the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition, imperial survey projects and universal exhibitions that turned their activity towards ethnography and drew the attention of the pioneers of Polish folklore studies towards this medium. Conceived and created in strict collaboration between photographers, on the one hand, and folklorists and anthropologists, on the other, the late nineteenth-century photographic type paradoxically evolved in a symbolic genre embedded with national connotations. Second, I will analyse how the traditional narratives built around great ancestors and heroic deeds embedded in the objects of aristocratic collections by the means of photography, thanks to the strict collaboration between aristocrats, antiquarians and photographers, acquired a national and at the same time universal meaning. The photographic albums of the Polish antiquarian exhibitions staged in the second half of the nineteenth century in Warsaw, Cracow and Paris were the expression of both nationalism and the latest trends in antiquarianism and collecting

culture. Finally, based on the example of the first two large-scale surveys of Polish architectural monuments, I will show how the national focus on the architectonic landscape was embedded in the professionalization of the discipline of art history and in the rise of preservationist ideas. The first Polish photographic survey projects were arguably conceived in a trans-partitional collaboration between photographers, architects and the first Polish art historians and pursued in the framework of the first Polish academic institutions and civic societies dedicated expressively to the history of art and monument protection.

My analysis of the history of the early photographic framings of Polish cultural heritage will reveal further names of Polish professional photographers at the forefront and their often interconnected cultural and scientific networks. Towards the turn of the twentieth century, with the parallel spread of amateur photography and the professionalization of science, photography's growth in all three partitions and their closely connected civil societies resulted in survey projects becoming an important domain of the main national civic and learned societies, municipal museums and scientific institutions.

FROM THE ALL-RUSSIAN ETHNOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION TO THE 1878 PARIS UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION. THE RISE OF POLISH TYPE PHOTOGRAPHY

The genre of types in the 1870s generated a vivid interest among Polish photographers and a growing demand on the part of local amateurs and collectors. The theatrically staged atelier types and folk groups of the people of Galicia of two Cracow photographers, Walery Rzewuski and Ignacy Krieger (1820–1889), became particularly sought after. Sold as single images or in cycles, in cabinet or *carte de visite* formats, in black and white or coloured versions, they became a popular form of entertainment among the Cracow aristocracy and intelligentsia, who dressed up in folk costumes and willingly played the role of models. The studios of Rzewuski and Krieger, both established in the early 1860s, belonged to the main and most successful photographic firms, not only in Cracow but in the region of Galicia as a whole. The genre of types constituted a significant source of income. Both Rzewuski and Krieger, but in particular Krieger, employed watercolourists who primarily used their skills to bring out the bright colours of the folk dress to make the genre even more attractive. However, the origin of their engagement with types was scientific.

It was Oskar Kolberg, the Polish mastermind of the 1866 All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition survey, who turned the early folk interests of Walery Rzewuski towards the new genre, which led to their long-term collaboration.[6] Krieger, on the other hand, was encouraged to experiment with types by the pioneer of Polish anthropology, Izydor Kopernicki (1825–1891).[7] Importantly, Kopernicki and Kolberg, who in 1871 moved to Cracow (from Warsaw and Budapest, respectively), maintained close scientific and

friendly relations. This collaboration was arguably engendered by Kolberg, who was inspired by the scientific applications of photography at the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition. Moreover, both scholars encouraged other professional photographers to be active in the provincial centres in all three partitions to work with types. In 1890, for example, Kopernicki wrote a letter to Seweryn Udziela, the future founder and director of the Cracow Ethnographic Museum, enquiring about a photographer who could document the highlander groups:

> Would it be possible to persuade your photographer in Gorlice to picture the highlanders singly and in groups in everyday and Sunday costumes, both the males and the females? I would acquire with pleasure the most typical and simple ones in *carte de visite* format, paying even twice as much as to Krieger, i.e. 40–50 kreuzers per picture. I can assure you that he will never lose in such a business, as the types are highly requested by the art dealers.[8]

While for Krieger and Rzewuski, type photography was first and foremost a commercial activity, the engagement with this genre of Józef Kordysz and Michał Greim – two Polish photographers active in the south-western provinces of the Russian Empire – was inscribed in a scientific context. Their ethnographic projects, undertaken from the time of the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition, constitute a telling example of how the initial imperial focus on the region of Podolia[9] and its folk was gradually reframed in different scientific and national contexts to acquire a clearly Polish meaning.

Kordysz, owner of the first photographic studio in Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi and, from 1868, one of the main photographers in Kyiv, made his first atelier types for the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition.[10] In the following years, he was involved in several other imperial ethnographic projects, the most important and prestigious of which was the outdoor survey of Little Russia[11] commissioned in 1874 by the president of the IRGS, the Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich, on the wave of the Society's recent interest in the western provinces.[12] Its output, consisting of fifty-five outdoor photographs of types and ethnographic scenes (Figure 10), was conceived as a visual addendum to the IRGS 1869 to 1870 ethnographic statistical expedition[13] and designed to be exhibited at the Third Archaeological Congress organized in Kyiv in 1874 jointly by the IRGS and the MAS. Afterwards the pictures were bound in the *Etnograficheskii Al'bom Malorossii* (Ethnographic Album of Little Russia) and deposited in the IRGS library, where they constituted an important contribution to the official academic vision of the empire.[14]

In 1875, the *Al'bom* was shown at the exhibition staged in the Palais de Tuileries on the occasion of the International Congress of Geography of which the Russian part was organized by the IRGS in collaboration with various ministries of the imperial court.[15] In the anthropological and ethnographic sections, the imperial idea of unity in diversity and the leading position of its Russian core were presented in the first

FIGURE 10 Józef Kordysz, the potter, albumen print. From the *Etnograficheskii Al'bom Malorossii*, 1874. Courtesy of the Russian Geographical Society.

instance using the language of cartography. For example, the *Etnograficheskaya karta Evropeiskoi Rossii* (Ethnographic Map of European Russia), compiled within the framework of the IRGS by Aleksandr Rittikh and awarded a first-class medal, gave a strong impression of the Russian ethnic predominance over the vast Slavic territories by using intense red markings.[16] Unsurprisingly, the map was seen by European scholars as an exemplification of the imperial politics of Russification and ethnic assimilation.[17] Such a clear cartographic vision was supplemented and authorized by a rich panorama of historical and contemporary, day-to-day ethnographic editions. Moreover, an impressive choice of photographic, watercolour, drawing and printed albums and atlases 'complemented this precious ensemble of documents testifying to the top rank of Russian ethnography'.[18]

Kordysz's *Al'bom* was displayed along with an atlas of sixteen ethnic type drawings of Siberia, an ethnographic album of drawings of the Tambov Governorate and a photographic album of types and views of Bukhara and Khiva. Moreover, the place of honour was accorded to two albums which, in their breadth and completeness, were the visual equivalents of the ethnographic maps of the empire. Theodore Pauly's *Description ethnographique des peuples de la Russie* (Ethnographic Description of the People of Russia), a magnificent atlas with chromolithographed plates published

in 1862 to commemorate the millennium jubilee of the Russian Empire,[19] and the work described in the catalogue as the 'great ethnographic album', which contained an impressive number of photographic types and was among the most prestigious objects in the exhibition.[20]

Both at the Kyiv and Paris exhibitions, Kordysz offered for sale his ethnographic surveys as well as his earlier types and the views of Kyiv and Podolia. In this way, the official imperial vision gained new meanings and was framed in new contexts. Élisée Reclus, the renowned French geographer, acquired both sets, most likely at the Paris Congress. He used them for the lithographic illustrations in the fifth volume on Scandinavia and Russia of his monumental *Nouvelle géographie universelle* (New Universal Geography) and afterwards donated them to the Paris Geographical Society.[21]

Kordysz's Little Russia survey should also be viewed in the local national context. The Kyiv branch of the IRGS was founded on the wave of interest of the Society in the western borderlands of the empire and on the success of the 1869 to 1870 survey. Established to pursue ethnographic research in the south-western provinces, it soon became an important institution of national revival. Its main members, also active in the Hromada (the main Ukrainophile cultural society in Kyiv), directed the research towards the definition of a distinct Ukrainian culture. At the time of the congress, the branch could already boast of a census of Kyiv, several important surveys of Ukrainian folk songs and legends, its own journal, a series of public lectures and advanced plans for the establishment of a museum and a library. Thus, the activity of the branch, seen by the imperial authorities as an element of official anti-Polish politics, became a dangerous basis for a Ukrainian self-determination movement and for a scientific contestation of the official imperial ethnopolitical policy. In 1876, the branch was officially dissolved following the imperial Ems decree, which suppressed the Ukrainian national movement and strengthened the Russification of the south-western provinces. While Kordysz was a member of the Kyiv IRGS branch, it is, however, hard to associate him with its Ukrainophile ideology. Therefore, at the Kyiv Congress it seems that his Little Russia survey had a life of its own.

The Polish framing of the types of Podolia was formulated by Kordysz in collaboration with Michał Greim. As the director of the governmental press in Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi and member of its cultural and intellectual elites, Greim was an avid bibliophile and numismatist who maintained correspondence and business relations with a network of established Polish intellectuals and aristocrats.[22] In 1871, when acquiring Kordysz's studio in Kam'ianets', he turned towards photography as a potentially promising business and as an important tool of antiquarian sociability. Kordysz's glass negatives, consisting of types for the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition and of the views of Kam'ianets' – on stock in the atelier – put Greim on the track of photographic experimentation with ethnography, further encouraged by the regular correspondence which the two maintained throughout their lives.[23]

First and foremost, to both of them, type photography seemed to be a promising source of income. Kordysz, who was undoubtedly aware of the international demand for the genre, undertook an ethnographic survey on his own initiative as early as 1878. At that time, he was based in Rustchuk (today Ruse) and collaborated with Karol Józef Migurski, who served as a military photographer of the Russian army during the Russian-Ottoman War. Kordysz's purely commercial activity was addressed to the promising Bulgarian market.[24] In the early 1880s, Greim and Kordysz planned a month-long joint survey, which was to result in an album of 'views and types of our country'. This never realized project, would have been the crowning achievement of their ten years of common experimentation with the genre of survey photography. The question arises: how did the two photographers plan to frame their 'country'? A case can be made for all possible variants; however, it seems that the Polish focus would have been the predominant one.

In 1878, Greim conceived his first album, with the intention to make himself a leading figure of Polish intellectual and antiquarian life. Composed of a selection of his and Kordysz's types and views, it was offered to Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (1812–1887), a renowned Polish romantic historian, journalist, artist and writer famous for his historical fiction, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his literary activity.[25] Kraszewski had launched in the mid-1840s the idea of a Polish iconographic collection consisting of drawings, engravings and photographs, documenting its national history, monuments and folklore. He was also the originator of the first idea of a Polish photographic survey (1841).[26] Interestingly, the envisioned album could be seen as the fulfilment of Kraszewski's unrealized project. In fact, Kraszewski's 'daguerreotype' survey was supposed to cover the same region of Podolia.

The Kraszewski album was not the first attempt at introducing a national focus to Greim's and Kordysz's surveys. In 1876, Greim offered a set of panoramas of Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi to the AL. This civic society, established in Cracow in 1872, was an all-Polish institution gathering established amateurs and academics from all three partitions, as well as prominent émigrés, and put particular stress on research into the Polish past and its cultural patrimony. Greim joined its Anthropological Commission in 1876 and gradually enriched his panorama gift with small cycles – *Zabytki podolskie* (the Monuments of Podolia), *Widoki Podola* (Views of Podolia) or the *Typy Podola i Bessarabii* (Types of Podolia and Bessarabia).[27] The choice of objects and views connected to the Polish present and past and their descriptions formed a clear national vision of the city of Kam'ianets' and of the region of Podolia. A good example is the panorama of the border town of Gusiatin, which focused on the bridge over the river Zbruch that symbolically united the Polish lands divided by the political border of the two empires.[28] Greim also marked on the picture the place in which the Zbruch idol – a pre-Christian sculpture and iconic symbol of the Polish-Slavic past – was unearthed in 1848.

While Greim persuaded Kordysz to frame his Kyiv and Little Russia surveys in a Polish national context, Kordysz encouraged Greim to arrange his Kam'ianets'-

Podil's'kyi, Podolia and Bessarabia views in an imperial framework. From their correspondence, we know that Greim contributed to the set of forty-five pictures of Kam'ianets' and the types of Podolia shown by Kordysz at the International Geographical Congress, later sold to Élisée Reclus.[29] We may also presume that it was Kordysz who encouraged Greim to donate, in 1882, two albums of views and types to the IRGS.[30] The comparison of this gift with the AL's cycles shows that Greim was consciously framing his pictures in two different political and cultural contexts. While in both cases, the panoramas were the central and most impressive element, the choice of views and motifs was carefully selected to fit either the Russian/imperial or Polish/national vision. Thus, the Cracow sets include in the first instance views and objects connected to the Polish past and present. The IRGS albums, on the other hand, is focused on the ethnic and cultural variety and richness of the city, its Orthodox, Armenian, Muslim, Lutheran and Catholic monuments and sites. Another important difference consists in the 'packaging'. Both IRGS's albums were elaborated down to the tiniest detail. With their elegant boxes decorated with a metal plaque relief view of Kam'ianets' and their prints mounted on cardboard with short printed Cyrillic descriptions, they definitely fit into the prestigious IRGS's collection of albums and atlases (Figure 11).

FIGURE 11 The cover of Michał Greim's album of Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi, 1882. Courtesy of the Russian Geographical Society.

The Russian section at the International Geographical Congress distinguished itself not only by the number of visual exhibits but also by the sumptuousness and luxury of the albums and atlases. Indeed, prestige and stress on the highest quality constituted guiding principles of the IRGS photographic collection and were required from the photographers involved in its projects. The IRGS surveys also represented a different style from the already widespread genre of anthropological photography: 'They are made under the sign of the picturesque, incongruent with the rules of scientific illustration followed in France. The portrait collection of the Paris Museum […] are executed possibly in the same scale, and the hundreds of types are all strictly reproduced en face or in profile.'[31]

Greim's albums can arguably be considered as the showcase of his photographic skills and talent and his sophisticated experiments with ethnographic and antiquarian illustration. For example, the image of the Kam'ianets's gymnasium is a collage of two photographs – the contemporary view of the building and a drawing of the Jesuit church which previously stood in its place (Figure 12). Thus, the IRGS inspired professional photographers not only to undertake surveys fitting into and complementing the official vision of the empire but also strongly influenced their photographic practices by directing them towards producing images of the highest quality as well as undertaking sophisticated experiments.

FIGURE 12 Michał Greim, the gymnasium in Kam'ianets', albumen print. From the album of Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi, 1882. Courtesy of the Russian Geographical Society.

Greim's and Kordysz's albums, as well as Rzewuski's and Krieger's type cycles, presented only pieces of a much larger puzzle of the Polish lands as defined by the variety of its folklore. It took two eminent scholars – Kolberg and Kopernicki – to arrange them into a suggestive and authoritative vision and to use such a prestigious opportunity as the 1878 Paris Universal Exhibition to present them to a larger public.[32]

Due to the scientific and official contacts in Paris with the émigrés from the recently founded Polish Anthropological and Ethnographic Society, Poland was represented in an independent national section at the Anthropological and Ethnographical Exhibition, arranged in a provisional building near the Palais de Trocadéro.[33] Staged with the exhibits submitted by the scientific societies, museums and private collectors from all three partitioned lands, the Polish section aimed at both inscribing national science in a universal framework and supporting the national cause:

> For the first time in a long time our country will appear under its own name. For ten centuries this name shone with its own energy; now we shall present its reach in the field of science. Let's prove to the world and to our kind hosts, that Copernicus' and Śniadecki's homeland is worthy of its name, that we are alive.[34]

Importantly, such a national/political and international/academic dualism was well harmonized throughout the exhibition. Its anthropological part, with its numerous prehistory exhibits or Kopernicki's craniological collection, fits well into current European research. Similarly, the impressive collection of costumes from the region of Galicia – provided by Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki (1825–1899), the amateur ethnographer, collector and one of the most influential Polish aristocrats in Galicia – illustrated the ethnic richness of the Polish lands and inclined viewers to make comparisons with similar exhibits in the other sections of the show. Thus, Zygmunt Zaborowski, the honorary professor of the École d'Anthropologie in Paris and member of the Polish Anthropological and Ethnographic Society, in his review for the *Revue d'Anthropologie* (Anthropological Review) juxtaposed the embroideries, hats and other parts of the vestments with Breton dress, one of the best studied and most popularized among French society.[35]

The Polish academic and national narration had its continuation in the Austro-Hungarian section. Conceived by the lender of the impressive dress collection, Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki (president of the Austro-Hungarian organizing committee), it focused its attention exclusively on Galicia and on the objects of the home industry of this region. In the framework of this section, Kopernicki exhibited a medium *folio oblogo* album entitled *Types et costumes de la Pologne* (Types and Costumes of Poland), prepared in collaboration with Kolberg expressively for the Paris show. Consisting of thirty-two elegant cardboard pages with five hundred-four type photographs in *carte de visite* format and with an expensive leather cover, the album framed this regional display in a clear national focus and linked the Austro-Hungarian section even further with the Polish one.[36] The pictures, organized

according to the ethnic groups inhabiting the lands of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and in accordance with the geographical criterion, presented an appealing idea of Poland in the guise of a multi-ethnic empire, clearly inspired by the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition.

The choice of types, based on the contemporary photographic studio offerings in the former Poland–Lithuania centres, was of course incomplete and inconsistent in its scientific message, and the album was full of lacunae. It focused only on three ethnic groups (Poles, Ruthenians and Jews), leaving out Lithuanians, Samogotians, Germans, Roma, Tatars and others. Moreover, it included a non-ethnographic narration of types, reflecting first of all the social stratification of the Poles into clergy, nobility and bourgeoisie, which apparently stressed the cultural and social precedence of the Polish national group. However, the album also contained several Ruthenian highlander types taken in two ateliers in Chernivtsi (Anton Kluczenko and Friedrich Schmack), the capital of the Duchy of Bukovina, reflecting, willing or not, the fluidity of the cultural, ethnic and national definitions in the context of eastern Europe at that time. The Ruthenian highlanders for centuries were divided, first by the Polish-Moldavian border and then by the administrative border of two imperial provinces. Ironically, it was the Bukovina and not the Galicia highlanders who became an important part of the puzzle in the photographic reconstruction of Poland through the ethnic focus.

Izydor Kopernicki, a student of Paul Broca, professor of the second oldest anthropology chair in Europe at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow and a pioneer of anthropological surveys, appealed in his scientific projects to a modern and universal research agenda. He not only enquired into the physical anthropology of Galicia but also pursued craniological research of the Ainu people and searched for the links between the Indians and the Galician gypsies. During his field trips and through his acquisitions and scientific exchanges, he gathered an impressive anthropological collection consisting of four hundred skulls, skeletons, anthropological preparations, craniological drawings, anthropological instruments and a set of around two thousand photographs. It seems, however, that Kopernicki underestimated the role of photography in anthropological research.[37] Presumably he had on stock only the staged atelier photographs mentioned earlier, useless in racial investigation. The clear dissonance of the *Types et costumes de la Pologne* with Kopernicki's own anthropological studies and research methods well reflects the ambiguous scientific status of photography of types. Even in the hands of such established scholars as Kopernicki or Kolberg, they arguably spoke using the language of identity.

In the 1880s, Kopernicki designed his collections for an anthropological ethnographic cabinet at the Jagiellonian University.[38] Inaugurated posthumously only in 1908, this museum became famous for its craniological collection, expanded by gifts from anthropologists and travellers and exchanges with scientific institutions worldwide. As for type photographs, Julian Talko-Hryncewicz (1850–1936), the first head of the cabinet, didn't find any academic value in them. He was convinced

that a true anthropological photograph can be produced only by a professional anthropologist, and in his research, he relied on the survey pictures of the young ethnographer and amateur photographer Eugeniusz Frankowski.[39] He was also a skilled anthropological photographer himself: the Jagiellonian University collection preserves his photographic surveys of the peoples of Buryatia pursued from 1892 to 1907.[40] However, in his anthropological synthesis of Poland, *Człowiek na ziemi naszej* (The Human on Our Lands), he included a full-page reproduction of one of Beyer's groups staged for the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition.[41]

Despite the various ethnographic surveys on the Polish lands undertaken at the turn of the twentieth century on the initiative of learned, photographic or cultural societies, it was the first Polish ethnographic survey, pursued by Beyer in view of the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition, to enjoy a great popularity among scholars and amateurs. For years, this cycle was sold in cabinet and *carte de visite* formats, first by Beyer and then by the succeeding atelier Kostka and Mulert. The album entitled *Portrety wiejskie/Portraits ruraux* (Rural Types), which had only recently emerged on the French art market and contained a selection of twenty-four of Beyer's types, proves that they were an important object in the iconographic collections of the Polish aristocracy and intelligentsia. Arguably, the bilingual (Polish and French) title of the album points to its origin as being from one of the collections of the emigrants, who co-created the Polish cultural and national life in Paris at the time of the partitions.[42] Beyer's All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition pictures were, moreover, an important

FIGURE 13 Stanisław Nofok-Sowiński, tombstone of Zygmunt Gloger, glass negative, 1915. Courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw.

element of the ethnographic exhibition of the Museum of Industry and Agriculture inaugurated in 1905 in Warsaw and an illustration of the various popular works on the anthropology and ethnography of Poland issued in all three partitioned lands. They acquired a truly iconic status and were even used as motifs for tombstones, for example, that of the landlord Wacław Baumeister Radoszkowski or of Zygmunt Gloger (1845–1910), one of the founding fathers of Polish ethnography and folklore studies (Figure 13). Arguably the inclusion of Beyer's pictures in Talko-Hryncewicz's anthropological synthesis was a truly rhetorical device embedded in their iconic and allegorical status.

ANTIQUARIAN EXHIBITIONS: PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE STAGING OF THE NATIONAL PAST

The 1878 Paris Universal Exhibition contained a Polish anthropological section in its exhibition of ancient art. The section was interwoven with precious symbolic, historical and artistic objects – on loan from the foremost aristocratic families – that attested to the nation's glorious past. The Polish aristocratic collection was staged by the Polish Historical and Literary Society (PHLS) aimed to illustrate ten centuries of Polish national history and included a portable bronze triptych, booty from the Battle of Grunwald (1410), and a Venetian vase, booty of the battle of Vienna (1683). Prince Władysław Czartoryski (1828–1894), the president of the PHLS, curator and main lender of the show, was the heir to one of the richest Polish family collections. His grandmother Izabela Czartoryska (1746–1835), under the influence of her French friends and correspondents, the archaeologists Dominique Vivant-Denon and Alexandre Lenoir – director of the Musée Napoleon and founder of the Museum of French Monuments, respectively – displayed the family treasures, in two expressively built garden pavilions of the family residence in Puławy in 1801. The treasures included objects from the tombs of the kings of Poland–Lithuania and shrines from the Napoleonic battlefields. Their arrangement was recognized by Francis Haskell as the first example of a modern European museum.[43] In the 1830s, following the defeat of the November Uprising (1831), Izabella's son Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, condemned to death by Nicholas I for his involvement in the national rebellion, fled to Paris. Hôtel Lambert, the Czartoryski residence in exile, soon became the main centre of Polish political and cultural life, and the world exhibitions organized in the French capital became an occasion to restage the main pieces of the collection in a national narrative addressed to a wide international public. A selection of the most precious and symbolic objects, juxtaposed with pieces of the foremost Polish aristocratic collections, was shown already at the 1865 and 1867 international exhibitions. Their clear national message was easily comprehensible to the French and international public.

From the time of Izabela Czartoryska onwards, the display models of the collection were based on Western examples, and they framed Polish history in a larger universal

context. In the park of Puławy, the national shrines and objects were staged in a garden pavilion, closely modelled on the antique example of the Temple of Sybil in Tivoli. And in a small neo-Gothic pavilion, precious objects and souvenirs related to famous European rulers, commanders, writers or artist were displayed in parallel. While in such an arrangement Czartoryska recalled the revolutionary collecting ideas of Dominique Vivant Denon or Alexandre Lenoir, several decades later, Władysław Czartoryski and other eminent Polish collectors arranged the objects following the guidelines of Henri de Longpérier, the curator of the Louvre and of the 1878 exhibition of ancient art.[44]

Similarly, on the Polish lands, the private aristocratic collections played a fundamental role during this period in the creation of the myth of the national past and of a common national consciousness. Throughout the nineteenth century, based on the initiatives of their owners, local connoisseurs and antiquarians, they were frequently arranged in exhibitions, staged in the centres of Polish cultural and intellectual life. Just like in Paris, by gathering archaeological finds and historical and artistic objects from aristocratic families together they aimed at visualizing ten centuries of the Polish past for a wider public audience. Inspired by the exhibitions and antiquarian models in such centres as Berlin or Paris, from the late 1850s onwards, they also referred to the culture of international exhibitions. Among the most mature and splendid examples of this kind were the antiquarian exhibitions of 1856 and 1858–1859. The first was a charitable event staged in the Warsaw Palace of the Potocki family, and the second was organized by the Cracow Scientific Society (the predecessor of the AL) in the Lubomirski Palace, one of the main aristocratic residences in the city.

Both exhibitions consisted of boundless arrangements of various objects (archaeological relics, paintings, weapons, fabrics, precious books and documents, tableware, etc.), with several salient points related to the Slavic and Polish past and/or to famous persons and events. In Warsaw, this approach was manifested in exhibits such as a sumptuous set of treasures found in the Slavic kurgans, a set of ceremonial attributes of the highest officials of the Commonwealth, a precious mahogany wardrobe inlaid with tortoiseshell and ivory (a gift from Pope Innocent XI to King John III Sobieski), and a set of everyday objects of the queen Marie Casimire d'Arquien.[45] In Cracow, among the main exhibits, one could find the previously mentioned Zbruch idol, a Turkish tent, booty from the battle of Vienna, the decorative helmet of King Sigismund I and a set of orders of the highest rank of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.[46] The close and not accidental affinities between these two exhibitions – similar titles, same display rules, focus on the same kinds of objects – not only prove the trans-boundary character of Polish cultural and intellectual life during this period but also show that the shaping of the concept of the Polish patrimony was from the beginning a trans-partitional project. Significantly, a photographer was the main personality linking both events, and a photographic album constituted their most original, innovative and scientific output.

Karol Beyer, the thread connecting all the pioneering Polish survey projects discussed in this chapter, was among the main organizers of the 1856 exhibition and co-author of its catalogue. With its 1,056 entries ordered in four general categories and many subgroups, it was one of the first truly Polish scientific antiquarian publications of the genre. Moreover, four accompanying publications – a list of the main exhibits, a historical account, a lithographic portfolio of reproductions of the main objects on display and a photographic album – created a complete and in-depth description of the exhibition addressed to both the general and to the learned and aristocratic publics. The photographic album, produced in a limited number of copies, was indeed the most exclusive and expensive part of this editorial enterprise.[47] It was conceived of and executed by Beyer, who from the beginning of his photographic career was inclined towards experimentation. Among his most sophisticated projects were the daguerreotype documentation of the 1851 eclipse as seen through the telescope of the Warsaw Astronomical Observatory and the photographic catalogue of Polish medals with life-size reproductions of the obverses and reverses of eighty-four of the most precious examples (Figure 14). Importantly, Beyer framed his experiments in the local scientific and transnational photographic contexts. During his visit to the Great Exhibition, he consulted with other photographers on his eclipse documentation, and he proudly defined his catalogue of Polish medals as the first photographic edition on numismatics in Europe.[48] Similarly, the 1856 Warsaw exhibition album should be included within the earliest experiments with the genre of photographic catalogues of collections, artists or exhibitions: juxtaposed, for example, with the impressive four-volume documentation of the 1857 Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition or Prince Albert's Raphael documentation project.[49]

Beyer's album, with its thirty salt prints mounted on loose cardboards and provided with a decorative border (Figure 15), is indeed a modest reflection of similar experiments undertaken on the initiative of Western scientific and museum institutions, potent patrons, as well as collectors or photographic firms in a provincial city of eastern Europe. Moreover, the staging of objects on the pictures in Beyer's album has at a glance many affinities with similar visualizations of private collections and exhibitions across Europe, like the contemporary pictures of the armoury in Tsarskoe Selo included in Théophile Gautier's luxurious album *Trésors d'Art de la Russie ancienne et moderne* (The Treasures of Art of Ancient and Modern Russia).[50]

Stephen Bann, in his analysis of the early photographic album, notes that such editions should also be considered as an important factor in the development of art history and its institutions.[51] Beyer's 1856 album was prepared with the utmost scientific accuracy, and the list of plates included in the exhibition catalogue formed clear links between the antiquarian/scholarly and photographic languages. Its author reproduced the objects in their exhibition sets and arrangements, referring to the contemporary modes of staging in private and public collections, armoires or treasuries. On the other hand, the 'generative' role of the album and the exhibition goes well beyond the scholarly and the institutional. The thirty plates formed a carefully selected choice of

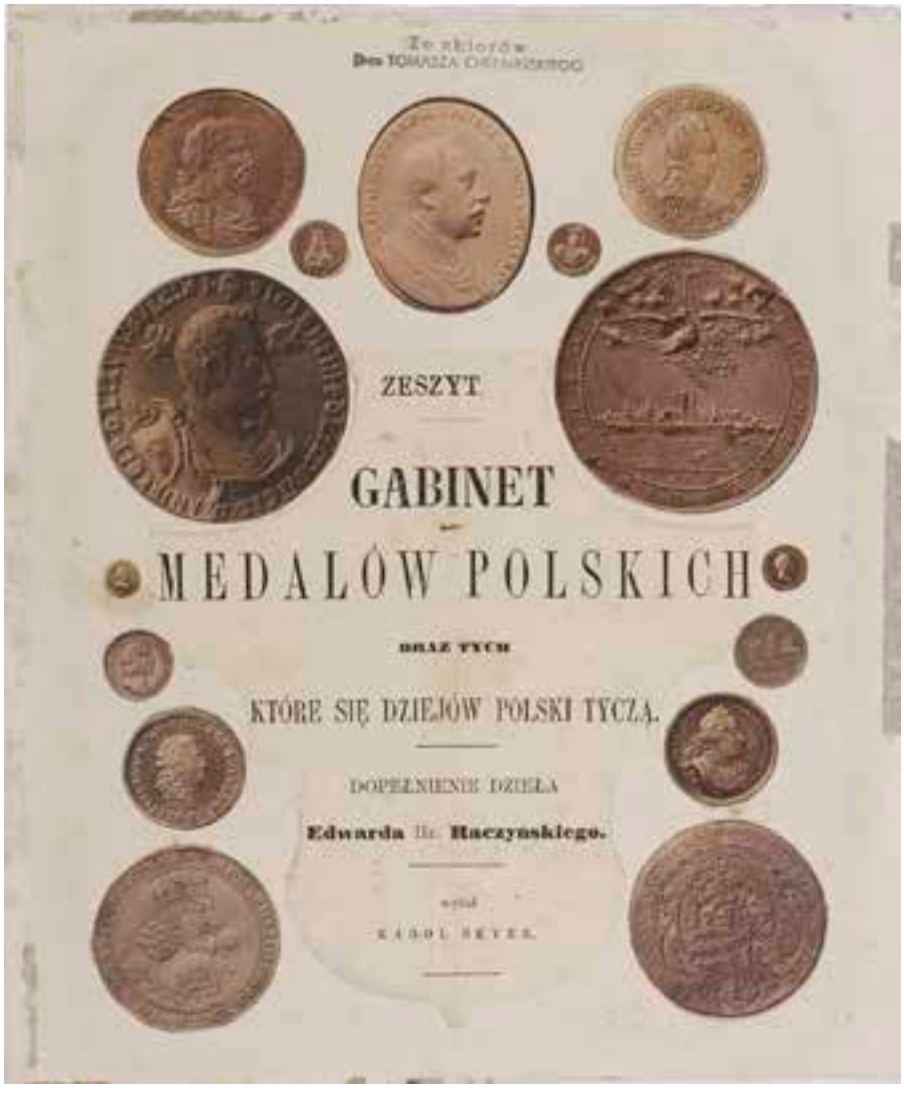

FIGURE 14 Karol Beyer, proof of the title page of the *Gabinet medalów polskich*, 1857. Courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw.

the main arrangements on display, a kind of canon which in the first instance defined the nation's past and identity. The equal importance of Beyer's album as a set of scholarly and national visual statements was recognized in Polish intellectual and cultural circles.

In the last days of 1858, Beyer was invited by the Cracow Scientific Society to prepare a twin album dedicated to the exhibition organized in the Lubomirski Palace. The Cracow album follows the style and substance of the Warsaw album but with its eighty-one salt prints on seventy-five plates with elaborated lithographic decorations

FIGURE 15 Karol Beyer, title page of the *Wystawa starożytności* album, albumen print, 1856. Courtesy of the National Library of Poland.

and sumptuous title page, it was indeed more luxurious, impressive and elaborate. Its title – *Album fotograficzne wystawy starożytności i przedmiotów sztuki* (Photographic Album of the Exhibition of Antiquities and Art Objects) – reflects not only the autonomy of the photographic language but also its equivalence and indissoluble links with the main discourse guided by means of the exhibition.

Under the cover of transnational collecting and picturing models, Beyer's photographs and represented objects, with their connotations of places, events and peoples, visualized and mythologized the twists and turns of the Polish national past. Such dualism is well reflected in the national and international clientele of both albums and in the different ways in which they were classified in Polish and foreign collections. In the already-mentioned catalogue of photographic and collotype albums of the St Petersburg Imperial Public Library, both albums were listed under the category of exhibition albums as the earliest examples of the genre in the collection.[52] The first Russian works of the kind – the albums of the All-Russian Manufacture and Polytechnic Exhibitions held in Moscow in 1870 and 1872, respectively – appeared only in the 1870s.[53] Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's exemplars, on the other hand, were included in his iconographic collection, among the drawn and graphic representations of the geography,

art and culture of the nation's past.[54] Beyer designed the most exceptional version of the 1856 album for the tsar.[55] Provided by a sumptuous drawn and gilded title page and a green samite binding it was made to fit the imperial collection of atlases and albums.

In subsequent years, Beyer's entangled photographic/exhibition language of national heritage and identity, staged using archaeological relics, historical objects and art works, became a common staple in the circles of Polish aristocrats, collectors and scholars. At the turn of the twentieth century, Eduard Wolter (1856–1941), a distinguished Baltic folklorist and archaeologist, head of the Slavic department of the Library of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and member of the IRGS, carried out an archaeological survey of the Vilnius Governorate. Within this IRGS project, he paid a visit in July 1888 to the Jeżewo manor house of Zygmunt Gloger, the previously mentioned foremost Polish ethnographer and archaeologist, and owner of one of the main Polish prehistoric collections. Wolter's survey – consisting of relics from Gloger's excavations conducted in the region of Volhynia and near the town of Viļaka (today Latvia) and of gifts, exchanges and acquisitions from other collectors and archaeologists – was described and classified according to the highest academic techniques. Wolter's written account of the visit includes a list of Gloger's archaeological finds and publications as well as a high-quality photograph of the pearls of his collection in a sumptuous arrangement (Figure 16). Examples of stone hatchets, arrowheads and pottery from the Podlachian hill forts and Greek colonies in Volhynia are displayed in a kind of stepped pyramid, intermixed with apparently dissonant artistic and historic objects of the modern era. The plaster cast of a cannon fragment with the coat of arms of Lithuania; the *kontusz* sash from the Paschalis manufacture;[56] the sash of Prince Józef Poniatowski, one of the main heroes of the Napoleonic wars; and the tableware and embroideries with the coat of arms of important Polish and Lithuanian families or weapons formed a typical set of objects of the aristocratic collections and of the numerous exhibitions organized on the Polish lands in this period. Its form of display and presentation was embedded in a tradition dating back to the garden pavilions in Puławy. With its white-cloth background, the pyramid was indeed staged expressively for the picture. Commissioned either by Wolter (his cavernous file with reports and notes compiled for the IRGS contains several high-quality photographs of artefacts, relics or buildings commissioned in the professional studios in Vilnius and Hrodna) or Gloger (who made extensive use of photography in his academic work), the picture was in fact staged by the latter, both as a showcase of his collection and his national and cultural identity.

Beyer's rhetorical photographic language was just one of the various possible ways of visualizing a nation's past and heritage embedded in its precious objects and private collections. As early as 1867, an ambitious idea sprouted in Galicia in the circles of established photographers and antiquarians. It was launched by the Cracow photographer Franciszek Wyspiański (1836–1901), known for his album of Polish manuscripts prepared as part of the palaeographic section of the Cracow Scientific Society for the 1867 Paris Universal Exhibition.[57] His planned

FIGURE 16 Anonymous, the collection of Zygmunt Gloger in Jeżewo, albumen print, *c.* 1888. Courtesy of the Institute of Material Culture of the RAS.

archaeological album was an ambitious project, aimed at surveying the private Polish aristocratic collections, treasuries and armories in Galicia. The idea – discussed with count Ludwik Mieczysław Potocki (1810–1878), the conservator of Eastern Galicia;

Stanisław Kunasiewicz, a member of the Society of Fine Arts in L'viv; and Teodor Szajnok (1833–1894), a foreground L'viv photographer – was soon transformed into a truly academic project aimed at the first true synthesis of Polish art history.[58] Potocki opted for the participation of a historian and an architect and for the inclusion of extensive academic descriptions of each object, as well as accurate survey drawings. It is hard to say if the photographs were supposed to follow Beyer's rhetoric and style: the project was never realized due to the breadth of such an enterprise, its costs and the difficulties in accessing numerous objects among the private aristocratic residences, which were often in distant places of the region. However, a similar scientific strand, following the emergence and specialization of academic disciplines focused on the material traces of the past, became incrementally reflected in photography.

The series *Zabytki polskie na obczyźnie* (Polish Monuments in Abroad), issued in Warsaw from 1907 to 1910, consisted of academic essays devoted to artistic and historic objects, chosen from collections of émigrés and first-rate European museums as well as archives, libraries, illustrated by photographic reproductions of single objects on a neutral ground.[59] Their choice, however, followed the selection criteria of the exhibition staging mentioned earlier. The first issue in the series was inaugurated by the blessed sword and hat, the symbolic gifts of Pope Innocent XI to John III Sobieski commemorating the victorious battle of Vienna (Figure 17). Kept until 1813 in the treasury of the Radziwiłł family in Nyasvizh (Nieśwież), they were requisitioned by the Russian army at the time of the Napoleonic wars and incorporated into the Hermitage collections. As stated in the introduction to the first issue, the aim of the series was to publish important but never-reproduced key objects of national culture and history. The choice of objects, connected to national heroes and key events in national history, was in harmony with the concept initiated in Puławy; however, the new photographic language with its focus on a single object framed on a neutral background presaged a different academic focus in which artistic value constituted the main determinant of national heritage.

THE SURVEY OF THE POLISH ARCHITECTURAL LANDSCAPE

Among Beyer's unrealized photographic projects was an outdoor survey album focused on the monuments of the Polish Kingdom in the larger context of the Russian Empire. Such an idea, presented in 1859 to the director of the Imperial Public Library, predated the earliest photographic initiatives of the main imperial civic societies such as the IRGS or the IAC.[60] During this period, however, the official patronage of a project focused on the Polish lands by an imperial institution was hardly imaginable. Thus, on his own initiative, Beyer produced several more or less detailed surveys of Polish cities and monuments, both in the borders of the Russian Empire and in the other partitioned lands. Never bound into an album, they were sold as single prints or in cycles.[61]

Just a few years later, in Galicia, the first elaborated antiquarian photographic initiatives aimed at the documentation and visualization of the primordial and

FIGURE 17 Blessed hat of the king John III Sobieski. From the *Zabytki polskie na obczyźnie*, 1907. Author's own

symbolic architectonic monuments of the Polish past were launched. Among the earliest examples of such editions are two collotype albums (1867–1868) produced and supervised by Teodor Szajnok.[62] The first was issued to commemorate the

centenary celebrations of the victorious battle of Vienna organized in Zhovkva (Żółkiew), a city full of mementos related to the family of king John III Sobieski. The album presented a photographic and antiquarian overview of the monuments of this centre, with a particular focus on the recently renovated Church of Saint Lawrence, the Sobieski mausoleum and pantheon. The album should be seen as one of the main initiatives of the germinating movement of monument protection in Eastern Galicia. It was inspired by the already-mentioned count Ludwik Mieczysław Potocki, who in 1862, thanks to the generous funding of the main Galician landlords and aristocrats, commenced a large-scale conservation project of the monuments of Zhovkva. Printed in Vienna, elaborated down to the smallest detail and widely advertised in the papers, the album was also an important means of popularizing the next stage of the ambitious preservation project, focused on the Dominican convent.[63] The second album was a private initiative of Prince Adam Sapieha who, inspired by the L'viv initiatives and calls for the documentation and popularization of the historical and artistic monuments and art treasures in Galicia, envisaged a similar tribute to his family seat in the late-Renaissance fortified palace in Krasiczyn.[64]

In the advertisement of the Zhovkva album, Szajnok noted the primordial role of photography in the creation of the concept of heritage as a bonding element of the national community: 'This collection of photographs, which elucidates the monuments dear to every Polish heart, will find its place on the tables of every Polish house.'[65] The shaping of the notion of national patrimony and the emergence of monuments as elements of a public sphere was arguably also the result of photographic efforts undertaken in view of important historical anniversaries or engendered by a particular fascination with a given building or monument.

The first survey project to go beyond a single city or monument was launched in 1905 as part of an informal trans-partitional collaboration at the time of the professionalization of Polish art history, the emergence of amateur photography and the blossoming of the activity of the national civic societies. It was inspired by Marian Sokołowski (1839–1911), professor of the first Polish department of art history at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow and director of the art history section of the AL. A scholar of wide horizons and broad interests, educated in law and history at the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, Paris and Vienna, he aimed to introduce the history of Polish art into Western scholarship.[66] He transformed the AL's research and survey of Polish monuments, until then centred on Cracow and its surroundings, into a modern and ambitious project focused on the most significant medieval and Renaissance buildings throughout the partitioned lands. They were published in the form of extensive monographs in the art history section's luxurious quarterly.[67] Richly illustrated with lithography and chromolithography, the journal reproduced the refinished survey drawings and watercolours of a group of promising Cracow artists led by the first director of the section, the history painter and antiquarian, Władysław Łuszczkiewicz. Sokołowski not only broadened the geographical

perspective of the journal and of the surveys but also introduced photography as a Western, modern and primordial academic tool.

A similar idea developed at around the same time in St Petersburg in the milieu of Polish students of architecture at the Imperial Academy of Arts in the wave of the then prevailing 'crusade' of surveying, photographing and mapping the Russian artistic patrimony of which the Academy was an important actor.[68] In 1895, the Academy launched a bilingual (Russian and French) series of atlases – *Pamyatniki drevnyavo russkavo zodchestva* (Monuments of Ancient Russian Architecture) – consisting of extensive monographic descriptions, richly illustrated with survey photographs and exact architectural drawings, of the ancient Russian Orthodox churches, monasteries and kremlins.[69] The edition, coordinated by Vladimir Suslov (1857–1921), an architectural historian and restorer deeply involved in the study and survey of Russian architecture, consisted of a selection of the best, most captivating and unpublished surveys undertaken by the Academy's students. By means of such a publication, a mosaic of individual, usually unrelated, surveys formed a first step towards a professional architectural history of Russia.[70]

It was at the juncture of Sokołowski's universalist ambitions and this cultural atmosphere in St Petersburg that the first truly modern and academic photographic survey of the Polish monumental landscape was conceived. In 1905, the Polish students' society turned to Sokołowski with the idea of a long-term survey of the territories of the Russian partition under the AL's scientific supervision. The plan provided for a series of campaigns, each focused on a given group of monuments: the double-hall Gothic churches, castles or the Renaissance city of Kazimierz Dolny.[71] The criterion of choice was purely academic (formal or stylistic), and the links with historical figures and events were no longer crucial determinants of the national importance of a given monument. The stress was on examples reflecting Western influences, on the one hand, and the original artistic or architectonic features, on the other. The final outcome of each survey was conceived as a scientific article to be published in the section's journal, demonstrating the inseparable Polish links with and contribution to the development of Western art and culture.

The argumentation was strengthened by means of an academic formal, historic and stylistic analysis of the drawn and photographic illustrations. Thus, Sokołowski stressed the importance of professional, standardized architectonic plans following the metric system[72] and of professionally framed, high-quality large-format photographs.[73] The involvement of Stefan Zaborowski, an amateur photographer from Rawa Mazowiecka, a small town in the environs of Warsaw, was crucial to the outcome of the project. A member of the recently established (1901) Warsaw Photographic Society, Zaborowski turned his photographic experiments to the documentation of monuments. The list of Sokołowski's correspondents includes the names of other important members of this photographic club, who either gratuitously or for just the reimbursement of travel and equipment costs dispatched similar surveys to Cracow. The team of young students of architecture was just one among a larger network from all three partitioned lands

of Sokołowski's correspondents, who co-created the photographic picture of Polish artistic and architectonic heritage. Up until Sokołowski's death in 1911, only a small percentage of the surveys were published; however, the numerous photographs, plans and descriptions were extensively discussed at the academy's sessions and organized into an archive.[74]

While the ambitious project of the AL was directed towards a modern photographic mapping of the canonical masterpieces of the Polish artistic and architectonic landscape, a parallel initiative, launched at around the same period in Warsaw in the circles of the recently established civic societies, was a true reflection of the IAC's photographic 'crusade' pursued at the dawn of the twentieth century by one of its most active members, the architect Petr Pokryshkin (1870–1922). As Ekaterina Pravilova notes, from 1903 to 1913, Pokryshkin spent over three years travelling throughout the Russian Empire, documenting monuments and taking an impressive 13,512 photographs.[75] His utopian aim was a complete register of the empire's artistic and architectonic heritage, that would be much wider than simply documenting monuments of the highest artistic value. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments (SPAM), founded in 1906 by a group of Warsaw aristocrats, intelligentsia and architects with an Imperial Academy of Arts curriculum, was modelled on and strictly collaborated with the IAC. Appointed in the first place as a consulting body for the restoration of historic and artistic monuments in the Polish Kingdom, it focused initially on provincial ecclesiastical architecture. Such a choice was not accidental. On the one hand, with the support of the church hierarchy, this was the patrimony most accessible for research. On the other hand – given the 1905 tolerance edict – numerous historical churches in this period were undergoing rebuilding, enlargement and, in some cases, even demolition.

Following the examples of similar initiatives of the IAC or the MAS, in the first months of its activity, the Society addressed a detailed questionnaire for the registration and description of antique churches to the dioceses and parishes in the Polish Kingdom. Despite the questionnaires' clear request to also provide visual documentation, in most cases, they were returned to Warsaw without any photographs or drawings. It was only during the trips undertaken by the society with the aim of inspecting and advising on enlargement and construction works that the architectonic landscape marked by the provincial churches was documented for the first time by the means of a camera. Importantly, this was not just a simple documentation of the small brick or wooden churches before or during construction works but, rather, it was used as a pretext for experimenting with other photographic subjects and motifs: the surrounding landscape, village and inhabitants (Figure 18). The society's members involved in such surveys were at the same time amateur photographers, active also in the recently established Warsaw Photographic Society and the Warsaw Touring Society. Moreover, the photographic activity of all three societies was often harmonized and conducted in parallel. As a result of the juncture of common interests, peculiar elements

of the cultural landscape such as castle ruins or roadside chapels were not only marked as elements of cultural patrimony and protected but also extensively photographed.

Along with its ambitions to document and organize the provincial architectural landscape as a whole, the society's members attached particular importance to individual exceptional buildings, like medieval castles (Figure 19), which due to their historic and artistic value, as well as to their legal status and accessibility, could acquire

FIGURE 18 Kazimierz Broniewski, the church in Biały Kościół, glass negative, before 1914. Courtesy of the Institute of Art of the PAS.

an unquestioned status as a national monument. The fifteenth-century ruins of the castle of the Masovian dukes in Czersk, entrusted in 1908 by the IAC to the SPAM, became an object of several preservation and educational campaigns. Such activities introduced the ruins into the public sphere, framing them, however, in two parallel domains: imperial and national. The voluminous file of reports on the research and conservation works, accompanied by a large selection of the society's high-quality survey photographs and drawings, was placed in the IAC's archive among thousands of similar files dedicated to monuments from across the empire, testifying that Pokryshkin's utopian survey project was not mere claptrap.[76] The reports, photographs, slides or drawings kept in the society's seat were used for such projects as lantern slide lectures, popular postcard series and richly illustrated newspaper articles. Aimed at familiarizing and sensitizing the wider public with the ruins' artistic and historic value and with the need for their protection, they presented Czersk as a place of Polish identity.

The emergence in the public sphere of the Cistercian Gothic monastery in Sulejów was even more complex. Thanks to the parson's sensitivity towards the idea of monument protection, in 1907, the SPAM carried out a carefully planned research and conservation programme. Significantly, not only was the IAC consulted regarding the works but also Cracow architects and art historians were too. In the context of the project, in 1907,

FIGURE 19 Konstanty Wojciechowski, the ruins of the castle in Ogrodzieniec, glass negative, 1914. Courtesy of the Institute of Art of the PAS.

a joint and very professional architectonic and photographic survey was undertaken, bringing to Sulejów Warsaw and Cracow scholars as well as Pokryshkin himself. Thus, such pearls of architecture, as the Cistercian complex in Sulejów, emerged into the public domain for the first time in an entangled scientific and political context.

* * *

The various photographic projects discussed in this chapter sprang from universal scientific and photographic models and were inscribed in the imperial and cosmopolitan networks and academic and cultural consciousness. It may be argued that the shaping of the photographic vision of the Polish national patrimony was often just a side effect of imperial survey projects or of initiatives addressed to the cosmopolitan public of international exhibitions. Beyer's types for the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition, deposited and forgotten in the Dashkov Museum at the time, acquired the status of icons of national identity in the Polish context. Conversely, his antiquarian albums, created expressively as determinants of Polish identity, acquired the highest photographic and academic status in the collections of the Imperial Public Library. Such interpenetration of the cosmopolitan/universal and the particular/national is indeed one of the most important features of the late nineteenth-century Polish surveys. It may be postulated that it was not the survey itself but the context in which it was published, shown, discussed or described that allocated the identity of the pictured region, its folk and its monuments. Sometimes, as already observed in this chapter, the photographs lived a life of their own, acquiring an iconic national status.

In 1914, at the dawn of the outbreak of the First World War, a thirteen-year-old Henryk Seweryn Zawadzki from Końskie in the Polish Kingdom made a trip with his father to Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi. For both of them, this was an iconic Polish city full of traces of the glorious national past inscribed in its walls and monuments. Like his many peers, Zawadzki knew by heart the description of the fortress included in *Ogniem i mieczem* (Fire and the Steppe), one of the volumes of the Henryk Sienkiewicz's trilogy of three historical novels, which were set in the reality of the seventeenth-century Polish-Ottoman wars. 'At home we had three exemplars of the *Trilogy*, of which the one in a beautiful extruded black binding with golden ornaments was designed for the exclusive use of my father, who used to read it once every year.'[77] Published from 1884 to 1888, Sienkiewicz's epopee immediately acquired the status of a bestseller and provided a key clue to Polish national identity. In his tour of Kam'ianets', Zawadzki was guided by his cousin, who showed him a city marked only by the *Trilogy*'s sites and places: 'He showed me the Turkish port forged in a cave over the Smotrich river, he brought me to the fortress, where, obviously, he showed me Wołodyjowski's well, Ketling's bastion, the tower blown up by Sir Michał,[78] and the beautiful tower with the king Stanislas August's monogram inscribed in stone.'[79] In Kam'ianets', Zawadzki acquired a set of Greim's photographs with the representation of the fortresses' emblematic monuments as a perfect visual incarnation, not so much

of his visit as of Sienkiewicz's iconic interpretation of the city. Most certainly he was not aware that the suggestive and lifelike descriptions in the *Trilogy* owed as much to the surveys undertaken by Kordysz and Greim – designed for such various scientific and cultural contexts as the IRGS, the International Congress of Geography or Kraszewski's private library – as to Sienkiewicz's literary talent. Sienkiewicz was never in Kam'ianets', and in his writings he drew upon an album of Greim's and Kordysz's photographs.[80] Another foremost Polish novelist, Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841–1910), one of Greim's favourite correspondents and a recipient of his most elaborated albums of views and types, inscribed in her fiction the genre of photographic types. Presumably inspired by Greim and by his captivating sets of Podolia and Bessarabia types, Orzeszkowa based the characters of her two most famous novels – *Nad Niemnem* (On the River Niemen) and *Cham* (The Peasant) – on the types and ethnographic photographs commissioned in the Grodno studio of J. Sadowski.[81] In Orzeszkowa's novels, embedded in the idyllic Lithuanian landscape and full of hidden references to Polish independence movements, it was the folk who symbolized Polish nationality.

Making a photographic vision of Polish cultural heritage consisted not only of the context but equally of the choice. By weaving Greim's photographs into his fiction set in the seventeenth century, Sienkiewicz transformed Kam'ianets' into a centre of the Polish past and identity. Under the pen of Orzeszkowa, the type genre from the region of Lithuania was mythologized and became a clear sign of Polish identity. Similarly, Stefan Zaborowski and other Warsaw amateur photographers involved in the early twentieth-century surveys of Polish architecture – by choosing certain types of buildings (wooden provincial churches, castle ruins, medieval and Renaissance monuments) and omitting others – shaped a clear national vision of the cultural landscape of these entangled multi-ethnic lands under the rule of three empires.

CHAPTER THREE

On the Crossroad of the West and the East: The Multi-Ethnic Cultural Landscape of Eastern Galicia and the Pale of Settlement

Tipy Podolii i Bessarabii (The Types of Podolia and Bessarabia), one of the two albums compiled by Michał Greim as a gift to the IRGS discussed in the previous chapter, fits well with the official image of the empire represented in the society's research, publications and visual collections.[1] The album comprised sixty-eight cardboards with ninety-six photographs, showing the rich array of ethnicities and peoples inhabiting the regions: atelier portraits of the Polish aristocrats, petty nobility[2] and intelligentsia, atelier types of Jews, Ukrainian peasants, Germans, Moldovans, Russians, Armenians and Roma people, as well as staged outdoor scenes. By providing them with short printed Cyrillic descriptions – for example, *Tipy Inteligentsii i Shlakhty Polskoy na Podol'i* (Types of the Polish Intelligentsia and Petty Nobility in Podolia), *Tipy Krest'yan Podol'skoi gubernii* (Types of Peasants in the Podolia Governorate), *Tipy Evreev Podol'skoi gubernii* (Types of Jews in the Podolia Governorate) and *Tipy Bessarabskikh Moldavyan* (Types of Moldovans in Bessarabia) – Greim perfectly inscribed the album with a distanced imperial focus on 'the other'.

Conversely, the sets of the same types compiled for the AL and as a tribute to the novelist Eliza Orzeszkowa provide a close-up view on Podolia and Bessarabia through their exhaustive Polish handwritten descriptions with references to long-established

local stereotypes and traditions, and to the personal stories of the 'types'. Thus, the old couple in the St Petersburg album, defined simply as an example of 'Polish intelligentsia and petty nobility', are revealed to be 'Mr. and Mrs. Kotkowski in the year of their golden wedding anniversary.' Similarly, the 'Moldovans from Bessarabia' from the IRGS album in the Polish sets are described as 'exceptional students in a village school in Bessarabia' and the 'newcomers' as '*Drang nach Osten!* The rest of the German *Kulturträger* and his family on the way to the colony in Podolia.'

Contrary to the Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi panoramas and cycles of the monuments and views in Podolia, mentioned in the previous chapter, the AL's and Orzeszkowa's sets were not conceived as a national interpretation of the lands in which Poles were just a minority. Rather, both should be seen as an exemplification of a tamed reality of the multi-ethnic small towns and villages of Podolia and Bessarabia in the first place. Those settlements were in fact a social, cultural, economic and landscape reality in which the Ukrainians, Moldovans, Jews, Russians, Tatars, Gagauz people, Germans, Bulgarians or Poles are represented in separate shots and described on separate cardboards but in fact lived side by side for many centuries, their lives, cultures and traditions often criss-crossing.

In this chapter I argue that the transnational genre of survey photography in the entangled cultural context of the backward multi-ethnic villages and small towns of the provinces of the Russian and Austrian empires was a powerful tool for shaping identities, in both the analytical (universal, scientific) and practical (local, everyday) dimensions.[3] I bring into focus the photographic surveys of two ethnic groups: highlanders inhabiting the Carpathians of eastern Galicia and Jews living in the western borderlands of the Russian Empire and in the small cities and villages of eastern Galicia. Undertaken by local scholars, amateurs and learned societies photographic surveys served, in the practical dimension, to build distinct and interpenetrating Polish, Jewish and Ukrainian definitions of the surrounding cultural landscape. In the analytical dimension they created powerful visions of these provincial, boundary regions, addressed to the wider imperial and Western publics.

PHOTOGRAPHY, ETHNOGRAPHIC EXHIBITIONS AND THE SHAPING OF POLISH AND RUTHENIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

From its earliest history, the region of eastern Galicia, located at the crossroads of important trade routes, was a territory of ethnic and cultural diversity.[4] In the Habsburg period it was inhabited predominantly by Greek Catholic Ruthenians and Roman Catholic Poles. Approximately 10 per cent of the population were Jewish, and it also contained a small percentage of other ethnic groups: Germans, a community of Armenians gathered around the Armenian Rite Catholic Church in L'viv and itinerant groups of Roma people. The region was a part of the Kingdom of Galicia and

Londomeria, an autonomous province of the empire with its own diet (parliament) and administrative offices, which from the 1860s onwards enjoyed wide political, cultural and national freedoms. Its political life was dominated by Polish landowners living between L'viv, Cracow, Vienna and their ancestral residences. They not only played a dominant role in the institutions of the province but often held important positions in the central administration of the empire and the imperial council. Polish was also the official language in schools, administration and courts. In L'viv, the main city of eastern Galicia, Polish-language courses at the Theresianum University were held and Polish museums and libraries, as well as cultural and scientific institutions, were established.

Ruthenians, the largest ethnic group of eastern Galicia and predominantly peasants, were officially recognized as a distinct nationality in the empire and granted wide-ranging freedoms and autonomy. Their cultural and national life was shaped by the clergy, on the one hand, and by the Ruthenian intelligentsia, on the other, as well as several major Polish landowners, who consciously returned to or identified with their Ruthenian roots.[5] John-Paul Himka's definition of the nineteenth-century shaping of the Ruthenian identity as 'Icarian flights in almost all directions' well describes the alternative world of national constructions in the multi-ethnic and complex political reality of this region.[6] What is most interesting here is that during this time one could still imagine a Ruthenian identity within a larger Polish context. Until the turn of the twentieth century the Ruthenian intellectual elites were often acculturated to Polish culture, and the Polish and Ruthenian cultural initiatives often criss-crossed and were based on both competition and collaboration.

The case studies under consideration here are the fruit of such a cultural climax and refer to the Polish–Ruthenian intellectual milieu. I focus on discovery, the fashioning and photographic staging of the various Ruthenian highlander peoples inhabiting the isolated areas of the Carpathian Mountains and on their peculiar and colourful culture and customs. These backward, unorganized and hardly accessible regions became, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, an object of scientific exploration and cultural fascination, as well as an important element of identity-building among the Polish and Ruthenian intellectual elites in the reality of the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire. I analyse three survey initiatives, all of which were connected to provincial ethnographic shows organized in eastern Galicia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Marta Filipovà has shown, based on a study of exhibition culture, the importance of universal models in the establishment of identities in borderlands marked by cultural and ethnic diversity and tensions.[7] In such a political and cultural context 'exhibitions may be seen as tools for reinforcing an imagined community' and as places where 'specific ideas of local, regional and national identity' can be displayed.[8] Here I show that the photographic survey initiatives not only reinforced and memorized the exhibitions' meaning and message, but also formed a distinct and equally important identity narrative.

In September 1880, Emperor Franz Joseph made his second inspection tour in Galicia. In the time span of three weeks he visited Cracow and L'viv, and travelled in a special train through the province situated between the Vistula river in the west, the Zbruch and Cheremosh rivers in the east and the Carpathian Mountains in the south. It was a tour of celebrations and festivities, organized both in the two main urban centres and in aristocratic residences in the countryside, as well as at several train stations, where the emperor would stop to meet with the local authorities and the people.[9] However, the image that most penetrated his memory must have been the changing landscape seen from the windows of the train, with its 'stafagge made of hundreds of thousands of people, types, figures, various groups, each characterizing an administrative unit, a city, an environ'.[10] Along the train tracks and at the stations on the emperor's route, first from Cracow to L'viv and then from L'viv to the southern border of Galicia, people in their Sunday dress, often wearing the attributes of their social position, profession or religion, gathered together to form a 'great ethnographic gallery'.[11] This impression was particularly strengthened with the crossing of the San river, the natural border between the western and eastern parts of the province. One of the last stops of Franz Joseph's inspection tour took place in Kolomyya, the principal city in the Pokutia upland region. Here, in an elegant Swiss-style wooden pavilion blending expressively into the public garden, an ethnographic exhibition was staged presenting the land and the people of this region.[12] Organized on the initiative of the local branch of the Tatra Society, it is a telling example of how national identities were framed in the multi-ethnic context of Galicia. Moreover, the Pokutia region was shown in Kolomyya by means of views and types from a local photo atelier. Several albums, prepared and distributed afterwards by Juliusz Dutkiewicz, constituted not only tangible and visual embodiments of the exhibition but also testimonies to the role played by photography in the complex process of defining the local distinctiveness.

The Tatra Society was established in 1873 by a group of wealthy landowners of the region as part of the wave of growing interest in alpine clubs across Europe. However, as Patrice Dabrowski argues, the involvement of the Polish intelligentsia from all the partitioned lands in the society's activity gave this tourist organization a wider national framework.[13] The Polish aristocrats, artists or writers from the Russian and German empires, and in particular from Warsaw, travelled evermore often to the Tatra mountains, attracted by the beauty and wildness of its landscape, on the one hand, and by the opportunity to profit from its atmosphere of national freedom, on the other. Society members could pursue activities of a manifestly Polish character there, something that, for example, in Warsaw during this period was still unthinkable. The initial aims, typical for an alpine and hiking organization (the exploration of the region, the promotion of tourism, the protection of rare fauna and flora), were incrementally widened and the region became a 'national laboratory' for the Polish intelligentsia. Not only was this mountain range demarcated as a Polish national space (e.g. its distinctive sites were named after

important figures of Polish life) but its inhabitants were recognized as Polish folk, preserving true national crafts and customs.

The Kolomyya section was one of the branches of the society established in the region of the eastern Galician Carpathian Mountains. Its members, which included dozens of local Polish landowners, professionals and teachers spread throughout the vast territory of Pokutia, focused on the picturesque Chornohora mountain range inhabited by the Hutsuls, a distinctive group of Ruthenian highlanders. Despite its local character, the varied cultural landscape and the context of the imperial visit, the 1880 exhibition – the main accomplishment of the branch – should be considered as an all-national Polish event.

This first ethnographic exhibition to be organized in Galicia was conceived by Władysław Przybysławski (1830–1908), a landowner, amateur archaeologist and ethnographer, and an active member of both the Kolomyya section of the Tatra Society and the AL. His main collaborators were Oskar Kolberg and Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, whose activity has already been discussed in Chapter 2 in the context of the ethnographic show at the 1878 Paris Universal Exhibition. Importantly, from 1876 to 1880 Kolberg, who thanks to a grant from the AL was gathering materials for his next volume of *Lud* (Folk), was a regular host at Przybysławski's manor house in Chortovets'. The idea for the 1880 exhibition sprang in part from Kolberg's project of the survey of folk culture in the regions of former Poland. Initially it was even planned that his manuscript be issued to accompany the Kolomyya exhibition.[14] At the same time it must be mentioned that Kolberg's analysis encompassed the larger imperial and European context of the international exhibitions.

The earliest presentation of the ethnography of Galicia was staged within the framework of the home industry section at the 1873 exhibition in Vienna.[15] Thanks to the efforts of Dzieduszycki, the various counties of the entire region were represented in fifty-three costumes acquired directly from peasants. Moreover, several watercolours with ethnographic types and scenes, a map of Galicia with the whereabouts of the costumes, as well as the first exhibition arrangements of Easter eggs, one of the earliest and favourite objects of ethnographic research on Polish lands, supplemented the presentation. Thus, the Kolomyya exhibition can be considered as a local variation of the Vienna exhibition, focused on just one region of Galicia. The word 'ethnographic' in its title reflected its scientific ambitions.

The main aim of the organizers was to offer full coverage of the folk culture of Pokutia, following its territorial division into six counties. The true novelty of the Kolomyya exhibition lay not only in its in-depth presentation of the region but also in the first ethnographic staging of a wide range of objects of home industry.[16] The distinctive textiles, furriery, cooperage, woodenwares, pottery, cheeses, smoked meats, fishes, hunting, fishing and farm products and tools piled on the tables looked only on the surface like another show of local industry and agriculture. In fact, while the interest in the region was relatively new and coincided with the establishment of the Tatra Society section, the items on display were a true discovery, the result

FIGURE 20 Juliusz Dutkiewicz, Ethnographic exhibition in Kołomyya, albumen print, 1880. Courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw.

of a survey launched among its members just a few months before the opening of the exhibition. Most of the exhibits were bought at specially organized markets, while others were complemented according to Kolberg's instructions. Following the patterns of international ethnographic shows, at the entrance to the exhibition pavilion twenty-four mannequins stood in an arrangement representing the peculiar female and male dress of the six counties, and in addition there was a special section with models of farmhouses (Figure 20). Ritual objects were on display together with explanations concerning their uses and functions, and a special section on Easter eggs gathered samples from twenty-five localities, piled in colourful pyramids.

One of the central aims of the organizers was to show not only the people of Pokutia but also their natural environment and the indissoluble links between them. In a separate section regional wood specimens, minerals and plants were exhibited. Moreover, one could also admire livestock from the various counties, in particular the Hutsul pony breed. The outline of the whole area was represented best in two adjacent sections composed of maps and photographs.[17] The first, despite its numerous lacunae, strongly appealed to the imagination by virtue of its faithful tri-dimensional colour model of the Chornohora mountain range. The second section constituted the first attempt to recreate the cultural and natural space of Pokutia in an organized set of photographs of types, customs and views. Importantly, the photographic section of the Kolomyya show was considered as a narration in its own right.

The several dozens of photographs on display were largely the fruit of a carefully planned survey. The organizers turned to Juliusz Dutkiewicz, who ran a studio in Kolomyya from 1871 and was reported to already have in stock a large choice of types and views. The survey, consisting of both atelier types and pictures taken during field trips to selected villages, was designed according to the region's territorial and administrative limits and, like the exhibition itself, was aimed at documenting all of the six counties of Pokutia.[18] Presumably Dutkiewicz was provided with instructions of what, whom and how to photograph.

His types follow certain rules of ethnographic staging (Figure 21). First, he often made use of a dark cloth as a background. He also staged his groups in order to highlight both the back and front of the costume. Secondly, the choice of subjects reflects a carefully planned set of ethnographic motifs. Thus, he focused not only on the Hutsuls but also on other ethnicities inhabiting the region: the pictures include types of Jews, Roma and the assimilated petty nobility living in Bereziv. He also focused on social stratification: the documentation includes juxtapositions of the farmhouses of rich and poor peasants in the same locality, and types of beggars

FIGURE 21 Juliusz Dutkiewicz, A Dance in Chortovets', albumen print, 1880. From the *Pokucie Typy* album. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography and Applied Arts in L'viv.

along with portraits of local mayors. Numerous pictures capture the people at work and during festivities: the exhibition included several harvest, dance and music scenes, as well as types of professions (the beekeeper, the barrel manufacturer, etc.). The costume pictures were carefully chosen and staged in order to reflect both their regional and seasonal variety.

Moreover, Dutkiewicz was assisted by the scientific organizers, both in Kolomyya and during his trips. An atelier photograph of a Hutsul woman from Żabie (today Verkhovyna), preserved in the Museum of Ethnography and Applied Arts in L'viv, is provided together with Przybysławski's handwritten annotation: 'Anna Herdediuk 165 cm in height. I measured her in March 1880' (Figure 22).[19] Thus, in the months preceding the exhibition his studio was transformed into a laboratory of ethnographic enquiry. In the foreground of another photograph – shot during a field trip in Beleluya

FIGURE 22 Juliusz Dutkiewicz, Anna Herdediuk, albumen print, 1880. From the *Pokucie Typy* album. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography and Applied Arts in L'viv.

and presenting a group of about fifty dancing peasants in Sunday dress – the man in urban dress is most probably an exhibition organizer, helping to set the stage.[20]

The photographs Dutkiewicz prepared for the exhibition in Kolomyya should be considered as the first serious Polish ethnographic survey and as a milestone in the visualizations of Polish ethnography, which up until that time was based on atelier photographs or watercolours of types. In the album compiled by Kolberg and Izydor Kopernicki for the 1878 Paris Universal Exhibition, the Ruthenian highlanders were still shown in traditional theatrical atelier photographs from the famous Cracow studios of Ignacy Krieger and Walery Rzewuski. Both of them pictured models dressed in costumes typical for a given county or region, or peasants from the region coming to the Cracow markets. Otherwise, in the Kolomyya exhibition several dozens of truly ethnographic photographs were presented in the same cabinet format, provided with a standardized description printed on the cardboard. This included a large inscription *Pokucie* (Pokutia) in the upper part and the listing of the county or locality, a short description and the copyright information in the lower part (Figures 21, 22). The views – in particular documenting Chornohora – were shown in a larger format and were provided with a more elaborate inscription in the lower part: 'Published thanks to the effort of the Committee of the Ethnographic Exhibition in Kolomyya.' The staging of the photographs in a separate space of the pavilion was also a true novelty in the young tradition of Polish ethnographic shows (Figure 20).

The numerous examples of Dutkiewicz's Pokutia views and types preserved today in various museum and library collections point to a vogue for his ethnographic pictures engendered by the Kolomyya show. In particular, two large sets of his works, from the L'viv Museum of Ethnography and Art Crafts and the Fisher Rare Book Library in Toronto, can be connected to foreground names of Galician aristocrats, scholars and collectors. The handy leather-bound L'viv album is composed of seventy-one small cabinet card photographs and provided with the title *Pokucie Typy 1880* (Pokutia Types 1880) impressed in gold lettering on its cover.[21] The printed descriptions on the cardboards, the annotations in Przybysławski's handwriting on the pictures as well as its provenance from his library point clearly to the fact that the album was compiled at the time of the exhibition and might have served as working material for its organizing committee (Figure 22). The Toronto portfolio entitled *Album Pokucia* (Album of Pokutia) comes from a collection amassed by the grandson of the eminent Galician collector and numismatist Emeryk Hutten Czapski (1828–1896).[22]

We may only guess whether, just like in the case of the three other more elaborate and luxurious sets of his photographs, Dutkiewicz himself prepared the L'viv album or the Toronto portfolio. In 1887, Dutkiewicz donated 107 photographs to the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry in Vienna, consisting mainly of his types and views from the Kolomyya exhibition complemented by several views of the landscape of Bukovina and of the monumental buildings in Chernivtsi (one of the main urban centres of this region), pictures of the oil fields in Galicia and several photographs documenting the visit of Carol I of Romania in Bukovina.[23] The 107

albumen prints are mounted singly or in couples (in the case of types) on elegant standardized large format (around 28.5 × 36 cm) black cardboards and provided with descriptions impressed in gold lettering. In 1885, Dutkiewicz offered the governorship in Galicia the same number (107) of his types and views for an important cultural and scientific institution in the region.[24] This set, which was passed to the Museum of Industry in L'viv, was presumably a twin to the Vienna one. Both museums fostered industrial and technological progress and the growth of the arts and crafts in the empire and in Galicia, respectively. Accordingly, Dutkiewicz presented them with large and refined collections as an exemplification of his photographic skills in the first place. Moreover, the L'viv museum focused on the folk art and culture of eastern Galicia. In the following years Dutkiewicz corresponded with this institution presenting it with his recent work – both photographic and ethnographic – such as the first documentation of Easter eggs of its kind.

The most sumptuous and luxurious of Dutkiewicz's album was, however, the *Album okolic Karpat i typów* (Album of the Environs of Carpathians and of Types) presented to Emperor Franz Joseph on the occasion of the 1898 Jubilee.[25] According to Ksenia Kiebuzinski's description, the photographs mounted on large format cardboards (30 × 40 cm) were 'placed in a box covered in amaranth-coloured velvet with silver-reinforced corners. The interior was lined in white moiré fabric, and ribbons were provided for lifting the individual photographs. A lock and key were also fitted to the box engraved with the arms of the Austrian Empire. Under the lock was inscribed "A Souvenir from Kolomyya".'[26]

The exhibition in Kolomyya and the following deliberate photographic gifts established the reputation of Dutkiewicz, who after 1880 went from being a local photographer to a master recognized and given awards by the emperor of Austria, the king of Romania, the king of Serbia and the prince of Bulgaria. He travelled with Carol I of Romania documenting his itinerary in Bukovina.[27] He also accompanied leading Polish aristocrats in their discovery of Chornohora.[28] Presumably he was commissioned to produce an official survey of the largest oil wells in eastern Galicia established in Sloboda Rungurska in 1881 by Stanisław Szczepanowski, the Polish chemist, entrepreneur and member of the imperial council and of the Diet of the Kingdom of Galicia and Londomeria.[29] Dutkiewicz's views and types found a market in local landowners, aristocrats and amateur ethnographers, and were also collected in other centres of Galicia and of the empire. In his elaborated advertising card, consisting of Kolomyya's shield, a portrait bust of the emperor and enumeration of his awarded honours, Dutkiewicz even used a medal with the following inscription: 'Honoured by a visit of the Emperor Franz Joseph I. Photographic exhibition in Kolomyya 15 September 1880.' This intentional lapsus (photographic instead of ethnographic) demonstrates not only the centrality of the Kolomyya show in his career but also the role accorded to photography in the official, authoritative staging and definitions of Galicia's cultural heritage and landscape.

The high status accorded to photography in Kolomyya was further proven by the second ethnographic exhibition of Galicia organized for Rudolf, the crown prince of Austria, on the occasion of his official tour in the summer of 1887. This event, which took place in Ternopil, was even more ambitious. It was organized by a group of aristocrats, amateur ethnographers and collectors with the scientific objective of presenting the folklore of all of eastern Galicia.[30] As in Kolomyya, a carefully chosen representative set of approximately nine hundred objects were exhibited in an alpine-style wooden pavilion constructed in a public park. Organized in sections – pottery, wooden objects, musical instruments, weaving, embroidery, Easter eggs, bread, jewels, pipes and arms – the exhibits were provided with the name of the collector or artisan and grouped according to the four historical and geographical regions of eastern Galicia. The richness of the dress and the ethnic diversity, once again the central and most appealing part of the show, was presented by means of a 'living exhibition' arranged in the park. Here, in front of the pavilion, one could walk in the main alley and admire around forty folk groups in Sunday dress, representing the entire region. This was a truly scientific enterprise, 'a material organized according to the local ethnographic types in the region between Kosiv, Ternopil and Sokal'.[31] The exhibition committee turned to the councils of each county of the region, asking them to send a group consisting of at least a pair of older and a pair of younger peasants dressed in their distinctive costumes for the duration of the event. Moreover, four cottages typical for each main region were also a part of the outdoor show. Finally, an ethnographic performance spectacle, illustrating folk customs (dance, the harvest feast, singing, etc.), was staged with the participation of 150 peasants in the exhibition's last section.

With its three distinct sections (the home industry objects in the pavilion, the living types and their home environment, and the ethnographic performance) the Ternopil exhibition certainly had a more scientific aura. While its narration didn't appeal to any particular kind of visual survey materials, nonetheless, photography was used by the organizers as an autonomous, foreground tool. Just after the crown prince's visit Alfred Silkiewicz (1845–1903), the local photographer, was commissioned to do a full survey of the live exhibition, consisting of pictures of each folk group.[32] Importantly, it was conceived as something more than a simple documentation of the original ethnographic display, which was staged only for the short time span of the imperial visit. The exceptional and ephemeral gathering of the typical representatives, dressed in traditional costumes from the whole of eastern Galicia, provided an opportunity for an extraordinary documentation, produced in just a day and in the same conditions, by just one photographer (Figure 23). Moreover, photography was exactly the tool which best captured the Committee's scientific idea of presenting the peculiarity and richness of the folklore of Galicia by means of costumes worn by authentic folk. From contemporary newspaper reports on the event we know that the living groups stood stiffly and tacitly, so as not to disrupt the perception of the exhibition conceived as exclusively visual and motionless. However, several objects which can be seen in

FIGURE 23 Alfred Silkiewicz, ethnographic group at the exhibition in Kolomyya, albumen print, 1887. Courtesy of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences.

the background of the photographs (sun umbrellas, bags) point to the fact that such a show was full of unwanted elements. The carefully staged photographs, with the accidental elements cleared out and provided with a geographical and administrative designation, enabled an in-depth and comparative analysis and formed a more perfect scientific description.

This prestigious and expensive photographic project was commissioned in at least three copies. A L'viv newspaper report of Rudolf's visit mentions an album designed for the crown prince.[33] Moreover, there are two sets of Silkiewicz's photographs preserved in the L'viv library and museum collections. Both consist of mounted pictures in the same format provided with a standardized printed description. Interestingly, one set is more elaborate (Plate 6): it includes several images of the exhibition pavilion, two portraits of the exhibition committee and single views of the four cottages.[34] The photographs in this set are minutely and skilfully hand-coloured, with great fidelity and attention to detail.

Since the folk groups returned home right after the exhibition, Silkiewicz was presumably guided by one of the organizers in the right choice of colours. He was probably also assisted in the whole photographic process, as the folk groups were staged by the organizers. Thus, not coincidentally on the picture of the Podolian cottage we may discern the figure of one of the main committee's members, Vladislav Fedorovych (1845–1918).

The Ternopil photographic album, just like the ones produced by Dutkiewicz in the aftermath of the Kolomyya show, constituted prestigious, official visual circumscriptions designed for the emperor and for the leading scientific and cultural institutions in Galicia. However, there is one essential difference between them: while the Pokutia albums were addressed to Polish and imperial scholarship, one of the sets of Ternopil photographs was presumably designed for a L'viv-based Ruthenian cultural institution.[35] The two sets differ in their language of description. The Polish black and white one was deposited in the Museum of Industry, the main Polish ethnographic institution in L'viv. Thus, the more elaborate Ukrainian version must have been designed for a Ruthenian institution of equal status and importance – either the Shevchenko Society (a learned literary society established in 1873 and soon transformed into a true scientific organization) or the Prosvita (a society aimed at promoting education and national identity among the Ruthenian people and a survey of folk culture).

The Kolomyya exhibition was a truly Polish event. It was organized by local Polish landowners and amateurs of the Tatra Society in collaboration with leading figures of Polish cultural and political life in Galicia and with the financial support of the diet. Otherwise, in Ternopil, the two key figures of the exhibition committee were important animators of Ukrainian intellectual life. The first, Vladislav Fedorovych (1845–1918), the exhibition's originator, sponsor and lender of the majority of domestic objects, was not only one of the main Galician private collectors of Ruthenian folklore but also the president and a honorary member of the Prosvita and one of the Ruthenian representatives both in the Galician diet and in the Austrian parliament. The second, Oleksander Barvinsky (1847–1926), who staged the ethnographic show, was a teacher in a local school and an active member of both the Prosvita and the Shevchenko societies, in particular he was involved in introducing Ukrainian-Ruthenian schoolbooks. Both had close connections with the local and L'viv Polish

elites: Fedorovych was born into a Polonized Ruthenian noble family, and Barvinsky was a supporter of the policy of a cultural, social and political rapprochement between the Poles and Ruthenians. For both of them Polish was also their mother tongue. They collaborated strictly with the two Polish members of the committee – a local teacher of natural sciences, Wojciech Boberski, and a local landowner and member of the diet, Juliusz Korytowski, as well as with Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki. The involvement of the latter was just one of the many links connecting the Kolomyya and Ternopil exhibitions. Both events were not only grounded in common research, collecting and display ideas, but also in the analogous way they framed the folklore of Galicia in the complex regional, national and imperial identities of the region.

While in Kolomyya the exhibition had to be based on surveys, in Ternopil there was an abundance of valuable items and numerous loans from private collectors, which filled up the tables and the shelves of the pavilion. According to Ivan Franko (1856–1916), the poet, political leader and one of the greatest Ukrainian minds, the close Polish–Ruthenian collaboration in the Ternopil Committee 'showed that the interest in the Ruthenian folk and in its national traditions by a large group of Polish intelligentsia was not just a mere claptrap'.[36] This interest coincided with the Kolomyya show and with the establishment of two important museums in L'viv – the civic Museum of Industry (1874) and the private Dzieduszycki Museum (1880) – focused amongst other things on folklore and Ruthenian home industry. Moreover, the powerful landowners, such as Dzieduszycki and Fedorovych, established local pottery, weaving or woodcarving workshops and sponsored the activity of the Museum of Industry directed towards the popularization of folk crafts. On the one hand, such activities were part of a larger transnational movement of valorization and protection of folk industries in the face of industrialization and modernization.[37] On the other hand, they co-created a sense of local patriotism and cultural belonging based on the highly appreciated objects peculiar only to the region.

Dzieduszycki used the historical name of Ruthenia as the designation of the region. He claimed that Galicia was just an artificial political body, which could not explain the true roots of its landscape, heritage and culture. He firmly believed that Ruthenian folklore was a heritage inextricably connected and entangled with Galicia's natural territory. He considered the peoples of eastern Galicia and their heritage to be a consequence of the natural and historical conditions of the region. His museum, universally acclaimed as one of the most comprehensive regional institutions in Austria-Hungary, combined a section on folklore with a scientific overview of the geology, prehistory, fauna and flora of the province. Thus, the elegant souvenir card commemorating its inauguration presented to Emperor Franz Joseph in an exquisite watercolour of the painter and illustrator Juliusz Kossak showed the interweaving of 'types of ethnography and flora'.[38]

For centuries the landscape of eastern Galicia constituted the natural environ not only of the Ruthenian peoples but also the neighbourhood of the Polish nobility. Thus, among the folk types and landscape views shown at the Kolomyya exhibition

and included in Dudkiewicz's albums there is a set of photographs of monuments connected with Polish history, such as the seventeenth-century fortress in Chernelytsya, closely connected to John III Sobieski and to the events of the Polish–Ottoman wars. Dutkiewicz's *Pokucie Typy* album also included an image of the folk ancestors as expressed in a seventeenth-century funereal portrait. A description of one of the ethnic groups gathered in Kolomyya to greet the emperor shows that such links with the 'glorious' past were commonplace: 'If I would see them painted on a 16th- or 17th-century painting I would not be surprised.'[39]

Dzieduszycki's understanding of Galicia's cultural heritage as a harmonious entity springing from the region's past, its distinctive nature and the peaceful cohabitation of Poles and Ruthenians, as well as his belief in its uniqueness and value, was characteristic of the main Ruthenian and Polish collectors and amateurs of this period. Fedorovych's private collection in his manor house in Vikno – consisting of Polish and Ruthenian antique books, a collection of Polish and European paintings, a collection of Polish and eastern arms, geological specimens and objects of the Ruthenian folk industry – similar to the case of Dzieduszycki, combined interests in Polish and Ruthenian history, art, folklore and Galicia's natural qualities.[40]

The imperial visits to both exhibitions were carefully staged costume spectacles reflecting the social order. In Kolomyya, the procession of three hundred Hutsuls on horseback, which accompanied the emperor from the station to the exhibition venue, served as a colourful background for the welcoming committee, which consisted of the highest members of Polish aristocracy, wearing the traditional seventeenth-century national dress.[41] Similarly, in Ternopil the homogeneously dressed crowds (women in the *toilette de promenade* and men in black) formed the background for the welcoming committee.

> In particular the costumes of the two Fedorowiczes stood out. Vladislav Fedorovych was wearing an old pink damask *żupan*[42] with a flower decoration, a white delia[43] with a lynx collar, a lynx kalpak[44] and a unique Paschalis *kontusz* sash. Tadeusz Fedorowicz wore a lilac *żupan*, a dark blue delia, a kalpak of Persian muttons with a heron feather, a *kontusz* sash and silver accessories.[45]

The two relatives, by choosing national costumes drawn from their family treasures, confirmed both their nobility and their glorious family traditions. Both of them – Tadeusz, who considered himself a Pole, and Vladislav, who felt Ruthenian – referred to the common elements of their identity. In the complex reality of eastern Galicia the national dress bore different meanings from the rest of the Polish lands. This symbol of national identity was here a keystone of the Polish and Ruthenian nobility, often connected by blood ties. Such a shared identity and the heritage of old Poland–Lithuania was an important motif of both exhibitions. One of the main attractions of the show, staged expressively for the emperor in Kolomyya, were two traditional folk wedding horseback corteges, played by the peasants from Krivoryvnia and Kosmach

and accompanied by folk music.[46] This live performance took place in the area of the public park and culminated with an homage paid to Franz Joseph under a Turkish tent pitched in the alley in front of the pavilion. Not without reason this sixteenth-century tent was criticized by one of the reviewers as a 'superfluous and inappropriate' exhibit.[47] Indeed, it introduced a different narration by recalling a glorious moment in Polish history. Borrowed by the committee from the collection of Count Juliusz Suffczyński in Łańcuchów in the borders of the Russian partition, it was a booty from the 1676 battle of Zhuravne (Żórawno), fought on the soil of Pokutia, which ended the Polish–Ottoman War.[48]

The heritage of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was inscribed in the popular culture and customs of the region. Thus, while in Kolomyya the emperor was greeted by a group of assimilated Cossack petty nobility from Serafinti and Bereziv (the same ones immortalized on Dutkiewicz's photographs) holding a banner with their family arms,[49] in Ternopil the male representatives of Kropivnik and Bogdanivka were girded with *kontusz* sashes, pointing out their links with the Polish noble tradition. The Cossack group was not only compared to the effigies from seventeenth-century portraits but also defined in a contemporary description as 'the Last of the Mohicans',[50] which referred not to their exotic and folk 'otherness' but, rather, to a shared bygone historical tradition.

Both exhibitions were staged by Galicia's cultural and intellectual elites. However, in Kolomyya a Polish–Ruthenian collaboration failed to take place, most likely because of the absence of such personalities as Fedorovych or Barvinsky. An event was organized – in parallel to, and to some extent in competition with, the Kolomyya exhibition – by the Kolomyya branch of the Kachkovskiy society, but it was not more than an agricultural exhibition without any academic ambitions.[51] This branch belonged to the network of Russophile Ruthenian organizations established in eastern Galicia in 1874, which constructed a Ukrainian identity on the heritage of Kyivan Rus', uniting the Ruthenians living in the Austrian and Russian empires.[52] Its activity was primarily political and educational and directed towards the masses of peasants. Thus, the visible rivalry of the two exhibitions, of which only the ethnographic one was granted a subsidy from the Polish-dominated diet, was of a rather political nature. Arguably, the local Polish and Ruthenian elites avoided unequivocal national classifications in their interpretation of the surrounding cultural landscape. In one of Silkiewicz's coloured portraits the committee's members appear with white-blue-red cockades pinned to their chests, the colours being those of Pan-Slavism established at the 1848 Prague Slavic Congress (Plate 7). This, however, was certainly not intended as a declaration of sympathy for the ideology of Pan-Slavism or Austro-Slavism, as both political movements were not popular among the Galician elites. I would read them as a symbol of the firm belief in their shared – Polish and Ruthenian – cultural roots.

Silkiewicz's coloured album includes a second version of the committee's portrait which differs in only one detail: the imperial red and white colour of the cockades.

Indeed, both exhibitions – staged to honour Franz Joseph and the crown prince, respectively – were an important means of framing the region and its elites in the larger imperial context. In addition, the Ternopil show matched Rudolf's scientific interests and his ethnographic way of perceiving the empire. In 1883, the crown prince launched the ambitious project of creating a luxurious illustrated encyclopaedia of all the regions of Austria-Hungary. Its motto, 'Knowledge is Conciliation', pointed out the role accorded to ethnography and history in the political and cultural plans for the empire. It was Rudolf's belief that through an even-handed research of all the peoples inhabiting Austria-Hungary, and through its attractive, accessible and visual presentation, it was possible to create a supranational sense of imperial belonging.[53] The *Kronprinzenwerk* (Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in World and Image), was issued from 1886 to 1902 in twenty-four luxurious volumes dedicated to the separate regions of the empire and formed a spectacular embodiment of the idea of Austria-Hungary as a harmonious, multi-ethnic power.[54] The publishing enterprise also engaged an impressive number of scholars (432) and artists (264), who followed not only the same structure in their articles and documentary drawings on the history, geography, folk, customs, arts and literature, but also a uniform style of description and illustration.

The volume on Galicia was written almost exclusively by Polish and Ruthenian scholars from the main scientific and cultural institutions of Cracow and L'viv.[55] In particular, the two chapters on Ruthenians were written by Oleksander Barvinsky and Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki. Accordingly, the local scientific definitions of eastern Galicia presented at Kolomyya and Ternopil prepared and even exceeded the official imperial vision included in the *Kronprinzenwerk*. The luxurious German language version of the Kolomyya exhibition catalogue, presented to Emperor Franz Joseph along with Dutkiewicz's and Silkiewicz's unique 'imperial' albums, constituted the first means of legitimizing the folklore and scholarship of the region. Thus, it is not a surprise that Aleksander Manastyrski used Dutkiewicz's pictures as an important source in drafting the chapter on Ruthenians in the volume on Bukovina in the *Kronprinzenwerk*.[56]

The ambition to inscribe the local culture in a larger imperial context was behind every serious ethnographic initiative undertaken in these years in eastern Galicia. The atlas *Wzory przemysłu domowego włościan na Rusi* (Patterns of the crafts of the peasants in Ruthenia), one of the greatest accomplishments demonstrating the interest endangered by Ruthenian culture in the cultural and intellectual circles of eastern Galicia, is here a symptomatic example.[57] Consisting of ten thematic portfolios with exact chromolithographic reproductions of the most astonishing and distinctive illustrations of Ruthenian arts and crafts, it was conceived both as a scholarly work unveiling an unknown but valuable culture and as a pattern book contributing to the development of regional industry. Its four parallel language versions – Polish, Ukrainian, German and French – inscribed the folk culture of eastern Galicia in the local, imperial and even wider universal contexts. The atlas was aimed at revealing to the local and international amateurs the hardly known world of artistic

patterns, yet without clearly determining their nationality. Its seventh portfolio, with ornaments of woodcarving, was dedicated exclusively to the work of one artisan, Jurko Szkryblak from Yavoriv, the first artisan in the Hutsul region to take up a lathe.[58] His wares were exhibited in both Kolomyya and Ternopil, and they were also eagerly collected. The introductory essay to the portfolio not only defined the features of his unique ornamentation but also presented his artistic biography as a domesticated version of the artistic genius topos, reduplicated from the times of Vasari's famous account on Giotto drawing a sheep. Just like in the life of the artists' genre, the essay was accompanied by an engraved portrait of its protagonist, drawn after Dutkiewicz's atelier photograph and executed most probably for the Kolomyya exhibition (Figure 24). This illustration shows how two perspectives – the local ethnographic and the universal mythologizing – interpenetrated each other in the definition of the cultural landscape of eastern Galicia, staged using the means of attractive, comprehensive and visual definitions such as ethnographic exhibitions, photographic surveys or chromolithographic atlases. On the one hand, Jurko Szkryblak's effigy was an ethnographic Hutsul type, and on the other, the portrait of a local 'Michelangelo'.

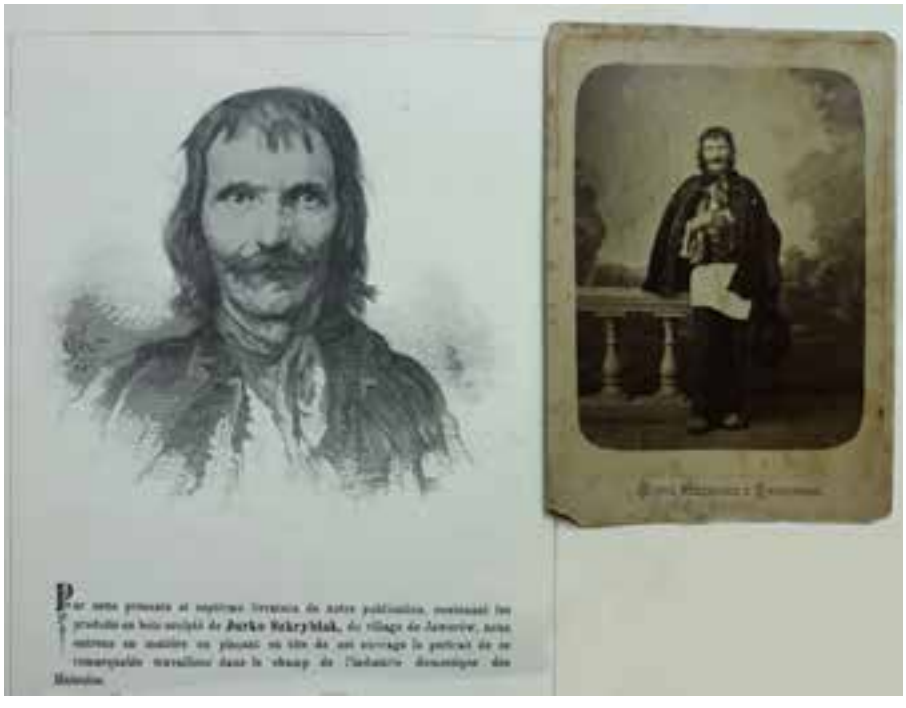

FIGURE 24 Jurko Szkryblak, Lithography in the *Wzory przemysłu domowego włościan na Rusi*, L'viv 1887 and Julian Dutkiewicz's photograph, albumen print 1880. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography and Applied Arts in L'viv.

The Galician amateurs and collectors traced through the objects of the folk industry, the ornamental reminiscences not of a given ethnic group or nation, but rather of the centuries-old artistic tradition of this border region lying between the Eastern and Western civilizations. The fashioning of the region's folklore at the Kolomyya and Ternopil exhibitions was part of a larger project of defining the distinctiveness of eastern Galicia's cultural heritage within the European context.

Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, the initiator and sponsor of all the ethnographic exhibitions of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was at the same time the head of the L'viv Archaeological Society, which focused in particular on the survey and research into the Greek Catholic monuments in eastern Galicia.[59] In 1885, the Polish–Ruthenian Archaeological Exhibition was organized on Dzieduszycki's initiative with the aim of presenting the interwoven Polish and Ruthenian artistic traditions, and placed particular emphasis on the presentation of the masterpieces of Greek Catholic painting, including even a complete iconostasis from the Church of the Holy Spirit in Rohatyn. In the introduction to the exhibition's album, Dzieduszycki defined the Greek Catholic school of painting, its history, development and its seventeenth-century Renaissance, as springing from a harmonious combination of the old Byzantine tradition and western European, in particular Venetian, influences.[60] As in the case of Szkryblak, Dzieduszycki juxtaposed the local iconostasis with well-established masterpieces of Western art history, in particular with early Italian Renaissance examples, claiming not only their originality but also their artistic parity.

The strongest affirmation that eastern Galicia's heritage was rightfully Western and universal can be found in Karol Lanckoroński's private photo archive. Lanckoroński (1848–1933), a central figure not only in the political and cultural life of Galicia but of the whole empire, was a leading European collector, amateur archaeologist and art historian.[61] His enormous photo archive, kept in the family palace in Rozdil, reflected his Western and universal scientific interests and convictions. Here, among the high-quality documentation of the prized masterpieces of antique and Italian Renaissance art from the best Florentine, Venetian or Roman studios, and among the professional views from important contemporary travel expeditions, one could also find a complete set of Silkiewicz's types (Figure 23).[62] The proximity of the reproductions from Leonardo's or Raphael's paintings didn't, however, lessen the value of Silkiewicz's photographs as scientific definitions of the local.

Volodymyr Shukhevych's (1849–1915) studio portrait, shot on the occasion of the Ternopil exhibition is a meaningful example of yet another way in which the Polish and Ruthenian elites defined their entangled identity by means of folklore and photography.[63] Shukhevych, an established Ukrainian amateur ethnographer, was one of the exhibition's organizers and he also directed, in minute detail, the showing of ethnographic groups and types staged during the crown prince's visit along the train lines and at the station. Thus, his full-size portrait, in a Hutsul costume and attributes, most probably shows the way he dressed for the show (Figure 25). Contrary to his Polish and Ruthenian

friends from the committee he chose neither the traditional Polish costume nor the official dress, suggesting his intellectual profession. On the surface his portrait seems a perfect illustration of the Ukrainian populist and peasant-mania cultural and political movements, which identified the Ruthenian national identity with its folk.

FIGURE 25 Anonymous, Volodymyr Shukhevych at the Ternopil exhibition, albumen print, 1887. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography and Applied Arts in L'viv.

A well-educated son of a Polish mother and of a Ruthenian priest, Shukhevych was one of the most distinguished intellectuals involved in the ethnographic research of the Hutsul region, pursued in collaboration with the Dzieduszycki Museum and the ethnographic section of the Shevchenko Society. In his surveys, undertaken from the mid-1870s, he attached particular importance to photographic documentation, which he skilfully produced himself. In comparison to the Kolomyya and Ternopil albums, his photographs must be considered as the most conscientious and academic visual surveys of the people and folklore of the highlanders of eastern Galicia in the period under consideration here. Published in his richly illustrated opus magnum, consisting of a four-volume exhaustive regional study of Hutsulshchyna,[64] they reveal a thorough knowledge of contemporary scientific discussions aimed at establishing the rules of ethnographic photography, and in particular they reflect the instructions of Michael Haberlandt (1860–1940), the professor of ethnography at the University of Vienna and founder of the Society for Austrian Ethnography and of the Vienna Ethnographic Museum.

FIGURE 26 Volodymyr Shukhevych, A Hutsul Girl, albumen print, 1880s. Courtesy of the Volkskundemuseum in Vienna.

Haberlandt, drawing on these state-sponsored institutions aimed at embodying the premises of the *Kronprinzenwerk*, used his research, in collaboration with amateur ethnographers and scholars from the whole of Austria–Hungary, to establish a collection of folklore of the peoples of the empire by means of a photo archive, founded in the structure of the museum.[65] His photographic instructions, published in 1896 in parallel in the periodical of the Vienna Camera Club, the *Wiener Photographischer Blätter* (Viennese Photographis Sheets) and contained in the second issue of the *Zeitschrift für Österreichische Volkskunde* (Journal of Austrian Ethnography), served exactly these aims and had a great impact on the amateurs in the German world. Part, at least, of Shukhevych's photographs, both as a whole and as a documentation of particular motifs, are a perfect exemplification of the detailed recommendations contained in Haberlandt's instructions (Figure 26). For example, the garments are captured on living models from three sides against a white background. Interestingly, at least part of this survey contains work done a few years before the publication of the instructions. Shukhevych's earliest photographic surveys date back probably to the 1880s; moreover, in 1894 he exhibited a large selection of his pictures at the ethnographic pavilion of the Universal Exhibition of Galicia in L'viv.[66] This points not only to a close collaboration between the Ukrainian amateur and the Austrian scholar, but also to their joint discussion on the codification of survey photography. Presumably such discussions took place at an institutional level as well, also influencing the research of other amateurs active in the Shevchenko society. The historical photographic holdings of the Museum of Ethnography in Vienna include a set of anthropological pictures of the Boikos, another ethnic group of eastern Galician highlanders. The anonymous pictures, executed according to Haberlandt's instructions, were the result of the ethnographic survey led by Ivan Franko and carried out with the support of the museum. Together with a large set of 106 Shukhevych prints they reflect a new academic focus in the late nineteenth-century research and surveys of eastern Galicia.[67]

Shukhevych's photographs should be considered as both an academic survey and a visual synthesis of the cultural heritage of eastern Galicia. His ethnographic work was published as an elaborate and richly illustrated book in two parallel editions: Ukrainian, sponsored by the Shevchenko society; and Polish, with the private support of Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki. Shukhevych's Hutsul portrait also appears among its illustrations. Inscribed in a decorative initial it follows a different convention than his own survey photographs. As the only illustration in the chapter with a general ethnographic description, it loses its individual traits and assumes a symbolic and archetypical meaning of the Hutsul type. Shukhevych dedicated almost the whole of his professional life to the study of the Hutsul region; however, his perspective was always ethnographic, from the outside. Thus, when dressing for the visit of the crown prince, Shukhevych was arguably using the Hutsul dress and attributes just as a costume and not as a marker of national identity.

Shukhevych's book on the Hutsul region, despite its narrow focus on just one ethnic group, should be considered as the crowning work of the twenty-five years of joint efforts undertaken by the Polish and Ruthenian elites in researching, collecting and fashioning the region's cultural heritage as the foundation for a common regional identity, marked in particular by the Kolomyya and Ternopil exhibitions. Shukhevych himself was not only involved in the latter exhibition but seven years later he was the main scientific organizer of the largest nineteenth-century Galician ethnographic show. Among its main organizers and sponsors we find the same amateurs and collectors who stood behind the success of the 1880 and 1887 events: in particular, Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki and Vladislav Fedorovych.

This time conceived as a part of the Universal Exhibition of Galicia to be held in L'viv in 1894, it presented the Ruthenian folklore in the larger framework of the entire Kingdom of Galicia and Londomeria, and juxtaposed it with the distinctive culture of the Tatra highlanders. The region appeared in this work as a colourful, pan-national ethnographic mosaic, a harmonious conglomerate of local types.[68] In the exhibition Shukhevych also included forty-nine enlargements of his Hutsul photographs, which in a separate section were juxtaposed with Greim's types from Podolia. Such crossing of the political borders in order to include a region within the Russian Empire should not come as a surprise. On the one hand, Podolia was inhabited by Ruthenians, whose links with the people of eastern Galicia were stressed by scholars and by the Russophile Ruthenian organizations and, on the other hand, this was an important region of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Moreover, Greim's already-mentioned Podolian types, which included the Polish small nobility, Ruthenian peasants, Jews, Armenians and Prussians, mirrored eastern Galicia's rich ethnic and social texture.

Just like the other exhibitions analysed here and the accompanying photographic albums, Shukhevych's book built on a shared Galician cultural identity and – primarily through the lens of photography – inscribed it in a wider European scientific and cultural context. A long review appeared not only in the *Zeitschrift für Österreichische Volkskunde* but also in the *Journal of the Folklore Society*. The author of the latter, fascinated by the illustrations, even ordered its professional translation, stating that 'this work is written in Polish, and is therefore closed to most Englishmen, although much can be learnt from the beautiful photographs and coloured plates with which it is filled'.[69]

'Only an educated man knows what it means to love one's own region. […] Obviously, I have in mind Ruthenia, and not Galicia. Ruthenia is a historical entity, Galicia is just a momentary creation of politics.'[70] These words of Wojciech Dzieduszycki, a relative of Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, perfectly describe the latter's quasi-mythical cultural construction of the folklore of eastern Galicia. The harmonious visions staged in Kolomyya, Ternopil and L'viv fit into the late nineteenth-century alternative national constructions of the region. In particular they reflected the intertwined concepts of such intellectuals as Franko or Barvinsky, who at the time framed the Ukrainian identity

in a larger Polish context, or of such landowners as Dzieduszycki or Fedorovych, who recognized their Polish and Ruthenian roots as inseparable and equally important, or of such ideologists of the empire as Crown Prince Rudolf, who saw its political stability in the recognition of its cultural and ethnic richness. The two photographic albums and the richly illustrated book discussed herein also seem to be a Galician peculiarity. The unique and elegantly bound photographic albums designed for the emperor and the main Ruthenian and Polish cultural institutions played the role of presenting official and suggestive visions of regional identity. Their authority was based on both the exclusiveness and the universality of the photographic language. The German, Ukrainian or Polish inscriptions were just an academic addition to the same suggestive vision, which fitted within the various identity constructions. It also added a universal and scientific value, making these peculiar regional visions truly European. Shukhevych's richly illustrated and elegantly edited book gave this exclusive vision a wider reach through the means of print.

Ethnographic exhibitions were not a Galician peculiarity in the late nineteenth-century Austrian Empire. The largest and most impressive show of the kind was held in 1895 for over five months in Prague and visited by almost two million people from all over the empire.[71] Such exhibitions incorporated similar strategies and objects – living models, folk villages, staged performances, costume mannequins, etc. – and apparently differed only in scale, duration and the degree of rigor in their scholarly approach. However, their ideological concepts clearly reveal the great differences between the particular political, social, ethnic and cultural regional contexts. As Marta Filipovà argues, Prague's Ethnographic Exhibition pursued 'the idea of the ethnically unified, but at the same time regionally diverse, identity of the Czech-speaking people in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia'.[72] By focusing only on the 'Czech-speaking' folk and excluding a large group of German peasants living on the territories split between the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary, the show had a clear ideological and nation-building agenda. By connecting the language and folk culture of Moravians, Bohemians and Slovaks under one common umbrella it asserted their unity and distinct cultural and national identity. Such a nationalistic undertone was contested in both the local and imperial German press, and the organizers were blamed for not taking into consideration the larger cultural and historical context and accused of marginalization of the German culture of the region.[73]

The peasant village – the most impressive part of the Prague exhibition – tended towards comparisons with the conglomerate of four cottages representing the most peculiar regions of Galicia: the Hutsul Greek Catholic Church, the mill and several roadside crosses established at the L'viv exhibition of 1894. The latter were described in a review of the Prague exhibition in the Polish press as 'nicer, because they are ours, local and native'.[74] These words perfectly reflect the difference between the Prague show and the similar Galician events. The latter, by focusing on local folklore, attempted rather to build a regional cultural identity, which appealed to the glorious tradition of the multi-ethnic Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The impression of

a harmonious cultural cohabitation of the Poles and Ruthenians was not disrupted, even in L'viv, where several among the 109 pavilions of the Universal Exhibition of Galicia had a clear national overtone.[75] The ethnographic exhibition, with the Hutsul and Podolian cottages neighbouring with the Tatra ones and with its stress on the folklore of eastern Galicia, was overall far from making any nationalistic statements.

An important difference between the Prague and Galician exhibitions sprang from the different social origins of their organizers. While in the staging of the former a large strata of intelligentsia and the middle classes were involved, in eastern Galicia both the shows and the folklore research were a result of the interests and financial support of primarily a small group of rich landowners. In particular, Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki was among the main originators, organizers and sponsors of all three initiatives, as well as their 'broker'. For example, he probably stood behind the gift (or acquisition of) a complete set of the Ternopil types and of the thirty-seven Dutkiewicz pictures to the influential technocrat Wilhelm Exner, who donated both collections to the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Arts and Industry.[76] For Dzieduszycki, the Kolomyya and Ternopil photographic surveys, as well as Shukhevych's book were important objects, by means of which he propagated and institutionalized his open-ended vision of Ruthenia.

THE IDENTITY OF JEWISH CULTURAL HERITAGE. THE PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF WOODEN SYNAGOGUES AND OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF THE SHTETLS IN THE PALE OF SETTLEMENT AND IN EASTERN GALICIA

Among the crowds gathered at the railway stations to meet Franz Joseph and the crown prince, Jews constituted a significant and colourful group:

> There was something medieval, and even fantastic in these groups of […] Jewish venerable representatives with their enormous silver beards. They gathered under a luxurious, beautifully embroidered silk tent holding the ritual objects: the Torah, the old silver religious symbols of exquisite craftsmanship, possibly chiselled by Spanish or Dutch goldsmiths. The original ceremonial of religious blessing, performed by the qahals, at each arrival of the Emperor strengthened even more this truly original impression.[77]

Dutkiewicz's pictures, which included at least three Jewish types in Shabbat black gabardines, black fur hats and tallits, however, constituted the only sign of Jewish culture at the Kolomyya show. At the 1894 L'viv exhibition Jews were also represented only in Greim's photographic types and in Ternopil they were totally ignored.

A large number of the approximately one hundred *cartes de visite* in the 1878 album *Types et costumes de la Pologne* were dedicated to Jews. Grouped under the heading *Les Juifs* (The Jews) and organized geographically, they came from the

principal ateliers of the towns in the Russian partition and in Galicia: Warsaw, Vilnius, Berdychiv, L'viv and Cracow. The pictures, which in the majority were family portraits of the richest, often assimilated representatives of the Jewish ethno-religious group in sumptuous urban or Shabbat dress, reflecting in the first instance the urban reality of the wealthiest. Only single pictures, like the one with the words 'Sell! Sell! Trade! Trade!' inscribed in the back can be classified as types. Such a superficial and condescending approach characterized the numerous photographic framings of the eastern European Jews at the turn of the twentieth century. Even Baruch (Bernard) Henner (1842–1926), an established Galician photographer and an assimilated Pole of Jewish origin, pictured the Jews in a trivial and schematic way. Henner, who received awards at both the Vienna Universal Exhibition and at the 1874 London Annual International Exhibition, ran two successful ateliers in Przemyśl, one of the largest towns in Galicia. In his elegant album on this centre, which he compiled as a gift for Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, there are several depictions of Jews. Two portrait busts and three schematic types of the savant Jew are simply described as 'folk types' and appear under the same heading as the Ruthenian highlanders and the Polish peasants. The album gives an overview of the city and its environs in panoramic views, depictions of the main historic and artistic monuments and objects, manor houses and landscapes in documentary photographs from the contemporary construction site at the city's stronghold. Thus, the folk types are supposed to simply render the specific local colour and it should not come as a surprise that on one page Henner juxtaposed two Jewish savants with a vagabond (Figure 27).

The late nineteenth-century eastern European Jewish types were highly stylized and theatrical. This is best illustrated in the photographs of Michał Greim, for whom the

FIGURE 27 Baruch Henner, Jewish types. From the *Album Przemyśl*, albumen prints 1880s. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography and Applied Arts in L'viv.

representatives of the Jewish community of Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi, which constituted more than 40 per cent of the city's population, formed one of his favourite subjects. His knowledge of Jewish culture and heritage was rudimentary and his photographic interests in the Jewish types sprang primarily from their attractiveness and picturesqueness. The atelier photographs presenting Jewish sellers, a Jewish school group and a praying Jew were staged and clearly provided with props. The sellers, for example, were depicted with a balance. The praying Jew was not only dressed in a tallit, a kippah and a tefillin, but also captured in a dramatic and unnatural pose. As Anke Hilbrenner has justly noted, his 'Jewish school' was nothing other than a theatrical scene arranged in his studio, which had little to do with reality.[78] In a staged scene in 'Types of Podolian Israelites', a Jew sitting in a chair in a gabardine holds a voluminous book for a small boy sitting on a table in one hand and pats the boy's head with the other (Figure 28). This apparently

FIGURE 28 Michał Greim, *Jewish Type*, albumen print, *c.* 1874. Public domain.

FIGURE 29 Michał Greim, Jewish type, albumen print, 1874. Courtesy of the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in L'viv.

intimate family scene is complemented by two little girls; one sitting next to the boy, the other under the table. However, the picture is nothing other than a depiction, a fruit of the photographer's imagination. Arguably, the little boy (and probably also the girls) is just a 'prop': on another photographic type an old Jew sits whilst the same boy is leaning on the armchair and drawing the Jews' portrait (Figure 29). An inscription on the copy of this picture from Orzeszkowa's collection ('the first drawing model of my beloved and bygone son Jaś') reveals that the boy is Greim's own son. Thus, Greim's Jewish types present an attractive, picturesque motif, on the one hand, and an atmosphere of close, everyday proximity of the photographer and his 'type' models, on the other.

To find a similar research attitude and in-depth interest in the Jews as that noted in the case of Ruthenian folklore in eastern Galicia, one must turn to another distinctive element of Jewish cultural heritage. While the Galician landowners and national activists focused on the people and their living culture, several Polish, Russian and Austrian antiquarians and amateurs were particularly interested in just one element of Jewish material culture: the wooden synagogues.

Those Jewish houses of prayer were one of the most peculiar elements of the pre-war cultural landscape of eastern Europe, in particular of the small towns of the region of Podlachia (today in north-eastern Poland), Lithuania and Galicia. With their impressive roofs rising above the village skyline they constituted the most captivating visual element of the villages' panoramas. Moreover, the interiors surprised visitors with their original roof vaulting, decorative carvings, frescos and rich furnishings. Our knowledge of eastern European wooden synagogues owes much to the photographic surveys undertaken at the turn of the twentieth century by Jewish, German, Russian and, in particular, Polish scholars and amateurs of art, heritage and history. Interestingly, among the earliest visual surveys undertaken in this region several focused exclusively on these buildings. It was their original style and architecture that attracted the most attention, enforced by the awareness of their fragile nature and deteriorating state of preservation. In the course of the nineteenth century hundreds of historic wooden synagogues were burned, tumbled down or replaced by brick ones.

Zygmunt Gloger, the already-mentioned Polish ethnographer, archaeologist and folklorist who lived in a provincial family manor house in Jeżewo in the region of Podlachia, was among the first scholars to start a planned survey of them. As early as 1870 he made drawings of the sixteenth-century synagogue in Wysokie Mazowieckie, the oldest one in the region, which he published in a popular Polish illustrated magazine, calling upon its editors to document such endangered and vanishing monuments. The history of many such buildings was marked by destruction and restoration, however, as 'they were in the hands of conservatives who, when replacing a rotten element with a new one followed faithfully the prototype',[79] the synagogues preserved the unique traces of their ancient style and building techniques. Gloger's initiative was soon followed by several surveys launched at the turn of the twentieth century in various regions of former Poland and focused on the local synagogues.

Synagogues were included in the previously mentioned survey project carried out by Marian Sokołowski within the framework of the scientific activity of the AL. In July 1909, the architect Adolf-Szyszko Bohusz (1883–1948) and the photographer Stefan Zaborowski travelled through the area of central Poland between Warsaw, Łódź and Sandomierz to photograph the oldest synagogues of this region: in Szydłów, Łęczyca, Przedbórz and Wyszogród.[80] The pictures, and in particular the interior views, show an attempt to cope with a new and hardly studied phenomenon.[81] The richly decorated and frescoed seventeenth-century wooden synagogue in Przedbórz was documented in twenty-nine photographs. Zaborowski captured everything in the interior that

seemed worthy of attention: the decorative construction of the vaults, fresco details, the wooden bema, the Torah ark, as well as the most precious embroideries, metal ritual objects and even the circumcision bench. He did not take care to meticulously stage the objects, for example, he put the bema into view by moving aside the pendant lanterns and candelabra, and took off the decorative curtain from the circumcision bench. Moreover, his particular attention was focused on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century curtains and textiles of Polish origin, such as the curtain made of three different fabrics: one *kontusz* sash, one embrodied with silver motifs of eagles (the arms of the Commonwealth) and ceremonial bulavas,[82] as well as a much later fabric with a Hebrew inscription (Figure 30). A good knowledge of Jewish culture is

FIGURE 30 Stefan Zaborowski, Fabrics in the synagogue in Przedbórz, albumen print, *c.* 1900. Courtesy of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences.

demonstrated in the precise handwritten annotations on the back of the prints in the Academy's collection. They not only give the correct names of the ritual objects, the exact situation of the object or view, and details on the colour of the fabrics, but they even decipher the Hebrew inscriptions. This last detail points to a possible collaboration with a learned Jew, either on site or from among the Academy's members.

Zaborowski's photographs are just a drop in the ocean of research on synagogue heritage of former Poland. Such buildings were located in backward and hardly accessible regions, in small town and villages. The Warsaw Jewish banker, entrepreneur and amateur historian Mathias Bersohn (1824–1908), who at the turn of the twentieth century undertook the largest project of documenting the wooden synagogues of this region as a whole, based his research on a network of local amateur photographers and correspondents. He didn't survey the buildings himself but had the help of such intermediaries as Zygmunt Gloger in Podlachia and Michał Greim in Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi who gathered information on the history of each building. As his letters addressed to Greim show, he was searching blindly, with very little knowledge of where the wooden synagogues actually were.[83] Greim, who around 1900 was no longer eager to travel, organized a network of local amateur photographers who explored the territory and surveyed the synagogues in Sharhorod, Sataniv, Starokostiantyniv and Khmil'nyk, among others. Several names of such photographers – Wasserman, Sheftel – point to their Jewish origin.

However, Bersohn not only had to explain in detail what to photograph in the synagogue but was also forced to ask for the survey to be repeated numerous times, as not everything of interest was included or something was documented in the wrong way. The high bemas, reaching up to the ceiling, didn't usually fit in the lens of the amateur cameras, thus Bersohn advised that they be pictured twice (the bottom and the top part separately) in order to have an image of the whole. Moreover, he called for the removal of everything that was shading the altar: hanging lamps and candelabra, objects placed on top. Bersohn listed all the objects of interest to be photographed in a synagogue's interior: embroidered curtains, silver keter Torahs, parochets, decorative tin wares hanging on the sefer Torahs, antique metalwork. He used the surveys not only to form an opinion about objects and buildings which he was not able to see himself, but also to illustrate his work on wooden synagogues issued in the form of fascicles dedicated to single regions.[84] In order to highlight the subtle decorations of the bemas, metalwork and embroideries he commissioned drawings from the photographs, which served as the basis for subsequent illustrations. Thus, he also asked his surveyors to smooth the curtains beforehand, to make the pictures as sharp as possible and to paint the background of the carved bemas black on the negatives in order to highlight their contours.

In Galicia and in the Pale of Settlement an organized survey was carried out from 1910 to 1913 by Alois Breier (1806–1896), an Austrian Roman Catholic student of architecture at the Vienna University of Technology.[85] As the son of a carpenter he had a good knowledge of and a great interest in wooden architecture, and he chose as

the topic of his doctoral dissertation the subject of wooden synagogues. Within the time span of three years, and with no knowledge of the languages involved, he made a documentation of the oldest seventeenth- and eighteenth-century synagogues in Khodoriv, Gvizdets', Pechenizhyn, Yabluniv and Voupa among others. Consisting of more than two hundred albumen prints and numerous watercolours, which combined elements of photogrammetry and architectural drawing, it was the most professional visual documentation of Jewish heritage of this period, and enabled further research (Figure 31).[86] At the same time the synagogues also captured the attention of Georgii Lukomskii (1884–1954), who during his tour of Galicia in search of the cultural connections with Kyivan Rus' art and heritage, also noticed the distinctive Jewish buildings. In his monograph on the ancient architecture of Galicia they are discussed briefly, on the margins of a narration focused on orthodox heritage. Nonetheless, it was Lukomskii who published, in *The Burlington Magazine* in 1935, the first article in English discussing the phenomenon of eastern European synagogues.[87]

The interest in wooden synagogues was inscribed within the wider attempts at defining and visualizing the identity of the cultural landscape of the regions of eastern Europe. For most of the Polish surveyors they were a reflection of their own 'prehistoric' architecture, known only from written sources. Gloger, who studied the synagogues within the framework of his research on Polish wooden architecture,

FIGURE 31 Alois Breier, the wooden synagogue in Voupa, albumen print, *c.* 1913. Courtesy of the Institute of Art of the PAS.

juxtaposed them with the folk buildings of the Tatra mountain region which, as already mentioned, was considered the reservoir of true Polish culture and style. The alleged similarities were supposed to have sprung from the common root of a 'bygone wooden architecture of ancient Poland'.[88] Thanks to the traditional and conservative Jewish religious culture, on the one hand, and the geographic isolation of the Tatra region, on the other, the traces of a 'true Polish style' were preserved. Moreover, the 'Polishness' of the oldest synagogues was reinforced by the origins of their presumed founders and carpenters. Often the great Polish landowners from such leading families as Lubomirski or Radziwiłł founded the synagogues on their lands and the carpenters involved in their building were mostly of Polish origin.

Bersohn, who aimed to define the originality of Jewish arts and crafts as expressed in the synagogues, also inscribed such buildings in the wider and complex cultural and historical context. In his instructions to Greim and his network of photographers he put particular stress on searching the interiors for souvenirs of the Khmelnytsky Uprising, the rebellion of the Cossacks in the middle of the seventeenth century, accompanied by atrocities committed on the Catholic clergy and the Jews. Thus, the history of the synagogues was inseparably bound to that of Poland-Lithuania and the ethnic communities inhabiting the same territories. Similarly, the Jewish architect from Wrocław, Alfred Grotte, in his synthesis on Silesian synagogues edited in 1915, searched them for elements of both Jewish culture and the region's history and architectural traditions.[89] Bersohn's pioneering work on the wooden synagogues was just one of his several research publications, which in particular included studies on Polish medieval and Renaissance-illuminated manuscripts, the works of Veit Stoss, and the Polish students at the University of Padova.

Lukomskii, in determining the cultural origins of the wooden synagogues, went even further. He alluded to the concept of the Polish architect Stefan Szyller who, riding the wave of pan-Slavic ideology, searched for the cultural roots of synagogue architecture in pre-Christian times and saw them as the exemplification of the 'prehistoric architecture of the Slav races'.[90] According to Lukomskii, on the one hand, the synagogues reflected the national and cultural melting point of this region: with its ancient Russian, Polish and western European stylistic influences. On the other hand, one could find in them traces springing from the oldest roots of world civilization. While the roof of the synagogue of Nasielsk was for Lukomskii a clear reflection of Mandjur Chinese architecture, that of the Khodoriv synagogue was an exemplification of Hindu and Kirgiz influences. 'The pagan temples which we only know today from descriptions of chronicles […] may be visualised in the strange forms partly Chinese, partly Tibetan, partly Indian, of the roofs and general appearance of the synagogues of Chodorovo, Nasielsk, Narew Zabłudów, Wołpa and many others.'[91] In 1935 Lukomskii didn't refer to Szyller's argument to forward his pre-war concept of the close affinity of eastern European artistic heritage with the culture of ancient Rus' but, rather, to present it as an element of universal heritage and civilization.

> All these synagogues are exquisite relics of the past, but at the same time, they are very perishable. There is, of course, always a danger of fire, but there is another danger from which there is no escape and this should induce art historians and protectors of historic monuments to have them properly listed and photographed without delay. Wood as a material has its limitations and the limit of time is rapidly approaching. The soundest and strongest wood does not last more than four hundred or five hundred years. Thus, the synagogues of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will soon be in a ruinous condition, impossible to restore. It is therefore all the more necessary to compile an iconography of these unique buildings and make them known to the world.[92]

The interest in the wooden synagogues, and the particular stress attached to their professional visual documentation, was not only embedded in the late nineteenth-century preservationist concepts but was also the result of the recognition of their unique cultural and artistic status as well as their true fragility. Thus, only the camera and the pencil could immortalize, for the sake of future generations, the traces of the ancient civilizations still inscribed in the deteriorating provincial eastern European buildings.

At the turn of the twentieth century the territory and characteristics of the settlements of eastern European Ashkenazi Jews were an important element of their identity. In Imperial Russia Jews were permitted to inhabit the Pale of Settlement – a vast and backward region of its western provinces, a kind of buffer zone between the ethnically Polish and Russian lands of the empire, marked by peculiar small villages called shtetls, with their synagogues, rabbinical courts, schools, cemeteries and ritual baths. The first serious academic survey of this region was launched through the agency of the Jewish Historic-Ethnographic Society, founded in St Petersburg in 1908 (in the aftermath of the liberalization of the tsarist national and religious restrictions following the 1905 Revolution) by Shloyme Zanvl Rappoport, alias An-ski (1863–1920).[93] This famous Yiddish writer and political activist envisaged an up-to-date ethnographic expedition with the use of phonogram and photography and the most elaborate ethnographical questionnaire to be produced in the empire (consisting of 10,000 questions), modelled on the Siberian surveys of the IRGS, and having the aim of documenting all aspects of Jewish culture. An-ski was the first to propose that the Jews of the Russian Empire were worthy of study by a professional team of researchers, who would take science and modern technology with them into the field over several seasons. His project gained generous support from the Jewish elite in the Russian Empire, and An-ski managed to raise the impressive sum of about 20,000 roubles, which enabled him to organize three seasons of expeditions from 1912 to 1914, but could not continue due to the outbreak of the First World War. With a photographer, a musicologist and several folklore specialists and volunteers he managed to visit and to penetrate into sixty-six of the three hundred chosen shtetls in Volhynia, Russian Podolia and the Kyiv provinces, and to document their customs, tales, music, artistic heritage, etc., as well as collect precious artefacts for a planned Jewish museum.

An-ski's ethnographic survey was the most impressive and ambitious one to be undertaken in the Russian Empire. The St Petersburg intellectual circles, in particular the IRGS milieu, constituted an important point of reference for An-ski.[94] While planning his ambitious publication he compiled several photographic albums from the expedition and presented them to Tsar Nicholas II of Russia. The only one still preserved is bound exactly like the albums in the collections of the tsars and is provided with descriptions in Russian.[95] Thus, it was just another album from an impressive expedition undertaken in the Russian Empire, which fitted perfectly on the shelf with similar albums from Siberia or the Caucasus.

Among the main accomplishments of An-ski's project were the more than two thousand photographs of Jewish types, scenes, historical places, monuments, and old and famous buildings. They were taken by Solomon Yudovin (1852–1954). As noted by Valery Dymshits, Yudovin followed An-ski's instructions and the survey may be divided into several subject groups: the various stages of the life cycle (an illustration of the part of An-ski's programme devoted to the human being); studies in physical anthropology; illustrations of various professions and views of the shtetls; survey photographs of synagogues, tombstones, historical documents and other elements of Jewish material heritage; views of castles, Catholic or Orthodox churches present in Jewish legends and traditions. Such a large array of subjects, the reference to anthropological and ethnographic instructions and the attempt to picture Jewish life in its natural environment distinguished Yudovin's photographs from the earlier Jewish type convention.[96] Importantly, this survey also stood out from other contemporary professional and in-depth ethnographic surveys, such as the already-discussed documentation of the Hutsuls by Shukhevych.

As a pupil of Yehudah Pen, the founder of the Vitebsk School and painter of Jewish everyday life, Yudovin applied an artistic eye and feeling to the objects, people and views that he photographed. Moreover, his types and group scenes are characterized by naturalness and a feeling of ease; even the anthropological pictures should be described as portraits rather than as scientific documents. In a photograph showing a group of old Jews gathered around a table in a synagogue with a glass of vodka, the identity of An-ski as the man sitting on the left-hand side of the table and taking notes is revealed only by the explanatory inscription (Figure 32). Both his dress, beard and features, and the feeling of intimacy of the whole gathering, makes the figure of the surveyor almost indistinguishable from the object of his study. Similarly, his suggestive matzevah mason differs from the earlier Jewish types by the naturalness of the pose and of the scene as a whole (Figure 33). The juxtaposition of these two pictures with the portrait of Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz (Figure 34), shot in the Jewish cemetery in Przedbórz, shows the difference between a survey from inside or outside of a culture. While the figure of An-ski merges with the object of his studies, Szyszko-Bohusz and Zaborowski are intruders, which wittily stresses their alienation.

The aim of An-ski's field-trips was not just purely scientific. He was also on a mission bestowed with the cultural task of rediscovering the essence of a nation's culture and

FIGURE 32 Salomon Yudovin, *In a Synagogue*, albumen print, 1915. Courtesy of the Kunstkamera in St Petersburg.

FIGURE 33 Salomon Yudovin, *Carverer of Gravestones*, albumen print, 1915. Courtesy of the Kunstkamera in St Petersburg.

distinctiveness, preserved in the country. He travelled around the provincial shtetls as an acculturated Russian intellectual searching for his and his nation's identity and for a foundation for a contemporary Jewish cultural renewal. The pictures were intended to be published in a monumental album of Jewish artistic heritage.[97] This (never-accomplished) project was supposed to contain – through an overview of synagogues and their interiors, images of the gravestones of famous people, objects of religious and daily life, ethnic types, and religious and daily life scenes – the first visual statement of the existence of a Jewish cultural heritage. The first volume of the album was to include photographs of important symbolic and religious objects produced at various times in various parts

FIGURE 34 Stefan Zaborowski, Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz in the Jewish cemetery in Przedbórz, albumen print, *c*. 1900. Courtesy of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences.

of the world: fragments of a Spanish handwritten fourteenth-century Haggadah, a seventeenth-century prayer book from the synagogue in Tarnów (Galicia), and several Italian and Greek ketubahs. The albums were to form a visual documentation of both a specific cultural landscape and an extraterritorial and timeless culture. The artistic quality of Yudovin's photographs revealed their beauty and created premises for the future of thousands of assimilated Jews, until then alienated from their cultural heritage.

* * *

The photographic surveys discussed in this chapter capture not only a vanished world of the eastern European province – the wooden synagogues, the richness and variety of the material culture and traditions of the Carpathian highlanders – but also a short-lived and fragile cultural momentum. In the new, post-First World War eastern European order of nation-states the open-ended interpenetrating definitions of the cultural landscape of this region, these 'Icarian flights in almost all directions' lost their meaning. In a world marked by nationalism they were as anachronic as the Archduke Wilhelm von Habsburg's (1895–1948) utopian project of acculturating to Ukrainian culture and becoming the king of Ukraine.[98]

Dutkiewicz's loose photographs are often juxtaposed with Mikołaj Sańkowicz's photographs, popular in the late 1920s and 1930s (Figure 41). Indeed, at first glance the suggestive pictures, separated by approximately half a century, seem almost identical. However, the late nineteenth-century 'typological' focus on dress and on peculiar attributes bore different meanings. The Galician Hutsulschyna, which after the First World War was incorporated into Poland, became an important touristic attraction during the interwar period. Provided in a short time span with an infrastructure of hiking trails, it attracted tourists with its distinctive landscape, mountains and cultural exoticism. In a promotional folder published in 1937 and addressed to foreign tourists, the region is characterized as original, 'genuinely Polish', with a 'perfectly preserved folklore'.[99] With the interwar tourist boom and the modernization of the Hutsul region, the original and ancient culture of its inhabitants was seen as a precious testament bearing witness to a vanishing and a truly primitive past, as a genuine and original version of the Polish exoticism. In this period the Hutsuls were not only seen as 'the other', but also objectified and incorporated into a larger all-national canon of cultural heritage. For example, a 1937 tourism brochure recommended a visit to the region in order to see the traces of true and primitive Polish culture, contrasting with the Western Gothic, Renaissance or baroque monuments overflowing in Polish towns. The album *Polska w krajobrazach i zabytkach* (Poland in landscapes and monuments) went even farther, defining its inhabitants as 'the most interesting ethnographic monument of Poland, worthy of the same kind of official preservation as a landscape'.[100] In Sańkowicz's captivating Hutsul photographs, largely popularized in this period in guidebooks, postcards, etc., one finds no traces of the nineteenth-century concept of Ruthenia, of the tradition of the ancient Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth or of the parallel Ruthenian and Polish identity narrations. They reflect just a mythologized regional peculiarity.

The world of the eastern European shtetls also continued to fascinate during the interwar period. In particular, two captivating surveys undertaken in the 1920s and 1930s – one by the Vilnius writer and amateur photographer Alter Kacyzne (1885–1941), and the other by a biologist and photographer from Berlin, Roman Vishniac (1897–1990) – on the former territories of the Pale of Settlement (split between Poland, Lithuania and the Soviet Union at that time) bring to mind Yudovin's photographs.[101] By presenting a large array of scenes, types and village views they seem to fix the conventional image of the Jewish eastern European diaspora. However, their political, social and cultural context was different. Both were carried out on commission for Jewish welfare offices abroad and used as propaganda material for their fund-raising activities. Both presented a selective and exaggerated image, focused on poverty and backwardness. Kacyzne's photographs were also commissioned and widely popularized in the popular Jewish daily newspaper *Forvarts*, where they acquired a different meaning and flavour. They were snapshots of everyday Jewish life viewed through the lens of a Jewish photographer and addressed to the Jewish émigrés, for whom they incarnated a 'triggered memory, a relinquished world and a

known geography'.[102] According to Carol Zemel, they reflected the clash between the traditional Jewish culture of the eastern European shtetls and the efforts to modernize it at the time of massive Jewish emigration to towns or abroad in search of a better future.[103] Thus, the cultural space of the eastern European Jewish diaspora in the interwar period, while maintaining its geographical limits, acquired the potential to exemplify the identity and the idea of home for thousands of Jewish émigrés.

Similarly, the provincial wooden synagogues of eastern Europe in this period became an important element of cultural identity and heritage of the Jewish elites living between New York, London, Paris or Jerusalem. Lukomskii, who in 1920 left Russia forever and moved first to Berlin and then to Paris, exhibited his wartime drawings and watercolours from the Pale of Settlement and Galicia capturing the attention of such central figures as Marie Perugia (the wife of Leopold Rotschild) and Ida Rubinstein. In the 1930s the Jewish international elites launched the idea of preparing a scholarly edition of Lukomskii's drawings. *The Old European Synagogues* planned as a luxurious *in folio* edition with one hundred illustrations reproduced in collotype, bound in buckram and gilded was supposed to present the world of eastern European wooden synagogues, which in Lukomskii's evocative drawings lost their geographical and cultural context becoming a universal site of memory, identity and of national legitimization.[104] Moreover, it was planned to supplement the volume with drawings of the best examples of medieval and early modern synagogues in Italy, Spain and France.

One of the few surveys of this period which still preserved the former open-endedness of the region of eastern Europe was the one carried out by the Jewish architect and architectural historian, Szymon Zajczyk (1900–1944) (Figure 35). This was one of the main state-sponsored projects conducted within the framework of the activity of the Institute of Polish Architecture of the Polytechnic School in Warsaw, an important Polish research and survey institution. It involved numerous students from this school and it was linked to a larger survey project of the Polish architectural landscape. This professional survey produced the largest and most detailed documentation of the eastern European wooden synagogues, consisting of several thousand plans, watercolour drawings and photographs. Unfortunately, the project was abruptly interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1944, Zajczyk was killed by the Nazis, and a few months later the Institute of Architecture of the Warsaw Polytechnic School which kept his synagogue documentation was destroyed. Zajczyk, a skilled photographer himself, took numerous shots in order to give a complete and comprehensive picture of each building, and the small percentage of his documentation that survived the war gives us the fullest testimony to the bygone eastern European cultural landscape.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, two albums were published at around the same time – *Polish Jews: A Pictorial Record*,[105] containing the reproduction of thirty-one of Vishniac's pictures, and *The Vanished World*,[106] with among others a selection of Kacyzne's *Forvarts* photographs. In these albums, constituting a tribute

FIGURE 35 Szymon Zajczyk, interior of the synagogue in Valkininkai, gelatin silver print, before 1939. Courtesy of the Institute of Art of the PAS.

to the Holocaust victims, both surveys gained a completely new dimension: they lost their historical and geographical context and became a site of memory, identity and a testimony to the vanished world of the eastern European diaspora. Similarly, Zajczyk's survey of Jewish architecture in the borders of the Polish state became, in the aftermath of the Second World War, a motivation for the reconstruction of an extra-territorial Jewish identity. The Polish architects Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka, undertook the project of publishing Zajczyk's recovered documentation as one of the main initiatives of the re-established Polytechnic School in Warsaw. Just after the war memories of the bygone cultural landscape were still alive and vivid. Thus, the book *Wooden Synagogues* (published in Polish in 1957 and English in 1959) was conceived in order to recover a 'martyred heritage'.[107]

Its influence went well beyond being an excellent example of architectural history scholarship. Moshe Verbin, one of the founders of the kibbutz Yakum, was inspired by this survey documentation to carry out the project of projecting them into a three-dimensional form as wooden models. Verbin was born in 1920 in the land of the wooden synagogues, in the town of Sokółka in the Podlachia region, and he moved to Israel at the age of fifteen. His models must not be seen as a scientific academic or artistic project but, rather, as a process of retaining a fading memory, of repatriating

a cultural identity embedded in the lost world of wooden synagogues.[108] Verbin's models, which from the 1990s have been on display in numerous exhibitions in Israel and abroad, have contributed greatly to the popularization of the little-known eastern European cultural heritage and to its importance for the construction of a Jewish identity. Piechotka's book also made a great impression on the renowned American artist Frank Stella. His *Polish Villages* series is, however, a totally different reiteration.[109] Stella was not an eastern European Jew, and his view was that of an outsider. He was deeply impressed by the construction elements of the synagogues, which he used as an inspiration for his form-building experiments.[110] In their reconstructions, both Verbin and Stella followed the nature of the professional architectonic survey, so well reflected in Zajczyk's pictures. His photographs are peopleless, focused on the construction elements, detached from the surrounding landscape. Both types of artistic interpretation became essential evocations of an eastern European Jewish identity, framed, however, in a new 'extra-territorial' dimension, a dimension detached from the Polish national context of Zajczyk's photographs.

CHAPTER FOUR

Picturing Polish Art Patrimony in the Second Polish Republic: The Legacy of the Nineteenth-Century Atlas Tradition

Silkiewicz's photographs of the Hutsul region, mentioned in Chapter 3, widely popularized on postcards and posters, in brochures and albums, are exemplary materials for Polish interwar heritage discourse. The parallel popularization of the 35 mm camera, the advancement of photomechanical reproduction technology and the rise of tourism meant that the interwar visual identity of the Second Polish Republic nation-state (1918–1945) as expressed in the framings of cultural heritage was photographic, up-to-date, approachable and mass.

In this chapter, however, I present Poland's interwar photographic definition as the crowning achievement of a century of effort in the visual circumscription of national cultural heritage. I juxtapose the interwar surveys springing from the popularization of tourism and photography with the nineteenth-century projects sponsored by the financial, political and cultural elites based on innovative reproduction techniques. My argument is that such initiatives, often distant in time or space, should be considered as a logical and homogenous project. Their juxtaposition reflects the changing ways of understanding and framing the interconnected ideas of cultural heritage and the nation, the changing geographical and political imaginations, the evolution of reproduction and publishing techniques, and their expanding public (from the narrow aristocratic circle

at the beginning of the nineteenth century to the mass public in the post-war reality of an independent Polish nation-state). Importantly, here such a project will be considered from a larger comparative perspective. By juxtaposing analogous initiatives undertaken in such different political, social and cultural contexts as France and the Russian Empire, I argue that together with the emergence of the notion of cultural heritage in post-Napoleonic Europe and its farther institutional, legal and cultural definition, a potent, uniform and transnational visual language fitting its description was elaborated.

JAN BUŁHAK'S 'POLAND IN PICTURES' PROJECT

In July 1920, in view of the threat of a Red Army invasion, Jan Bułhak (1876–1950), at that time professor of the Department of Artistic Photography, along with other employees of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius, was evacuated to Warsaw. Bułhak was an amateur photographer, member of the Paris Photo Club and participant in national and international photographic exhibitions. In 1912, he moved to Vilnius from his manor house in Piereseka near Minsk and dedicated himself to the meticulous documentation of the Vilnius monuments. He was employed by the local administration to form the first urban photographic archive of monuments in eastern Europe.[1] His first prolonged stay outside of his home region of Lithuania marked a turning point in the photographer's geographical and national imagination, on the one hand, and of the Polish visual imagination, on the other. Solicited by the intellectual and cultural circles involved in the formation of the state structures, as well as by the editors of the main Polish illustrated magazine, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (Illustrated Weekly), within less than a year Bułhak carried out a large-scale survey of Warsaw and its monuments. In recalling this time he later wrote:

> In mid-April I am going back to Vilnius: in a separate coach are the chests with my negatives and albums, as well as all my photographic movables […]. I come back enriched with a set of pictures of the capital and its environs shot during this half a year in exile, as well as with lots of new experiences. How true is the dictum that real acquisitions are always made at the price of material losses […]. Accordingly, we are after the Riga Peace Treaty. Poland has lost all its eastern provinces – Vitebsk, Minsk, Babruysk, Barysau, Bahdanau, Slutsk and a large part of the country up to Kam'ianets' - Podil's'kyi – that is everything that she already had for a year and that she could easily have kept. My home and my land also fell prey in this detachment of the eastern borderlands. Certainly, it is easier to get over the loss of an estate as it is harder to lose a house and a piece of land to which one is so attached. I do not feel, however, like a victim. Poland is free, Vilnius is ours … my 15-years' work has been rescued.[2]

In this short memory Bułhak describes how strongly the great political theatre influenced his perceptions. In the span of a year he went from the inhabitant of a provincial manor house in Lithuania to the citizen of the Second Polish Republic, and

his perspective inevitably changed from a regional to a national one. These remarks refer to his interconnected and inseparable experiences as a human being, a citizen and a photographer.

'I have moved forward my work and widen its Vilnius area to a much larger one.'[3] In these words Bułhak was referring not only to his Warsaw survey but also to the one that he undertook just a few months later. In July 1921, Bułhak made his own documentation of Cracow, and in particular of the Wawel Castle and Cathedral – the heart of Poland's historical and symbolic capital – restored at the time as the representative government seat and one of the main state museums. The outcome of both the Warsaw survey (consisting of 716 photographs arranged in thirteen albums) and the Cracow one (158 photographs bound in three albums) was the starting point for a new photographic series. While his earlier cycles – *Wilno/Litwa w fotografiach Jana Bułhaka* (Vilnius/Lithuania in Pictures of Jan Bułhak) – point to a regional geographical perspective, this new post-war series – *Polska w fotografiach Jana Bułhaka* (Poland in Pictures of Jan Bułhak) – is the expression of a national perspective.

For the next twenty years Bułhak would dedicate himself to photographic surveys of all the regions and the main cities of the Second Polish Republic, and a few years after the Warsaw and Cracow campaign he would reorganize his photographs into an archive of Polish heritage and identity. Such surveys were not only the fruit of his photographic passion and interests but also the result of the commissions of various state and local institutions, museums and publishing houses. The *Polska w obrazach* series already consisting in 1930 of '7,000 photographic pictures from all Poland' including 'architecture, landscape, types and ethnography' was a priceless reservoir of images for use in guidebooks, on postcards and in various photographic exhibitions. Moreover, Bułhak took orders for 'albums, pictures of manor houses, views, and architecture in the whole territory of Poland'.[4] Thus, in the newly independent Poland, Bułhak had become not just the photographer of Vilnius but also the photographer of Poland, and his unmistakable pictorialism became the quasi-official style of the national imagination.

The passage from Vilnius to Warsaw and from Lithuania to Poland was a smooth and natural one. In his pre-war pictures, just like in his later shots, Bułhak was always framing his homeland, filtering the landscape, people and monuments through a national lens. This went hand in hand with a harmonious stylistic evolution towards a self-conscious and mature (even if outdated) pictorialism. Thus, the terms 'photographic images' or 'pictures' used by Bułhak to describe his project as well as his single works were not accidental, referring to his pictorial photographic language. Consciously or unconsciously, Bułhak's ambitious cycle also recalled the title of a cult series *Polska w obrazach* (Poland in Pictures), published in Cracow and Vienna in the last decade of the nineteenth century. This cycle of portfolios was aimed at presenting the main national historic and artistic monuments in 130 illustrations and used the vanguard language of photography and cultural heritage. The most refined

and considered was the third portfolio, which offered a close-up view of one of the most symbolic national monuments: the Wawel cathedral, the coronation seat, the necropolis of the Polish kings and the national pantheon.[5] The choice of the images was meaningful: royal funerary monuments, as well as those commemorating two 'national prophets' – the Counter-Reformation preacher Piotr Skarga and the romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz[6] – the mausoleum of the patron saint of Poland, Stanislaus, the royal insignia, the treasury, and the general view of Wawel hill with the cathedral and the castle, the former seat of the Polish kings. Moreover, it met all the highest standards of an artistic and scientific publication. The photographs were shot by Awit Szubert, a professional photographer who also specialized in the reproduction of works of art, and were printed in heliogravure by the renowned Viennese atelier Blechinger & Leykauf. Moreover, most of the represented monuments met the highest Western artistic standards: masterpieces of medieval, Renaissance and neoclassical sculpture works by universally established masters (such as Veit Stoss and Bertel Thorvaldsen). As written in the advertisement, the portfolio was addressed to the Polish intelligentsia as a whole and was designed as a 'true ornament of a Polish house and a pleasure for the Polish spirit'. It was supposed to stand in the library along with a more traditional patriotic series (dedicated to national heroes and national history) edited by the same publishing house, such as the famous graphic cycles *Warszawa w 1863 roku* (Warsaw in 1863) and *Litwa* (Lithuania), both alluding to the January Uprising.

I would argue that Bułhak's *Polska w obrazach*, and in particular its three Cracow albums, must be seen as a new pictorial interpretation fitting the new times and should be juxtaposed with the 1892 Wawel portfolio. Thus, in the title of his series, in his stylistic choice and in the ways in which he was framing cultural heritage and landscape, Bułhak inscribed his photographic work in a centenary endeavour aimed at a visual synthesis of the national past and Polish heritage as a whole.

'THE ICONOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE OF THE HISTORY OF POLISH CULTURE' (1914–1918)

Archiwum Ikonograficzne Historii Kultury Polskiej (The Iconographic Archive of the History of Polish Culture), an initiative launched in Warsaw in 1914 just before the outbreak of the First World War, not only perfectly reflects the links between the earlier nineteenth-century tradition of visualizing national heritage and the new interwar one as expressed in Bułhak's *Polska w obrazach* project, but it also enables us to grasp its essence, importance, aims and evolution.

The project, conceived in 1914 along with the awakened hopes for independence, was viewed from the very beginning in the context of the state-building framework. First, its aim was to produce an organized, academic collection of reproductions reflecting the vision of Polish cultural heritage; secondly, the name given to this new visual library clearly referred to archives as fundamental historical, political and

administrative state institutions. Importantly, in the same years in which numerous Polish civic associations on all sides of the war front were creating boundless collections of every possible trace of endangered national heritage,[7] the aim of the *Archiwum* was its organized, scientific visual synthesis. Thus, already in 1918, with the establishment of the Second Polish Republic, the project was presented as a branch of national science in its own right.[8]

The project was conceived and led by Bronisław Gembarzewski (1872–1941). His background, peculiar to Polish intelligentsia in the Russian Empire, is crucial in understanding the backdrop and sources of inspiration for this project. The future director of the Warsaw National Museum and Polish Army Museum was born in St Petersburg, where he trained as a painter at the Imperial Academy of Arts. Already in these early years he pursued serious research on the history of the Polish army, focusing in particular on its material culture. He made a huge survey of the St Petersburg collections (both public and private) and used his artistic skills to create a large number of survey drawings and watercolours. He then extended his research to Paris, where he was active in the French historical-military society, and to the Polish Museum in Rapperswil,[9] where he compiled an inventory of its military collection. Just before the outbreak of the war he settled in Warsaw and became an active member of the SPAM. It is within the framework of this activity, thanks to a grant from the Kasa im. Mianowskiego, a charitable society established in 1870 in Warsaw to sponsor Polish scientific initiatives, that he launched the project devoted to Polish material culture seen in a historical perspective, in which visual language was the main tool and outcome.

The scientific framework and arrangement preceded the collection and production of the visual documents. This consisted of a list with about 250 entries of categories and subcategories, according to which the various single documents were organized in the archive.[10] The general categories – stone churches, wooden churches, castles and fortresses, funerary monuments, vaultings, stone and bronze sculpture, altarpieces, glass, chinaware, arms, etc. – followed the universal divisions of arts and crafts according to material and type, while the particular kinds of objects were listed under single subcategories. Objects peculiar to Polish culture and identity, like the *kontusz* sashes or the shields of the Commonwealth, its administrative units and cities, were distinguished in categories of their own. Moreover, separate categories were devoted to prehistory, folk art, illustrations of various branches of human activity (fishing, agriculture, trade, etc.), customs and daily life, Judaica, the culture of the Unite church and Warsaw.

In Gembarzewski's programme drafted for the Kasa im. Mianowskiego, the portfolios of a standardized size – divided into separate subcategories for each group – were to be filled with as many reproductions as possible prepared by a team of one photographer and two to three artists with good drawing skills.[11] Given the size and ambitions of the project, on the one hand, and the modest financial means, on the other, Gembarzewski proposed to start with a selection of already known, studied

and reproduced elements of Polish cultural heritage, and those easily accessible in the Warsaw collections. Thus, while the Polish civic associations were organizing photographic surveys near the front line in order to document the endangered cultural landscape and monuments, Gembarzewski's team was producing mainly 'reproductions from reproductions', or reproductions from artefacts without even moving from its seat in the Warsaw Old Town. In this the artists were following specific and detailed instructions drafted for every category. Here I will provide the example of dress. In this case the team was supposed to look for iconographic representations in illuminated manuscripts, on engraved church vessels, sculptured tombstones, decorative tapestries, seals, coins, paintings, altarpieces (Plate 8), portraits, engravings, *carte à figures* maps and costume books. Each motif was supposed to be reproduced on a separate sheet of 26 × 36 centimetre paper and reduced to the proportion 1:10 of the natural size in the case of figures and horse riders, 1:5 in the case of dress patterns and at the natural size in the case of small elements and ornaments. The reproduction methods and tools were extensively described, from tips on how to draw correctly in perspective to accurate instructions on the drawing techniques and the use of watercolour. A scientific approach was an indispensable skill required of the surveyors involved in the project. Thus, only a trained eye was able to take notice of the smallest peculiarities of historic fashion and to make them evident in the reproduction. Moreover, such an academic profile of the *Archiwum* often required an interpretation of the visual source. For example, in the case of tools copied from engravings or paintings, the instruction advised that they be rendered in a vertical projection in order to reproduce their main construction elements and visualize their functionality. Academic skills were also indispensable for properly organizing the archive. Thus, for example, the reproductions in the 'dress' category were supposed to be grouped first chronologically and then according to sex and class.

The most striking element of the *Archiwum* is the choice of watercolour as the main reproduction technique. Photography, according to the programme, was just an auxiliary tool. For example, a large set of watercolours with examples of wooden architecture were copied from survey photographs (Figure 36). On the one hand, this was the only safe and often the only possible way of archiving such reproductions in the difficult wartime circumstances and, on the other, it was the easiest way of including colour. The academic visual approach advanced by the *Archiwum*'s programme, with its stress on watercolour and drawing and the importance attached to the documentation of iconographic sources, may be also interpreted in terms of a continuation and extension of Gembarzewski's methods as elaborated within his earlier research on Polish military history. However, the real motive behind this choice was different.

The standardized reproduction technique, combined with the academic perspective, turned the watercolours into a uniform scientific visual language. However, the true aim of the *Archiwum* was not so much visual research into singular aspects of national

FIGURE 36 A watercolour from the Iconographic Archive, *c.* 1914. Courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw.

culture and its detailed census, but the creation, using the means of science, of its authoritative, well-organized and straightforward circumscription. Such an archive was – according to Gembarzewski – an indispensable element of Poland's cultural definition as a nation and a state. This intention is clearly reflected in its structure where, as already mentioned, such elements as *kontusz* sashes, on the one hand, and Judaica, on the other, were distinguished in their own categories. Thus, the *Archiwum*, in which the national peculiarities were clearly defined and other ethnic or religious elements

clearly separated, formed an academic definition of what Polish cultural heritage really was. Moreover, by distinguishing Warsaw – the future capital of Poland – by placing it in a separate category, its state-building aspirations were clearly expressed.

How could a simple visual collection perform such important tasks? According to the programme, the *Archiwum* was above all a publishing project. Gembarzewski designed a series of graphic portfolios to publish, one after another, the growing visual material. This series was addressed to artists, artisans and writers and was conceived as a source of inspiration in the development of a modern peculiarly Polish style and in the presentation of a true national history and mythology. However, it was also addressed to the community of scholars as a rich documentation, illustrating all possible aspects of Polish history and culture for all types of editions. In particular, Gembarzewski's project was addressed to the international academic community. He noticed that Polish culture was omitted in monumental academic illustrated works dedicated to European culture, not intentionally but simply because of the lack of academic visual collections. Accordingly, he hoped that the *Archiwum* – a repertoire of visual sources – would lead the way to Poland's cultural recognition by inclusion of the illustrations of national artefacts in important publications dedicated to European art and culture. In his opinion this was a *sine qua non* for the legitimization of Poland's independence aspirations: 'The European reader, who notices the absence in atlases, albums and encyclopaedias of a nation which inhabits vast lands between the West and the East, is authorized to define it as barbarian and parasitic. He can even justify the legitimacy of its partition.'[12]

It may easily be argued that Gembarzewski firmly believed that cultural heritage was a mark of civilization and that the authoritative language of academic illustration had the power to prove Poland's affinity with Western Europe. Thus, the *Archiwum* had both national and universal aspirations. In the early years of the twentieth century, Gembarzewski was already involved in two large projects combining science with illustration. The first, *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna Ilustrowana* (Great Illustrated Universal Encyclopaedia; 1890–1914), certainly the most ambitious and never wholly completed, was a Polish general encyclopaedia planned to consist of eighty volumes, of which only fifty-five were published. The second, Gloger's *Encyklopedia Staropolska Ilustrowana* (Polish Illustrated Encyclopaedia; 1900–1903), was a handbook dedicated exclusively to Polish customs, history and culture. Gloger relied on a network of amateur and professional photographers and artists (mainly members of the SPAM), who provided him with survey illustrative material. Accordingly, the *Archiwum* must be seen as a continuation of these two (universal and national) illustrated encyclopaedic projects. Thus, its programme envisaged not only the already-mentioned portfolio series but also other very ambitious publishing enterprises, such as an atlas, a popular history of Poland and an album of Polish artistic masterpieces.

In this strong recollection of and reliance on authoritative scientific publishing genres based on illustration – the album, the atlas and the encyclopaedia – lies the

true explanation of the role attached to watercolour in the *Archiwum Ikonograficzne*. Watercolour served as the preparatory drawing for chromolithography, a new printing technique introduced around the first quarter of the nineteenth century and immediately applied to scientific illustration. Moreover, the chromolithographic antiquarian atlases and albums, launched in Paris in the late 1830s and 1840s, had become, around mid-century, a prestigious and authoritative object defining national and state cultural superiority and identity.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE FRENCH ANTIQUARIAN ATLAS

The antiquarian chromolithographic editions can be classified under the general heading of atlases or albums – that is, luxurious academic works in which the argument is presented using the means of illustration. Indeed, atlases showing chosen objects or phenomena and accompanied by an explanatory text were, from the sixteenth century onwards, an important scientific genre per se used in anatomy, botany, astronomy, antiquarian works, etc. As noted by Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, the atlas presented 'working scientific objects' through choice and standardization.[13] Importantly, it spoke in a visual language and its scientific argument was based on a diverted relation of text and illustration. In analysing the role played by atlases in natural sciences from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, Daston and Galison rightly focused on the attempts to capture nature through artistic representation as well as on the tension between objectivity and the restrictions of the artistic language. They also noticed the contradiction underlying the scientific reliability of the pre-photographic atlases based upon standardization, on the one hand, and naturalism, on the other. The antiquarian atlas belonged to a similar genre and relied on the same language of truthfulness, choice and standardization. However, such authoritative visual language was used to achive other results. The principle of selection was grounded not in the typicality but in the uniqueness; hence the antiquarian atlas imposed a given vision of art and culture. The close affinity of the atlases with natural phenomena gave this vision a convincing aura of universalism. In this case the materiality of the album – its format (usually *in folio*), voluminosity, quantity and quality of illustrations, binding and reduced print-runs (the atlas was a luxurious, expensive and prestigious object, which always strengthened the authority of its scientific message) – was of particular importance. It legitimized the presented vision of cultural heritage.

The first antiquarian chromolithographic atlas was an extension of another innovative project, in which a deliberate arrangement of monuments was seen as a true evocation of the national past. Both were conceived by Alexandre du Sommerard (1786–1859), a French nobleman and active participant in the French Revolutionary Wars and the subsequent Napoleonic campaigns, who in the period of the empire was a member of the Paris magistrate. He is most known, however, for his collecting

activity focused on the arts and crafts of the French Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In the early 1830s he rented the first floor of the Gothic town house of the abbots of Cluny, where he arranged his collection into a museum following a novel principle, according to which the objects where shown in a reconstructed social and cultural context. The original spaces of the Hôtel de Cluny were fully exploited in order to reconstruct a sense of the 'lived' past (religious objects were shown in the chapel, vessels grouped on the table, etc.), forming the first example of the thematic room exhibition system. As rightly noted by Stephen Bann, du Sommerard's museum 'assimilated, and contributed to a new, integrative notion of historical culture that included material objects, and used them to evoke the fantasy of a resuscitated past'.[14] Thus, it offered a new experience of history based on a deliberate, picturesque and stunning arrangement of interconnected objects.

'He is now, with a great outlay of money and labour, producing in parts a splendid series of engravings of the principal objects in his museum, in large *folio*, accompanied by a text in four volumes *octavo* which, when completed, will be one of the most important of the many great works that are now published in France.'[15] *Les arts au Moyen âge* (The Arts in the Middle Ages),[16] an impressive editorial enterprise published from 1838 to 1846 and considered by du Sommerard not just as a simple description but as a natural extension and a fulfilment of his collection, is the first mature example of an antiquarian atlas. The publishing project, conceived and sponsored by the collector himself, was envisaged as four large *in octavo* volumes of explanatory text accompanied by an *in folio* atlas with 106 illustrations. Sold by international subscription (the orders were taken by several renowned book and print-shops in Paris, Liège, London, Vienna and Brussels), it was delivered in thirty issues of text and twenty-six issues of illustrations for a price of 7.50 francs (with black and white illustrations) or 15 francs (with colour illustrations) per issue.[17] The crowning and most expensive element of the edition was a ten-series album with 504 illustrations, in the same format as the atlas.[18] It was sold separately, also by subscription, and the price of the 127 issues amounted to the then-astronomical sum of 1,350 francs.[19]

The atlas, and in particular the album, were the main achievements of the whole editorial project. Du Sommerard not only involved the French artistic elite (the artists' names were listed in the *prospectus*) and Rose-Joseph Lemercier's printing house (one of the main European lithographic workshops), but also relied on the latest reproduction techniques. Experimentation, always at the highest and most expensive level, is one of the peculiarities of the scientific atlas. The new technique of multi-colour printing (chromolithography), introduced in Germany in 1818 and patented in France in 1837, was immediately applied to this publishing genre, and *Les arts au Moyen âge* belonged to the most spectacular and earliest Parisian examples of the kind. Moreover, du Sommerard also made use of several other recent reproduction techniques. As noted by Jules Berger de Xivrey, an eminent French erudite and historian of this time, in a review of the first volume:

> All the contemporary improvement of lithography and of engraving, like the application of Collases method in the reproduction of medals and embossed metals, of the diagraph for the exact reproduction of drawing of the most delicate ornaments […] the most spectacular objects appear in colour, enhanced in gold and silver with a veracity and splendour unmatched by any contemporary chalcographic product. [20]

The atlas and the album were complementary to each other: all the objects were reproduced just once on separate sheets (either in the atlas or in the album). They both followed a clear division into ten general and several minor groups of objects (comprising, among others, furniture, arms, sculpture, painting, enamel, tableware, mirrors and glass, tapestries and jewellery). They could be studied either as separate works, or with the comments of the four volumes of text, which comprised references to the illustrations in both the album and the atlas. Thus, the edition offered a complementary view of du Sommerard's collection, consisting of close-ups of the single objects exhibited in picturesque arrangements, and of their reproduction in the larger context of the universal history of arts and crafts.

The reproductions in the *Les arts au Moyen âge* were a considered choice of du Sommerard's collection in the Hôtel de Cluny (the illustration of all his precious pieces would have been a far too expensive and time-consuming project). This publishing enterprise was, however, much more than an impressive catalogue of a particular collection. In the *prospectus* du Sommerard clearly explained the editorial aims. He envisaged the project in terms of the first history of art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance represented in artistic and historic objects. At first glance this was a French history of art. Du Sommerard relied mainly on French monuments and periodization. Thus, for example, he began his narration with the Carolingian Renaissance: an era, which produced the first mature examples of a purely French art. However, *Les arts au Moyen âge* is not just an attempt to present the essence of national culture and national past through the means of illustrations of historic and artistic objects. While du Sommerard puts forward a strong thesis on the greatness and superiority of French art and culture, in the album he also included established German and Italian masterpieces, such as the Duomo in Pisa or the façade of the Orvieto cathedral, which he juxtaposed with the Cluny abbey. In recalling his editorial predecessors du Sommerard mentions not only Bernard de Montfaucon and his unfinished *Les monuments de la monarchie française* (Monuments of French Monarchy, 1729–1733), but also Johann Joachim Winckelmann's *Geschichte des Kunst des Alterthums* (History of Ancient Art, 1764), considered as the work defining the core of Western culture, art and civilization. By calling his project 'the French Winckelmann', du Sommerard was arguably placing French medieval and Renaissance art on the same pedestal as the universally recognized art of antiquity and establishing France as an important point of reference for Western art and civilization.

The distinction and prominence given to French medieval art and culture in *Les arts au Moyen âge* was further reinforced by the authority of French academics in

another impressive work based on chromolithography: *Les Arts au Moyen âges et à l'époque de la Renaissance* (The Arts at the Time of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance):[21] a publishing enterprise directed by Paul Lacroix (text) and Ferdinand Séré (illustrations), organized, published and sold by Rose-Joseph Lemercier. This impressive work was prepared in collaboration with dozens of established academics (among others, Prosper Mérimée and Adolf Alfred Michaelis) as a synthesis of the history, through material culture, of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The illustrations – executed by a large team of distinguished artists and engravers in a rich variety of techniques (from woodcuts to chromolithographs)[22] – formed a separate atlas with ninety-four illustrations (more than half of it in chromolithography). Moreover, the 250 issues, edited from 1847 to 1853, were also richly illustrated with woodcuts and separate sheets of lithographs, etchings, chromolithographs, etc. The *prospectus* announced the reproductions of 4,000 objects shown in 250 full-page illustrations and numerous reproductions inserted in the text. As stated by Lacroix, the written and visual narrations were equally important: 'The text and illustrations are explained one by the other, alternatively and reciprocally.' In *Les Arts au Moyen âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance* the reproductions of objects and iconographic motives of the past (found in illuminated manuscripts, engraved vessels, tapestries, etc.) describe the rise of European civilization between the ancient and the present times. Importantly, together with the text, they form the first complete and concise history of European civilization: its customs, sciences, letters and arts.

The pre-eminence given to France – even if not clearly expressed – is striking. The richly illustrated fifth volume on arts (architecture, sculpture, painting, engraving, enamel and book binding), defined by Lemercier as 'the universal gallery of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance', leaves no doubt, through the choice of reproductions and their order, as to where the real cradle of art and culture is located. For example, the sequence of illustrations in the chapter on painting begins and ends with colour reproductions of the masterpieces of Jean Fouquet and Jean Clouet, while such an established old master as Raphael (represented in a black and white reproduction!) is second in turn. Moreover, these reproductions are overshadowed by the richness and colourfulness of chromolithographic illustrations of the best examples of French stained glass and enamel.

Les Arts au Moyen âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance was seen as a true triumph of French science, art and its publishing industry. As stated by Paul Lacroix in the fifth re-edition of 1874: 'Thanks to its erudition, its literary merit, its marvelous execution […] [the book] holds a place in the libraries of all amateurs, not only in France but also abroad, and it has become famous.'[23] The reduced, simplified and pleasant (*agreeable*) edition of 1874 was addressed to a much larger public: families, women and to the young reader, for whom archaeology had become an indispensable element of education. Both *Les arts au Moyen âge* and *Les Arts au Moyen âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance* were conceived as works fitting the new times, marked by the deep interest of French society as a whole in the objects of the past. Du Sommerard

and Lacroix were fully aware of role played by the concept of *patrimoine* (cultural heritage), which in this period became not only familiarized and popularized but also strictly connected to the ideas of nation and the state.[24] These two private initiatives, involving both artistic and academic circles are a telling example of how the idea of cultural heritage was shaped in this period at the crossroads of state and civic initiatives.[25] Their contemporary reception, prestige and imitations show that certain framings and definitions of cultural heritage had already gained universal prestige and value in this era.

CHROMOLITHOGRAPHY, CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE DEFINITION OF STATES AND NATIONS

The *Antiquities of the Russian State*, a six-volume atlas *in folio*, with 508 chromolithographs illustrating precious artistic and historic monuments and objects of the Russian past, accompanied by an *in quarto* volume of explanatory text, constitutes an unsurpassed example of the reception of the French chromolithographic antiquarian atlas.[26] In an advertisement of the London bookseller Bernard Quartich, this luxurious edition with its chromolithographic language and focus on single precious objects was juxtaposed with the contemporary *Les arts au Moyen âge,* 'the companion to Du Sommerard, *Les arts au Moyen âge*, but superior to that work in the accuracy of plates'.[27] The Russian album, as expressed in the title, was an official state initiative. Its edition was sponsored and overseen by Tsar Nicholas I, who paid the impressive sum of 100,000 roubles for the 600 print run.[28] The *Antiquities* offered a carefully selected choice of masterpieces of what became known as 'Old Russian art', exquisitely drawn by just one artist, the graduate of the Imperial Academy of Arts, Fedor Solntsev (Plate 9). From 1830, with the support of the tsar himself, Solntsev undertook several survey trips to the oldest Russian cities and monasteries – Moscow, the Golden Ring, Novgorod Veliky, Vitebsk and Smolensk, among others – producing around five thousand high-quality watercolours.[29] In this monumental work Solntsev surveyed for the first time a 'genuine' Russian style, free from the Western influences introduced under the reign of Peter the Great.

The album was among the many cultural and scholarly initiatives undertaken under Nicholas I in order to pursue the guiding principle of his reign: 'Official Nationality'.[30] This ideology, elaborated by the Minister of Education, Sergey Uvarov, laid the foundations for the reign of Nicholas I on orthodoxy, autocracy and nationality. As Mary Stuart explains, 'the essence of the doctrine of Official Nationality lays in the congruence of these three elements, signifying the indivisibility of the Russian Orthodox Church, the tsar as embodiment of the State, and the nation or the Russian people'.[31] Thus the *Antiquities of the Russian State* focused on the most precious objects and monuments of the Russian monarchy, of the Orthodox Church, as well as on the earliest ethnographic definitions of the Russian nation. Its volumes were

filled with chromolithographs glittering with gold, silver and precious stones of the oldest icons, sacred church vessels, tableware from the treasury of the tsars, regalia, royal and sacred vestments, thrones, arms, portraits of the tsars, views of the oldest residences and monasteries, as well as details of their architecture and furnishings (wooden and bronze portals, iconostases, decorative gates, etc.). The reproduced objects included, among others, the Byzantine silver craters from the Cathedral of St. Sofia in Novgorod Veliky, the Monomakh's Cup (the oldest Russian crown), the necklace from the Staraya Ryazan' (one of the richest Kyivian Rus' hoards unearthed in 1822), the Thetokos of Vladimir (one of the most venerated Orthodox icons) and the Cathedral of St. Sofia in Kyiv. Nationality was represented through the peculiar female and male dress in chosen Russian administrative regions (gubernias).[32]

The *Antiquities of the Russian State* were elaborate in every single detail. This was the first chromolithographic atlas of such size in which all the preparatory drawings were executed by just one artist. Moreover, Solntsev was a master in these kinds of reproductions; as he recalled in his memoires even an Imperial Academy professor (just like Apelles) was deceived by the watercolours and tried to pick up what was just a perfectly drawn object.[33] Equal attention was paid to the printing process. The editor of the atlas, the French-born Moscow printer August Semen, collaborated with Parisian workshops specializing in chromolithography and in particular with Godefroy Engelmann, the first artisan to receive the patent for chromolithography in the French capital.[34] Indeed, the *Antiquities* were not only designed to look like a French antiquarian atlas but to overshadow one. This is the first edition of its kind and size in which all the plates are chromolithographic. Other printing techniques appear randomly only in the background and play a complementary role, evidencing the details of a delicate drawing or ornament.

The accompanying text was written by the president of the Society of Russian History and Antiquity and the founder of the first private Russian art academy, Count Sergei Strogonov. It is important to note that this was not a commercial enterprise. The print run, limited to six hundred copies, comprised the Strogonov volume written in Russian and three language versions of the album: Russian (*Drevnosti Rossiiskago Gosudarstva*), French (*Antiquities de l'Empire de Russie*) and English (*The Antiquities of the Russian State*). The whole print run was not put on sale but designated by the tsar as a prestigious gift to be distributed among state officials, diplomats, crowned heads, and Russian and international scholarly societies and institutions.[35] Its message was clear. Invoking the French understanding of cultural heritage and the model of the antiquarian atlas, Nicholas I aimed to frame an authoritative vision of a distinct Russian culture and past. While du Sommerard and Lacroix discovered the Middle Ages and Renaissance as the cradle of French and European civilization, the team of scholars and artists centred around the tsar sought the origins of Russian culture in 'the remains of Greek, Byzantine and Early Slavonic Art'.[36] Importantly, the *Antiquities of the Russian State*, through its clear references to its French counterparts, was placing Russian culture within Western civilization. At the same time, the Russian culture

embedded in the antique tradition of the Byzantine Empire and ancient Greece, could lay claim not only to uniqueness but even to superiority over the civilization of the West. As the accompanying text was written only in Russian, this message was made clear to the European reader only by means of the language of antiquarian illustration. The atlas was addressed also to the Russian elite reader. It built a common sense of national pride and strengthened the autocratic government by showing its ancient and sacral origins.

The series of chromolithographs of the most precious Polish monuments – with a bilingual (Polish and French) explanatory text, published as the *Wzory sztuki średniowiecznej i z epoki Odrodzenia po koniec wieku siedemnastego w dawnej Polsce* (Patterns of Medieval and Early Modern Art in Poland) beginning in 1852 and printed in Warsaw and Paris – is another telling example of the reception of the French antiquarian atlas (Plate 10). This editorial project was undertaken based on a private initiative in Warsaw, one of the provincial cities of the Russian Empire, at around the same time as the *Antiquities of the Russian State*. It was launched by two wealthy aristocrats, Aleksander Przezdziecki (1814–1871) and Edward Rastawiecki (1804–1879), who were seriously involved in the research into Polish history and who convinced several wealthy Warsaw aristocrats, bankers and entrepreneurs to support the project. Modelled on Paul Lacroix's atlas, it aimed to present the Polish version of the French synthesis, by means of the most symbolic and precious objects of the glorious past of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth: regalia, church vessels, symbols of Polish parliamentarianism, royal tombstones and shrines of the victorious battles. As one of the reviewers of the atlas noted, the French cultural example was matchless: 'France, as the heir of ancient civilization, has probably always surpassed other nations.'[37] Thus, the *Wzory* were supposed to prove not so much the distinctiveness – and certainly not the superiority – of Polish culture but rather its affinity with Western civilization, incarnated in the French monuments of the past.

The atlas was a national trans-partitional project, not only in its message but also in its organization and reach. In the first place, Rastawiecki and Przezdziecki involved a network of artists, scholars and collectors from the main Polish intellectual centres. Secondly, right from its first issue the atlas was composed of reproductions of objects from the collections, churches and treasuries from all the partitioned lands: Galicia (Cracow, Stary Sącz), the Grand Duchy of Posen (Gniezno, Trzemeszno), West Prussia (Toruń) and the Polish Kingdom (Łęczyca, Kielce, Włocławek).

Importantly, the survey was carried out not only in the oldest Polish abbeys, monasteries, cathedrals, treasuries and collections, but it also comprised historic objects abroad. Thus, the series was inaugurated by the reproduction of the skull of the first queen of Poland, Richeza of Lotharingia. The granddaughter of the emperor Otto II and niece of Otto III, buried in the Church of St Maria ad Gradus in Cologne and moved to the city's cathedral in 1817, was venerated in Cologne and her body was displayed on every 21 March. In 1852 Przezdziecki received the permission to open Richeza's tomb and to commission survey drawings of the remains.[38] This relic

recalled the antiquity of the Polish state as well as providing the dynastic connections to its first rulers.

The *Patterns* laid particular stress on the antiquity of Polish culture and to the craftsmanship and preciousness of the represented objects. Moreover, the atlas included illustrations of miniatures, jewels and Renaissance paintings, which were objects frequently reproduced in the French atlases. The quality of the illustrations, just as in the case of *Antiquities of the Russian State*, played a central role.

In the middle of the nineteenth century chromolithography was not yet patented in Warsaw, thus Przezdziecki and Rastawiecki engaged a promising artist and lithographer, Maksymilian Fajans (1825–1890), and sponsored his three-year stay in the best lithographic workshops in Paris. Fajans oversaw the printing of the first issues in Rose-Joseph Lemercier's press and undertook the edition of the rest in his own workshop, established in Warsaw in 1853.

The atlas spoke both with the language of illustration and via scientific explanatory text. It was issued in fascicles, comprising the illustration and an accompanying essay in Polish or French. Importantly, the two language versions differed significantly. While the former, addressed to Polish compatriots, was filled with details on Poland's history, the latter, aimed at the international milieu of scholars, collectors and amateurs, emphasized the links of the objects with European art and history and with the best Western examples.

Despite these academic and artistic efforts, the *Wzory* – with its 128 full-page illustrations mainly in chromolithography, edited over ten years in four *in quarto* volumes – could withstand comparison only with the less exclusive Lacroix atlas. This should not come as a surprise: the project was based on a modest budget and relied on the efficacy of subscriptions. In all, 504 exemplars of the first series were printed. In the list of subscribers we will find only Polish names: aristocrats, bankers, entrepreneurs and members of the cultural elite. Interestingly, the twelve booksellers named on the list of subscribers were not the commercial organizers of the distribution. Moreover, as the largest lot of a kind numbered just six exemplars, the booksellers were collectors themselves or brokers of single buyers. Accordingly, the project must be seen not in terms of a commercial initiative but a collective trans-partitional effort of the Polish elite. Its international reach, as in the case of the *Antiquities of the Russian State*, was based on gifts distributed to the main libraries, museums, academic institutions, museums and crowned heads.

The two chromolithographic atlases, conceived at around the same time in the Russian Empire, are hardly comparable due to the different financial and political circumstances in which they were produced. One had generous state support, the other had a limited patriotic subscription. While the Russian *Antiquities* were among the earliest official state initiatives of the kind, the Polish *Wzory* had to face the obstacles and overcome the challenges of state censorship. For example, the album's originally planned Polish title *Zabytki polskie* (Polish Monuments) had to be replaced by a much more neutral one.[39] Despite this imposed change and the incomparable

financial means, the album's main aim – demonstration of the existence of a Polish material patrimony and of its adherence to the highest Western models – was as clear as Russia's claim to superiority. Accordingly, in mid-nineteenth-century Europe imperial aspirations and national definitions were expressed in the same form and using the same language.

The mid-nineteenth-century chromolithographic atlas must be seen as a new academic genre, conceived as a collaboration between antiquarians, historians, collectors and artists. Its authority was based on the impressive quality and veracity of the illustration, the voluminosity and expensiveness of the atlas itself, and, last but not least, on the choice of the reproduced objects. Thus, all the publications discussed here differ, at least at first glance, only in subtle details. They all are devoted to the art and the material culture of the Middle Ages and Renaissance and are focused on the same kind of objects (mainly from ecclesiastical and royal treasuries). Browsing through them the viewer will be overwhelmed by the quantity and quality of colour reproductions of regalia, jewels, reliquaries, precious liturgical objects, thrones and tombstones; and by the meticulousness of the reproduction. They will see the same captions and similar descriptions. However, the universality of the visual language was used expressly for particular national and state aims. Thus, each album showed an array of objects constructing a distinct cultural patrimony and political message. Both du Sommerard's album and Lacroix's initiative formed a eulogy of French civilization. The *Antiquities of the Russian State* made clear claims to the superiority of the 'old Rus' material culture. The *Patterns* showed the distinctiveness of the Polish national past.

TOWARDS AN IMAGINARY MUSEUM

Let us return to the *Archiwum Ikonograficzne* project. It should be seen not only as a logical continuation of the antiquarian atlas tradition, but also as the final accomplishment of a larger national project aimed at the creation of an iconography of Polish monuments and cultural landscape. This consisted of publishing and survey initiatives – often distant in time and space but always interconnected – undertaken in Polish scientific circles from the time of the emergence of the earliest post-revolutionary and romantic definitions of cultural heritage.

The romantic historian, journalist, artist and writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (1812–1887), an important advisor to and collaborator with the editors of the *Wzory*, advised them not to include the objects already reproduced in an earlier chromolithographic atlas in the series, mentioned in Chapter 2, the *Album Wileńskie*. In his review of the publication on the monuments of Vilnius, Kraszewski defined it as a showcase for Poland as a whole. He also advised its editor to include in the following issues the reproductions of objects from other centres of Polish culture, such as the reliquary with the head of saint Hyacinth from the Dominican Church of Holy Trinity in Cracow. Importantly, such close links between the two atlases were

obvious not only to the authors but to their readers and viewers as well. We find the same names among the subscribers to both editions, and both stood on the same shelves in the private and institutional libraries. Moreover, both became a point of reference for any similar initiative undertaken in Poland in the following decades.

A good example here is the already mentioned series *Zabytki Polskie na Obczyźnie* (1904–1907).[40] Despite its different black and white photographic language and modest form, which exemplified an important evolution in the genre of the atlas in the second half of the nineteenth century, this series is very close to the two Polish chromolithographic editions. Like the *Wzory*, it was a trans-partitional initiative conceived by the Warsaw financial and cultural elite. It focuses on similar objects: regalia, arms, precious gifts offered to the kings of the Commonwealth and trophies from the victorious battlefields. Its scientific accuracy and reliability was based on, and reinforced by, the illustrative language. Furthermore, it aimed at defining Poland as falling within the Western European scientific norms and ideas of cultural heritage. Accordingly, it was described by its authors in terms of the scientific documentation of Polish monuments, which in the reality of the Russian Empire could not have any institutional basis and support. Western – in particular French, German and British – examples were invoked, and the atlas was defined as a modest accomplishment of a larger European survey project. The editors also inscribed it in an existing national iconography, contributing new reproductions of artistic and historic objects kept in national collections on Polish lands and abroad, or incorporated through acquisition or requisition into the holdings of important European museums or libraries, such as the Hermitage.

Kraszewski saw the chromolithographic atlas as a key element of a larger, spontaneous and ever-expanding project of building the iconography of the Polish past and culture. Most famous for his epic bestseller series on Polish history, he acknowledged the importance of visual sources for the construction of a national history and identity in the draft of his major, never completed project entitled *Ikonotheka*: a richly illustrated description of Polish national monuments and customs.[41] To this end he was forming and constantly enlarging a Polish iconographic collection (*Collection iconographique Polonaise*) 'illustrating the history, geography, customs, dress, furniture etc. of ancient Poland, its provinces and the bordering countries'.[42] He was collecting old prints and drawings as well as contemporary illustrative scientific sources. Seriously interested in technological innovation, he was also the initiator of the earliest experiments with the application of photography to the documentation of cultural heritage. As a friend and correspondent of Karol Beyer, his iconographic collection included the albums of the Warsaw 1856 and Cracow 1858–9 antiquarian exhibitions, and Beyer's sixteen survey prints of Gdańsk and Malbork. Moreover, as early as in 1841 he launched the already-mentioned unrealized idea of a 'daguerreotipic' survey of the monuments of Volhynia and Podolia.[43] In this project Kraszewski most probably referred to the lifelike properties of the daguerreotype, however, we can assume that he also could have in mind a

photographic documentation. Thus his idea, if realized, would have anticipated by a few years the Mission Héliographique, the first European photographic survey.

The *Ikonotheka,* or national iconographic collection, was an open and expanding project. For Kraszewski such innovative scientific achievements as the chromolithographic atlases and Beyer's photographic albums formed a harmonious continuation of the early-nineteenth-century attempts to document Polish monuments. In his review of the *Album Wileńskie* he juxtaposed it with the 1806 graphic album *Recueil de Vuës des plus celebres monuments nationaux* (A Collection of Views of the Most Famous National Monuments), the earliest printed example of an antiquarian survey of national heritage.[44] This album, with twelve romantic views of ruins, castles, garden pavilions and palaces was designed by Zygmunt Vogel (1764–1826), a master of watercolour views, and prepared in the framework of the activity of one of the earliest Polish scientific institutions, the Warsaw Society of Friends of Learning. In the second half of the nineteenth century Vogel's and Beyer's albums, as well as the chromolithographic atlases, became an indispensable element of Polish libraries and collections. Importantly, visual reproductions of objects from the national past filled not only the expensive and well-organized libraries of the elites. The simpler reader formed sets of cuttings from popular illustrated magazines and newspapers with a rich variety of national motifs (portraits of famous people, patriotic scenes, ethnographic types, etc.). Each new visual document of the Polish past and cultural heritage – from the newspaper engraving to the elaborated chromolithographic atlas – was significant and important, making a contribution to the informal national iconographic collection project.

In his ambitious *Archiwum Ikonograficzne* project Gembarzewski, as an educated citizen of the Russian Empire, drew not only from the modest and inconsistent Polish efforts exemplified in private visual collections and illustrated editions, but also moved freely through its cultural and academic circles, and was well acquainted with its institutions. Thus, he was familiar with similar iconographic initiatives which were undertaken in St Petersburg and Moscow by distinguished scholars, artists and collectors in the framework of the activity of state-sponsored institutions such as the Imperial Public Library, the IAC and the Imperial Academy of Arts.

The *Antiquities of the Russian State* were just the first of a chain of official interconnected projects aimed at the visual definition of Russian cultural distinctiveness and superiority: visual surveys, impressive and expensive bilingual (French and Russian) publications, and public visual collections. In 1885 such holdings in the main Russian library institution – the Imperial Public Library in St Petersburg – were already large enough to allow Vladimir Stasov, the keeper of its art division, to publish a descriptive catalogue of the Library's photographic and collotype albums.[45] This collection focused exclusively on the visualization of cultural landscape and heritage. Stasov adapted classification into views, types, architecture, painting, sculpture and crafts. Moreover, Stasov catalogued the Russian albums with

several German, Italian, French and British ones, focusing on established elements of Western arts and crafts. In this he followed the general idea of the Imperial Public Library, according to which Russia was described and placed within a Western system of knowledge. It must be recalled that he was also involved in the cataloguing of *Rossica*, the collection of Western books, albums, atlases, engravings, etc. on Russia.[46] The description of the photographic collection in the Imperial Public Library acknowledged the prestige of Russia's cultural heritage and aimed to awaken scholarly interest in Russia's art and culture.

The photographic and collotype albums in the Imperial Public Library collections were unique examples of high-quality professional photography. The holdings comprised the complete set of Ivan Barshchevskii's albums and Ivan Raoult's *Turkestan Album*. The first ones consisting in twenty-three bound *in quarto* volumes of albumen prints were the only complete set of the impressive surveys of old Russian architecture undertaken at the photographer's own expense.[47] Stasov described the library's set using the designation of atlas, and he defined it as a source and milestone for future printed scientific work on Russian art and architecture. The *Turkestan Album* was conceived by the first governor of Russian Turkestan and realized from 1871 to 1872 by a team of established scholars and artists, including the orientalist Alexander Kuhn and the professional photographer N.N. Nekhoroshev.[48] The 1,200 gold-toned albumen photographic prints – large format views and ethnographic pictures – were presented on decorative plates with printed headings in four *in folio* bound albums (Figure 37). Only a few copies of these unique luxurious volumes were produced as an important gift to the tsar and the main imperial scientific institutions.

Importantly, Stasov was himself involved in the production and publication of foreground imperial albums and atlases. He was very well acquainted both with the most expensive and avant-garde reproduction techniques and with the academic language of reproduction. Here we may recall his already-mentioned opus magnum: the chromolithographic atlas *L'ornament slave et orientale d'après les manuscrits anciens et modernes*.[49] Moreover, he encouraged and inspired projects aimed at the presentation of peculiar Russian culture and art using the means of avant-garde illustrative techniques, such as Sophie Davidov's collotype album on Russian lace-making (Figure 38).[50]

I would argue that Gemabarzewski's *Archiwum Ikonograficzne* project sprang both from the Polish iconographic library tradition and from the models of the official imperial visual archives, such as the Imperial Public Library's photographic and collotype album collection. Importantly, the difference in the choice of such different media as watercolour and photography between Gembarzewski's and Stasov's projects is apparent. It may plausibly be argued that the photographic language of the library's unique albums was very similar to the one based on watercolour and pursued in the Archiwum Ikonograficzne. Both Stasov and Gembarzewski envisaged a world of learning based on the prestige of atlases, encyclopaedias and voluminous albums. Both also aimed for the universal recognition of their national culture.

FIGURE 37 *Samarkanskiya drevnosti*, albumen prints. From the *Turkestan Album*, 1872. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

FIGURE 38 A page from S. Davidoff, *La Dentelle russe*, 1878. Author's own

Interestingly, the effects of the impressive and expensive efforts generously sponsored by the state during the reign of Nicholas I were nearly as modest as the unofficial, incoherent and incomparable in scale attempts pursued by the Polish elite. As late as in 1921 the French art historian Louis Réau (1881–1961) described the knowledge about Russian culture in the West in the following words:

> Russia is considered by geographers as an integral part of Europe and Slavs belong in the same way as Latin and Germanic peoples to the Indo-European family. Paradoxically however, the Russian civilisation is still less known than certain Asian civilisations of the Near and Far East. The Russian icon is certainly less known than the Persian miniature, Chinese porcelain or Japanese engraving. […] Our art history handbooks either completely ignore Russian art or assign it a place on the margins. While we have dozens of publication on French, Flemish or Italian art, Russian art hardly fills four or five library shelves. Accordingly, Russia remains a *terra incognita*, or to use the mot the Byzantinist Strzygowski applied to Minor Asia: 'a new land for art history'.[51]

Réau was not only well acquainted with the St Petersburg cultural and academic circles, including the editors of such periodicals as *Staryje Gody* (Bygone Years) and *Apollon* and such figures as Igor Grabar and Alexandre Benois, but he also knew well the iconographic and library holdings of the Imperial Public Library and the Imperial Academy of Arts. The illustrations published in his *L'art Russe* (Russian Art), a richly illustrated handbook of Russian art history, belong to the Russian iconographic project: 'Most of the prints on architecture were made after Barshchevskii's photographs, some of them are taken from Igor Grabar's *Istoria Russkogo Iskusstva* (History of Russian Art). Those representing icons and frescos are borrowed from the works of Mouraviev (in the Ostroukhov collection), Georgievski (in the Ferapontov Monastery) and Pervoukhin (in St Elias Church in Yaroslav).'[52] Arguably, *L'art Russe*, prepared during Réau's stay in St Petersburg as the director of the Institut français established in 1911[53] and printed from 1921 to 1922 in Paris, should be considered the first important Western contribution based on the scientific and iconographic institutional efforts undertaken already during the times of Nicholas I.

Atlases, albums, illustrated books, periodicals and finally Réau's work, together created the first authoritative definition of Russian art and culture within the universally recognized Western canon and significantly preceded the admission of Russian artefacts in universal museums, such as the Louvre, the British Museum and even the Hermitage (which didn't have a special Russian section). The same refers to Polish art and culture, which was not only defined with the means of the chromolithographic atlas but attracted Western attention at around the same time and even from the same French art historian. Rèau's richly illustrated article 'The Art of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance in Poland', published in a special issue of the periodical *L'art et les artistes* (Art and the Artists), may arguably be considered as the first Western description of Polish art.[54] As Mary Stuart has rightly pointed out, in

Russia 'the formation of national identity was a function of Westernization'.[55] Cultural heritage – just as in Poland – was framed here in Western terms and with reference to Western standards. Both in Russia and in Poland the iconographic project was the main tool of such authoritative definitions. The world of the expensive antiquarian atlases should be seen as the first attempt to establish a Western canon of art and culture, and also as a space of negotiation over its boundaries and reach. In their definition I would even use André Malraux's subsequent term of 'the imaginary museum' (*musée imaginaire*). It can also be argued that the creation of the canon of world art and its universal recognition was mainly based on reproductions popularized in scientific books and albums.

PICTORIAL SURVEY PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE VISUALIZATION OF POLAND

The ambitious aims inscribed in the *Archiwum Ikonograficzne* project were never realized: neither of the planned series of reproductions, atlases and encyclopaedias was published. Moreover, as early as 1918 the collection was incorporated into the structure of the Warsaw National Museum, a civic institution established in 1916. In the Second Polish Republic the archive's main task was the visual documentation of the Museum exhibits. It may be argued that in a short period of time it was transformed from a national and state institution into a simple museum visual library. This should not come as a surprise. The exclusive and academic language of the atlas and encyclopaedia pursued by the *Archiwum* was, after all, a product of nineteenth-century culture, which did not have the power to reach the ever expanding public nor to create a convincing national vision matching the ambitions of a modern twentieth-century state. Moreover, the cultural definition of the nation within the boundaries of the new state, which emerged between 1918 and 1923 from a long process of political negotiations and military conflicts in the aftermath of the First World War, required an appealing spatial and geographical merging and uniformization. Thus, Poland's visual circumscription in the interwar period was achieved with the means of pictorial survey photography and by a vulgarized touristic iconography. I am referring here to two popular illustrated series launched in the 1930s based on private initiatives of publishing houses: *Polska w krajobrazie i zabytkach* (Poland in Landscape and Monuments)[56] and the *Cuda Polski* (Marvels of Poland).[57]

The new visual form and language of these publications was, as in the earlier periods, modelled on Western, and in particular French, examples. The *Cuda Polski* referred closely to famous French series of handbooks on the countries and regions of France and of the world, published by the Arthoud publishing house in Grenoble: the *Collection les Beaux Pays*. They were issued in the same handy *in octavo* format, richly illustrated with photographs, and provided with a colour cover. Similarly, *Polska w krajobrazie i zabytkach* owed much to *Le visage de la France* (The Image of France; 1925–1932) of the Paris publishing house, Horizons de France,[58]

and *Le Pays de France* (The Country of France; 1925–1926) published by Hachette in Paris, two *in quarto* albums showing each of the eighteen regions of France in photographs of monuments, landscapes and people.[59] These Polish and French publications spoke with the same descriptive and visual language: through short and comprehensive essays of established academicians and writers, and with the same motifs (from snow-flakes and botanical specimens to aerial views), shown by means of pictorial photography reproduced in high-quality heliogravure. They also followed an analogous geographical and administrative order of presentation. Importantly, neither the French nor Polish editions, being deprived of practical information and of touring routes (like the Michelin or Guides Bleus series), can be defined as guidebooks. They are like precious bibliophile editions of comprehensive encyclopaedias and handbooks, and should be defined as propaganda works aimed at the popularization of the country and its regions. They were an integral part of both official and private initiatives aimed at promoting national and regional tourism, which in France was already coordinated from 1910 by the Office National de Tourisme, and in Poland by the Tourism Office established in 1919 within the framework of the Ministry of Public Works. Thus, such editions were an element of tourist propaganda aimed above all at the national and international promotion of regional tourism.[60]

In the introduction to the *Polska w krajobrazie i zabytkach*, its editor, Władysław Dzwonkowski, noted that the previous iconographic efforts of visualizing Poland were incomplete and expressed with an inadequate language: 'So far we have not produced an album encompassing all our land with its peculiar landscape and folk types as well as its most precious monuments. Such an exact picture of our country could have been based only on the most perfect photography.'[61] He further stressed that in order to achieve this ambitious goal 'it was necessary to raise a generation of photographers of the highest measure'. Noting the boom in survey photography already evident in the pre-war period and the establishment of important photographic collections by landscape and cultural heritage societies, he stressed the unequal quality and incompleteness of such photographs and collections. He also argued that the pre-war documentation was often out of date, presenting, for example, an urban landscape of another epoch, overwhelmed by Russian signboards. He was convinced that the national visual definition should be performed *de novo* only by world renowned photographers, who would dedicate their talent and time to a systematic survey of the country. Moreover, he knew that this ambitious project could be conceived and realized thanks to just one photographer:

> The edition of an album illustrating Poland as a whole was possible only with the advent of Jan Bułhak. This first class photographer, who had been already awarded around 150 prizes, medals, diplomas at the international photographic exhibitions from Paris to New York and Tokyo, achieved alone ca. 20,000 survey photographs of Poland, meticulously illustrating all of Lithuania, Belarus, Pomerania, Poznań, Warsaw, Lublin, Cracow and L'viv.

Accordingly, Bułhak's pictures constituted more than one-third of the total 1,400 album illustrations. A large share also consisted of the works of other leading professional and amateur photographers of the interwar period who were active in the photographic societies and touring clubs: Henryk Poddębski, Zdzisław Marcinkowski, the atelier Photo-Plat, Jan Jaroszyński, Tadeusz Szydłowski and Juliusz Kłos. The album was completed by a careful choice of single photographs made by provincial amateurs.

Visual completeness was the album's main challenge, and the illustrations were carefully chosen in order to reflect Poland in its totality:

> We aimed at a comprehensive picture of Poland with illustrations encompassing the sea, mountains, rivers, lakes, our fields, meadows, parks, woods; old churches, Greek Catholic churches and wooden synagogues, larch manor houses, belfries, roadside chapels and figures, examples of Polish monumental architecture – both secular and sacral – in all the subsequent artistic styles (Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, Classicism); folk types; field works, religious processions and military parades, mines and factories; house and palace interiors, cul-de-sacs and castle ruins.[62]

Importantly, the presentation followed the administrative division of the Second Polish Republic: the first fascicule was devoted to the capital of Warsaw, and the following gave an overview of each of the seventeen voivodeships (main administrative regions). The album, like the nineteenth-century atlases, was printed in issues: each contained a set of illustrations, listed with a description and a short explanatory essay. Two to four pictures were juxtaposed on a page and the illustrations were printed on both sides. The photographic language standardized and codified the picture: browsing through the album one had the impression of harmony and complementarity. The main thesis of the album was exemplified by the means of the illustrations: 'A great, singled-out unity is hidden in the changing and various dress of our landscape, from the shores of Kashubia to the Tatra mountain paths, from the Oder meadows to the ravines in Volhynia and the waters of the Svityaz' lake.'

The pictorial photographic language of the album, codified in this period in the Polish photographic press and literature, is perfectly exemplified in Henryk Poddębski's (1890–1945) pictures (Figure 39) and in his recommendations for the survey of the Polish countryside:

> Our village […] is civilizing itself. It sheds its beautiful dress, neglects the old rites and traditions. Perhaps only photography has the power to save it. Thus the amateurs must capture the true image of this bygone word. […] In order to have a touristic and cognitive value, such pictures must be taken according to certain rules. We have to photograph people in the natural surroundings of their everyday life. If we want to picture types or groups we should avoid the background of walls, sheets or similar items, which make our models look like museum mannequins. The pose must be natural, it cannot be stiff with the eyes gauged in the camera's direction, and the model

FIGURE 39 Henryk Poddębski, Hutsuls at the Cheremosh River, gelatine silver print, 1934. Courtesy of the National Library of Poland.

> should not be conscious of the photographer's presence. We should picture such motifs as: the Corpus Christi procession, the traditional *dożynki*,[63] a shepherd boy with his flock on a mountainside; a Goral at a stream in his beautiful traditional dress with a mountain range in the distance; a portrait of a girl in a traditional Łowicz dress on the background of the praying masses. The main motif should be rendered in sharp focus, and the rest with a softness forming a perfect back-round.[64]

Exactly such picturesque and standardized motifs as the church processions, the Gorals and the Łowicz girls fill the pages of the *Polska w krajobrazie i zabytkach*. Thus, it should not come as a surprise that the album pursued an ethnographic vision composed of the most popular and picturesque types, such as the Hutsuls represented in the photographs of Mikołaj Seńkowski in Kosiv, largely popularized at around this time also by means of postcards (Figure 40). Importantly, through such visual standardization the ethnic diversity of Poland was blurred and reduced to a haunting motive. Not surprisingly in the whole album there is just one illustration devoted to the Jews, an ethnic group which at the time constituted over 10 per cent of the Second Polish Republic's population. The same refers to the illustrations of

FIGURE 40 Mikołaj Seńkowski, Hutsuls. From the album *Polska w krajobrazie i zabytkach*, 1930. Author's own.

the multi-ethnic architectural heritage. Few examples of Greek Catholic churches and synagogues can be found on the pages of the album. However, such buildings were pictured in detachment from their cultural and human context; with only the architectonic qualities in focus (some of the photographs even reflect the knowledge of photogrammetry). Reproduced on the same page as other motifs (churches, castles, folklife), they were circumscribed in the all-encompassing vision of the Polish cultural landscape. Importantly, the album intermingled several aerial photographs: bird's-eye views of cities, villages, castle ruins or landscapes, which farther reinforced the impression of a harmonious, uniform and all-encompassing national vision of land and culture.

The *Polska w krajobrazie i zabytkach* was modelled on the albums and handbooks issued by internationally recognized publishing houses, such as the Ernst Wasmuth Verlag. The quality of the illustration and of the print was considered a foremost matter (the first two fascicules were printed in the Fretz & Wasmuth Verlag in Zurich and in the Loewe Verlag in Vienna). The album was addressed to both Polish and international readers. The former received a kind of handy and comprehensive handbook of Poland, and the latter received a large set of illustrations inviting them to visit this European country. Thus the album, despite its format, resembled a guidebook. The figure of the tourist, both Polish and from abroad, was repetitively invoked in the introduction and in the separate essays. In this sense it closely resembles the *Cuda Polski* series. This private initiative of the Poznań publishing house, Wydawnictwo Polskie R. Wegnera, specializing in high-quality luxurious and bibliophile editions, was also based on the photographic output and ideas of Jan Bułhak. The Vilnius master was not only the author of numerous illustrations but also the designer of the series, as well as consultant on the choice and reproduction of photographs. The series followed a slightly different division in terms of the main geographical regions of Poland[65] and the principal cities.[66] However, its photographic vision of the cultural landscape was very similar, consisting of 'the beauty of landscape, memorials of work, and monuments of the past', as well as folklife. The images, carefully chosen from the photographic archives of regional societies, libraries, museums, holdings of local amateur photographers and state survey institutions, reflected a more detailed and varied vision than the one presented in the *Polska w krajobrazie i zabytkach*. For example, while in the latter the Stanisławów Voivodeship was illustrated with 90 photographs, in the former 220 illustrations were devoted to only a part of the region consisting of the Gorgany and Chornohora mountains (the Hutsul region). Thus, the *Cuda Polski* presented both the macro-cosmos and the micro-cosmos of the regions: from bird's-eye views on the mountain ranges to close-up examples of species of flora and fauna peculiar to Poland. Thanks to the standardized size of the illustrations, the uniform graphic layout and the printing process (all the heliogravures were prepared by the editor's printing workshop), each book and the series as the whole formed a harmonious vision. The nation- and state-building aims of the series were reflected not only in its

title but also in the literary mottos of each volume (i.e. the 'Carpathian mountains and Subcarphatian region' was introduced by a telling quote from the romantic playwright, Aleksander Fredro: 'This is Poland – our homeland').

* * *

Stephen Bann, in his analysis of the early nineteenth-century historic lithographic cycles, noted that the emergence of an independent visual narration of the past relied on two principles: technical surprise and seriality.[67] His observations perfectly fit both the antiquarian atlases and the propagandistic photographic tourist handbooks analysed here. It may be said that the authority of their visual narration sprang from their innovative picturing and printing techniques, as well as the organization and presentation of the chosen types of objects, monuments, landscapes and folk types. One may ask, however, whether these two principles are the only common elements of two different publishing genres, reflecting very distinct understandings and framings of cultural patrimony.

In 1848, the year in which the last fascicules of Alexandre du Sommerard's opus magnum were published, the completed work referred to objects already in the public domain, for in 1842, after du Sommerard's death, the collection in the Hôtel de Cluny was bought by the state and within a year opened as a public museum. I would argue, however, that already in du Sommerard's staging, both in the Hôtel de Cluny's interiors and on the pages of the atlas, this private collection comprising inter alia the shrines of the French kings and the French church, was transformed into a national saga. Arguably, the antiquarian atlas stood alongside such institutions as state museums and the first office of monuments protection[68] – established in France as early as 1830 – as an important space in fashioning the official national cultural heritage and creating its status. While in France the state institutionalization of cultural heritage went hand in hand with and was reinforced by its visual definitions undertaken from the private initiatives of collectors, amateurs, artists and scholars, in the Russian Empire, and the Polish lands subjected to it, such academic visualizations preceded the institutional state definitions of national heritage. While the *Antiquities of the Russian State* were symbolically transformed into national patrimony and gave a historic value to objects in the possession of the Orthodox Church or the House of Romanov, the *Wzory*, by juxtaposing objects in church treasuries and private collections, created a heritage of a stateless nation. The same direct connection between institutional and visual definitions of cultural patrimony is also well reflected in the tourist handbooks. Not surprisingly one of the general introductory essays of the *Polska w krajobrazie i zabytkach* album was devoted to the history and present state of Polish monument and landscape protection.[69]

The juxtaposition of the French, Polish and Russian examples of atlases, iconographic projects and tourist handbooks has shown that in Europe, even in very different political, social and cultural contexts, nations and states framed

their historical past embedded in cultural heritage in the same way. In the period under consideration, not only did this national vision undergo a similar evolution of widening the definition of cultural heritage, on the one hand, and of new means and techniques of their visualization, on the other, but a common cultural canon and standards of its visual presentation were elaborated to fit such different entities as France, the multi-ethnic Russian Empire and the stateless Polish nation. This was definitely a Western canon and a Western language, and a vision encompassing the European nation-state. In such authoritative framings the Polish nation was fashioning itself in the guise of potent European states and empires, such as France and Imperial Russia, blurring and marginalizing its complex multi-ethnic and multi-national history, traditions and landscape.

The new independent Polish state in the short interwar period has been described in terms of its political borders (from a general overview to single administrative regions and main cities) with a uniform language of pictorial survey photography. This visual synthesis popularized by means of loose photographs, photographic books and albums, richly illustrated guidebooks, schoolbooks, press, advertisements or train exhibitions played a fundamental role in the nation as a state-building process, that is in the creation of a common national consciousness and in the international legitimization of the new state. This stylistically homogenous vision owes much to the personality and authority of Jan Bułhak. Not only did he undertake the photographic project of picturing Poland as a whole but his work was central to all enterprises of this kind undertaken in this period. However, its importance, maturity and completeness also owed much to an earlier, well-established tradition.

CHAPTER FIVE

The German Vision of Eastern Europe during the Two World Wars

In his memoirs, Jan Bułhak, referring to his encounter with German photographic culture and his involvement in the German survey projects on the Eastern Front, recognized in particular the short wartime German occupation of Vilnius (1914–1918) as a formative experience. His *Polska w obrazach* interwar photographic project was arguably established firmly in German photographic culture.

In this chapter I will analyse the German photographic definitions of the cultural landscape in Eastern Europe during the two world wars. I will show that survey photography was an important tool of conquest, appropriation and control over the occupied territory. I will argue, however, that such photographic definitions cannot be fully explained through the focus of wartime propaganda alone and that they sprang from the specifically German photographic culture, a specifically German interest in the East and a specifically German national identity, of which one of the most enduring tropes was the concept of German culture as opposed to Eastern barbarism.[1] This confrontation with one's own culture and civilization through the East acquired particular significance and impetus during both twentieth-century world conflicts, when German troops took under their control and administration vast expanses of eastern European territory.

PHOTOGRAPHY ON THE EASTERN FRONT

The First World War was the first military conflict in which photography was used as a true mass medium of visual communication, providing evidence and appealing propaganda material popularized with the means of the press, albums, postcards and exhibitions.[2] It even had its own publishing genres: the illustrated war journal (e.g. the German *Illustrierte Kriegszeitung* [The Illustrated War Journal] or the Russian *Letopis Vainy* [Annales of the War]) and the war album or atlas (e.g. the three-volume *Grosser Bilder Atlas des Weltkriegs* [The Big Illustrated Atlas of the World War] with around six thousand mainly photographic illustrations). The production and use of photography, in particular on the front, was a controlled, regulated and censored activity. Professional photographers were rarely admitted to document on the front, and soldier amateur photographers equipped with pocket cameras were rarely granted the right to make photographs even for private use. In order to satisfy the growing demand for visual documentation from the front, official military visual propaganda agencies were established by the states involved in the conflict. For example, the *Kriegspressequartier* (War Press Bureau), the propaganda department of the Austro-Hungarian army, was responsible for the production and distribution of any kind of visual material: paintings, drawings, photographs, films, music and even dance. Its photographic output, preserved today in the Austrian National Library, amounted to an archive of over thirty thousand high-quality glass negatives.[3]

Such vast visual archives provided illustrative material for both traditional coverage of the war (with the overview of the battles and portraits of the main generals and officers) and new insights, such as the documentation of landscapes and peoples inhabiting the conquered lands and the front zones. The latter survey coverage in particular formed a peculiarity of the German Eastern Front experience. *Die 5. Reserve-Division im Weltkrieg. 300 Bilder aus Belgien, Polen, Litauen und Frankreich* (5. Reserve-Division in the World War. 300 Pictures from Belgium, Poland, Lithuania and France),[4] an album with photographic coverage of both fronts, shows this clearly. The division fought in Belgium, France and for around two years on the Eastern Front, and the album offers a narration of changing views and landscapes, which follows chronologically the path traversed by the soldiers. The coverage of the Belgian campaign is dominated by an urbanized landscape, views of damaged medieval and Renaissance monuments, rivers, roads, scenes from the trenches, and single and group portraits of the division's soldiers and officials. The French section, with its peopleless landscape of mutilated towns and monuments combined with close-ups of weapons and battle scenes, reflects a war experience marked by industrial warfare. The landscape of the Eastern Front, on the other hand, with its kaleidoscope of ethnographic pictures of villages, types, folk scenes and winter and summer views is rural and dominated by everyday people. It is intermingled with, but not dominated by, war scenes, close-ups of the daily life of the division, as well as portraits of its officials and soldiers. The *5. Reserve-Division* album is described as an 'illustrated chronicle', 'a

durable memory' of the wartime 'generational experience'. Such 'memory books' were addressed to the German soldier, his family and heirs, as well as to German society as a whole, aimed at an approachable, complete and captivating visual description of the war. On the Eastern Front this was first and foremost an experience of the unknown territories conquered during the military operations.

In 1915, the great advance on the Eastern Front placed a huge area of the western provinces of the Russian Empire under the German and Austro-Hungarian Armies' control. This was a complex cultural landscape, a patchwork of peoples, languages, religions, cultures and identities scattered on vast, poor, often non-urbanized, even desolated, areas badly devastated by war. The encounter of the thousands of German soldiers with this physical territory and its ethnic and cultural landscape produced what Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius called 'the mental landscape conjured up by looking out over an area: ways of organizing the perception of a territory, its characteristic features and landmarks'.[5] In his groundbreaking book, *War Land on the Eastern Front*, he argued that the vision of the East and what might be done there constituted the most enduring effect of the German occupation. By focusing both on the single impressions of the soldiers of all ranks expressed in diaries or letters and on the various cultural, economic, scientific, and social projects undertaken by the German administration in the Land Ober Ost (the administrative unit established by the German army in the occupied western provinces of the Russian Empire), he presented the occupation as an encounter with the hostile and barbarian, on the one hand, and as a complex and ambitious project to describe, organize and order it according to civilizational and cultural standards, on the other.[6] Liulevicius's vivid reconstruction of the German mindscape of the East, however, misses an important element: it lacks illustrations. Meanwhile, the German conquest of unknown landscapes and spaces was also visual.

In his eyewitness account of the years from 1915 to 1918 in Warsaw, the historian Aleksander Kraushar (1843–1931) described a particular photographic album as one of the most arresting overviews of the German occupation and an example of truly effective propaganda.[7] He was referring to *Generalgouvernement Warschau*, an *in quarto* volume filled with 315 photographic reproductions issued in 1918 and distributed both in Germany and in Warsaw.[8] The album follows the administrative division of the General Government, the administrative unit established by the German occupiers on the lands of the former Polish Kingdom, presenting in separate sections Warsaw and the ten military administrative units. Each section is illustrated along the same pattern: single and group portraits of German generals and officers and pictures of the administrative seats serve as an introduction to a carefully chosen set of photographs illustrating the particularities of the region and the historical moment. Warsaw is shown in its historical monuments, Orthodox churches, parks, panoramic views, snapshots from its busy streets, the Old Town district, views of festivities, the landscapes, villages, folklife and ethnographic types from its environs. Such pictures are intermingled with views of military bridges, cemeteries, forts and destroyed monuments. Many have German soldiers in the foreground. The chapters on the single military administrative

FIGURE 41 A page from the album *Generalgouvernement Warschau*, 1918. Author's own.

units, although not as richly illustrated, follow a similar pattern (Figure 41). One of the album's illustrations – a panorama view of the Warta river being admired by a German solider – is a perfect expression of its visual propagandistic message: a total and ordered control of the occupied territories and its cultural landscape.

The good quality of the pictures, alongside the experience in dealing with such subjects as folklore, landscape and architecture, should not come as a surprise. The German army not only employed professional photographers to keep documentary records for press releases and other propaganda purposes, but it also had among its officers numerous scholars and established institutes to pursue research on the conquered lands. Thus, the German surveys on the Eastern Front were organized within the framework of German wartime research projects – *Landeskunde* (regional geography) and *Kunstschutz* (monument preservation). The advancement of the front provided a unique opportunity for such explorations in a land with an undeveloped train and road network. Thus, the German surveys were the first of such reach and scale to be undertaken in Eastern Europe.

LANDESKUNDE: THE PHOTOGRAPHIC SENSIBILITY OF AN ACADEMIC SURVEY PROJECT OF THE EASTERN FRONT

Virtually all the survey illustrations in the *Generalgouvernement Warschau* album reproduced pictures from the archive of the Landeskundliche Kommission, a geographic institute established in Warsaw in 1915 with the aim of creating the basis

for an efficient territorial administration and to describe and evaluate the natural resources of the occupied lands, both for the needs of the present-day military reality and for a future colonization project.[9] *Landeskunde* linked physical and human geography in an attempt to delimit particular areas and portray them in the totality of natural and human relations. The Kommission's multi-faceted research projects aimed to produce complete scientific descriptions and were grounded in direct contact with the occupied spaces. Thus, in the years from 1916 to 1917, several expeditions under the aegis of various scholarly disciplines were organized, which were directed towards a cartographic, ethnographic, geological and architectonic description of the General Government.

Each of the Kommission's members was a skilled photographer and the visual output of the surveys is impressive: it was organized in an archive, which towards the end of the occupation contained three thousand negatives.[10] This collection reflects a focus on land, people, customs and heritage. The wartime references are limited to a few pictures of refugees, destroyed churches and the figures of soldiers in the background. The bulk of the photographs was taken by the Kommission's members (Erich Wunderlich, Hans Praesent and Max Friederichsen) and several photographers (Mohl, Knoth, Wolff, Lindau and Behmcke), possibly soldiers or military officials, whose names do not appear on the lists of the Kommission's employees. Surprisingly, this collection goes well beyond the scientific and reveals several photographic personalities. Behmcke's pictures of the Warsaw Jewish sellers or of the Łęczyca region peasants are taken with an artistic eye and sensibility, and should be described more in terms of artistic portrait studies than ethnographic typology (Figure 42). Hans Praesent (1888–1946), the Kommission's librarian and scholar responsible for statistical research, was particularly fascinated by the street market scenes of the towns and villages. Arved Schultz (1883–1967) took numerous picturesque ethnographic impressions of the crowds before Sunday mass, playing children and women carrying water, Max Friederichsen specialized in city views (Figure 43).

The archive played a central role in the Kommission's activity. One of its first and main outputs contained fifty-five photographic illustrations. The *Handbuch von Polen* (Handbook of Poland), a joint effort by the Kommission's members under the direction of Erich Wunderlich, offered a concise and total vision of the General Government by mapping, describing and visualizing the region in its geopolitical borders, geological construction, climatic qualities, botanical and zoological particularities, ethnographic distribution, and in the specificity of its settlements, in its agriculture and industry, in the mineral resources, in the distribution of its forests, etc.[11] This was the first volume of the *Beiträge zur Polnischen Landeskunde* (Studies on Polish Regional Geography), a series conceived in four parallel runs: academic monographs, atlases and richly illustrated popular books, articles published in German academic journals and thematic lanternslide lectures. While none of the planned academic monographs was published before the end of the war, and the articles were addressed only to a

FIGURE 42 Behmcke, a market scene, gelatine silver print, *c.* 1915–1918. Courtesy of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Cracow.

FIGURE 43 Max Friederichsen, View of Kazimierz Dolny, gelatine silver print, 1916. Courtesy of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Cracow.

small group of scholars, the popular series of atlases and lanternslides formed the main output of the Kommission's activity.

Erich Wunderlich (1889–1945) in the introduction to the *Ethnographischer Bilderatlas von Polen* (Illustrated Ethnographic Atlas of Poland) explained that the volume was based on the photo archive (*Bildersammlung*) and that its narration was visual.[12] He noticed that it was possible to give a scholarly overview of a land and peoples only by means of illustrations and that such a narration, contrary to its written equivalent, was truly objective. Moreover, he defined the Warsaw photo archive as a historic source, documenting a primitive and primordial cultural landscape already subject to change and modernization.[13] The author of the *Ethnographischer Bilderatlas von Polen*, Arved Schultz, a geographer from the University of Giessen, based his narration on a choice of one hundred twelve photographs from his own surveys organized according to ethnographic categories: anthropological types, ethnographic groups, dress, material culture and a separate section on Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ruthenian ethnic groups. The pictures appeared only with a short description and each section was preceded by a concise one-page introduction (Figure 44). An analysis of several hundreds of Schultz's photographs preserved in the Kommission's archive reveals an interest in the outstanding and already studied regions of folk culture in the General Government, Ober Ost and Galicia (Łowicz, Zakopane and the environs of Vilnius), a focus on the ethnographic cultural landscape and a good knowledge of ethnographical and anthropological photographic instructions. Similarly, the other

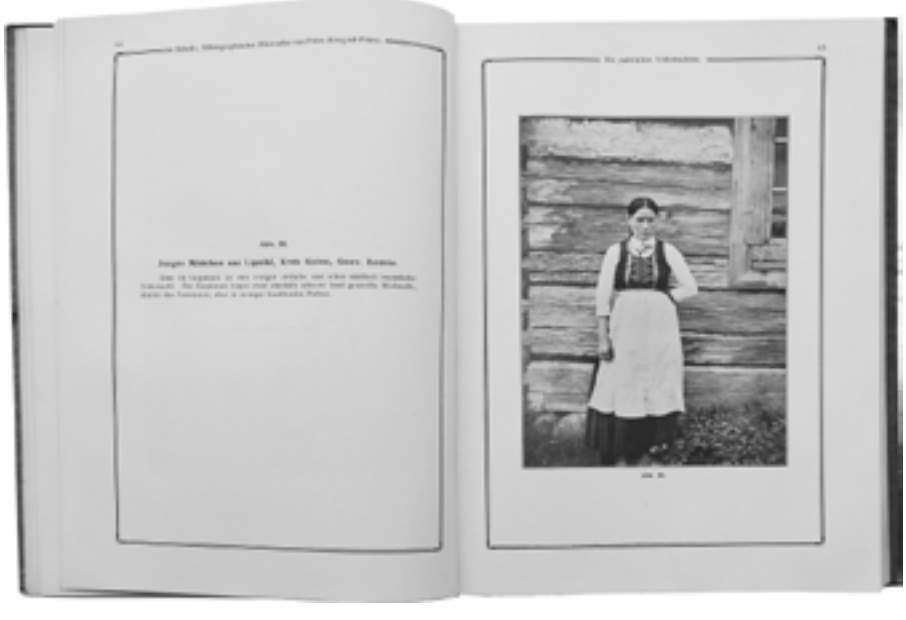

FIGURE 44 A page from the *Ethnographischer Bilderatlas von Polen*, 1918. Author's own.

volumes of the atlas series should be connected to the photographic surveys pursued by their authors. Wunderlich focused on geological and land relief photographic surveys and on landscape views, which he used as an illustration of his chapter on the surface structure in the *Handbuch von Polen* and in his *Geographischer Bilderatlas von Polen* (Illustrated Geographic Atlas of Poland).[14] Max Friederichsen (1874–1941) from the University of Greifswald, one of the Kommission's most established academics, focused on landscape and city views for the volume *Landschaften und Städte Polens und Litauens* (Views and Cities in Poland and Lithuania).[15]

The plan of a total *Landeskunde* delineation of the occupied lands on the Eastern Front was never fully realized. Just one volume of the monograph series was published, and that too was only in 1921.[16] This will not come as a surprise: it was virtually impossible for a very small group of scholars to achieve an exhaustive academic survey of a quite large region in the short time span of two years during a war. Even the *Handbuch von Polen* was strongly criticized in Polish academic circles, not only for its propagandistic overtone but also for the numerous mistakes and lacunae.[17] The popular series of atlases and illustrated handbooks with six parallel lanternslide shows addressed to German primary and high schools was certainly a bigger success: of the planned sixteen titles, as many as nine were published from 1917 to 1921.[18] The impression of an organized and photographic vision was, however, elusive and the use of the photographic language only partially covered the Kommission's basic research gaps and errors. The photo archive, seen as a whole, is characterized by movement (numerous panoramic views, roads, carriages, etc.), hastiness and superficiality. It resembles the collection of a local *Heimatschutz* amateur society more than that of a serious scientific institution, and it reflects first and foremost the German photographic sensibility towards culture and landscape. Its vision was approachable and appealing, but superficial. The true novelty of the *Landeskunde* survey project consisted, therefore, in its ambitions to create and popularize by means of photography an image of the Polish-occupied lands.

KUNSTSCHUTZ: THE PHOTOGRAPHIC DEFINITIONS OF ARTISTIC HERITAGE ON THE EASTERN FRONT

Kunstschutz was the German response to the French and Belgian accusations of pillage and despoilment of cultural heritage. The bombardment of the pearls of universal art and culture on the Western Front, in particular the Leuven Library and the Reims cathedral, was condemned as an uncivilized act of barbarism. Newspapers, professional journals, academic books and popular albums were filled with photographs documenting the French and Belgian historic cities and medieval cathedrals damaged by German bombs, using them as an image of Germany's uncivilized proverbial barbarism. Thus, a group of German art and architecture experts (the 'Art-officers', who accompanied the troops on every battlefield), launched

a large-scale project of surveys to prove that under the occupation the priceless cultural heritage of France and Belgium was safeguarded, fully studied and appreciated.[19] Paul Clemen (1866–1947), an art historian famous for his inventory of the artistic heritage in the Rhein province, was the mastermind of the *Kunstschutz* project: the founder of a state-sponsored commission for the photographic documentation of monuments in the General Government in Belgium and of the *Hofbauabteilung* (building office) in the General Government in Warsaw and in the Ober Ost. Moreover, Clemen also coordinated such documentation in the territories of the Russian Empire under the Austrian administration. This was realized in the framework of the activity of the Imperial-Royal Central Commission for the Investigation and Conservation of Historic Monuments. In Belgium, *Kunstschutz* was a truly German academic project, which engaged around forty top German art historians and produced an impressive archive of around twelve thousand photographs and drawings for the exclusive use of German scholars.[20] Such surveys of cultural heritage, well established in international scholarship, constituted a true act of appropriation and contained a strong element of propaganda.

On the Eastern Front, the *Kunstoffiziers* had to deal with a terra incognita for Western art history.[21] Even the main monuments of Warsaw were still hardly known, studied or popularized. In contrast to the *Kunstschutz* project in Belgium, the discovery and survey of this unknown artistic heritage was a joint venture of the German administration and Polish societies and scholars. In Warsaw, for example, the *Hofbauabteilung* strictly collaborated with the network of the main civic societies. The custody over the former residences of the Russian administration was entrusted to the Committee for the Protection of Public Monuments established by the members of the SPAM and other Warsaw civic societies. Its activity in the years from 1915 to 1917 created the framework for the largest Polish wartime survey project, which produced, among other outputs, hundreds of detailed professional plans, architectural drawings and photographs of the former seat of the Russian administration in the Royal Castle and the residence of the tsars in Łazienki.[22]

Exemplary photographs from this survey were published as the illustrations to the chapter on the General Government in *Kunstschutz im Kriege* (Protection of Art during War), an impressive two-volume richly illustrated panorama of the German *Kunstschutz* project.[23] Its authors, Paul Clemen and Heinrich Griesebach, underlined that a systematic survey and registration of monuments in the General Government and other territories of the former Russian Empire were launched and organized by the highest representatives of the German administration and entrusted to both the *Hofbauabteilung* and Polish societies and scholars. The visual part of both volumes of the *Kunstschutz im Kriege* strengthens the impression of order and uniformity in a narration centred on architecture, art and monument protection. Ugo Ojetti's photographs from Venice, Tadeusz Szydłowski's from Galicia and those from the German surveys in Belgium follow similar picturing rules. The work is filled with peopleless photogrammetric views (i.e. allowing exact

measurements from the photographs) of destroyed architectural monuments often juxtaposed with the illustrations of their pre-war state of preservation. Thus, the *Kunstschutz* programme was harmonized in every single detail. Its main organizers travelled between the distant centres of the war to make a general survey of the main monuments, and the local actors were presumably provided with detailed instructions.[24]

The *Kunstschutz* project was, however, not only about scholarship and documentation, but also arose from true fascination and photographic sensibility. Vilnius, with its picturesque location, unusual baroque churches, Jewish district and cul-de-sacs, was indeed the main discovery of the *Kunstschutz* project on the Eastern Front. Its captivating image, established at the time of occupation by means of lantern lectures, press articles, guidebooks, postcards, etc., owes much to the extensive use of photography, which only partially can be inscribed in the *Kunstschutz* survey guidelines. On the one hand, it presents a detailed documentation of an intact city, on the other, it is characterized both by its documentary character and by its artistic and picturesque quality.

Initially, Vilnius was growing as an important centre of photography in the Russian Empire. The first daguerreotype was made here as early as 1839 and the first photographic studio was opened in 1845. Moreover, this was the first city in the western provinces of the empire to be documented using photographic panorama[25] and in the second half of the nineteenth century its views and monuments were the subject of several exceptional photographic surveys. However, such iconography was small, inconsistent and hardly popularized. Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 1, as a result of restrictions introduced after the fall of the January Uprising in the western provinces of the Russian Empire, the photographic activity – both professional and amateur[26] – became strictly controlled.[27] Thus, the right to open a studio could only be granted by the governor general, and, similarly, outdoor surveys in the city and province required special administrative permission. The latter one referred not only to strategic objects, such as bridges, administrative buildings and railroads, but also to the cultural landscape as a whole: churches, streets, people, festivities, etc. The governor general often rejected such requests on the basis of the applicant's political loyalty or imposed further minute restrictions. Thus, in Vilnius there were few photographic studios and few and far between photographers working on the documentation of the city: Albert Świeykowski, Józef Czechowicz, Tyburcy Chodźko, Stanisław Filbert Fleury.[28] The outcome of such surveys, even if of the highest quality, was very modest (the largest, produced within a dozen or so years by Józef Czechowicz counted just around two hundred pictures) and was popularized only among government circles (several albums were compiled as a gift to the tsar or to the governor general) and the aristocratic, cultural and financial elites.

While all over Europe towards the turn of the nineteenth century the urban scene became one of the most captivating, popular, productive and lucrative subjects of photography, in Vilnius the slow development of this important branch was made

possible only with the tsarist edict of tolerance of 1905 and the October Manifesto, which reinstated several basic civic and national freedoms. The outdoor survey still required administrative permission. However, in 1912, on the initiative of Ferdynand Ruszczyc (1870–1936), a painter and central figure of Vilnius cultural life, the City Photographic Archive was established with Bułhak as its director. For around three years, he prepared more than four hundred fifty pictures bound in albums, with the survey of the Old Town, the Astronomical Observatory, the cathedral, St Peter's and St Paul's baroque church, the governor general's palace, panoramic views of the city from different viewpoints, etc.[29] Bułhak also offered his views for sale. However, his survey pictures attracted the attention of only a few artists, historians and connoisseurs. According to Bułhak's own words, the true turn in the city survey came only with the German occupation: 'I never had such an artistic fervour and productivity […] as in the summer of 1916, when the collection of my photographs of Vilnius grew several times.'[30] This turn was grounded in the cultural and photographic sensibility of the German occupier, on the one hand, and in the *Kunstschutz* project, on the other (Figures 45 and 46).

FIGURE 45 Jan Bułhak, view of Vilnius, gelatine silver print, *c.* 1914–1916. Courtesy of Bułhak family.

FIGURE 46 Jan Bułhak, St Anne's Church in Vilnius, gelatine silver print, *c.* 1914–1916. Courtesy of Bułhak family.

Vilnius and its monuments were actually intact and did not suffer from any of the military operations. The main role of the *Kunstschutz* mission was the description, survey and wide dissemination of the art, architecture and culture of this centre as 'one of the most picturesque and most beautiful cities of the whole East'.[31] Such research was inscribed in the German cultural mission. Its target was both the search for German stylistic and cultural influences, and the inscription of the city and its monuments in Western art history. Art and architectural historians involved in this project – Paul Clemen, Manfred Bühlmann (1885–1955) and Paul Weber (1868–1930), to name just the main ones – traced the German patterns in the medieval urban and architectural forms, while also noticing the complexity of this cultural influence.[32] In popular and academic publications, the typical German propagandistic overtone and sense of superiority gave way to the expression of discovery and true admiration of the cultural and stylistic complexity of Vilnius's architectural landscape. In particular, the attention was focused on the baroque architecture defined for the first time with the term 'Vilnius style'.

Photography, as in other *Kunstschutz* centres, was one of the main tools of this mission. Otherwise, however, the photographic delineation of this large urban centre was achieved by just one local photographer. Bułhak's skills and unmistakable style were noticed right away, and the artist was promptly involved in the mission of protecting, studying and describing the cultural landscape of the conquered lands. Bułhak wrote in his memoirs that even in the first days of occupation, the general

chief of the German railways was assisting him in the panoramic survey of the city taken from the highest building in the Pohulanka district. Most likely it was Clemen who first appreciated Bułhak's photographic project and saw its great potential. In a short article on Vilnius published in the journal *Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte* (Velhagen & Klasings Monthly), he prized Bułhak's views higher than the output of numerous German urban photographers.[33] Subsequently Manfred Bühlmann, the architect and art historian from the Technische Universität in Munich appointed as the city conservator, employed Bułhak in the survey of the Vilnius monuments and granted him considerable freedom to photograph outdoors. We can presume that Bułhak was also Bühlmann's cicerone. The Vilnius photographer recalled in his memoirs these joint excursions, during which Bühlmann carried his equipment, and possibly immortalized his companion in several photographs (Figure 47).

It is not clear who exactly financed Bułhak's surveys and what they consisted of. It seems that a large number of photographs were commissioned by the German administration and designed as a continuation of its art historical city archive.[34] Bühlmann mentioned in 1918 that in this institution there were several hundred prints by Bułhak. This output was both archived as a scholarly source and used in various popular cultural and publishing projects. For example, Bułhak's images were used by Paul Weber, the professor of art history from Jena University, appointed as the conservator of Lithuania in winter 1916, who was responsible for the registration

FIGURE 47 Jan Bułhak, a *Kunstoffizier*, gelatine silver print, *c.* 1914–1916. Courtesy of Bułhak family.

of architectural monuments in the region. During his surveys, he organized popular lantern lectures addressed to the German soldiers on the cultural and artistic landscape of the conquered lands, focusing in particular on Vilnius and illustrated almost exclusively with Bułhak's slides. The most captivating panoramas, views of the city and single monuments also filled the pages of Weber's booklet edited by *Zeitung der 10. Armee*: *Wilna. Eine Vergessene Kunststätte* (Vilnius. A Forgotten City of Art), defined in the introduction as a guide and a souvenir for the German soldier, was a comprehensive art history of the city's monuments filled with one hundred thirty-five illustrations.[35] Starting with seven captivating panoramas of the city, it continued with views and details of the monuments under discussion. As already mentioned, the majority of illustrations consisted of Bułhak's survey photographs, which formed a visual narration in its own right. In the opinion of the German *Kunstoffiziers* on the Eastern Front, it was as important to describe in a scientific and comprehensive way the artistic and architectonic landscape as to visualize it by means of photography. Moreover, Bühlmann was convinced that neither of the German guidebooks (including Weber's richly illustrated one) could render the image of the city as well as Bułhak's photographs.

Bułhak's growing survey collection became an attraction in its own right in this period. In March 1917, an exhibition of his Vilnius and Lithuania cycles was held in the Pac Palace.[36] In this venue, the German administration organized numerous art exhibitions, devoted almost exclusively to the work of German artists.[37] Thus, Bułhak's solo exhibition in March 1917 must be seen as a confirmation of the role played by his survey project in the German cultural mission on the Eastern Front.[38] Bułhak did not limit himself to his survey photographs. On the contrary, he displayed his artistic skills and unmistakable picturesque style. Thus, on the walls and in the loose sheets and albums piled on the tables, one could admire his most atmospheric views of Vilnius and close-ups of its monuments, usually shot in the evening sun or during religious celebrations, next to artistic portraits and landscape views. The review in *Zeitung der 10. Armee* (The Newspaper of the 10th Army) and Bułhak's own memoirs leave no doubt that it was this peculiar, artistic view that strongly captured the eye of the German solider. Unfortunately, we have no data regarding the impact of the exhibition on Bułhak's commercial activity. We may, however, presume that this period brought a wider audience and demand for his works, which were used by the Germans as a captivating, intelligible visual guide and explication of the occupied lands. His pictures were also reproduced in the illustrated supplements of the popular German newspapers issued in the Ober Ost: the *Zeitung der 10. Armee*, the *Wilnaer Zeitung* (The Vilnius Newspaper) and the *Kownoer Zeitung* (The Kaunas Newspaper), as well as in German illustrated booklets and postcard series. The German newspapers had their own photographers on the editorial boards and made an extensive use of the output of the amateur photographers among the soldiers. However, in the reproductions of Vilnius, they almost exclusively used Bułhak's images. Paul Monty's guidebook edited in 1916 by the *Wilnaer Zeitung* is particularly telling.[39] The booklet is

illustrated by six full-page reproductions of survey photographs of Ludwig Boedecker, the newspaper's photographer, of which five (the close-up on the cathedral's elevation from the bell tower, the view on the *Ostra Brama* chapel, the Jewish cemetery, the Easter celebrations, the view on the St Anne's and Bernardine churches) resemble closely Bułhak's photographs. Not only do they repeat similar motives but they are shot from similar viewpoints and follow the same composition.

Bułhak in his memoirs recalled the meeting of Manfred Bühlmann as one of the turning points in his life and compared it to his friendship with Ruszczyc, who not only encouraged his photographic career but with whom he shared the same fascination for Vilnius, its art, culture and monuments.[40] Judging from the role played by his photographs in the various German initiatives, one must assume that his collaboration with the occupiers must have been wide and well grounded. In his memoires he mentions the freedom to photograph and also the possibility for the first time to picture numerous places and buildings banned under the Russian administration. Importantly, the large-scale survey of Vilnius monuments from the years 1916 to 1918 formed a continuation of the pre-war surveys undertaken in the framework of the photographic civic archive. Their focus on monuments and art fitted perfectly the *Kunstschutz*'s aims and principles. The combination of Bułhak's photographic and survey expertise and of his unique sensibility with the German project of scholarly registration produced an exceptional photographic documentation, hardly comparable with any other *Kunstschutz* survey on the Western and Eastern fronts.

MAPPING THE GERMAN ARTISTIC MASTERPIECES. THE PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE EAST AT THE TIME OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

The wartime *Landeskunde* and *Kunstschutz* projects had a great impact on the endorsement of *Ostforschung* (Eastern Studies) as an important German research discipline[41] and on the role accorded to photographic surveys and archives as an *Ostforschung* tool. Research on the East pursued in the framework of German academic institutes and universities from the early 1930s became, moreover, an important element of the National Socialist state propaganda and ideology. The first official German surveys in Poland were organized in 1934 and 1938.[42] Conceived and led by Dagobert Frey (1883–1963) and Günther Grundmann (1892–1976), two established art historians from Wrocław University, they focused on famous monuments, art works and collections. Both trips aimed at conceptualizing the research programme in art history and cultural heritage in the East and to delineate the geographical and historical area of interest. Photography was an important tool both of these surveys and of a planned programme: Frey postulated the establishment of photographic archives in Dresden and Wrocław for the documentation of Poland, in Kaliningrad

for the Baltic area, in Vienna for Hungary and in Graz for the southern Slavic regions.[43] The trips' photographic output organized in a topographical archive was deposited at the Wrocław Institute of Art History as the start of the first *Ostforschung* photographic archive. Moreover, during both surveys Frey and Grundmann focused not only on the monuments but also on the Polish scientific bibliography and on the available research tools, in particular on the main photographic archives. Thus, among others, they became well acquainted with the main survey photographic holdings pertinent to Polish architecture: of the State Monuments Conservation and Documentation office and of the Warsaw Polytechnic School.[44]

With the occupation of Poland, both archives were sequestrated and moved to Cracow. Here they were most probably incorporated in the Central Visual Archive (Zentrales Bildarchiv) of monuments and art works in the eastern lands, established in the framework of the activity of two institutions: the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit (IDO) Art History section and the Nazi conservation office.[45] The IDO, the main German scientific institution on the occupied lands, can be juxtaposed to the Landeskundliche Kommission. However, during the Nazi occupation the German research in the east was pursued in a more professional and academic way: by a larger number of scholars of different disciplines specializing in eastern Europe in the framework of their particular expertise.[46]

To use the example of the Art History section,[47] one of its main projects was the *Atlas zum Kunst im Osten des Abendlandes* (Atlas of the Art in the East of the Western World). This cartographic compendium of the artistic heritage in eastern Europe consisted of an interconnected set of scientific tools: a map of central Europe in the scale of 1:300,000 showing all the monuments of German origin, a topographical card index and a topographical photo archive.[48] The requisitioned Polish photographic collections were also reorganized and re-catalogued to fit the new ideological line. For example, the former negative archive of the SPAM was provided with a new inventory reflecting the new administrative division of the covered territory and compiled in the German language (including the names of localities). Among the pre-war collections gathered by the archive, one could also find the former photographic collection of the Landeskundliche Kommission. Conveyed most probably in view of the planned exhibition on the history of German settlement and German folk culture in the General Governorate it formed a clear link between the German First and Second World War surveys. Arguably, the *Atlas* should be seen as a more consistent and ideologized extension of the *Landeskunde* and *Kunstschutz* visual and cartographic project of mapping the occupied territories.

Despite these impressive plans, a complete visual survey of eastern Europe, however, was not the main goal of the activity of German scholars during the Second World War. In 1940 Edward Titzenthalter, a photographer of the Staatlische Bildstelle (State Photographic Unit), which specialized in the documentation of artistic objects and monuments, made a detailed survey of the main monuments and artistic treasures in Cracow and the nearby localities (Figure 48).[49] Thus, with the mean of

FIGURE 48 Edward Titzenthalter, View of the Wawel Castle, gelatine silver print, 1940. Courtesy of the Art History Department of the JU.

photography, the canon of Polish artistic heritage was appropriated and incorporated in one of the main German photographic archives.

The exhibition 'Art Works and Monuments from Former Poland' inaugurated in October 1939, a few weeks after Hitler's invasion of Poland, in the Schelsisches Museum der Bildenden Künste in Wrocław, perfectly shows the role accorded to photography in the Nazi conquest of the East. Conceived by Frey and Grundmann and based on the 1934 and 1938 surveys, it consisted of just thirty-five photographs, few survey drawings and six maps.[50] The photographs showed a carefully chosen set of established architectonic monuments pointing out their German affinities: imports, stylistic imitations, building techniques, German patrons and artists. Moreover, such choice, which covered more or less the whole territories of former Poland, reflected the large outreach of German artistic influences. Interestingly, Frey also included a photograph of the Supraśl monastery. The image of this church, which at the times of the Russian Empire was used as an emblem of the Russian roots of the arts and culture of its western borderlands (see Chapter 1), proved the reach of German culture exemplified in the monastery's building technique and marked the German political and cultural impact zone. The monuments as well as the photographs were carefully chosen. Frey even referred to the holdings of the Polish Central Bureau for the Registration of Monuments, the main photographic survey archive in Poland.

Photographs of the best quality reproducing established artistic monuments played a fundamental role in the activity of the IDO Art History section. Its photographic surveys focused on masterpieces (such as the Lublin castle chapel, the eleventh-century Pułtusk Golden Codex and the fifteenth-century altar from the parochial church in Olkusz) and were commissioned to German and Polish professional photographers. Stanisław Kołowca (1904–1968), the author of the 1932 complex survey of the Cracow Veit Stoss Altar, was the section's main photographer.[51] His key role in the IDO mission shows exactly the role of art history and visual documentation in establishing the German cultural primacy in the east. Already in 1938 photographs of thirty-three of his pictures of the Veit Stoss altar and other Cracow works of the master were central in the exhibition 'The German Master Veit Stoss'.[52] This exhibition was organized in Wrocław by Gerhard Sappok, the assistant and photographer of the 1934 German survey, as a strong declaration in the Polish–German long-term debate over the nationality of this medieval master famous for his works in Nuremberg and Cracow.[53] In particular the exhibition referred directly to the 1937 Paris International Exhibition, where Kołowca's photographic reconstruction of the altar appeared in the Polish part of the section on cultural heritage along with a map showing the reach of Gothic style in Poland.[54] The Wrocław and Paris shows displaying the altar's photographic surveys are good examples of how the presumed quincentenary of the artist's birth was exploited by the Polish and German authorities in official state propaganda. In Paris, Veit Stoss and the map of Gothic art exemplified the Western facet of Polish culture. Meanwhile, in Wrocław, Kołowca's survey together with photographs, drawings and maps of the 125-known works of the sculptor in the east (from the Baltic Sea to Transylvania) strongly marked the German area of influence and indirectly justified the subsequent aggression on Poland. Unsurprisingly, the first important initiative of the IDO Art History section was another Veit Stoss exhibition organized in Cracow in the summer of 1941 with Kołowca's photographs once again the focus. Thus, the Cracow altar, dismantled in summer 1939 in view of the invasion and subsequently sequestered and stored in the environs of Nuremberg, was featured only with the means of photography.

Kołowca's photographs were emblematic for the Polish–German academic polemic over the true nationality of cultural heritage at the time of National Socialism. They also played a central role in the cultural and scholarly legitimization of the German invasion and occupation. Following such logic, the masterwork of Veit Stoss constituted a true incarnation of the idea of Germanness. The French art historian Pierre Francastel, in his 1945 in-depth analysis of German art historical wartime propaganda noticed that already from the times of Goethe the Gothic style was a field of German scientific and cultural revindication,[55] an important argument in the creation of German nationalism and of the idea of cultural superiority.[56] Thus, unsurprisingly, the Cracow altar played a central role in German cultural revindication of Eastern Europe at the time of the Second World War. This was exactly the propaganda message of both the Veit Stoss 1941 show and the following 'German

Art from the Carpathian Mountains' exhibition.[57] They both proved that Germany had roots in the East by juxtaposing Cracow with Nuremberg,[58] presenting Veit Stoss as a German artist and connecting the medieval and Renaissance masterpieces from the region to the German artistic centres.

At the time of the Great War the German art historians involved in the *Kunstschutz* and *Landeskunde* projects on the Eastern Front had already exposed the Gothic monuments and medieval city plans as arguments of German cultural influence. Meanwhile, they were, however, equally interested in the survey and study of the local peculiarities: the Vilnius baroque style, the architecture of wooden synagogues and the Lithuanian road side crosses. Whereas the First World War surveys were spatial and aimed at capturing the complete artistic outlines of a region or a city, the IDO art historians focused on carefully chosen masterpieces and on exposing the German lineage of the cultural and artistic landscape of the East. In Francastel's words: 'In Warsaw the occupiers have found the atmosphere of Magdeburg!'[59] The Veit Stoss case study shows, however, that the use of survey photography for science and propaganda during the German occupation of Poland referred to earlier academic and popular discussions, models and tropes. Moreover, the tradition of proving the nation's cultural superiority and influence with the means of great masterpieces of art or impressive archaeological sites is as old as nationalism, art history and archaeology and older than photography itself.

* * *

The German wartime photographic conquest of the East was grounded in a well-established tradition. The control over, and cultural appropriation of, monuments and the cultural landscape achieved with the authoritative language of science and photography was an important element of the cultural appropriation and Germanization of the Polish Marches at the time of the late nineteenth-century development of German institutions of cultural heritage, the emergence of its legal protection, the professionalization of science and the spread of amateur photography.[60]

The cultural phenomenon defined by Elizabeth Edwards as the survey movement, involving the photographic recording of landscapes, buildings, art works and folklore, was a transnational, widespread leisure activity of the middle class pursued across Europe in the late nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century.[61] In the German Empire, more than in other countries, it attracted a vast group of practitioners among teachers, doctors, librarians, soldiers, scholars, artists, etc.,[62] who took part in it not only as a hobby but also as the primary tool of the newly emerged monuments and landscape preservation movements.[63] Pursued by numerous regional antiquarian, folklore or photographic societies across the country, it was an important element of local sociability. Organized photographic excursions fostered a fascination with and a visual sensibility towards the surrounding monuments, landscape and ethnographic groups. They produced suggestive visual definitions following the

instructions of ethnographers, historians, geographers and local amateurs. At the interface of science and amateur photography, a universal visual language was elaborated and the regional space was organized according to a standardized set of motifs, such as castle ruins, landscape views and ethnographic types. Such photographic surveys, popularized in cheap guidebooks and albums, by means of lantern lectures or photographic exhibitions, fostered a way of perceiving a cultural landscape and imbuing in it the sense of *Heimat* (homeland): home and identity.[64] In the recently established German state, such a universal way of presenting local heritage was the main means of creating a feeling of national belonging. According to Ann Applegate, the Germans were a 'nation of provincials', who through the research, appreciation and popularization of local cultures and heritage centred in local *Heimat* societies created the wider idea of nationhood.[65]

The German officers involved in the wartime surveys applied the same conventions and sensibility in picturing the alien landscape of the Eastern Front as their native environment. This is well illustrated by an evocative description of the Hrodna panorama from a fire tower published in the *Grodnoer Zeitung*.[66] Written by an anonymous solider, it was intentionally modelled on the photographic panorama, a genre consisting of a sequence of pictures pieced together to form the complete image of the city. Its author starts his detailed description from the north and moves around as with a camera to capture the whole city, identifying its geographical position, the river and every single monument. The viewing and describing are acts of detachment from the reality of war, and also of domesticating the foreign landscape. When gazing at the shining waters of Niemen, 'the German river Memel', the soldier feels at home and goes in his mind to the *Heimat*.[67] Hrodna's particular cityscape, pictured and domesticated by means of the genre of the panorama, becomes the tangible visual evidence of territorial conquest.[68] This description was republished in 'Grodno. A Collection of Articles from the Grodnoer Zeitung and Others', a booklet, which, through the choice of articles on Hrodna's particular history, culture and monuments, as well as its German past and present, created the German view of the city. Its ten full-page illustrations were in line with this message: the survey photographs of the city, its main monuments (the panorama, the wooden synagogue and the German church, among others) and its contemporary wartime landscape (the destroyed railway bridge and a view of the German military cemetery) made physical redefinition of Hrodna as German. A collection of Bułhak's photographs formed by the *Feldrabbiner*[69] Leopold Rosenak[70] during his stay in Vilnius, shows however that this German vision of the city was far from being simple and uniform. The collection reflects a different Vilnius from the one popularized in the German newspapers and popular illustrated books: of Jewish cul-de-sacs, synagogues and types. Thus, the German vision of the East at the time of the First World War derived also from its centenary cultural ties with this region as well as from the cultural and ethnic heterogeneity of the German army.

I would argue that it was the involvement in the German survey project that brought Bułhak's photographic activity in new directions and laid the groundwork

for his main project, which he realized in the new political reality of the Second Polish Republic, the 'Poland in Pictures of Jan Bułhak'.[71] Both his wartime and post-war surveys are arguably a true incarnation of the nineteenth-century German concept of *Heimat*, which simultaneously referred to the local and the national.[72] His pictures could be framed and interpreted in different, often competing, visions of the city, of landscapes, of territories, and his unmistakable pictorialism became the style of both the German mindscape of the East and the Polish national imagination. As Bułhak's example shows, despite their strong propaganda overtone, both large-scale German survey projects undertaken at the time of the two world wars had a universal character and were strongly embedded in the German landscape and photographic sensibilities. Their strong impact on the Polish or Lithuanian way of viewing and picturing cultural heritage is one of their most surprising and still hardly acknowledged side effects.

CHAPTER SIX

Mapping the New Political Order: Cultural Heritage and Photography during the Post-First World War Peace Negotiations

In the previous chapters, I have discussed the emergence of cultural heritage as an important marker of identity, and the various, often inconsistent, attempts at its photographic interpretation. In the imperial context they were usually undertaken within the framework of ambitious geopolitical projects aimed at providing an authoritative description of the empire as a whole, in which cartography played an important and often bonding role. Thus, while the IRGS gathered its collection of albums and atlases as an embellishment to the cartographic and statistical output of its projects, the MAS referred, in staging the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition, to the cartographic ethno-schematization of the empire.

The inconsistent and unofficial Polish initiatives, undertaken in the different political and national contexts of the three empires, achieved a similar breadth and all-encompassing horizon only with the outbreak of the First World War. In Chapter 5, I have shown that it was their involvement in the German survey projects that inspired a number of Polish photographers, scholars, architects and artists to face up to the task of picturing – consistently and completely – the national territory via the means of its architectonic, artistic and folklore landscape. In this chapter, I argue that during the time of new-found independence, when

Poland struggled to shape its political borders in the years from 1918 to 1923 – during the long-lasting diplomatic negotiations, plebiscites and even wars – the photographic definition of the territorial claims, seen through cultural heritage, became an important official propaganda and legal argument.

As Steven Seegel noted in his revealing book on cartography and the making of Eastern Europe: '1919 was the year of maps for geopolitical imaginaries in modern European history.'[1] He referred to the Paris Peace Conference as a space where the delineation of a new political order was negotiated with the aid of maps: strong visual statements capable of expressing and explaining the territorial claims at issue in scientific and, at the same time, simple and appealing images. Seegel focused in particular on the example of maps produced by the Polish delegation, led by the geographer Eugeniusz Romer (1871–1954).[2] Cartography was fundamental in addressing the claims of nations which, like Poland, had been deprived of statehood for over a century.

Unsurprisingly, ignorance about the geopolitics, history, ethnography, etc. of the lands of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was predominant, not only among the wider international public but even among its elites. Thus, strong and eye-catching visual images, formulated for both the wider public and for the diplomatic participants of the conference, were necessary to show how the Polish nation had become marginalized in the official maps and often purposely falsified statistics and censuses of the Russian, German and Austrian empires, their aim being to justify their quasi-imperial territorial ambitions in the lands of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The images and cartographic arguments presented at the conference were an essential tool of official nation-building, propaganda and persuasion. They were based on political and historic issues as well as making reference to every possible aspect of the social, cultural, religious or ethnic situation on the contested lands.

Among the forty maps used in the negotiations and published afterwards in the *Polski Atlas Kongresowy* (Polish Congress Atlas) – the official synthesis (in Polish and French) of the geographical, social, economic, religious, ethnic and other grounds for the Polish territorial claims – there are two which refer to the questions of cultural heritage.[3] One shows the distribution of the centres of book production from 1794 to 1913 within the borders of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the other shows the distribution, in the same territory, of Polish art and antiquity collections, museums and libraries (Figure 49). Both maps were aimed at demonstrating and proving the civilizational role played by the Polish nation in former Poland–Lithuania, in particular in its multi-ethnic eastern part, thus, supporting the imperialistic ambitions to reconstruct the new Polish state in its pre-partition multi-ethnic borders. When presenting the maps at the Paris negotiations, Romer argued:

FIGURE 49 Eugeniusz Romer, Map of Polish Collections, 1920. Author's own.

> The book is a first-rate document for the appreciation of the creative spirit of the Polish nation, and the places of Polish book production are a proof of the reach of the Polish civilisation, in the same way libraries, art and antiquity collections and every kind of museum undoubtedly delineate the path made by Polish civilisation and can be placed among the arguments in favour of the political re-vindication of Poland.[4]

The map of collections, museum and libraries is a masterful example of the role played by the issue of cultural heritage in formulating general territorial claims. According to Romer, the area of their distribution coincided exactly with the Polish claims and with the distribution of the Polish population (shown on two separate maps of the *Polski Atlas Kongresowy*). Moreover, this map should also be considered as the first official statement of the existence of a Polish cultural heritage addressed to the international public. At the outbreak of the First World War, Polish art monuments

and Polish cultural heritage – for years purposefully neglected and marginalized by the three empires – were practically unknown, not only to professional audiences in the world but even to the wider national public. Thus, the map showing the distribution of Polish collections, museums and libraries was the first visual statement of the existence of a Polish cultural heritage addressed to the international arena, as well as a very contemporary one, based on a statistical analysis of data gathered during the war by the bibliophile Edward Chwalewik and published in the 1916 book *Zbiory Polskie* (Polish Collections).[5]

The *Polski Atlas Kongresowy* should be considered as one of the crowning achievements of an important and widespread nineteenth-century phenomenon, defined by Catherine Dunlop as cartophilia.[6] The popularity of maps – produced in this period not only as a result of official state military, statistical or bureaucratic initiatives but also by numerous amateurs and civic societies – reflects the widespread interest in and dedication to a rich array of political, social, national, ethnic, cultural or economic issues, focused both on state and imperial territories as well as on larger and smaller regions, environs or cities. As Dunlop argues, the logic of nationalism was the main driving force behind this boom in cartography, and the phenomenon was particularly visible in borderland regions. In such multi-national territories mapping was a powerful tool for creating competing and authoritative topographies, often defining the official and unofficial national, ethnic, cultural or linguistic borders.

In examining the messy and entangled context of east central European borderlands, Seegel argues that there were three basic purposes driving the importance attained by cartography: 'The fantasy of proving membership in Europe […], the application of grids for asserting national commonality and ethno-schematizing peoples […] and the institutionalization of cartography itself as part of a reigning nineteenth century paradigm of normal science.'[7] I would posit that his words also perfectly explain the emergence of the photographic projects discussed in the previous chapters. First, they always referred to the Western models and canon; secondly, they aimed at framing the various elements of cultural heritage in a given imperial or national context; and thirdly, they were embedded with academic ambitions and undertaken on the initiative of or in collaboration with scholars and scientific societies and institutions.

In her revealing book, Dunlop notes the links and interactions of cartography with other mass-produced visual media. She not only recalls the long tradition of providing maps with other visual signs, such as shields, types, and allegorical figures, but also shows that several nineteenth-century visual genres and devices (i.e. the panorama) were produced following the logic of cartography.[8] In this chapter I go even further and argue that at the time of the emergence of Poland as a state, cultural heritage (in particular in the form of historic and artistic monuments) was seen as an integral part of space and an important marker of the geopolitical territory. Survey photography was used in this period to construct a scientific system based

on cartography, which would authoritatively and scientifically cover and prove the legitimacy of the geography of an imagined and negotiated space for the future Polish state.

THE EMERGENCE OF 'THE EASTERN BORDERLANDS': USE OF PHOTOGRAPHY TO MAP THE ARCHITECTURAL LANDSCAPE OF THE CONTESTED LANDS OF THE FORMER WESTERN PROVINCES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

In 1921, in Warsaw, the Borderlands' Guard, a Polish civic organization constituted in the aftermath of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, organized a political and propaganda exhibition with the aim of supporting Polish interests in the former western provinces of the Russian Empire. The fate of this region – renamed the 'eastern borderlands'[9] to stress their Polish affinity – and the location of the eventual western border of Bolshevik Russia was settled in violent and chaotic wars over the course of the next three-and-a-half years. The exhibition, planned as early as 1919, was only inaugurated in January 1921, that is on the eve of the signing by Poland, Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine of the Riga Peace Treaty which established the political borders between the three states. It should be noted that this was also before settlement of the Polish–Lithuanian War over the control of the Vilnius and Suwałki regions. The exhibition was aimed at informing the wider society about the importance of the contested lands at the historic moment in which their fate was being decided. The exhibition was also addressed to the larger European public, aimed at proving that for centuries Poland was the only civilizational and Westernizing factor between the Baltic and the Black seas.

The exhibition was a well-thought-out and well-planned political and propaganda event organized by the Borderlands' Guard in direct collaboration with the Polish academic and cultural elites, including historians, geographers, architects and others. Its title – *Polska sztuka i kultura na Litwie i Rusi* (Polish Art and Culture in Lithuania and White Rus') – was a clear statement of the Polish pretensions to the historic Polish lands in what is today Lithuania and Belarus and Ukraine. It was organized under the patronage of Poland's Chief of State Marshall Józef Piłsudski in the Zachęta Gallery, which was the best exhibition space in Warsaw, the capital of the Second Polish Republic. It consisted of a choice of various artistic objects and historic documents reflecting Polish cultural and historical primacy in the contested region(s), which formed a visual and narrative background for a sequence of recent maps.

The maps, partly produced in the years from 1916 to 1921 to support the Polish territorial claims in both the national and international arenas, and partly conceived expressively for the exhibition, were exhibited in the central spaces of the show and their cartographic language best expressed the propaganda argument regarding the Polish affinity of the contested territories.[10] The map showing the historic changes

in the Poland–Lithuania border was flanked by a series of maps featuring all of the different aspects of the impact and omnipresence of Polish (i.e. Western and European) culture in the eastern borderlands: in education, in the distribution of confessional faiths, printing houses, artistic collections, etc. Such a narration indeed echoed the essence of the cartographic rhetoric of the Polish delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.

Importantly, the 1921 exhibition further stressed the cartographic arguments in favour of Poland's territorial claims whilst it also experimented with the visual means of its presentation by offering a combination of cartography and photography. The central element of the show consisted of two large maps, displayed in a separate space under the heading *Architektura Polska na Litwie i Rusi* (Polish Architecture in Lithuania and White Rus'). Here one could find a general map of Lithuania and Belarus on which monumental cities, castles and architectural styles were flagged; and a detailed one of the Mińszczyzna region (most probably referring to the Minsk voivodeship, one of the largest administrative units of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth) with every known historical secular and church building, both stone and wooden (including synagogues and Orthodox churches and the most humble barns and sheds). Both maps were flanked by several hundred plans, drawings and survey photographs of peculiar historical buildings following the region's geography, with the northern part on the right of the entrance and the eastern on left. Most of this cartographic and photographic material was the output of wartime surveys undertaken within the framework of the activity of the predecessor of the Borderlands' Guard: a civic organization based in Minsk which dealt with the fate of Polish war refugees and victims and had a separate artistic and historic monuments department. There is no visual evidence of what these maps looked like, but we may recall here the arrangement of a similar exhibition organized in the 1920s and dedicated to the architectural landscape of the Kielce region (Figure 50).

The protection of Polish cultural patrimony in Russia in the difficult war and revolutionary years was pursued by a network of around forty organizations scattered across the vast territories between the front lines and the Caucasus and Siberia.[11] While most of the societies in this network were based in centres that were never or just for a very brief time span, part of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (Moscow, St Petersburg and Kyiv, to name the main cities), the Minsk society was active in a vast area of the 'eastern borderlands' which was inhabited by Poles for centuries. This made its mission unique. Thus, while the network dealt almost exclusively with the movable elements of cultural patrimony removed from the Polish lands during the time of tsarist rule, or evacuated by the Russian army with the moving war front, the main task of the Minsk organization was a complete survey of the architectural landscape of the region. The choice of architecture was not accidental: this branch of art was considered as a 'barometer' of civilization. In the survey's detailed instructions it was defined as 'a great art, which in the most explicit and visual way manifests the level of cultural development of a state or a region'.[12] Already in the guidelines the survey

FIGURE 50 Anonymous, the archictectural exhibition in Kielce, gelatin silver print, 1922. Courtesy of the Institute of Art of the PAS.

was considered as an act aimed at mapping the predominance of Polish cultural and artistic influences in the region:

> In this part of our lands it is essential not only to survey, collect and keep for the future generations the images (if not the objects themselves) of the finest works. We must draw a map showing the Polish-Western influence in the region; evidencing not only the ethnographic peculiarities of folk architecture, but also the places where they have survived and those where they became transformed by Eastern influences.[13]

Thus, the Minsk survey project was aimed at an academic and appealing presentation of an exclusively Polish (meaning Western) architectural image of the eastern borderlands, that is at its 'extraction' from its multi-cultural and multi-ethnic landscape. This did not mean that non-Polish buildings – such as the historic synagogues – were to be omitted. On the contrary, 'the historic wooden synagogues are probably the most peculiar buildings in our small towns. Thanks to the conservatism of the Jewish faith they have preserved for centuries the genuine features of true and historic Polish architecture.'[14] Moreover, the synagogues and Unite churches exemplified one of the main peculiarities of this Slavic (read: Polish) region of Europe: wooden architecture.

The surveys, which followed a detailed questionnaire, were focused on visual materials – plans, drawings and photographs (it was required to take a general view, several pictures of the peculiar architectural elements of the exterior and pictures of everything worthy of note in the interior) – and were organized into an archive according to a geographical key. Naturally, given the extreme circumstances in which the surveys were carried out, the description of numerous localities and buildings was based on sources, memory and all kinds of visual material (including postcards) donated to the society following appeals in the press. On the grounds of such a survey archive, a detailed map of Polish architecture in *Mińszczyzna*, the exact one on show in 1921, was drawn up.

Such highly politicized definitions of the space of the eastern borderlands through cultural heritage, expressed via the means of photography and/or cartography as in the *Architektura na Litwie i Rusi* 1921 exhibition section, were in fact not a wartime invention. As discussed in previous chapters, organized projects having the aim of mapping the cultural treasures were undertaken from the second half of the nineteenth century by leading Russian learned societies within the framework of the imperial project. The archaeological map of Russia launched in 1870 by the MAS is a good example. The project followed the administrative division of the empire, and data was gathered through standardized questionnaires sent to local administrative and statistical offices, learned societies, scholars and amateurs. The never-archived final result was supposed to prove Russia's antiquity, civilizational primacy and cultural uniformity – with its Greek roots in the Black Sea region and a harmonious Slavic (defined as Russian and genuinely European) culture in the western regions. The archaeological map of Russia did not envisage having a photographic or drawn counterpart. However, many questionnaires were supplemented by their authors with photographs, drawings and even voluminous photographic albums of the most spectacular objects or sites. This written, visual and cartographic material pertinent to a given governorate was bound, in the MAS archive, into a single volume, forming a coherent and indivisible collection of survey material. Similarly, the previously mentioned IRGS collection of albums and atlases was an inherent element of the imperial project of the geographical and ethnographic mapping of the empire.

The maps on display at the 1921 exhibition followed the methodology and aims of such imperial projects (e.g. the use of questionnaires and/or of administrative maps) to express a different political message. This becomes clear if we consider another photo-cartographic map on display: the map of White Rus' with the distribution of Catholic churches and monasteries confiscated by the Russian government, flanked by a set of survey photographs showing the Catholic buildings which had been converted into Orthodox churches and the Polish manor houses destroyed by the revolutionary turmoil (Figure 51). This map constituted a clear response to the previously discussed survey projects undertaken by various imperial societies in the aftermath of the January Uprising with the aim of establishing a clear Orthodox vision of the architectural landscape of the western borderlands.

FIGURE 51 Anonymous, a manor house during the Russian Revolution, gelatine silver print, *c.* 1917. Courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw.

Indeed, the 1921 exhibition should be considered as a logical consequence and capstone of the role played by cultural heritage and photography in the authoritative political mapping of this contested region of Europe. However, it should also be defined as an intrinsic element of the intellectual spiritual war (*Krieg der Geister*), which involved pivotal geographers, anthropologists and art historians during the war on all sides of the conflict.[15] Cultural heritage was an important element of this discourse, centred on the 'national characterology', aiming at a clear-cut definition of a nation as a distinctive group, on the one hand, and as proving its compliance with European standards, on the other.

CULTURAL HERITAGE AND WARTIME PROPAGANDA: THE PHOTOGRAPHIC BOOK AT THE PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS

The official and authoritative definitions of Polish cultural heritage with a clear territorial dimension were also achieved by means of the peculiar wartime photographic language introduced in the Polish territories during the German occupation.

Kunstschutz im Kriege, mentioned in the previous chapter, was issued expressly for the Paris Peace Conference. Published in 1919 in three language versions (German, French, English), it presented a scientific and photographic synthesis of the German cultural mission of *Kunstschutz* on both war fronts. Its aims were clearly stated in the subtitle: 'Reports Concerning the Condition of the Monuments of Art at the Different Theatres of War and the German and Austrian Measures Taken for Their Preservation, Rescue and Research.' The argument was advanced through an impressive choice of illustrations, used as documents testifying to the war damage and the salvage efforts. The book was both the crowning achievement of the *Kunstschutz* mission and an important element of a wartime propaganda stream. The architectural heritage visualized via the means of survey photography had, already in the first months of the war, acquired a strong propaganda value. In particular it was exploited in a spectacular French–German academic debate over the destruction of the pearls of medieval architecture on the Western Front, symbolized by the bombing of the Reims Cathedral in July 1914.[16] The Zentralstelle für Auslanddienst, an official German propaganda institution founded in October 1914, employed art historians to present arguments justifying the wartime destruction of monuments and to reassure international public opinion. This was an inevitable response to the French propaganda carried out by leading French academics, such as Émile Mâle, in academic monographs and journals as well as in the daily press, using lantern lectures, popular booklets and postcards, in which the Germans were presented as barbarians, vandals and destroyers of the universally acknowledged cultural heritage. This German–French debate around the destruction and salvage of monuments, based on the language of survey photography, was a clear continuation of the

academic controversy over the cultural and artistic primacy of the two nations which ran from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

Conceived as a testimony of Germany's care and protection of monuments, the *Kunstschutz im Kriege* was, on the one hand, an important, official publication aimed to protect themselves against eventual claims during the peace negotiations. On the other hand, the album constituted a statement of the German cultural and academic primacy. The two volumes form a kind of richly illustrated history of world architecture and art, mapping – for the last time by means of German scholarship based on the Western canon of art and survey photography – the geographic breadth of Germany's conquest and imperial ambitions.

This geography of conquest was already reflected in the structure of the book: the volumes were devoted to the Western and Eastern fronts respectively, and each chapter mapped the artistic heritage of a given German or Austrian administrative unit established on the occupied lands. Given the already-mentioned coordination of the various actors involved in the large-scale *Kunstschutz* project, the chapters based on the research and surveys undertaken by local societies, architects, photographers and scholars perfectly fit the general idea of the book. This can be seen in the chapter on the Lublin General Governorate, the unit established on the lands of the Kingdom of Poland under Austrian administration, and on Galicia, written by Ferdinand Schubert von Soldern, president of the Imperial-Royal Central Commission for the Investigation and Conservation of Historic Monuments.[17] Based exclusively on the salvage surveys undertaken by the Polish conservator of Western Galicia, Tadeusz Szydłowski (1883–1942), sponsored by the Commission and coordinated by Paul Clemen, it perfectly matched the other parts of the book. The narration, focused obviously on destruction and salvage, centred both on the main monuments inscribed in the Western canons (Gothic churches or medieval palaces) and on the buildings peculiar to the region (wooden Greek Catholic churches and synagogues). However, von Soldern's chapter reproduced only a small number of Szydłowski's photographs taken from 1915 to 1918 and adapted his impressive research to a narration focused in the first instance on the German academic and salvage activity.[18]

As a civic monument conservator, Szydłowski was authorized to organize and obtain government funding for a survey in the front zone, with the aim of documenting, photographing and safeguarding the endangered buildings. He also sent hundreds of appeals and questionnaires to the local parishes and administrative offices of the localities which, due to the war situation, he could not reach personally. The surveys, however, were permanently underfunded and their success sprang only from Szydłowski's determination and additionally from the generosity of the Galician civic societies and aristocratic circles. Importantly, they had a meaning and value of their own, independent of the official guidelines and soon evolved, ironically, from a regional imperial project into a political one with the aim of establishing the cultural foundations of a new Polish state.

Indeed, Szydłowski was gathering and organizing the photographic material and writing professional reports in accordance with general guidelines from the Vienna Commission and Clemen, but at the same time he was also drafting his own original scholarly synthesis. At the end of 1918 he was trying to get government funding for its publication, presented as a *Kunstschutz* synthesis devoted to one of the crown lands of Austria–Hungary.[19] However, as it turned out, the book appeared in a new political reality as one of the first and most expensive editions issued by the Department of Art and Culture of the interim Polish government in L'viv.[20] Importantly, it was issued in the same year as the *Protection of Art during War*, following an analogous layout of the title page (Figure 52), similar use of illustrations and similar photographic style. All this indicated that the possible close collaboration with Clemen concerned not only the surveys but also their interpretation and presentation. Despite the fact that Szydłowski scrupulously adhered to the conventions of German wartime propaganda in terms of the typography, illustrations and professional language, the book's message was different, even opposite, undermining the image of the *Kulturträgers* on the Eastern Front. The title itself – *Ruiny Polski* (The Ruins of Poland) – moved the emphasis from the preservation issues inscribed in the German mission to a

FIGURE 52 The front pages of *Ruiny Polski* and *Kunstschutz im Kriege* juxtaposed. Author's own.

description of the destruction and plunder of cultural heritage of a territory clearly presented as distinctively Polish. Significantly, the book included a pre-partition administrative map of the surveyed lands. Moreover, it revealed something that was implicit in von Soldern's overview: the destruction of the monuments in this part of the Eastern Front was equally the work of the Russian army as that of the Allies. Through its historical narrative and the richness of photographs illustrating the best examples of Polish art and architecture, the book offered statistics of the destruction as well as an art history of the territory of historic Poland. It showed first the medieval Romanesque and Gothic churches, then the Renaissance ones, and then the baroque churches, and the modern palace architecture in the town-planning documents, as well as the peculiar wooden architecture of the Greek Catholic churches and synagogues. The publication followed the *Kunstschutz* model, with the juxtaposition of the ruined building with their pre-war state. But by presenting the best examples of Polish art and architecture and linking his narration with the chronological table of Western art history, Szydłowski was forwarding a strong argument for Poland's place on the new European map. This is also reflected in the fact that he consciously conceived his book in such a way that it clearly recalled the authority of the monumental narration of the *Protection of Art during War*.

The propaganda role of such official publications as the *Ruiny Polski,* which used the strong visual arguments of cultural heritage and war damage, was arguably of crucial importance in the turbulent times surrounding the establishment of new political borders in Eastern Europe. In 1918 the Salvage Committee, a Polish organization founded in L'viv with a view towards establishing an independent Polish state, launched a project entitled *Album zniszczeń wojennych w Galicji* (Album of War Destruction in Galicia). This ambitious publication was planned in four parallel language versions (Polish, Ukrainian, German and French) with one hundred pages of text and the impressive number of one thousand photographic illustrations, and a print run of ten thousand copies. It was supposed to present and document the losses in all possible branches: railways and roads, the economy, agriculture, forests, etc.[21] However, it was to focus in particular on the damage and destruction to cultural heritage: churches, Greek Catholic churches, synagogues, palaces, libraries, art collections and archives. With a view towards such a publication, already during the war a group of scholars and artists under the direction of the painter and amateur photographer Stanisław Janowski gathered a large collection of photographs consisting of surveys undertaken during the war by several photographers on the territories of Galicia, as well as of pictures acquired from the Cracow conservation office, from the press agencies in Vienna and Berlin, and from a number of amateur photographers. At the outbreak of the Polish–Ukrainian War in November 1918 – which buried the publishing plans – one hundred zinc illustration plates had already been prepared. The album project was soon raised again in a more ambitious form. As soon as January 1919, Mieczysław Orłowicz, the amateur photographer and tourism propagator and one of the leading figures involved in the project, tried to convince the Interim Cracow

Governmental Committee not only to undertake the interrupted initiative but also to make it an all-Polish project, extending its reach to all the territories of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the fate of which was then being decided both in Paris and on the war front.[22] The album was in fact supposed to follow the *Kunstschutz* model: 'As for the illustrations, next to the views of the destroyed localities, it was decided to include photographs of the most precious artistic monuments, both in their pre-war and destroyed state.'[23]

The Polish delegation at the Paris Peace Conference included two restitution sections: one covering the lands of the former Russian partition and one for the former Austrian and German partitions. As can be seen in a letter by Marian Morelowski (1884–1963), the art historian and president of Russian restitution section, such publishing and survey initiatives as the *Ruiny Polski* and the Galicia album were considered as important and persuasive material evidence in the negotiations. In March 1919, Morelowski was in Cracow enquiring about the planned publication of the Galicia album and asking for access to its visual and documentary material.[24] He stressed that both restitution sections not only prepared restitution claims but also 'gathered materials and evidence referring to the abuses of the former occupation governments with respect to international law, in particular to the destruction of monuments unjustified by war necessity'.[25] The monumental character and clearly national overtone of the *Ruiny Polski*, as well as of both the planned albums, demonstrate that these were important propaganda publications which were to be exploited also on the more general level of the negotiations. As with Romer's map of collections, they proved the reach of Polish art and culture, their links with the West, as well as the ability of Polish civic society and scholars to study and protect national cultural heritage following Western models.

It is hard to say definitively whether the materials – prepared by the Polish delegation in Paris – also included the *Ruiny Polski* or lantern slides based on the wartime photographic survey archives. A later example indicates, however, that this was very likely. The album *Polish Wilno. Chief Monuments of Polish National Architecture in Wilno, Once the Second Capital of Poland* was issued in 1921 in French and English by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs as propaganda material to be distributed at a meeting of the League of Nations to support Polish claims to Vilnius (Wilno in Polish) in the context of the then-running Polish–Lithuanian conflict.[26] The album was conceived by three leading figures of Vilnius cultural life: the painter Ferdynad Ruszczyc, the photographer Jan Bułhak and the architect Juliusz Kłos (1881–1933). During the occupation all three were involved in either the German *Kunstschutz* projects or were in close contact with the leading German art historians. Bułhak, as already discussed, was a key figure in the official survey of Vilnius. Kłos, who during the war was an active member of the SPAM, was one of the leading architects and amateur photographers involved in the survey of the former governmental buildings in Warsaw and of the destruction which took place in the cultural landscape of the General Governorate. Ruszczyc spent the war years

in his manor house in Bahdanau, part of which was requisitioned to host German troops. Among his most frequent guests was Manfred Bühlmann, a great fan of his artistic talent. Thus, it should not come as a surprise that the album forms a clear reference to the *Protection of Art during War* and that its propaganda message was based on German imperialistic ideology. In the introductory text, Kłos argued that Vilnius owed its exceptional artistic reputation to Polish culture and civilization. According to him, at the time of the Polish–Lithuanian union (1569), 'Lithuania was at the level of primitive hunting and pastoral tribes, while Poland had reached a stage of civilization equal to other western countries. As early as the middle of the 14th century it had a University at Cracow and many magnificent churches, castles, and town halls built of bricks and stone, which remain even now as vestiges of its past splendour.'[27] In the minds of its initiators, the *Polish Wilno* album provided the most convincing evidence for the Polish affiliation of the city. According to Bułhak: 'Vilnius spoke to the foreigners about its Polish values and it gave a stronger argument than even the best legal arguments.'[28]

The *Polish Wilno*, with its short bilingual introductory text, its forty full-page photographic prints mounted on cardboards, provided with Bułhak's signature and bound in the form of an elegant photographic portfolio was indeed the most 'photographic' and artistic edition among those official post-First World War albums which used the argument of cultural heritage in the peace treaty negotiations. Bułhak's wartime photographs, taken within the framework of the *Kunstschutz* surveys, were not just simple visual arguments proving Kłos's thesis but formed a clear basis for his argumentation. The forty pictures used lighting effects to focus on architectural details and with their distorted angle brought about an intentional deformation and massive enlargement of the historic buildings, thus creating a monumental, oversized vision of the city (Figure 53). As Kłos stated in the introductory essay: 'Even the stones speak for themselves with piteous eloquence, to the fact that the many churches, many old houses, and many original streets even today show that this truly Royal city is the work of Polish architectural inspiration.'[29] By consciously and fully exploiting the universalism, value and authority attained by embedding Bułhak's photographs in the framework of the German civilizing mission, the authors of the album proved the 'Polishness' of Vilnius and also Poland's full and equal affiliation with the Western European nations.

It is important to note that the use of authoritative photographic statements to present Poland's territorial claims in the international arena and justify its ambitions for independence were not just a Polish peculiarity, but a phenomenon which accompanied the emergence of other new states in eastern and central Europe during and after the First World War. Symptomatic in this context are the wartime issues of *L'art et les artistes* (Art and Artists), one of the leading French academic journals devoted to art history and artistic life.[30] This was a series of special thematic issues[31] centred on the written and visual documentation and description of the 'German atrocities' and of the 'sacrileges of the contemporary Vandals'.[32] It comprised

FIGURE 53 Jan Bułhak, architectonic detail. From the album *Polish Wilno*, 1921. Courtesy of Bułhak family.

both general overviews and issues focused on the most damaged regions on the Western Front – Alsace, Lorraine, Lille and Belgium – as well as a special issue dedicated exclusively to Reims. Moreover, the series introduced a new and important argument to anti-German propaganda. The issues stressing the 'martyred' heritage and focusing on freed regions were interspersed with issues presenting art, cultural heritage and aspirations of 'nations' hardly known to the French and international

publics of the Allied Powers (Russia), including specially chosen nations aspiring to independence (Poland, Serbia, Romania, Venice). They were prepared as a result of collaborations between the French and leading Serbian, Polish, Romanian or Italian artists, critics, literati, politicians and academics living in Paris, and they used as illustrations both the wartime surveys (such as Rista Marjanović's pictures in the Serbian issue) and high-quality pre-war documentation of the leading monuments, artworks and folklore (such as Ivan Barshchevskii's surveys of the pearls of Russian religious architecture[33]), as well as photographs of contemporary art works. Moreover, the cover of each issue was provided with coloured depictions of the arms of the described nation and was also edited in a luxurious version, which included important photographs or engravings reproduced on high-quality paper.

La Pologne Immortelle (The Imperishable Poland) was the first issue of the *L'art et les Artistes* wartime series to introduce new threads in a narration which until then had concentrated on the 'martyrdom' of French and Belgian monuments and on German vandalism.[34] It was a joint venture of Polish émigrés[35] and French and Belgian intellectuals, including the writers Henryk Sienkiewicz and Maurice Maeterlinck, the artist Jan Styka, and the art critics and historians Kazimierz Daniłowicz-Strzelbicki and Louis Réau. The rhetoric of the issue was embedded in French wartime propaganda. Thus, Maeterlinck defined Poland as a martyred nation and juxtaposed it with Belgium, arguing that the two nations had suffered the most in the then-current conflict.[36] Sienkiewicz contrasted Polish humanism with the Germanizing approach under Prussian rule.[37] Réau defined the Wawel cathedral (the place of royal coronation) as the Polish Reims, and with reference to the Polish–German academic debate over the national origins of Veit Stoss, the famous medieval sculptor active in Nuremberg and Cracow, took the side of the Polish scholars.[38] Such emotional and propagandistic overtones were accompanied by an academic narration, which presented Polish cultural heritage as an element of Western culture and civilization. In particular Réau's essay on the French influences in Polish art was one of the first attempts to link the development of Polish art history with the West.

The illustrations, by their objectiveness and the universalism of their documentary convention and through the deliberate choice of the reproduced objects, not only perfectly matched the Polish issue with the previous ones dedicated to the pearls of Western art and architecture but lent credence and authority to the arguments of the Polish and French intellectuals. Thus, Réau's article on Polish artistic heritage centred almost exclusively on the Renaissance. Cracow was illustrated using Ignacy Krieger's high-quality survey photographs of the monuments of the city, in particular of the work of Veit Stoss. In turn, Daniłowicz-Strzelbicki's overview of Polish folklore was accompanied by Krieger's types as well as drawings of cottage industry objects and traditional objects peculiar to Poland: the woodwork from the region of Zakopane and Easter eggs. Finally, the section devoted to contemporary Polish art was illustrated with reproductions of the works of those Polish artists who had already gained some fame at the Paris international exhibitions. Only Jacques Bertrand's chiaroscuro

woodcut, with the portrait of the romantic Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz printed on Imperial Japanese paper and sold as a supplement to the luxurious version of the issue, followed a different convention by expressing emotionally, with reference to literal and poetic myths, the independence aspirations of the Polish nation. The woodcut was the visual equivalent of Sienkiewicz's and Maeterlinck's emotional essays and of Zygmunt Krasiński's 1843 messianic poem, *Przedświt* (Daybreak), republished at the end of the issue.

PICTURING IN SPACE AND TIME: PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE MAPPING OF ARTISTIC AND HISTORIC OBJECTS

Romer's map of collections presented the territorial distribution of Polish art and antiquity collections in the lands of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Thus, during the war and the increasing intensity of the process of drawing Poland's new political borders, the mapping impulse concerned not only the architectonic landscape inextricably inscribed in and linked to the territory but also collections, libraries, archives, and precious artistic and historic objects, whose fate had previously been rarely bound to their place of origin. Romer's map, which also marked the collections that had been removed or seriously impoverished, provided a short history of their pillage and requisitions by the three empires from the time of the first partition up to the most recent war events. The map, conceived with the idea of addressing the issue of restitution and the cartographic reconstruction of the territorial links of the contested collections, challenged the legitimacy of their present whereabouts.

With the third partition (1795), which ended the existence of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the historic and artistic treasures of the state and of the last king of Poland were plundered as trophies by Russia, Austria and Prussia. Moreover, in the Russian Empire the spoliation of artistic, historic and scientific collections of every kind was a consistent and continuous element of the tsarist state policy of Russification. Thus, every national uprising or act of disobedience was punished by a regular pillage of highly symbolic objects and collections. So long as the Russian Empire had the largest share of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth under its control, including the former capital and such important historic and cultural centres as Vilnius, Kyiv or Minsk, as well as several of the most important aristocratic residences, the situation constituted a severe threat to Polish cultural heritage. In consequence, the nation was deprived of its main artistic and historic objects and collections, such as the Jagiellonian tapestries (a set of Renaissance Flemish arrases used in the main ceremonies of the Polish–Lithuanian state), the Załuski Library (the largest Polish collection of its kind and among the first public libraries in Europe), the last Polish king's library and collections, the archives of the Polish Crown, the Thorvaldsen statue of the national hero Prince Józef Poniatowski (considered as the

first Polish public monument) and a number of important collections of aristocrats, scientific and cultural institutions. What was left shared a similar fate during the war evacuations of the years 1914 to 1916. On the eve of independence, the Polish nation was bereft of its symbolic set of historic and artistic objects and collections, which could have formed a strong material connection between its glorious past, the present and its future. They were dispersed throughout the large territory of the empire, with the most precious ones integrated into the main tsarist cultural institutions of St Petersburg and Moscow, such as the Hermitage, the Imperial Public Library, the Kremlin Armoury and the Rumyantsev Museum, usually well-hidden in inaccessible depots, rarely studied and with a blurred Polish provenance.

Despite the numerous previous attempts to document and popularize the seized cultural heritage, it was the outbreak of the global conflict, together with the revolutionary events in Russia, that made the Polish artistic treasures in Russian hands a truly national matter. And it was during this period, within the framework of the already-mentioned network of civic associations, that the official claims for restitution of Polish cultural heritage were formulated.[39]

The map of collections was designed by Romer in collaboration with the art historian Morelowski, another expert and member of the Polish delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. In the years 1915 to 1918, the latter was the mastermind of the previously described network of Polish civic organizations active in the centres of the European part of the Russian Empire, and focused on the fate of items of Polish cultural heritage stored in imperial institutions and of the artistic and historic collections and objects massively evacuated from the Polish lands by the Russian army. The main task of the societies was the salvage and protection of Polish artistic and historic collections and objects, as well as making the most complete survey and documentation possible. The societies managed to work very well during the instability of the revolutionary upheavals, exploiting every possible opportunity to gain access to the collections, museums and storage places, and by doing so created an impressive survey archive. Thus, the map of collections should be considered as one of the crowning achievements of this wartime survey movement.

Photography was an essential tool of these inquiries and efforts, and the various societies successfully applied for permission to take survey pictures. Three cameras acquired by the central organization based in Moscow were used not only to capture the individual objects but also to make shots which would enable recognition of the halls or depots of the museums in which they were stored, even down to such small elements as the crates, together with the precise date of the shot. The same recommendations were followed by the photographers documenting the endangered Polish collections in the *Mińszczyzna* region. One of such photographs pictures a group of historic artistic objects with Rudolf Martin's *Der Weltkrig und sein Ende* (The Great War and its End) well on view (Figure 54). This brochure was issued in 1916 and is here a clear dating element. The survey instructions recommended photographing objects in the architectural environment of the storage and exhibition spaces where

they were housed, including the entire hanging or exhibition arrangements, as well as using people to hold the front page of newspapers to indisputably date the evidence. The incorporation of such precise and high-quality spatial and temporal instructions among the guiding principles of the wartime surveys was an important feature. By giving the pictures a calculable and measurable character they acquired not only a truly scientific but also a quasi-cartographic character, on which their authority and evidentiary credibility was based.

Given the instability of the changing revolutionary situation and political climate, the surveys undertaken in Russia were perceived in the first instance as the gathering of legal evidence to be used in the future. Their results were compiled in extensive and detailed lists, which included every possible object that could be claimed by the Polish nation. The single entries consisted of inventory numbers, together with the precise whereabouts and detailed descriptions of the objects, along with reconstructions of the circumstances of their removal from Poland, including references to historical sources and accounts gained from library and archival research. Because of the fear of revolutionary sequestrations, several copies were made of these lists and they were hidden in different places. The official bilateral restitution negotiations, undertaken on the basis of the 1921 peace treaty signed in Riga between Poland and Soviet Russia, required well-documented claims together with evidence of the Polish provenance of

FIGURE 54 Anonymous, a collection in the *Mińsczyzna* region, glass negative, 1916. Courtesy of the Institute of Art of the PAS.

all the individual objects and collections and of their illicit removal and – inasmuch as the Soviet museum officials repeatedly implied that the claimed objects were destroyed or removed in the revolutionary chaos – of their very existence and present whereabouts. Given the fact that from the outbreak of the Bolshevik War the access of Polish scholars to the imperial cultural institutions was severely restricted, photographs formed the only possible and undeniable evidence against such assertions. The published proceedings of the Special Bilateral Mixed Commission, established in the aftermath of the treaty to implement the restitution agreements, include many examples of the use of visual material during the negotiations. In order to prove the universal nature of the Załuski Library – which according to Article 11 point 5 of the treaty would have prevented its restitution – the Russian experts emphasized not only its size (third in the world, after the British Museum and the French National Library) but also its worldwide use. In their argumentation they made use of a map with all the localities where the books and their copies were borrowed and of graphs showing the names of world renowned scholars who quoted from the library's holdings, as well as the titles of monumental works in which the library was quoted. The Russian experts used their maps and graphs in the same way as the Polish delegation had exploited the means of cartography at the Paris Peace Conference – firstly to emphasize their argument and secondly to avail themselves of the academic authority associated with such visual arguments.

Another example, relating to the issue of the Jagiellonian tapestries, demonstrates the evidentiary power of photography. Initially, the Russian experts firmly maintained that a large number of pieces from this Renaissance set had been destroyed during the chaos of the October Revolution. However, the Polish representatives presented a photographic album of the arrases and proved through careful analysis that the pictures were taken after 1917 in the former imperial residence of Gatchina.

The case of the Jagiellonian tapestries was just one of many restitution debates in which Polish experts made use of photographic evidence. Three photographic albums, which have emerged as a result of this research, seem to confirm this practice. They share the same format: the pictures are the same size and are presented in the same way, with one or two images glued on one page. Two of the albums show paintings from the Vilnius collections in the Rumyantsev Museum,[40] while one is dedicated to various precious objects from the former royal collections, residences and treasuries kept in the Kremlin Armoury.[41] Thus, they presumably formed part of a larger collection of albums presenting the claims in groups, segregated according to their original and/or present whereabouts, which followed the way in which the claims were discussed at the sessions of the bilateral commission. Their use in the negotiations is confirmed by the Kremlin Armoury album, where each picture has a red, handwritten note with the inventory number and the Russian title and is provided with handwritten annotations by Morelowski, who served also as one of the main Polish members of the bilateral commission of experts.

The evidentiary role accorded to survey photography doesn't fully explain the importance of their spatial and temporal quality. Arguably, the objects were perceived by the surveyors as strongly linked to their present whereabouts (be it a museum or a temporary storage space) and as participants and witnesses of the historical moment. For example, a set of pictures produced by the official Polish delegation at the time of the removal of the monument of Prince Józef Poniatowski from the former palace of Ivan Paskevich in Gomel' – a monument which, due to its scale and weight, was one of the most impressive objects returned by Soviet Russia to Poland – should be considered not only as a simple survey but also as documentation of the event, that is of the given moment and of the place.[42] The set comprises a panoramic view of the palace and its park, a portrait picture of the members of the delegation sitting in the palace's orangery, a view of the monument in the winter aura of the park, a close-up of the plaque with the inscription testifying that the statue was an imperial gift which was removed before the restitution and a close-up of the statue while it was being removed.

Similarly, in the impressive survey of the Polish bells confiscated by the Russian army from the Polish Catholic churches in the war zones – certainly among the most time- and money-consuming efforts undertaken by the societies[43] – photography was used to capture the given space and moment. The Catholic and Orthodox bells were confiscated by the retreating Russian army in a situation of complete chaos and without regard to their artistic quality. They were stored in large groups, piled on top of one another, in provisional storehouses (usually open-air) arranged near the stations of the train lines crossing the vast areas leading from the western outskirts of the empire to the Caucasus and to Siberia. The surveys were aimed at registering all the Polish bells, determining their whereabouts (parish of origin) and obtaining legal confirmation from the Russian military guardians of the storage places. Their written and visual descriptions followed the models of the professional surveys undertaken by the German and Austrian army, where the *Kunstoffizier*, equipped with a camera, gesso and papier-mâché kits to make casts of the decorative elements and inscriptions on the bell, supervised the requisitions.[44] The collected data contained information on the whereabouts, the place of storage and a stamp with the signature of the responsible Russian authorities as a legal document which could be (and was) used as proof in future restitution proceedings. These were, however, also surveys with scientific ambitions. The opportunity to closely observe and analyse the bells was indeed unique and very tempting, and not surprisingly the research premises and scopes were often intuitive, as campanology was not yet established as a separate research field. The surveyors looked very superficially at the technical and musical properties of the bells, focusing instead on their artistic style and historic inscriptions. The bells were analysed not as instruments but, rather, as symbolic works of art reflecting the glories of Polish national history and as a binding element of national identity. Thus, in the survey instructions particular importance was paid to the oldest bells (medieval, Renaissance and baroque) and to the facsimile reproduction of the inscriptions and of the decorative elements.

In the extremely difficult reality of revolutionary Russia, the civic societies could rarely use the techniques applied on the other side of the war's front lines. The expensive medium of photography, the time-consuming techniques of plaster cast and even those of papier-mâché were thus seldom applied. The surveyors used the simplest methods and materials with great inventiveness – such as over-drawings using a coloured pencil often on recycled paper and casts made of bread. Photography was used only exceptionally and with the utmost care, not so much to document single bells as to capture the place of storage and the exceptional act of the survey. This is the case of the album *Dzwony ewakuowane do Kurska* (Bells Evacuated to Kursk).[45] Described as 'a set of pictures giving a general illustration of the surveys of the Moscow Department of Monuments aimed at the repatriation of bells',[46] the album offers a considered selection of pictures. Starting with a set of single or group portraits of all the surveyors shown against the backdrop of the bells, it was followed by pictures of the endless outdoors and indoors 'fields of bells',[47] and close-ups of the details of individual bells. Each picture is carefully described and provided with an identical title: 'Bells from the Polish territories (5,123 pieces) evacuated to Kursk.'

The data and material gathered during the surveys were organized into an archive with several territorial registers – according to their distribution between the train station storage places, between the administrative units of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and by the parish of provenance. Such an archival system reflected the relationship of cultural heritage with two contrasting geopolitical spaces: the contested one of the wartime requisitions and the national space of the past and of the expected future. The latter was, indeed, the most important. On the one hand, by placing the bells on a virtual geographical map the outline of the Polish lands could be drawn. On the other, the most simple and smallest community (a parish) could identify itself with a single bell. This argument may be expanded even further – the bells can even be considered an indispensable element of Poland's national existence. This is at best illustrated in the Polish artist Aleksander Borawski's (1861–1942) post-war artistic project. From 1915 to 1918 Borawski was coordinating the salvage of Polish monuments in St Petersburg, including inter alia the survey of bells kept in the St Peter and St Paul's Fortress. Invoking this experience, and referring to the numerous Polish churches deprived of bells during the wartime requisitions, he launched his project – the 'new Polish bell' – which he stated 'shall not only be a musical instrument but a national relict. […] Such bells should be hung in the bell-towers of the cathedrals or of the country churches. The whole Polish community should demand that the bell, this symbol of the feelings engendered in the people, be a truly Polish object.'[48] Ironically, however, the image of the 'fields of bells', which inscribed the objects in the context of wartime topography, best expressed the moment of the emergence of bells as relics and as a national symbol.

My last two examples refer to specific objects. The first is Kłos's photograph of the marble statue of the Farnese Hercules, made for the last king of Poland in the famous workshop of Antonio Canova in Rome (Figure 55). On the surface the

picture, part of the already-described large-scale photographic survey of the former imperial seats in Warsaw, could have been taken anytime and anywhere. But upon closer inspection this was not so – a newspaper was intentionally left on the pediment with its title page on display, giving the statue a spatial and temporal context. We are in the year 1916 in Warsaw, in the ballroom of the Łazienki Palace, the former summer residence of the last Polish king and for the previous century the private seat of the tsars, inaccessible to the public. The palace has just been evacuated by

FIGURE 55 Juliusz Kłos, Hercules Farnese, glass negative, 1916. Courtesy of the Institute of Art of the PAS.

the Russian army and the sculpture (probably too heavy to carry along) is about the only item left from the palace's ancient splendour. The second example is the survey of the fragment of the unique Renaissance decoration from the Deputy Hall of the Wawel Castle in Cracow, consisting of twenty-four three-dimensional wooden heads sequestered as part of the repressions following Poland's 1831 uprising, and eventually taken in 1869 to Moscow and placed initially in the storage rooms of the Rumyantsev Museum (Figure 56).[49] The survey was taken by the skilled amateur photographer Stefan Plater-Zyberk, using the best equipment available.[50] Every detail was carefully planned out, in particular the lighting, which was supposed to suggest the original setting of the heads.[51] Through such a sophisticated visual reconstruction of the original setting, the pictures attempted to recast the heads in another space and topography and formulated strong arguments for their restitution. The set of twenty-four heads was, in 1922, among the first objects returned to Poland. Yet they were not

FIGURE 56 Stefan Plater-Zyberk, Wawel head, gelatine silver print, 1918. Courtesy of the Institute of Art of the PAS.

exhibited to the public until five years later. The Commission for State Collections of Art, which was responsible for the distribution of the artistic and historic objects returned from Russia, firmly intended to restore them to their original setting. The Wawel Castle, with the royal treasury and the exhibition of medieval and Renaissance interiors, was conceived as one of the main national museums of the new state. Hence for several years the wooden heads were popularized in the public visual sphere by means of postcards and reproductions in the press of Plater's 'topographic' pictures taken in Moscow.[52]

* * *

The projects discussed in this chapter were not only strongly embedded in nineteenth-century photographic and scientific traditions but also linked to several earlier Polish surveys. For example, the idea of a synthesis of the Polish architectonic landscape, presented in the official peace treaty negotiations via photographic books and albums, is rooted in the projects undertaken at the end of the nineteenth century by the Cracow Academy of Learning and the Warsaw Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments. Similarly, the survey of the objects in the imperial residences and collections of leading imperial museums can be seen as the continuation of the already-discussed series *Zabytki Polskie na Obczyźnie.* At the same time, however, the semantics of the wartime surveys should be seen as a kind of a language of its own. While the pre-war surveys were inscribed in vague and changing territorial categories fitted within the various imperial, regional, ethnic or national spaces, the wartime photographic maps, albums or archives, organized according to a topographical key, formed a consistent definition of the Polish national heritage imposed on a real, undeniable and precisely defined geopolitical space.

The exceptional character of the survey projects undertaken from 1916 to 1921 sprang from the historical moment. Equally important, however, was the strict collaboration of experts coming from different fields and involved in the diplomatic efforts and negotiations which led to the establishment of the Polish state. It was their conscious and parallel use of photography, cartography or statistics which lead to the establishment of the exceptional and scientific photographic system. The paths of Szydłowski, Morelowski, Orłowicz and other important actors involved in the projects during the war years were strongly interlinked, with all of them also being involved in post-war Polish diplomacy. They each had a strong interest in cultural heritage and expert knowledge of photographic and cartographic tools. Eugeniusz Romer, author of the *Polski Atlas Kongresowy* and one of the key figures of Polish geography and geopolitics, was an avid collector of survey photographs (mainly of landscape, geological and botanical features) and – although this still requires proof – was almost certainly an amateur photographer. He was the mastermind of the important art and photographic exhibition *Krajobraz Polski* (The Polish Landscape), organized in 1912 in Warsaw by the Touring Society. In one of the introductory essays to the exhibition,

published in the Society's monthly *Ziemia* (Soil), he contemplated the relationship between a scholarly description of landscape and its painted and photographic visualizations. In particular, in referring to landscape in his geographic research he noted that: 'Even the most famous descriptions of landscape in geographic scholarship are nothing more than a simple description and may be juxtaposed with its visual representation. This refers both to classic texts (i.e. Humboldt's *Pictures of Nature*) and to the most contemporary research (i.e. Sven Hedin).'[53] Moreover, Romer observed that drawing, photography and survey preceded and stimulated the contemporary development of academic analysis and classification of landscape.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Afterlives

At the beginning of the 1950s, Stanisław Lorentz (1899–1991), the director of the National Museum in Warsaw and one of the main actors involved in the wartime salvage of Polish cultural heritage and in its post-war recovery and nationalization, assigned a number of visual collections to a large survey-photography collection in order to create a kind of national archive. It was placed in the newly established State Institute of Art (1949), the future Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences. This collection encompassed different documentation regarding the monumental heritage of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and produced at the time of the partitions, the Second Polish Republic and during the two world wars by the different – Polish, German, Austrian, Russian – conservation offices, and civic and learned societies. The new archive formed a true summit of the phenomenon described in this book.

During the Second Polish Republic, Lorentz was an active member of the SPAM, and was involved in the survey and monument protection movements. While recovering the various photographic collections seized and amassed by the Nazis in the collection points and depots, he must have been well aware of their historical and cultural significance. However, in the new national, cultural and political reality of the Polish People's Republic, the true significance of the impressive survey archive of the State Institute of Art had quickly become incomprehensible and the collection itself useless and neglected. For decades only a small part was exploited to illustrate the Polish national monuments destroyed by the ravages of war and those which, as a result of the post-war peace treaties, remained outside the territory of Poland. On the one hand, such collections reflected a bygone multi-cultural landscape; on the other hand, their universal and European values were marginal in the creation of a cultural and national identity of an Eastern Bloc state.

In the Soviet Union, cultural heritage and photography as a potent identity language lost their meaning even earlier. The imperial world as expressed in the Romanov photographic and chromolithographic albums was arguably overturned with the Russian Revolution and with the advent of the new Bolshevik order.[1] The imperial libraries survived the revolutionary iconoclasm and spontaneous vandalism quite well. In 1918, however, together with other Romanov estates, palaces and collections, they were nationalized and seized for the newly established Gosmuzeifond (State Museum Reserve) and the Gosudarstvennyi Knizhnyi Fond (State Book Fund), centralized repositories which Soviet Union state museums and libraries could draw on.[2] Moreover, in the framework of the first five-year plan for the development of the national economy (1928–1932), numerous, often unique Romanov volumes together with other artistic treasures from the former imperial collections, private estates and church furnishing were made available on the international art market and dispersed between various libraries and collections in Europe and the United States. What was left stood useless and forgotten as a relic of the bygone, compromised and condemned bourgeois culture. Similarly, the survey archives from imperial times were useless not only as a scholarly but also as an ideological and propaganda tool. In the aftermath of the revolution, the civic societies involved in the imperial survey project were dissolved and reorganized (the IAC, for example, replaced by the newly founded Russian Academy for the History of Material Culture) or renamed (e.g. the IRGS, which in 1926 changed its name to the State Geographical Society) and given new tasks. Indeed, the universal language of cultural heritage and photography did not fit the description of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This is well illustrated in the role assigned to the ethnographic exhibition and to Orthodox heritage – two phenomena discussed in Chapter 1. As noticed by Francine Hirsch, the exhibition of the Leningrad Ethnographic Museum (today Kunstkamera) inaugurated in 1923 with its lifelike mannequins and props and with its focus on traditional culture reflected, rather, the former vision of a multi-ethnic empire.[3] Accordingly, the museum was founded before the revolution and the inaugurated exhibition was installed as early as 1915. However, serious attempts at 'Sovietization' of the museum were undertaken in order to highlight the ongoing state-wide industrialization and social revolution and to sidestep the ethnic and cultural diversity that did not fit the idea of the Soviet peoples. In particular, the impression of the contrast between the pale revolutionary present and the colourful pre-revolutionary past was in the eyes of the Soviet ideologists unacceptable. The Orthodox heritage – one of the main elements of Russia's imperial and national identity – became a victim of the new anti-clerical and anti-religious policy. Numerous churches were razed, others secularized and transformed into schools, prisons, etc., icons were burned and bells were melted. In the cultural integration of the new Soviet State the past and the various visual narrations built around it were indeed marginalized.

At the time of the first five-year plan several of the most glittering Romanov photographic and lithographic albums (including the ones discussed in Chapter 1)

together with other titles from the shelves of the imperial palaces found their way to the United States, laying the foundation of the Slavic departments of the New York Public Library, Harvard University Library and the Congress Library among others.[4] Such acquisitions confirmed the interest in the culture and heritage of Russia and eastern Europe engendered in the American collectors as early as the turn of the twentieth century by the albums and atlases discussed in this book. Thus, such publications are still preserved today in the Harvard University Centre for Italian Renaissance Studies (Villa I Tatti). This advanced research centre was inaugurated in 1961 in the former Florentine villa of the eminent American art historian, connoisseur and collector, Bernard Berenson (1865–1959), and designed to pursue research on the cradle of Western civilization – the Italian Renaissance – with Berenson's private book collection as its nucleus. Berenson's photographic and chromolithographic atlases are free to access today, displayed in a special room of the centre's library. Here one can riffle through the pages of Vladimir Stasov's *L'Ornament Slave et Oriental*,[5] Sophie Davidoff's *La Dentelle russe*[6] or Vladimir Suslov's *Monuments de l'Art Ancienne Russe*.[7] The editions pertinent to the Eastern European cultural space stand in the Villa I Tatti along with the most sumptuous and expensive atlases dedicated to the well-established canon of Western art and culture. Just to name Wilhelm von Bode's and Cornelis Hofstede de Groot's *The Complete Works of Rembrandt* edited by Charles Sedelmeyer in eight *in folio* volumes in three parallel language versions with full-page heliogravure reproductions of each known work of the Dutch master.[8]

A Litvak émigré, born as Bernhard Valvrojenski in Butrimonys in the Vilnius Governorate of the Russian Empire (today Lithuania), Berenson in his eastern European interests might have indeed been guided by a personal interest in his own roots. I would argue, however, that the voluminous presence of the visual synthesis of the cultural heritage of eastern Europe on the shelves of the Villa I Tatti points in the first place to the authority of the visual and photographic heritage discourse analysed in this book. Moreover, between the atlases and albums dedicated to the artistic heritage of eastern Europe and the core of Berenson's professional library focused on the arts and crafts of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance there is a closer cultural affinity.

As Flaminia Gennari-Sartori argues, the potent American financial elites build their prestige with the means of the Western cultural heritage canon and of Western collecting patterns. Thus, Henry Clay Frick (1849–1919), Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924) and John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) fashioned themselves as the contemporary Medici and built the cultural identity of their families and that of the young American state around the myth of Western European collecting.[9] Their art collections – formed with the intermediation of Bernard Berenson – were not only displayed in private museums or bequeathed to public institutions, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but also presented with the means of sumptuous scholarly photographic albums. Unsurprisingly, the most expensive and ambitious cultural heritage atlas project was conceived in the United States. August Jacacci

and John La Farge's *Noteworthy Paintings in American Collections* was planned as a panorama of old masters in the collections of the American millionaires in five thousand heliogravure reproductions. The only accomplished volume was issued in 1912 *in folio imperiale* format on the best quality Japanese and French papers, with the typography modelled on the first (1499) edition of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (a masterpiece from the Venetian Aldine Press) and the cover in form of a luxurious box alluding to the books from the library of Diane de Poitiers, the favourite of Francis I of France.[10]

The 'Eastern' and 'Western' atlases on the shelves of Berenson's library demonstrate the same sensibility, academic curriculum and outlook, characterizing the transnational milieu of their producers and consumers: scholars, aristocrats, collectors, artists, photographers and editors. The library itself is the evocation of the affinity between how the eastern European elites and the elites of the young American state build their pride and identity with the means of cultural heritage and photography. Such juxtaposition also demonstrates how the phenomenon discussed in this book not only demarcated national, imperial and ethnic spaces but also merged the distance of the eastern European peripheries to Western culture and civilization. It is through the means of such visual discourse that even the provincial cultural landscape of Eastern Europe acquired an aura of universalism.

Despite their empire-, state- and nation-building ambitions, the sumptuous chromolithographic or heliogravure editions, the various photographic archives, and the surveys displayed at international and regional exhibitions discussed in this book remained an elitist phenomenon. The luxurious atlases were issued only in very limited numbers, and the wartime photographic surveys were produced and consumed by members of the landed nobility and intelligentsia. Even Bułhak's *Polska w obrazach* was only known to wider society through single images reproduced on postcards, posters, guidebooks and newspapers. The series *Polska w obrazach i zabytkach* and *Cuda Polski* were expensive quasi-bibliophile editions and the handmade albums compiled by Bułhak himself were unique objects. The 'Eastern' atlases, photographic books or survey archives did not differ much in this respect from their 'Western' equivalents and models. Both until recently lay forgotten on the shelves of libraries and archives of academic and museum institutions.

It is the recent phenomenon of digitization that has given them a new and unexpected life. In 1948 the Congress Library managed to acquire from Prokudin-Gorskii's heirs all that was left from the last and most impressive photographic survey of the Russian Empire. However, because of technical restrictions, the multiple-image negatives for decades were hardly used in exhibitions or publications. It is only with the application of digichromolithography, an advanced digitization technique, that the whole stock of negatives was reproduced. In 2001, the copies, rendering the unexpected brightness, remarkable colours and tri-dimensional illusion of the original negatives, were made freely available online in high resolution.[11] In a short time span they were acclaimed as the most vivid portrait of the lost world of pre-

revolutionary Russia. Downloaded and reproduced worldwide they became one of the most commonly known historic survey photography collections.

The photographic archive of the Office of the Provincial Monument Conservator of the East Prussia Province (1893–1944) kept today in the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences was digitalized at around the same time by the initiative of the German Zeit Foundation. Around eight thousand glass negatives and prints (mainly from the turn of the twentieth century) issued in 2005 on a CD-ROM were initially conceived as a research tool concerning the cultural heritage and monument protection of the former province of the German Empire and of the Weimar Republic.[12] However, the popular exhibition *Fotograf przyjechał/Der Fotograf ist da* (The Photographer Is Here) consisting of a choice of enlarged copies and close-ups from the glass negatives and archives, met with an unexpected and wide interest of the larger public.[13] Shown initially in Marburg and Warsaw (the seats of two institutes involved in the digitization project), for the next few years it travelled between numerous venues in Germany and the former territory of East Prussia before being split between Poland (the region of Warmia and Mazury), Lithuania (Lithuania Minor) and Russia (the Kaliningrad Oblast). In the aftermath of the Second World War the territories of East Prussia were partitioned between Poland and the Soviet Union (the republics of Russia and Lithuania), and its German population as well as minor groups of Prussian Lithuanians and Curonians were almost completely expelled. In Warmia and Mazury the expatriates from the Polish lands annexed by the Soviet Union as well as groups of Ukrainians and Lemkos from the south-eastern provinces of post-war Poland were resettled. The Soviet parts of Eastern Prussia were populated with groups of Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians. In both countries local toponyms were replaced by Polish and Russian ones respectively and policies of Polonization and Sovietization were implemented.

The rediscovery of the forgotten German photographic archive illustrating the bygone cultural landscape of a region, whose population had been completely exchanged, occurred at another turning point of the region's history: the 2004 enlargement of the European Union, which culminated a long accession process leading to the reunification of Europe divided for half a century by the Iron Curtain and the Cold War. The unexpected appeal of the centenary photographs, in particular of the capturing close-ups on the curious onlookers, former inhabitants of the East Prussia region, who accompanied the surveyors at their work, must be seen in the framework of this important historical moment. The photographs exemplified a common history and shared heritage of peoples, countries and nations that could be framed in the local, national (Polish, Lithuanian, German, Russian) and European contexts. Thus, the universal language of photography and cultural heritage discussed in this book became an important means of a 'return to Europe', of redefinition of regional, national and European identities in eastern Europe as well as an important means of difficult national reconciliations. As the success of the *Fotograf przyjechał/Der Fotograf ist da*

exhibition venues in Spain and Portugal show, the photographs appealed not only to the eastern European public but also to a wider European audience.

POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, inaugurated in Warsaw in 2013, is the most groundbreaking and influential example of the recent reuse of the photographic heritage discourse.[14] The museum has filled important and complex cultural and historic gaps. First, built in the heart of the former Warsaw Ghetto, in front of the 1948 Monument of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising with its symbolic suggestive block designed by the Finnish architect, Rainer Mahlamäki, it has architectonically and symbolically filled an unnatural empty space in the heart of Warsaw – witness to battles of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943 and grave to numerous tragic and anonymous deaths. Second, by presenting the history of Polish Jews in a large chronological and geographical panorama, it has made up for the lack of a museum dedicated to Jews in a country where the Jewish population prior to the Second World War constituted 10 per cent of the whole society. Finally, despite its symbolic setting and appearance, and close relations and references to similar institutions in the world – the Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Jewish Museum in Berlin – the museum offers a new groundbreaking narration built around Jewish history and heritage. Conceived as a monumental revocation of a bygone world, culture and past of the millenary history of Polish Jews, the museum is built with the means of a practically objectless, impressive and rich multimedia narration. The central and most evocative element of the exhibition is the life-size reconstruction of the roof and bimah of the seventeenth-century wooden synagogue (to be viewed from below and above) in Gvizdets', a small village in today's south-eastern Ukraine.

The Gvizdets' synagogue reconstruction was a project in its own right. It was conceived and launched in 2003 by Rick and Laura Brown, a team of two Boston artists, founders of an educational non-profit organization called Handshouse Studio, specializing in the recreation of historical objects with the means of traditional wooden techniques. Inspired by the discussions around the idea of reconstructing a wooden synagogue in Zabłudów planned by the Białystok Open Air Museum, the Browns initiated a project focused on the main examples of eastern European synagogues and their traditional construction techniques. Over the following four years, together with a group of artisans, scholars and students from the Massachusetts College of Art and Design, they worked on a small-scale model of the external block of the Zabłudów synagogue and on a replica of the frescos and bimah of the Gvizdets' synagogue. In 2007 the POLIN team invited the Browns to continue their project with the Museum of Polish Jews exhibition in view (Plate 11). Works on a two-third size replica of the roof and bimah of the Gvizdets' synagogue were continued during workshops involving students from fifty Polish and American Universities organized in the active Polish synagogues and in the open-air Rural Architecture Museum in Sanok.

As discussed in Chapter 3, wooden synagogues were one of the most peculiar elements of the pre-war cultural landscape of eastern Europe. However, none of the

astonishing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century examples of such architecture and hardly any from the more contemporary and humble ones have escaped the ravages of time and war. Thus, our knowledge of eastern European wooden synagogues owes almost everything to the photographic surveys undertaken from the last quarter of the nineteenth century by Jewish, Polish, German and Russian scholars, artists and amateurs of art, heritage and history.

The Browns defined their reconstruction project as the recovery of a lost synagogue, a recreation of one's historic lost treasures and the recovery of a lost world. In the introduction of *Raise the Roof*, a documentary on the Gvizdets' reconstruction project, Rick Brown holds in his hands Alois Breier's photograph of the exterior of the Gvizdets' synagogue.[15] It is this pre-First World War extensive watercolour and photographic survey of the wooden synagogues of Galicia that enabled the Browns' recovery project. The Gvizdets' synagogue was allegedly burned during the First World War Russian pogrom of the Jewish community. Its post-war reconstruction did not include the seventeenth-century polychromes and furnishing and was burned to the ground in 1941 by the Nazis. The Browns not only brought to light Breier's hardly known photographs and watercolours[16] but also searched for other, often forgotten, pre-Second World War wooden synagogue photographic surveys, in particular to the already discussed interwar survey pursued by Szymon Zajczyk. The surveys were not just accurate historic visual sources and research tolls but they gave true sense to the whole project. Indeed, the Browns saw the reconstruction as a true continuation of the effort of the surveyors of Jewish eastern European heritage.[17]

The Gvizdets' replica forms indeed one of the salient points of the POLIN exhibition. The final effect formed a surprise even for its creators. As Laura Brown states:

> What surprised me was the awesome power of the finished synagogue roof and ceiling to everyone who saw it, who walked under it. It made me speechless and overwhelmed. And then the lack of awareness of the history of the wooden synagogues in the Jewish community and in Poland. And the need for more knowledge about it – the who, the what, the why – the many questions that came from directly experiencing the Gwoździec [Gvizdets'] synagogue. And we cannot provide answers. We just provided the synagogue. What surprised me was that in the end, after years of work and hundreds of people whose hands and heart and minds went into the finished synagogue roof and painted ceiling and bimah – that this was just the beginning. Just the beginning of the many, many questions.[18]

Embedded with a strong power of evocation and illusion, the replica is perceived by the POLIN's public as a real space and material object, a true revocation of the lost world of eastern European Jewish culture. In a short time span it has become one of the most recognizable spaces and symbols not only of the Museum but also of Warsaw and even Poland and Eastern Europe. By giving a new life to the pre-

war photographic surveys, the Browns have not only created a new, appealing and intriguing icon of Jewish culture in eastern Europe but also convincingly revived the myth of the rich, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural identity of Eastern Europe.

The crucial role played by the survey photographs in the replica's making and meaning is ignored by the majority of the POLIN's public. Just like another important – and possibly unconscious – reference to the heritage discourse tradition discussed in this book. Arguably, the lifelike replica presented in an exhibition space forms a revocation of the culture of universal exhibitions. In these important showcases of national and imperial identity all possible delusion measures (photography, panoramas, dioramas, cosmoramas, replicas, staging of ethnic types, etc.) were employed to create lifelike revocations of the monuments, peoples and cultural spaces.

The Gvizdets' replica at the same time forms an exemplification of the contemporary understanding of cultural heritage strongly influenced by the UNESCO World Heritage Convention[19] and by the role assigned to cultural heritage as an important element of EU development and integration. The Museum of the History of Polish Jews – a public–private entity generously sponsored by numerous foundations in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany and Poland – is a transnational initiative, which frames Jewish history and heritage in eastern Europe not only in the national (Polish and Jewish) but also in a larger European and global context: 'The message of the Museum is universal, addressed to the societies of Europe and the world.'[20] Despite its strong roots in the tradition of the heritage discourse discussed in this book, the replica mirrors the contemporary ways of visualizing heritage and identity. The synagogue's reconstruction forms an integral part of a multimedia exhibition and its concise visual form is conceived as a clear and approachable synthesis of the centenary history and heritage of Polish Jews.

The approachable multimedia museum is indeed one of the main and most influential examples of contemporary heritage discourse. Addressed to a mass public of any nationality and social status, it reflects the importance of simple and appealing visual language in the formation of identities and cultural and historical consciousness in a world marked more and more by cultural globalization and democratization. The origins of such contemporary visual sensibility are arguably ingrained in the elitist, universal and often utopian projects discussed in this book. This is exemplified not only in the Gvizdets' synagogue replica but even more in a parallel project: the Museum of the Second World War, launched in 2007 from the initiative of the then prime minister of Poland, Donald Tusk.[21] Its mission is to show through a visual narration using objects, photographs, films and other multimedia resources the history of the war as the greatest cataclysm of the twentieth century, exposing in particular the wartime experiences of Poland and other countries of east-central Europe. The museum – conceived in an international milieu of scholars, museologists and designers – is indeed a visionary project, connecting the history, heritage and experience of Eastern Europe with a wider European and universal framework. Conceived as an important Polish contribution to European integration it can and

should be juxtaposed with the visionary survey projects pursued under the patronage of Emperor Nicholas I or the Crown Prince of Austria, the archduke Rudolf. The uncertain future of this museum, now being challenged and contested by the populist and nationalistic Polish government,[22] shows that the great universal, civilizational and Western framings of Eastern Europe are today still fruits of elite projects, visions and ideals. The East–West dichotomy in the contemporary globalized world remains the main trait characterizing the identity of the cultural spaces described in this book and the contemporary heritage discourse – a fundamental tool of expressing their links with Western civilization and values.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in L'viv, f. 728, op. 1, no. 12.

2 Lowenthal 2009, 31.

3 Ibid., 128.

4 Ibid., 148–172.

5 Smith 2006.

6 Edwards 2012.

7 Ibid., 2.

8 Anderson 1983.

9 Gellner 1983.

10 Wolff 1994.

11 Ibid.

12 On the transformations of national ideas in this region see Snyder 2003.

13 Dominic Lieven, 'Russia as Empire and Periphery', in Lieven 2006, 10.

14 Mark Bassin, 'Geographies of Imperial Identities', in ibid., 48–50.

15 Davis 2005, 125.

16 Liulevicius 2000.

17 The first visual heritage narration on eastern Europe was arguably conceived in the 1760s by Pierre-Michel Hennin, the secretary of the French ambassador at the royal court in Dresden and Warsaw, a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres and collaborator of the Encyclopédistes. He envisaged a kind of a visual encyclopaedia of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth filled with survey drawings of its main manor houses, castles and churches, with the plans of cities, and drawings and watercolours of such spectacular sites as the salt mines in Wieliczka.

CHAPTER 1

1 Weeks 1996.

2 Pravilova 2014, 135.

3 For more on the phenomenon of learned civic societies in the Russian Empire, see Bradley 2009.

4 Musin and Nosov (eds.) 2009.

5 Pravilova 2014, 180–183.

6 Bradley 2009, 86–127.

7 Whittaker 2010; Kowalczyk (ed.) 2009–2014.

8 See Chapter 6.

9 Díaz-Andreu 2007, 256–258.

10 Smirnov 2013, 123.

11 IMC RAS, font 4 no 156: *O sostavlienii Arkheologicheskoy karty* (On the Compilation of an Archaeological Map).

12 The questionnaires are today in the holdings of IMC RAS (font 4).

13 Smirnov 2013, 124–126.

14 This section is based on: Knight 2006; Mogilner 2013, 24–28; Krivosheina 2014, 275–304. For more on the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition, see also: Kalashnikova (ed.) 2008. The proceedings of the committee as well as the reports of the exhibition were published in one of the volumes of the society's journal: Etnograficheskaya 1878.

15 Jezernik 2011.

16 Wystawa 1867, 3.

17 Valerie Traub, 'Mapping the global body', in Erickson and Hulse (eds.) 2000, 44–97; Ulrike Ilg, 'The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe', in Richardson (ed.) 2004, 29–48.

18 Seegel 2012, 217–219.

19 Bułatowicz and Pasławski 2013, 141.

20 Klaczko 1867, 22.

21 Die Russische Ethnographische Ausstellung 1866.

22 *Projekt doboru i kosztorysy nabycia eksponatów na wystawę etnograficzną w Moskwie 1867* (The Project of the Choice and the Estimated Costs of Acquisition of the Exhibits for the Moscow Ethnographic Exhibition of 1867) Library of the PAS and PAAS 3572, 320–323.

23 Kolberg 1857–1890.

24 Etnograficheskaya 1878, 72–73.

25 Barkhatova 2009, 139.

26 Still hardly known, reproduced or accessible. During two research stays in St Petersburg I was only allowed a cursory review of the photographs pertaining to Poles and Ruthenians.

27 RME photographic collection: *Polyaki* (Poles).

28 In the *Kurier Codzienny* and *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, among others.

29 Reproduced in Kalashnikova (ed.) 2008, 59.

30 Ibid., reproductions on pp. 66–67.

31 In imperial Russia this term referred essentially to the Russian people.

32 Kalashnikova (ed.) 2008, 81.

33 See the example reproduced in ibid., 82.

34 9.5 × 5.5 cm and 13 × 9 cm.

35 Possibly it was Nizankovskii, whose name is elegantly printed on the back of each picture, who stood behind the camera.

36 After Knight 2006, 21.

37 Ibid., 22–23.

38 Al'bom 1878.

39 Barchatova, 'Realism and Document: Photography as Fact', in Elliot 1992, 81.

40 Stasov 1885, 11–12.

41 Kalashnikova (ed.) 2008, 60. This cycle of photographs is today preserved in the RME.

42 The unofficial name traditionally applied to the Congress Kingdom of Poland (a Polish state in a personal union with Russia, created by the Congress of Vienna on the territories lying almost entirely within the borders of today's Poland), which after the Uprisings of 1830–1 and 1863–4 was gradually deprived of its autonomy and finally transformed into a full-fledged province of the empire and subjected to Russification. After 1874 it was officially called the Vistula Land.

43 Knight 2006, 20.

44 Petronis 2007, 125–164.

45 Seegel 2012, 126–131.

46 Ibid., 128–129; Petronis 2007, 195–199.

47 Moreover the small communities of Muslims and Protestants were also represented, while the Jews were totally ignored.

48 Seegel 2012, 128.

49 Established in 1596, the Unite church included most Ukrainians and Belarusians living in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

50 Piccin 2012, 53–54.

51 After Piccin 2012, 221.

52 Ibid., 219–227.

53 Batyushkov 1867–1885.

54 Shiner 2012.

55 Wilczyński (ed.) 1845–1875.

56 Piccin 2012, 238–240.

57 After Piccin 2012, 239.

58 Dainius Junevicius, 'Przepisy regulujące działalność zakładów fotograficznych w Rosji w XIX wieku i przykłady ich stosowania' (The Regulations of the Activity of the Photographic Studios in Russia in the Nineteenth Century and Examples of Their Application), in Plater-Zyberk 1999, 23–28.

59 Junevicius 2001, 29.

60 Pietrov 1864.

61 Gerbachevskii 1891.

62 The only known exemplar of Gerbachevskii's album was acquired by the New York Public Library, together with Batyushkov's atlas from the former Romanov palace libraries.

63 Pravilova 2014, 134.

64 Ibid., 140–142.

65 Paszkiewicz 2001.

66 Gerbachevskii 1892.

67 Pravilova 2014, 132–211.

68 *Moskovskii Publichnyi i Rumyantsovskii Muzei* 1860s.

69 Dianina 2013, 196–199.

70 An exhaustive biography of Prokudin-Gorskii is available online: http://prokudin-gorsky.org/rightpages.php?lang=en&fname=bio (accessed: 4 October 2017).

71 Prokudin-Gorskii's presumed chemistry teacher and consultant of scientific enterprises.

72 Nick Baron, 'The Mapping of Illiberal Modernity: Spatial Science, Ideology and the State in Early Twentieth-Century Russia', in Waldstein, Turoma 2013, 105–134.

73 Quoted after ibid., 113.

CHAPTER 2

1 Jackiewicz 2012.

2 See Chapter 1.

3 Letters of Karol Beyer to Michał Greim 1874–75. Oss. Lib. 8032 vol. 1, 362–397.

4 Album 1873.

5 Bożena Wierzbicka, 'Karol Beyer i warszawskie środowisko starożytników' (K. Beyer and the Warsaw Antiquarians), in Materiały 1987, 57–84.

6 Among earliest known Rzewuski's photographs are the outdoor group portraits of the Tatra highlanders. Mossakowska 1981, 197.

7 Letter of Izydor Kopernicki to Seweryn Udziela, 27.02.1890. Published in Rak 2013, 19.

8 Ibid.

9 A vast historic region today in the west-central and south-western part of Ukraine and in north-eastern Moldova. Till the second partition (1793), it was part of Poland–Lithuania. In the Russian Empire it formed the administrative unit of the Podolia Governorate, with Kam'ianets-Podil's'kyi as its administrative centre.

10 Kordysz is a little studied photographer. My conclusions are based on archival research in the photographic collections of the RME, IRGS, Library of the PAS and PAAS, and on his copious correspondence with Michał Greim (Oss. Lib. 8032 vol. 1).

11 A term applied in this period to the territories of Ukraine within the borders of the Russian Empire.

12 Letter of Józef Kordysz to Michał Greim 1874, Oss. Lib. 8032 vol. 1, 195.

13 Performed by the local ethnographer, Pavel Chubinskii, and published as impressive nine-volume edition. Petronis 2007, 139–145.

14 Kordysz 1874.

15 *Congrès* 1875, vol. 2, 22–28.

16 Ibid., 217–218.

17 (St Petersburg 1875). See Petronis 2007, 210–219.

18 *Congrès* 1875, vol. 2, 314.

19 Pauly 1862.

20 *Congrès* 1875, vol. 2, 335. The whereabouts of the photographic album are currently unknown.

21 Reclus 1885. Kordysz's pictures are preserved today in the National Library in Paris: http://gallica.bnf.fr/services/engine/search/sru?operation=searchRetrieve&version=1.2&query=%28gallica%20all%20%22Kordysch%22%29#resultat-id-1 (accessed 14 May 2016).

22 Garztecki 1972.

23 Oss. Lib. 8032 vol. 1.

24 Kordysz to Greim, Kyiv 17 January 1879, Oss. Lib. 8032 vol. 1, 225–228.

25 Kordysz to Greim, Kyiv 22 March 1878, ibid., 215; Kordysz to Greim, Kyiv 3 April 1878, ibid., 219.

26 Ewa Manikowska, 'Anatomia zbiorów ikonograficznych Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości: ilustrowane syntezy kultury narodowej' (The Anatomy of the Iconographic Collections of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments. Illustrated Synthesis of National Culture), in Manikowska and Jamski 2014, 47.

27 Greim 1876.

28 Available online: http://pauart.pl/app/artwork?id=BZS_RKPS_12219_k_56 (accessed 14 February 2016).

29 Kordysz to Greim, Kyiv 3 April 1878, Oss. Lib. 8032 vol. 1, 220.

30 RGS Archive, font 112, op. 1 no. 442.

31 *Congrès* 1875, 315.

32 Dias 1991, 166–168.

33 Daszkiewicz 2012. For an overview of the Polish section, see the contemporary reviews: Sienkiewicz 1878; Zaborowski 1879.

34 Odezwa 1878.

35 Zaborowski 1879, 162.

36 Kopernicki 1878.

37 Izabela Kopania, 'Początki dokumentacji wizualnej w etnografii: amatorzy, instrukcje, próby kodyfikacji' (The Beginnings of Visual Documentation in Ethnography: Amateurs, Guidelines, Attempts at Codification) in Manikowska and Kopania (eds.) 2014, 130.

38 Kaczanowski 2008, 16.

39 Kopania, 134.

40 Szostek 2006.

41 Talko-Hryncewicz 1913, 83.

42 Karol Beyer, *Portrety wiejskie/Portraits ruraux*, Millon et Associés Paris, 24.06.2014 lot 20.

43 Haskell 1993.

44 Kamila Kłudkiewicz, 'Rodzinna tradycja, romantyczne zobowiązania i indywidualne koncepcje. Uwagi o kolekcjonerstwie arystokracji w Wielkopolsce w drugiej połowie XIX wieku' (Family Traditions, Romantic Commitments and Individual Concepts. Some Notes on Aristocratic Collecting in Great Poland in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century), in Kłudkiewicz and Mencfel 2014, 196.

45 Katalog 1856.

46 Siemieński 1858.

47 Beyer 1856.

48 Jackiewicz 2012, 14.

49 Stephen Bann, 'The Photographic Album as a Cultural Accumulator', in Bann (ed.) 2011, 7–30; Dorothea Peters, 'Reproduced Art. Early Photographic Campaigns in European Collections', in Meyer and Savoy (eds.) 2014, 45–57.

50 Gautier 1859.

51 Bann, *The Photographic Album*.

52 Stasov 1885, 162.

53 Ibid., 162–168.

54 Kraszewski w.d., 1.

55 Today in the library of the Hermitage.

56 A luxurious silk sash made of silk and gold with minute decoration used to gird the *kontusz*. The Paschalis manufacturer produced the most renowned late eighteenth-century *kontusz* sashes.

57 Teodor Szajnok to Mieczysław Potocki (1867), Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in L'viv, f. 616, op. 1 no. 5, 95.

58 Ibid.

59 Puławski (ed.) 1907–1909.

60 Jackiewicz 2012, 19.

61 Ibid., 20.

62 Szajnok 1867–68; Szajnok 1868.

63 Album 1868.

64 Widmann 1869, 9–10.

65 *Dziennik Literacki*, 1868, no. 6, 96.

66 Kunińska 2012.

67 Sprawozdania 1877–1915.

68 Pravilova 2014, 136.

69 Suslov (ed.) 1895–1900.

70 Suslov (ed.), *Post-scriptum a la livraison VII* (Post-scriptum to the 7th issue), ibid., 7 (1900).

71 Bann, 'The Photographic Album as a Cultural Accumulator', in Bann (ed.) 2011, 7–29.

72 In the Russian Empire, a native system of units and measures was enforced by the tsarist edict of 1849.

73 Marian Sokołowski to Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, Cracow 2 February 1905, Archive of the JU, Spuśc. 98/1–2.

74 Today dispersed between different institutions. The largest bulk of this collection is preserved in the photo library of the Institute of Art History of the JU.

75 Pravilova 2014, 136–137.

76 IMC RAS font 1 op 62/1893.

77 Zawadzki 1914.

78 Michał Wołodyjowski and Hasslig-Ketling of Elgin are fictional characters of the *Trilogy.*

79 Zawadzki 1914.

80 Putowska 2004.

81 Sadowski 1880–1885.

CHAPTER 3

1 The album, which used to be in the IRGS collection, recently appeared on the Russian antiquarian market. See Natalia Lvova, *Vypit so sviatym Bernardom* online: http://www.kultpro.ru/item_436/ (accessed 14 March 2016).

2 The nobility (szlachta) in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was a large (making up around 13 per cent of the whole population) and greatly differentiated social group. Its lowest strata, the petty nobility, economically differed little from peasants, owning and cultivating just a few acres of land themselves.

3 Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 4–6.

4 For more on Galicia see, among others: Hann and Magocsi (eds) 2005; Wolff 2010.

5 In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Ruthenian nobility became Polonized and abandoned their traditional religion and language.

6 Himka, 'The Construction of Nationality in Galician Rus': Icarian Flights in Almost all Directions', in Sunny and Kennedy 1999, 109–164.

7 Marta Filipovà, 'Introduction. The Margins of Exhibitions and Exhibitions Studies', in Filipovà 2015, 1–20.

8 Ibid., 8.

9 Unovsky 2003.

10 Nowolecki 1881, 112.

11 Ibid., 113.

12 Dabrowski 2005.

13 Dabrowski 2008, 57.

14 Turczynowiczowa 1966.

15 Giller 1873.

16 Katalog 1880.

17 The 18th section of the exhibition was composed of ethnographic photographs and drawings. However, as we may presume from the description of the show and from a picture of the pavilion (Figure 20), they were displayed separately and a much greater importance was attached to photography.

18 Turowski 1880, 34–36.

19 Dutkiewicz 1880, 74.

20 Ibid., 34.

21 Dutkiewicz 1880.

22 Kiebuzinski 2014.

23 Dutkiewicz 1887.

24 Dutkiewicz to the Museum of Industry in L'viv, 3 March 1887. Archive of the MEAA, Correspondence of the Museum of Industry (1887).

25 This information is included in the advertisement on the back of two 1899 coloured photographs in the collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Cracow (inv no III 33936–7/F).

26 Kiebuzinski 2014, 15. Kiebuzinski has not quoted the source of the description. I was not able to trace the album in the Vienna photographic collections.

27 See the photographs in Dutkiewicz 1887.

28 His picture from one of such travels (with Augut Zamoyski, Prince Władysław Sapieha and his son Leon) is preserved in the National Museum in Warsaw. Available online: http://cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/dmuseion/docmetadata?id=2568&show_nav=true&full_screen=true#full_screen (accessed 20 January 2016).

29 Dutkiewicz 1887.

30 Najdostojniejszy cesarz 1887, 4.

31 Franko 1887.

32 Najdostojniejszy cesarz 1887, 4.

33 Ibid.

34 Silkiewicz 1887a.

35 Silkiewicz 1887b.

36 Franko 1887.

37 With respect to Austria–Hungary, see Rampley 2013, 116–140.

38 Nowolecki, 140.

39 Ibid., 114.

40 Chwalewik 1927, vol. 2, 24.

41 Nowolecki, 199–203.

42 A long garment, always lined, worn by men, and the traditional dress of Polish nobility in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

43 A luxurious coat finished with fur and worn over the *żupan*.

44 A cap of oriental origin – from the sixteenth century on it was an element of the Polish national dress.

45 Najdostojniejszy cesarz 1887, 4.

46 Nowolecki 1881, 203.

47 Turowski 1880, 40.

48 Biedrońska-Słota 2004.

49 Nowolecki, 202.

50 Ibid.

51 Dabrowski 2005, 395–397.

52 Magocsi 1991.

53 Nikočević 2006, 45.

54 Kronprinzenwerk 1886–1902. On this publication see among others: Rampley 2009; Regina Bendix, 'Ethnology, Cultural Reification and the Dynamics of the Difference in the Kronprinzenwerk', in Wingfield 2003, 149–166.

55 With the exception of the chapter on the Galician Jews.

56 The photographs are today in the holdings of the Austrian National Library: KWR 20: 33, 55, 58, 60.

57 Wierzbicki 1880–1889.

58 Wierzbicki, *Wyroby snycerskie włościan na Rusi* (L'viv, 1884).

59 Rudenko 2013.

60 Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, 'Przedmowa. Pogląd na dzieje sztuki na Rusi' (Introduction. Views on the History of Art in Rus'), in Wystawa 1885, 3–4.

61 Dybas, Ziemlewska 2015.

62 Preserved in the collection of the Scientific Centre in Rome of the PAAS.

63 MEAA Photographic Collection, inv. no. EP 64069. The picture is framed and described on the back as 'Volodimir Shukhevych at the time of the ethnographic exhibition in Ternopil in 1887.'

64 Shukhevych 1899–1902. Polish edition: Szuchiewicz 1902–1908.

65 Nikočević 2006, 48–49.

66 Szuchiewicz 1894, 37–40.

67 For an overview see Grieshofer 1997.

68 Szuchiewicz 1894, 1–2.

69 Hodgston 1905, 48.

70 Dzieduszycki 1889, vol. 1, 211.

71 Filipovà 2011.

72 Ibid., 16.

73 Ibid., 28.

74 Strzelecki 1896, 34.

75 Like the Ruthenian pavilion organized by the Prosvita and the Shevchenko Society and the Art Pavilion, with a retrospective of Polish fine arts.

76 Grieshofer 1997, 500–501. Today in the holdings of the Museum of Ethnology in Vienna.

77 Nowolecki 1881, 115.

78 Hilbrenner 2009, 174–175.

79 Gloger 1874.

80 Archive of the JU, Spuśc. 98/1–2. See Walanus 2016.

81 Library of the PAS and PAAS in Cracow, Graphic Collection, folder *Judaica* no 402–450.

82 The attribute of the *Hetman*, the highest military rank.

83 Correspondence of Michał Greim, Wrocław Oss. Lib. 8032 vol. 1, 1–77.

84 Bersohn 1895–1903.

85 Ida Batsheva Goldman, 'The Path of Abstraction: Alois Breyer, El Lissitzky, Frank Stella' in Batsheva Goldman 2014, 129–131.

86 The Alois Breyer Collection in the Tel Aviv Museum of Art. A small set of the albumen prints is also kept in the Institute of Art of the PAS.

87 Lukomskii 1935.

88 Gloger 1907, vol. 1, 29–30.

89 Grotte 1915.

90 After: Lukomskii 1935, 17.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid., 18.

93 For more on An-ski, see Safran 2010.

94 Veidlinger 2003, 166–168.

95 This is the second album. See: Yudovin 1915.

96 Morris-Reich 2012.

97 Kansedikas and Sergeyeva 2001.

98 Snyder 2008.

99 *Les Houtzoules* (Warszawa 1937).

100 Henryk Gąsiorowski, 'Województwo Stanisławowskie', in *Polska w krajobrazie i zabytkach,* vol. 2 (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo dra Tadeusza Złotnickiego, 1931), 72.

101 Zemel 2015, 17–52.

102 Eadem, 'Imagining the Shtelt: Diaspora Culture, Photography and Eastern European Jews', in Mirzoeff ed. 2000, 200.

103 Ibid.

104 The album was never issued. The 1936 prospectus is preserved in the collection of the Institute of Art of the PAS.

105 Vishniac 1947.

106 Abramovitch 1947.

107 Piechotka 1959. Lukomskii's visual research was embedded with a similar meaning, when his drawings were finally published in 1947 in a much more modest form than initially planned. See Loukomski and Roth 1947.

108 Verbin 1992. See also: http://www.zchor.org/verbin/verbin7.htm (accessed: 14 February 2017).

109 Salus 2010.

110 Tanikowski 2016.

CHAPTER 4

1 The albums are kept today in the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. See Kucharska 1995.

2 Bułhak 1939a, 234.

3 Ibid.

4 Bułhak 1931, advertisement after p. 174. The book was issued in Polish and English simultaneously.

5 Wawel 1892.

6 The remains of the poet were recently (1890) transferred from Les Champeaux de Montmorency, the cemetery of the Polish emigration in Paris, to the Wawel cathedral and buried in a solemn national ceremony. See Patrice Dabrowski, 'Eloquent Ashes. The Translation of Adam Mickiewicz's Remains', in Dabrowski 2004, 77–100.

7 See Chapter 6.

8 Gembarzewski 1918.

9 A private institution founded in Rapperswil by the Polish émigrés in 1870 to create a shelter for Polish monuments and a place for the promotion of Polish culture and national interests.

10 *Archiwum Ikonograficzne. Spis alfabetyczny działów,* Archive of the NMW 296.

11 *Program Archiwum Ikonograficznego do Historji Kultury Polskiej*, Archive of the NMW 163.

12 Gembarzewski 1918.

13 Daston, Galiston 1992.

14 Stephen Bann, 'Alternative Paradigms for the Historical Museum: Lenoir's Monuments Français and du Sommerard's Cluny', in Poulot, Bodenstein and Lanzarote Guiral 2011. For more on du Sommerard's museum, see also: Bann 1984, 77–92.

15 'The Hotel de Cluny, at Paris', *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, July 1838, 486.

16 Du Sommerard 1838–1846.

17 The *prospectus* (or *announce*) was republished in the introduction to the first volume *in octavo, Les arts au Moyen Age* (ibid.).

18 Usually bound in four volumes. See, for example, the exemplars in the Library of the IMC RAS or in the Stanford University Libraries.

19 Brunet 1860, 919.

20 Berger de Xivrey 1838, 281.

21 Lacroix 1847–1851.

22 C. Bouquin, 'Influence des relations entre éditeurs et imprimeurs-lithographes dans la genèse de "illustration des livres au XIXe siècle"', in Barbier 1997, 736–737.

23 Lacroix 1874, V.

24 Swenson 2013, 48–51.

25 Ibid., 329.

26 The atlas was usually bound in six volumes and the text in one. Available online: http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47de-137d-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99/book?parent=985c0350-c5f8-012f-a60f-58d385a7bc34#page/371/mode/2up (accessed 10 June 2018).

27 Quaritch 1877, 26–27.

28 Wendy Salmond and Cynthia H. Whittaker, 'Fedor Solntsev and crafting the image of a Russian national past', in Whittaker 2010, 12.

29 On Solntsev see ibid.

30 Riasanovsky 1959.

31 Stuart 1995, 5.

32 On the ethnographic watercolours, see Nathaniel Knight, 'Russian ethnography and the visual arts in the 1840s and 1850s', in Whittaker 2010, 127–144.

33 Salmond and Whittaker in Whittaker 2010, 4.

34 *Capturing Moscow.* Available online: http://blogs.law.harvard.edu/houghtonmodern/2012/06/19/capturing-moscow/ (accessed 16 June 2016).

35 For example, to the Insitut de France. See Quartich 1877, 26.

36 Ibid., 27.

37 Podczaszyński 1847.

38 Schreiner 1998.

39 The official translation of the Polish version of the album is: *The Designs of Medieval and Renaissance Art in Former Poland*.

40 See Chapter 2.

41 Kraszewski 1858.

42 Manikowska, 'Anatomia zbiorów ikonograficznych Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości: ilustrowane syntezy kultury narodowej' (The Anatomy of the Iconographic Collections of the SPAM: Visual Synthesis of National Culture), in Manikowska and Jamski 2014, 54–58.

43 Ibid.

44 Kraszewski 1849.

45 Stasov 1885.

46 See Chapter 1.

47 Stasov 1888, LXIII–LXVIII.

48 Available online: https://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/287_turkestan.html (accessed 16 June 2016).

49 Stasoff 1887.

50 Davidoff 1895.

51 Réau 1921, 1, 3.

52 Ibid., VII.

53 Medvedkova 2002.

54 See Chapter 6.

55 Stuart 1995.

56 *Polska* 1930.

57 *Cuda Polski* 1928–1930.

58 Arlaud, Régnier and Chapelle 1926–1932.

59 Monmarche and Tilion 1925–1926.

60 Young 2012, 99–100.

61 *Polska* 1930, vol. 1, VI.

62 Ibid.

63 The harvest feast celebrated in the Slavic world.

64 Poddębski 1930.

65 The volumes edited before 1939 were dedicated to the sea and Pomerania; Greater Poland; Silesia; Polesia; the Tatra and Podhale; Polish forests; the Sandomierz region and the Świętokrzyskie mountains; the Vilnius and Navahrudak lands; the Hutsul region.

66 Warsaw, Cracow, L'viv and Gdańsk.

67 Bann, 'The Photographic Album as a Cultural Accumulator', in Bann 2011, 68.

68 Inspecteur général des monuments historiques.

69 Wacław Woydyno, 'Działalność państwa w obronie krajobrazu polskiego i zabytków' (The Polish State Cultural Heritage and Landscape Protection), in *Polska* 1930, vol. 1, XIV–XXI.

CHAPTER 5

1 Liulevicius 2009, 4–5.

2 Keller 2013.

3 Holzer 2007. The archive is available online at: http://www.bildarchivaustria.at/Pages/Collection.aspx?p_iCollectionID=15760977 (accessed: 10 June 2018).

4 Behr 1918.

5 Liulevicius 2000, 151.

6 Ibid., 279.

7 Kraushar 1921, 56–59.

8 Generalgouvernement 1918. Kraushar mentions that several dozen copies were found in the headquarters of the General Government in the Warsaw Royal Castle. Kraushar 1921, 57.

9 Ginsburger 2010, 317–338.

10 The archive of prints is preserved in the Ethnographic Museum in Cracow.

11 Wunderlich 1917b. See Ginsburger 2010, 335–337.

12 Erich Wunderlich, 'Geleitwort', in Schultz 1918, 1.

13 Ibid.

14 Wunderlich 1917a.

15 Friederichsen 1918.

16 Pax 1921.

17 Górny 2018.

18 Ginsburger 2010, 1472–1473, 1475.

19 Kott 2006a.

20 Kott 2006b.

21 Störtkuhl 2014.

22 Ewa Manikowska, 'Od miasta do stolicy' (From City to Capital), in Manikowska and Jamski 2010, 262–263.

23 Paul Clemen and Helmuth Grisebach, 'Kunstdenkmäler und Denkmalschutz in Generalgouvernement Warschau' (Monuments of Art and Monument Protection in the Warsaw General Goverment), in Clemen 1919, vol. 2, 82–100.

24 In September 1915, Paul Clemen organized such a meeting at the seat of the Warsaw association for all the German and Polish actors involved in the project. See Manikowska 2015, 6–12.

25 Albert Świeykowski's five-shot panorama of 1865 precedes both Michał Greim's panorama of Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi (1873) and Konrad Brandel's Warsaw one (1875).

26 The first photo club in Vilnius was set only in 1927.

27 Dainius Junevicius, 'Przepisy regulujące działaność zakładów fotograficznych w Rosji w XIX wieku i przykłady ich stosowania' (The Regulations of the Photographic Studios in Russia in the Nineteenth Century and the Examples of their Implementation), in Plater-Zyberk 1999, 23–28.

28 Ibid.

29 Today the albums are kept in the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. See Kucharska 1995.

30 Bułhak 1939b, 122.

31 Paul Weber, 'Die Baudenkmäler in Litauen' (Architectonic Monuments in Lithuana), in Clemen 1919, vol. 2, 100.

32 Bühlmann 1918, 13.

33 Clemen 1916.

34 Bühlmann 1918, 18.

35 Weber 1917.

36 *Dziennik Wileński*, 1 March 1917.

37 Laima Laučkaitė, 'The Image of an Occupied City: Walter Buhe's Vilnius of the First World War', in Laučkaitė and Jankevičiutė 2012, 122–123.

38 J. W., 'Bulhak-Schau' (The Bułhak Show), *Zeitung der 10. Armee*, 17 March 1917.

39 Monty 1916.

40 Bułhak 1939b, 122.

41 See among others Burleigh 1988.

42 Zadrożny 2009.

43 Ibid., 39.

44 Arend 2009.

45 *Denkschrift über den Ausbau der Sektion Kunstgeschichte des Institutes für Deutsche Ostarbeit* (A Note on the Establishment of the Art History Section of the IDO), Archive of the JU, IDO 52.

46 Rybicka 2002; Burleigh 1988, 253–299. The archives of the IDO are preserved in the JU archive.

47 *Section Kunstgeschichte* (the Art History Section), Archive of the JU, IDO 52.

48 *Arbeitsprogramm der Sektion Kunstgeschichte vom 23.V.1943* (the Work Plan of the Art History Section from 23 May 1943), Ibid.

49 Walanus 2017.

50 Zadrożny 2008.

51 Letter of an unknown author to B. Liber, 3 February 1944: Archive of the JU, IDO 52. In 1944, for example, Kołowca was preparing colour documentation of an unspecified Cracow medieval or Renaissance altar.

52 Arend 2009.

53 Already at the time of the first conservation of the altar in the 1860s, the Cracow cultural elite launched an initiative of sponsoring and editing its luxurious photographic album. This never realized project, entrusted to one of the city's first professional photographers, Walery

Rzewuski, aimed not only at popularizing the master's Polish masterpiece but first and foremost at introducing the visual discourse in the Polish–German debate on the national affinity of the master.

54 Wystawa 1937, 48.

55 Francastel 1945.

56 Passini 2012, 191–228.

57 Ausstellung 1942.

58 In the introductory section entitled *Krakau und der Deutsche Osten* (Cracow and the German East). Ibid.

59 Francastel 1945, 15.

60 Pluharová-Grigiené 2017.

61 Elizabeth Edwards, 'Between the Local, National and Transnational: Photographic Recording and Memorializing Desire', in De Cesari and Rigney 2014, 169–194.

62 Joschke 2013.

63 Swenson 2013.

64 Lekan 2004.

65 Applegate 1990.

66 'Aus der Vogelschau', republished in Grodno 1916, 40–43.

67 Ibid., 43.

68 On the national framings of the city panorama, see Dunlop 2015, 159–189.

69 A rabbi sent to the front by the German and Austrian armies during the First World War.

70 Hayes Norrell 2017, 20–21.

71 See Chapter 6.

72 Dunlop 2015, 94.

CHAPTER 6

1 Seegel 2012, 267.

2 Ibid., 246–253, 270–276.

3 Romer 1921. The two maps were previously issued in Romer 1920.

4 Romer 1920, 15.

5 Chwalewik 1916.

6 Dunlop 2015.

7 Seegel 2012, 4.

8 Dunlop, 159–188.

9 *Kresy Wschodnie* in Polish. A term which appeared in the aftermath of the First World War to define the contested multi-ethnic lands of former Poland–Lithuania, over which Poland fought three victorious wars in the years 1919 to 1921.

10 The archival material related to this exhibition is preserved in the Polish Central Archive of Contemporary Records in Warsaw.

11 Ewa Manikowska, 'Wielka wojna i zabytki' (Monuments and the Great War), in Manikowska and Jamski 2010, 20–91.

12 SARF, 5115, op. 2 no. 75, p. 56.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 For more on the *Krieg der Geister* on the Eastern Front, see Górny 2018.

16 Levy 2011; Passini 2012, 190–228.

17 Ferdinand Schubert von Soldern, 'Kunstdenkmäler und Denkmalpflege im Generalgouvernement Lublin und Galizien', in Clemen 1919, vol. 2, 127–136.

18 A number of original prints from this survey are preserved today in the Photographic Archive of the Institute of Art History of the JU.

19 In 1915 he was trying to get 250,000 crowns of government funding. This survey and the publishing plans are discussed in his correspondence with Karol Lanckoroński (Archive of the PAS and PAAS, Zespół Karolina Lanckorońska K-III-150).

20 Szydłowski 1919.

21 Mieczysław Orłowicz to the Culture Department of the Interim Governmental Committee in Cracow, Jarosław 27 January 1919, Cracow State Archives WR 1, VI, folder 77.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Marian Morelowski to Ignacy Dembowski, Warsaw 27 March 1919, ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 Kłos 1921.

27 Ibid., 4.

28 Bułhak 1939b, 197.

29 Kłos 1921, 6.

30 For an analysis of the issues devoted to the destruction of monumental heritage on the Western Front, see Passini 2012, 215–217.

31 Accessible online: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32702564z/date (accessed 14 June 2016).

32 'Avant-propos', *L'art et les artistes*, 21 (1917), no. 2: 'L'art assasiné', 3.

33 For more on this, see chapter 6.

34 La Pologne 1916.

35 For more on the political activity of the Polish wartime émigrés in Paris, see Sladkowski 1976.

36 Maurice Maeterlinck, 'A la Pologne' (To Poland), La Pologne 1916, 5.

37 Henryk Sienkiewicz, 'L'idée de la Patrie' (The Idea of Fatherland), La Pologne 1916, 3–4.

38 Louis Réau, 'L'Art du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance' (The Art of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance), La Pologne 1916, 6, 10.

39 See Ewa Manikowska, 'National versus Universal? The Restitution Debate between Poland and Soviet Russia after the Riga Peace Treaty (1921)', in Grossman and Krutisch 2013, vol. 4, 1151–1154.

40 Cracow National Archives, Alb. 6–7.

41 National Library of Poland, AFF II 48.

42 The Taras Shevchenko Library, Iconographic Collection inv. no. 4626–4630.

43 Manikowska, Jamski, 'Organizacje opieki nad zabytkami a dziedzictwo kultury sakralnej' (The Heritage Societies and the Monuments of Sacral Culture. An Overview), in Manikowska and Jamski 2010, 176–185.

44 Piotr Jamski, 'Odcisk, odlew, fotografia. Dokumentacja wizualna dzwonów wywiezionych do Rosji (1914–1923)' (Impress, Cast, and Photography. The Visual Documentation of Bells Returned from Russia, 1914–1923), in Manikowska and Kopania 2014, 195–214.

45 SARF f. 5115, op. 2.

46 Such a description appears on the left-hand side of every picture.

47 This term (*pole dzwonowe*) appears very often in the archival documentation.

48 Borawski 1923.

49 Morelowski 1918.

50 There are two original sets of prints: Archives of the Russian Federation, font 5115 op. 2, no. 133 and Warsaw, Institute of Art of the PAS.

51 Morelowski 1918, 18–19.

52 *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 13 (1921), 190–191.

53 Romer 1912, 136.

CHAPTER 7

1 Richard Stites, *Iconoclastic Currents in the Russian Revolution: Destroying and Preserving the Past*, in Gleaston, Kenez and Stites 1989, 1–24.

2 Odm and Salmond 2009.

3 Hirsch 2003.

4 Patricia Kennedy Griemsted, 'Books for Tractors? Interwar Dispersal and Sales of Russian Palace Books', in Odm and Salmond 2009, 327–329; Davis and Kasinec 2009.

5 Stasoff 1887.

6 Davidoff 1895.

7 Suslov 1895–1900.

8 Bode and Hofstede de Groot 1897. On this edition, see Scallen 2004, 169–179.

9 Gennari-Santori 2004.

10 Ibid., 151–255.

11 Available at: https://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/prok/process.html (accessed 14 February 2017).

12 *Ostpreussen. Dokumentation einer historischen Provinz. Die photographische Sammlung des Provinzialdenkmalamtes in Königsberg / Prusy Wschodnie. Dokumentacja historycznej prowincji. Zbiory fotograficzne dawnego Urzędu Konserwatora Zabytków w Królewcu* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN 2005).

13 Langer, Popp and Jamski 2005.

14 See the Museum's web page: http://www.polin.pl/en (accessed 14 February 2017) and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2015.

15 Yari and Cary Wolinsky, *Raise the Roof. They Set Out to Reconstruct a Lost Synagogue. They Recovered a Lost World*, USA 2015, 85 mins. See http://www.polishsynagogue.com/ (accessed 14 February 2017).

16 The Browns learned about this collection kept in the Tel Aviv Museum of Art thanks to Thomas Hubka's book on the material, spiritual and social history of the Gvizdets' synagogue in the eighteenth century, richly illustrated with Breier's pictures and watercolours (see Hubka 2003).

17 *Q&A with Rick and Laura Brown*. Available at: http://www.polishsynagogue.com/browns-qa/ (accessed 14 February 2017).

18 Ibid.

19 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (16 November 1972, 1037 UNTS 151).

20 *Polin Museum of the History of Polish Jews – Museum of Important Questions*. Available at: www.polskainstitutet.se/repository/Museum_ENGLISH.DOCX (accessed 14 February 2017).

21 Machcewicz 2018.

22 Ibid.; Timothy Snyder, 'Poland vs. History', *The New York Review of Books*, 3 May 2016. Available at: http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2016/05/03/poland-vs-history-museum-gdansk/ (accessed 14 February 2017).

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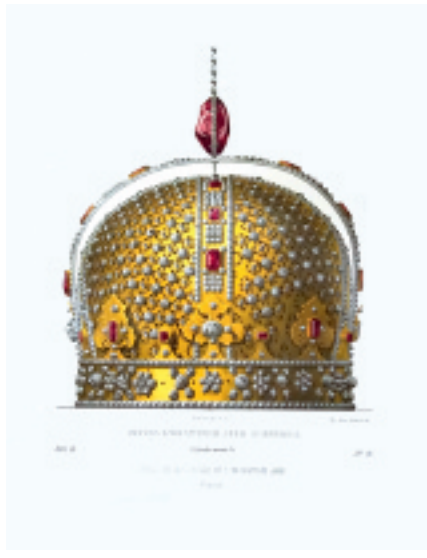

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