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## **Family Home Versus Homeland on the Example of Memories of the Repatriates from Eastern Borderlands**

Alicja Szerłaż

### **Introduction**

*Rodný dům a vlast jsou základní kategorie sehrávající určitou roli v procesu formování osobní a kulturní identity člověka. Odtržení od dosavadního prostředí – jako tomu bylo v případě repatriantů z východního pohraničí Polska, které připadlo SSSR, vedlo k adaptačním problémům, měli pocit dočasnosti a mysleli na návrat.*

Klíčová slova: *rodný dům; kulturní identita; vztah rodný dům versus vlast*

In the analysis of the life of inhabitants of Lower Silesia, we can speak about the specific cultural colour of their daily life, spatial – territorial and symbolic – location, with reference to that the time placing on continuum from the past to the future becomes important. Thus we deal with the specific – because multicultural – life space of each separate human being, as well as the whole – relatively homogenous with reference to the features attributed to the given culture – communities, with reference to that the passing time marked the trajectories of the formation of the feeling of cultural affiliation, sense of familiarity, relationship with the homeland and heritage of ancestors, and with the land of settlement as well.

Therefore, in the above context, the category of place, together with the category of space, that together decide the physical, material and symbolic location of man, become particularly important. Since thanks to them the man – in the individual and communal dimension – becomes rooted and experiences the ontological and cultural safety in a specific way. Thus the space is “(...) for some the product of history, for the others – of various activities, e.g. agriculture, handicraft, industry. In the other words, the space is a result of work and division of work, and in this sense is the place of men and objects manufactured by them, that take the space, as well as their subassemblies, manufactured, objectives and thus “functional”. Finally it is the objectivisation of social issues and, consequentially of spiritual ones.”<sup>1</sup>

The space understood this way has not only the material dimension, but also the symbolic one, since it is marked with emotions, feelings and values<sup>2</sup>. Whereas the social marking, as stressed by B.Jałowiecki, causes that the space assumes as a result some spontaneous value. It becomes the part of human “(...) social condition (...), is the component of some non-spatial system of values, with reference to that it has its specific content and meaning.”<sup>3</sup> It calls also the category of landscape, that gives the individual the feeling of immutability, and consequentially the nativity, when experiences permanently<sup>4</sup> as well as the category of family home, since, as fairly noticed by J.Tischner, “all human ways throughout

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<sup>1</sup> B. Jałowiecki, *Spółeczne wytwarzanie przestrzeni*, Warszawa 2010, pp.19-20.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibidem*, p.24.

<sup>3</sup> After: *op. cit.* p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 28.

the world are measured by the distance from home. The view from the windows is the first outlook at the world. Man asked, where he comes from – points at his home. Home is a human nest”<sup>5</sup>, therefore it is the place, with that man identifies himself all life long, returns to it, and when it is impossible – misses it and cultivates its image in his mind. This mental substitute of family home allows to survive the period of separation, giving simultaneously the feeling of the existence of real location of family home.

### **Family Home as the Place of Cultural Identification**

The strong ties with family home manifests itself, in a special way, in the situations of compulsory separation, when the man has the feeling of the loss of beloved place, people that created the climate of familiarity and feeling of affiliation – experiences the “eradication” from Motherland.

This phenomenon is present in the memories of many repatriates from Eastern Borderlands. One of them is Czesław Makowiecki, that, in a poetic form, recollects the time of compulsory abandonment of his safe life space – local environment (mostly the landscape) and simultaneously his family home:

*Wstęgi pól takie smutne, jak sieroce dzieci, [Ribbons of field so sad like the orphans,]  
Czekały przytulone do siebie miedzami. [Awaited clasped to each other with boundary strips]  
Nie wiedząc, że ręce tych, co od stuleci [And didn't know that the hands that for centuries]  
Nie obejmą je jak zawsze orką i siewami. [Will not touch them as usual with ploughing and sowing]  
Smutek zewsząd przemówił i cisza jak we śnie, [Sadness spoke everywhere and it's quiet like in the sleep]  
Puste drogi śródpolne, pusta droga główna. [Empty patches and empty main road]  
Cała ziemia zamarała, cierpiała niezmiernie. [The whole land has decayed, it suffered so hard]  
(...) Widok jakże mi bliski, lecz żadnej radości, [So close the view, but no joy at all]  
która płynąć powinna strumieniem niemałym. [That should spring like the fountain]  
Wciąż mocniej wracały myśli o przyszłości [The thoughts about the past came back again and again]  
Z dala od ziemi ojczystej i żalność wzmagaly. [Intensified the sorrow far away from homeland]  
Ostatni raz ze Lwowa wracałem do domu [Last time I returned home from Lvov]  
Już z kartą przesiedleńczą jak kamień w kieszeni. [With the displacement card heavy like stone]  
Że oczy łzą mi zaszyły, nie rzekłem nikomu, [I told nobody that my eyes became wet]  
lecz twardy ślad pozostał na tamtej ziemi.<sup>6</sup> [But eternal trace was left on that land]*

The quoted fragment of poem clearly exposes the categories reflecting the relationship with important places, namely: homeland, heritage of ancestors, daily work, strong emotional ties, feeling of the loss of homeland, awareness of the eradication, nostalgia for the lost places – family home. All these were inscribed into the rhythm of their daily life, that created the feeling of safety for the repatriates from the Eastern Borderlands. Thus the feeling of residence for generations, and consequentially the strong emotional tie together significantly contributed to the creation of identity, individual and communal as well. Therefore they were the space for self-identification, especially the cultural one. Thus we should not wonder that among the displaced persons can be observed the conviction about the temporariness of

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<sup>5</sup> After: A. Szczurek-Boruta, Dom i ojczyzna – rozumienie wartości i identyfikacja z nimi młodzieży w perspektywie biograficznej. (in:) Dom i ojczyzna, Dylematy wielokulturowości, D. Lalak (ed.), Warszawa 2008, pp. 40-41.

<sup>6</sup> M. Hold, Poczucie przynależności narodowej przesiedlonych na Dolny Śląsk po II wojnie światowej mieszkańców Siemianówki koło Lwowa, Unpublished master's work, Wrocław 2009, p. 250.

settlement in the foreign places. Here are several fragments of memoirs illustrating this feeling of temporariness.

*The most was of opinion that it is temporary displacement and we will return there. People deluded themselves that the war will break out between the West and the East. Besides people said "one nuclear bomb and we will return again to Lvov". That was almost universal conviction. Maybe hence the most people paid no particular attention to their current place of residence or occupation ...*<sup>7</sup>

*They did not opened the parcel, since they told that they will go, return.(...) And if somebody took anything from the parcel, it was immediately completed, to have everything ready for escape. It was such an escape that we have been here for 60 years now ... There were the people who kept the cow outside the stable, since they will go back home. Moreover when they married, just as we came here, to the West, it wasn't important what is here, but what was there.*<sup>8</sup>

*Till the present day I am in Lower Silesia (in spite of the tombs of my parents, brother, sister, in spite that here was born my child that has its own homeland here) with my body, heart and soul over there, in the East. And there's nothing to hide, I would go on my knees to my beloved Hucisko Oleskie, to Podhorce, Olesko, Sasów, Złoczów.*<sup>9</sup>

*The closest free school to Oleśnica was in Cieśle, mom wished us to settle east from Oleśnica, since there will be closer to our home when we will return some day.*<sup>10</sup>

*It was not before August 1947 when my father gone with his repatriation card to Gniewchowice, where the deed of delivery of Teislars' farm to father was made in Communal Office. But it did not mean at all that my father and mother became rooted here. They still believed that they will return to their property in the East.*<sup>11</sup>

This temporariness, as we can see from the above cited fragments of memoirs, was related to the homesickness increasing among the displaced persons. As an effect they took many actions that, in their opinion, should secure them safe return home – in the Eastern Borderlands. Thus they looked for the arguments – in particular the political ones – for the return, took care for the food for the return journey, were not interested in the organisation of life in the places of settlement, all taken decisions depended on the return to their family home. But it is also essential that, in spite of the lapse of time, there was no full rooting in some of them in the places where they were transferred to, since they have lost the most important thing – their family home and their homeland, where they were born, where they grew up and with that they planned their future. This painful loss results from the fact, as stressed by J.Szczepański, that we always "grow up from some land, we take the components forming our mind, imagination and nature from social and cultural soil. (...) Without any reflection over the roots of our unique individuality, we will not be able to define ourselves."<sup>12</sup> That's why such a huge importance of home in the life of each man. Since the family home, as said by L.Dyczewski, "by its own culture, system of values and attitudes, simultaneously protects the individual and small social group against the global systems, and opens the persons to these systems – external world, national culture or universal culture as well. Very often home, apart from the function of the bridge or link to the homeland, plays the role of the hide, efficiently protects the values in the situation of threat. In yet another case the

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<sup>7</sup>Op. cit., p. 272.

<sup>8</sup>Ibidem, p. 273.

<sup>9</sup>F. Sikorski, Ze wzgórz na doliny, (in:) Skąd my tu? Wspomnienia repatriantów, K. Tyszkowska (ed.), Wrocław 2008, p. 42.

<sup>10</sup>K. Węgrzyn, Nauczycielskie przeprowadzki. (in:) Skąd my tu? Wspomnienia repatriantów, K. Tyszkowska (ed.), Wrocław 2008, p.163.

<sup>11</sup>Z. Sobolewski, Między Zbruczem a Odrą. (in:) Skąd my tu? Wspomnienia repatriantów, K. Tyszkowska (ed.), Wrocław 2008, p.140.

<sup>12</sup>A. Szczurek-Boruta, op. cit., p. 41.

home with its whole background of its own past, tradition and culture is the source of social optimism. (...) It returns the feeling of value, pride, safety (...), releases and directs the individual and collective activities in the local environment.”<sup>13</sup>

Thus it is a specific place that, as stressed by W.Theiss, is created by man and creates man, therefore it is “(...) someone’s own, personal, individual structure, organised around the accepted values; it is the psychophysical whole, that originates as a result of cognitive, emotional processes and pragmatic activities. (...) Thanks to the “human place” it is possible to become rooted in the society.”<sup>14</sup> Such an outlook at the family home shows the fundamental perspectives of the human activity. From the one side, thanks to the internalisation of axiological and cultural premises of the function of family, the man creates himself – realises who he is, defines the personal world of meanings and references, defines the life priorities – everything to have the feeling of his own, autonomic, accompanied simultaneously with the feeling of the isomorphic relationship with the family home. This relationship, in turn, allows to read the codes of family home from the perspective – time one – of the transmission between the generations and current one – and apply them to the daily life.

Whereas on the other hand, the family home as “the close place”, where the process of individual, subjective experiencing takes place, is the source of many emotional feelings, discoveries, understanding and estimation, as well as the assimilation and creation of the behavioural schemes, all together opening to the social world – that means the society, nation and its cultural heritage, and to the other – culturally different. Therefore it situates the man in the space, in the defined environment (human, natural, or even geopolitical), and stimulates to the defined activity. As a result he has the feeling of his cultural genealogy, to that the significant regulating power should be attributed.

#### **Native dimension of family home**

The permanent relations with the same places, as noticed by J.Bogdanowski, “(...) gives in the consciousness and in subconsciousness the feeling of their immutability, and with time the nativism. The extension takes place by movement, relocation from one area to another (...). It is the movement that allows to make the comparisons (...), feel their difference, differentiation of local identities and, as a result with time, as they become more familiar, to extend the feeling of identity to the regional, and finally the national scale.”<sup>15</sup> Thus there follows the specific process of the formation of human identity – from the stage of attributed identity – inherited (with the family-environmental context), through the stage of acquired identity – formed (as a result of socialisation and participation in the life of groups, societies, organisations or institutions), to the stage of consciously chosen identity – felt one (as a result of mediation between the heirdom and social formation).<sup>16</sup> This process is possible thanks to the activity of individual shown in the area of not only its family environment, but also (and maybe first of all) of local environment and – in a wider context – the national one. Because the implementation of national issues in this process is present in the memories of the repatriates from the Eastern Borderlands. Here are some representative, in the above context, fragments of memoirs.

*(...) As the Poles in pre-war Poland we were not any national minority. (...) Our environment was very patriotic conscious already before the beginning of World War I. Since*

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<sup>13</sup> W. Theiss, Dom i ojczyzna – miejsca w świecie bez miejsc, Trzy perspektywy, (in:) Dom i ojczyzna, Dylematy wielokulturowości, D.Lalak (ed.), Warszawa 2008, p. 80.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, pp. 77-78.

<sup>15</sup> J. Bogdanowski, Wprowadzenie do regionalizmu architektoniczno – krajobrazowego, „Wiadomości Ekologiczne”, 1983, vol. XXIX, part 3, p. 184.

<sup>16</sup> J. Nikitorowicz, Młodzież pogranicza kulturowego Polski, Białorusi i Ukrainy wobec integracji europejskiej, Tożsamość, plany życiowe, wartości, Białystok 2000, p. 64.

*it was not far away from Lvov, contacts, students, some social or political activity of these students. We were thrilled by the consciousness of these people. (...) We should say at all, that the patriotism in Siemianówka was great. It is after all characteristic for the people living in Borderlands.*<sup>17</sup>

*With due ceremony were celebrated (...) all holidays, Piłsudski's name day, then the anniversaries of his death, President's name day, 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 11<sup>th</sup> November (...). This consciousness of the struggle for the independence of Poland was very deeply imprinted and these anniversaries were very sincere, experienced very emotionally and organised in school and in church as well.*<sup>18</sup>

*(...) I don't know how it was in the others, but we have known everything from our parents. It was discussed, mentioned and, of course, we have accepted it. I think that it was similar everywhere.*<sup>19</sup>

*The patriotism was taught also by means of symbols. Near the church in Siemianówka was the mound, big one. There were the documents, from the World War I and from the construction of church. (...) Then the mound was made, ten meters high. Inside was hidden the document and high cross was erected. This way the history was taught, with the live action shown. The theory was rejected and the love was stirred up immediately. There were old and young that contributed with their work. That they marked, to say, what were their families.*<sup>20</sup>

Therefore we can assume that the factors locating the repatriates in the native space were as follows:

- heritage of ancestors, decisive in relation to the national and cultural affiliation,
- feeling of nativity, defined by the language, religion, cultural heritage of nation,
- inter-generational delivery of cultural heritage (of one's own ancestors and the national one as well),
- location, limited with reference to territory and culture, accompanied with the feeling of residence and common lot.

The defined attributes of native space, that should be simultaneously admitted as the significant premises for the formation of cultural and national identity of man, stimulate him to undertake various activities for the protection and preservation of family home, and the protection of native values as well. Hence the significant role of family home with all its cultural attributes in the process of the formation of individual's identity, its cultural and national affiliation. Because, as noticed by L.Dyczewski, "home and homeland belong to the group of values forming the core of culture. These are delivered to the individuals and generations in the frameworks of the process of interpersonal communication (face to face) as well as of symbolic communication, by means of e.g. literature, painting, music, architecture. The content and results of this delivery co-decide the development of the personalities of individuals participating in the life of home and homeland, as well as the wider relationships – with the culture, society, nation, state."<sup>21</sup> Therefore we can, after W. Theiss, within the relationships home – homeland distinguish three points of view – heroic, pragmatic and sentimental.<sup>22</sup>

1. *Heroic point of view* – by the reduction of distance between the home and homeland it allows the homeland to hide in the house and relatively safe survive the time of threats and dangers. Because home should be treated as the source and watchtower of native

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<sup>17</sup> According to: M. Hold, op. cit., p. 239.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>19</sup> Op. cit., p. 239.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>21</sup> W. Theiss, Dom i ojczyzna – miejsca w świecie bez miejsc, Trzy perspektywy, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, p. 83-90.

values, as the fortress of Polish nature, simply as the small part of free homeland, or “great” history of the states and nations, and “small” history of individual families or individual fates of people.

2. *Pragmatic point of view* – allows to create the public sphere of social life thanks to the establishment of no-government associations, and also thanks to the initiated social movements, proposed educational projects, formation of religious groups, regional societies or local media. Home and (small) homeland, as stressed by W. Theiss, were the source of widely understood changes and modernisations in the local environment.
3. *Sentimental (romantic) point of view* – that attributes the compensatory role to the location – small homeland, since it offers “(...) like the paradise, beautiful nature, silence and peace, persistence and stability, as well as the native and important places (e.g. the church and the cemetery). Here, apart from the physical and human space, also the divine space becomes close. All this encourages to contemplation and love to nature, gives the pride of “my” land, the approbation for the local traditions and desires, but also separates from the wider world and inhibits the need for changes.”<sup>23</sup>

These points of view in turn create the spaces of human daily life, that are for him the reference in each activity taken, in particular this one, thanks to that he defines his identity, creates his own cultural and national location, defines his relationships with the other people – within his own cultural / national community, and outside it with so-called *Others*.

Thus the family home and homeland are two categories intermingling in the historical, axiological, national, social or sentimental dimensions. Thanks to the above it is possible to distinguish, according to J.Bartmiński, the following types of homelands.<sup>24</sup>

- *Family – home homeland* (described metaphorically as the family nest, cradle, fatherland), where prevail such values as: feeling of being at someone’s own home, unity and affiliation to the family, acceptance, love and happiness, but also, like stressed by the cited author, nostalgia and wish to return (in the case of separation). This image of family is created by the family community: mother, father, grandparents and ancestors, children and grandchildren, and the base for this community is small space: house, family home, cemetery, surrounding nature.

- *Small homeland – local and regional* (placed in the middle, between the family homeland and great – national one), in that special value is attributed to the native area, region, country, land, local patriotism. The ideas of “small homelands”, local, regional, are based, as stressed by J.Bartmiński, on the feeling of affiliation and spatial proximity. The territory of residence is more important here than the place of birth and origin.

- *National homeland* that is the extension and display of the family homeland. Its members are united by the blood ties and the values resulting from the affiliation to the ethnic community, single family, tribe or nation. The territory is an important factor for the physical integration of the nation.

However it seems that the most important of them are the family-home homeland and small homeland, since, as stressed by A.Łagocka, the most important is the feeling of being rooted, of affiliation, that is implemented in the history of community – home and small homeland (according to S.Ossowski, the private homeland).<sup>25</sup>

## Conclusion

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<sup>23</sup> Op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>24</sup> A. Łagocka, Pojęcie ojczyzny w dobie integrującej się Europy, (in:) *Filozofia tożsamości*, J. Kojkoł (ed.), Gdańsk 2007, p. 245-246.

<sup>25</sup> Op. cit., p. 250-251.

The course of life of each man includes, among others, two categories – home and homeland. The man attributes to each of them, in his specific way, the meaning conditioning, as a consequence, his feeling of cultural and national affiliation. The consciousness of such state of affairs becomes evident in particular way in the individuals in the situation of the loss of or long-term separation from their family home and so-called small homeland. Because they experience the loss of the safe locations and spaces (human, cultural, national, natural etc.), that results in the feeling of eradication, namely the threat for the stability of their own identity.



## **For the Polish Spirit in Transolza (Zaolzie). The Extra-school Activity of Polish School Foundation in Czechoslovakia (Macierz Szkolna w Czechoslowacji) (1920-1938/39)**

Mirosław Piwowarczyk

*Polská Matice školská v Československu sehrávala ve společensko-kulturním a osvětovém životě polské menšiny na Těšínsku klíčovou roli. Jejím hlavním cílem byla podpora a udržování polské identity v československém Slezsku. Nejdůležitější bylo provozování polských škol a kursů, ale také mimoškolní činnost. Organizovala čítárny, knihovny, ochotnické divadlo, pěvecké soubory, oslavy, zábavy, sportovní akce a výlety.*

**Klíčová slova:** *Polská Matice školská v Československu; 1920 – 1938/39; mimoškolní činnost; polská identita*

On the basis of the decision of the Council of Ambassadors of 28 July 1920 Duchy of Cieszyn was divided between Poland and Czechoslovakia – into Czech part to Olza and eastern Polish part. The part of Duchy of Cieszyn that was attached to the Republic of Czechoslovakia, had the area of 1 270 km<sup>2</sup> i.e. 55,5% of the total area of the. On this area – called as Silesia behind Olza, there lived the most numerous Polish communities in Czechoslovakia. Its population in 1920 was 293 380 people, and Poles were 48,6, Czechs 39,9, and Germans 11,3% of this number <sup>1</sup>.

Initially this area was a separate administrative unit of the Republic of Czechoslovakia (land) with its own parliament, however in 1928 it was connected with Moravia and created Moravian-Silesian land <sup>2</sup>. The religious composition of Poles in Transolza (Zaolzie) was as follows: Catholics (60,8%), Protestants (37,56%), Jewish believers (0,20%), and the representatives of other religions (1,38%) <sup>3</sup>.

On the basis of Czech census of 1921, the number of Poles, being the Czech citizens in the part of Duchy of Cieszyn given to Czechoslovakia was 69 360 inhabitants; and on the basis of census of 1930 – 77 309 inhabitants <sup>4</sup>.

The rights and obligations of Polish national minority in Czechoslovakia resulted from the following groups of legal standards:

1. Constitution of the Republic of Czechoslovakia of 29 February 1920 and special acts having the nature of constitutional law,

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<sup>1</sup>See: W. Sworakowski, *Polacy na Śląsku za Olzą*, Warszawa 1937, p. 96-97 and 129; K. Popiołek, *Historia Śląska od pradziejów do 1945 r.*, Katowice 1972, p. 383; G. Pańko, *Z dziejów polskiego prywatnego gimnazjum im. J. Słowackiego w Orłowej w latach 1920-1938*, [in:] *Z zagadnień oświaty i wychowania w Polsce i na Zaolziu*, „Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis”, No. 495, Wrocław 1980, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> W. Sworakowski, *Polacy na Śląsku za Olzą...*, op. cit., p.100.

<sup>3</sup> Z.J. asiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa polskich organizacji wyznaniowych na Zaolziu (1920-1938)*, [in:] *Działalność oświatowa w wybranych społecznościach polonijnych*, A. Koprukowniak (Ed.), Lublin 1994, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> W. Sworakowski, *Polacy na Śląsku za Olzą ...*, op.cit., pp. 170-174. According to Polish estimations, the number of Polish population living on the area of Duchy of Cieszyn attached to Czechoslovakia (including the immigrants receiving the Czech citizenship, natality among the Poles and emigration of Poles or renouncement of Czech citizenship) in 1921 was 129 000 inhabitants. According to similar calculations the number of Poles was in 1930 estimated to more than 170 000 people – “in 1930 in the court districts Český Těšín, JIablunkov, Bohumín, Fryštát and Polská Ostrava should live 170 000 Poles – Czech citizens. It is about 65% of the total population”.

2. ordinary acts and decrees,
3. Polish-Czech agreement (so-called "liquidation" ) of 23 April 1925.

The constitutional laws of particular importance for the national minorities were:

- a) Chapter VI of the Constitution of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, that included the resolutions concerning "the protection of national, religious and racial minorities" (& 128-134) <sup>5</sup>,
- b) Language act of 29 February 1920, that in accordance with & 129 of the Constitution is its integral part, standardised the language rights of people belonging to the minorities and stated that the official state language is in principle the "Czechoslovakian". It gave several rights for the people belonging to the minorities, however it depended on the condition (& 2) that the given minority, defined on the basis of language used, should be at least of 20% of the population on the area of given court district. The population was determined on the basis of the last census. Furthermore the act provided in & 5 that the teaching in schools established for the national minorities will be realised in their language <sup>6</sup>.

The regulations included in ordinary acts and decrees can be fundamentally divided into 3 groups:

- a) regulations protecting the feeling of national separateness (Act on the protection of the Republic of 19.03.1923),
- b) regulations securing the public use of Polish language,
- c) regulations concerning the educational system and culture (organisation of minority educational system) <sup>7</sup>.

In this group of regulations there should be distinguished the so-called act on public libraries of 22 July 1919 and realisation decree to this act of 5 November 1919. On the basis of this act each commune, inhabited by at least 400 people of given minority, or where was the public minority school, had to establish the special public library in language of minority, or the special section in the local public library (if the number of inhabitants belonging to the minority was lower than 400 people, but at least 10% of population, then several neighbouring communes should establish the common library. The decree defined the detailed conditions for the establishing and operation of these libraries) <sup>8</sup>.

It allowed to the significant development of Polish libraries in Czechoslovakia.

Finally we can say that the legal standards of Czech legislation (constitution, acts and decrees) took into account the protection of Polish minority in quite wide range <sup>9</sup>.

In 1920 Poles living in Transolza had to reconcile themselves to the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors, and made the best use of new conditions of their development. The fundamental issue for the complete and normal life of Polish minority was to have its own organisations and associations as well as its own, good working educational system <sup>10</sup>.

Group of Poles, counting over seventy thousand members, living in Transolza in the inter-war period, was characterised by rich and diversified organisational life, in that the following trends can be recognised: religious, cultural and educational, social and economic, political and professional. In total there were about 640 Polish organisations of various type in Transolza in 1938. Numerous cultural and educational associations worked very efficiently, first of all School Foundation in Czechoslovakia, playing the leading role <sup>11</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> J. Makowski, *Nowe Konstytucje*, Warszawa 1925, pp. 310-311.

<sup>6</sup> J. Makowski, *Nowe Konstytucje...*, op.cit., pp. 312-316.

<sup>7</sup> W. Sworakowski, *Polacy na Śląsku za Olzq ...*, op.cit., pp. 187-205.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 194.

<sup>10</sup> G. Pańko, *Z dziejów polskiego prywatnego gimnazjum...*, op. cit., pp.117-118.

<sup>11</sup> Z. Jasiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa polskich organizacji...*, op.cit., pp.59-60.

### ***Origin of Polish School Foundation in Czechoslovakia.***

As a result of the division of Duchy of Cieszyn, the division within School Foundation of the Duchy of Cieszyn took place – thus it resulted in the organisational break of this educational movement. In August 1920 the General Management of Foundation decided to divide the society, enabling this way the transformation of Branches in Transolza into the separate organisation named “Macierz Szkolna w Czechosłowacji”<sup>12</sup> and start the works on the support and awakening of Polish spirit in Czech Silesia (due to the territorial division, there was 60 Branches of School Foundation in Czechoslovakia, and 16 in Polish part of Duchy of Cieszyn)<sup>13</sup>. One year later – in August 1921 in Czech part there were established the separate office of School Foundation and temporary General Management, that operated till 13 November 1921, when the General Meeting of Foundation in Czechoslovakia took place – then new Management with the President Waław Olszak from Karviná was elected.

School Foundation in Czechoslovakia started its cultural and educational activity under very difficult conditions. Initial disorganisation of the local social life resulting from the division of region, distrustful attitude between the Poles and Czechs as well as the closing of the part of Macierz’s schools by new Czechoslovakian authorities (17 Polish schools with 84 classes and 4135 children were closed), created the unfavourable operating conditions for Macierz – it caused that the organisational structures of School Foundation in Czechoslovakia had to be created almost from the beginning. Thanks to the extreme engagement and effort of many Foundations members, the educational work from year to year developed more and more energetic – it included still wider circles, gaining more and more new members over to work. Already existing Branches were activated, each year new ones were established, sometimes several in one town. The organisational effort contributed to that Branches of Foundations shortly covered the whole Cieszyn Silesia with dense network, locating in its most distant nooks<sup>14</sup>.

The activity of School Foundation in Czechoslovakia focussed on: the support of Polish educational system in Czechoslovakia (maintaining of existing schools and establishment of new ones, where these were needed) and popularisation of extra-school education with the local Polish population. It based on the statements (records) included in the statutes of the society<sup>15</sup>.

In & 2. of the Statutes, there was defined the objective of society, i.e. “*the care for the development of the Polish educational system, and the popularisation of education as well, with the Polish population in the Republic of Czechoslovakia*”.

The means serving the realisation of this objective were:

1. Establishment, maintenance and supporting of: a) kindergartens, b) country schools, c) training courses for the adult illiterates, d) schools for custodians and training schools, e) general, special and vocational secondary schools of all types, f) supplementary, general, special and vocational training courses, g) boarding-schools for the studying youth, h) country reading-rooms and free Polish libraries, accessible for all and any associations and organisations,
2. Supply of educational facilities with the library teaching aids, and help to the learning young people in the form of grants, allowances and scientific handbooks,

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<sup>12</sup> W. Sworakowski, *Polacy na Śląsku za Olzq ...*, op. cit., p. 246.

<sup>13</sup> F. Kulisiewicz, *Polacy w Czechosłowacji, Macierz Szkolna w Czechosłowacji*, Frysztat 1929, p. 70.

<sup>14</sup> W. Wójcik, *Powstanie i działalność Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji*, [in:] *Jednodniówka z okazji 85-lecia Macierzy Szkolnej dla Księstwa Cieszyńskiego i 50-lecia Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji*, T. Chrzyszcz (Ed.), Zarząd Główny Polskiego Związku Kulturalno-Oświatowego, Czeski Cieszyn 1971, p.11.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem.

3. Building of school houses or the help to communes in its construction by means of money reliefs for this purpose,
4. Instruction of people with reference to the important issues and cases, by means of the organisation of popular lectures,
5. Support and edition of periodic popular publications for the Polish population,
6. Organisation of educational popular excursions to the interesting places in Poland,
7. Organisation of popular meetings and rallies concerning the education, and theatrical performances as well,
8. Establishment of popular houses for the purposes of education and rejoicings,
9. Submission of applications and memorials to the representative bodies, as well as to the local and state authorities in the cases within the activity sphere of the society.

The fundamental activity of School Foundation in Czechoslovakia was the organisational work for the benefit of Polish private educational system. Thanks to Foundation *“Polish school conquered its due rights, in spite of the strong competition from the perfectly organised Czech schools, in spite of the attractive offers of material services for the students of these schools. It forced the state school authorities to the maintenance of Polish schools and to gradual taking over of the private schools. On the other hand, where in spite of clear need for the existence of Polish school, the school authorities were not eager for its establishment, Macierz Szkolna established and maintained these schools”*<sup>16</sup>.

In 1938 the Educational System of School Foundation included: 1 J. Słowacki real gymnasium in Orlová, 7 department schools, 12 popular schools, 67 kindergartens, 2 girls' vocational schools and 3 boarding-schools. Furthermore Foundation supported 3 training courses of tailoring, 7 technical schools and 1 commercial school at Czech district commercial school in Orlová. It financed also the supplementary technical and vocational training courses, existing at the public and state schools. High level of education of the Polish educational system and the feeling of national pride – in spite of the richer and better equipped Czech and German schools – attracted the Polish youth to Foundations schools.

#### ***Organisational structure of Macierz Szkolna in Czechoslovakia***

On the basis of the statutes, the work of society was managed by the General Management<sup>17</sup>. The range of work and activity forced the Management to work in specialised sections. In 1921 at the General Management there were created 6 sections: schools,

<sup>16</sup> W. Wójcik, *Powstanie i działalność Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji...*, op. cit., p.11.

<sup>17</sup> In the years 1920 -1938 the presidents and vice-presidents of the General Management of School Foundation in Czechoslovakia were: in 1920 –Ignacy Domagalski (president), Waław Olszak (vice-president); in the years 1921-1922 –Waław Olszak (president), Ignacy Domagalski (1<sup>st</sup> vice-president), Piotr Feliks (2<sup>nd</sup> vice-president); in the years 1923-1924 –Waław Olszak (president), Piotr Feliks (1<sup>st</sup> vice-president), Jan Górniak (2<sup>nd</sup> vice-president); in the years 1925-1930 - Waław Olszak (president), Piotr Feliks (1<sup>st</sup> vice-president), Jerzy Bałon (2<sup>nd</sup> vice-president); in the years 1931-1933 – Piotr Feliks (president), Waław Olszak (1<sup>st</sup> vice-president), Jerzy Bałon (2<sup>nd</sup> vice-president); in 1934 - Piotr Feliks (president), Waław Olszak (1<sup>st</sup> vice-president), Jan Ofiok (2<sup>nd</sup> vice-president); in the years 1935-1937 - Piotr Feliks (president), Waław Olszak (1<sup>st</sup> vice-president), Jan Buzek (2<sup>nd</sup> vice-president); in 1938 – Piotr Feliks (president), Rev. Józef Berger (1<sup>st</sup> vice-president), Józef Badura (2<sup>nd</sup> vice-president). For many years the secretaries of Management were: Rev. Franciszek Maroń (he was the secretary in 1920 and in the years 1926-1930), Władysław Wójcik (he was the 2<sup>nd</sup> secretary in the years 1921-1934), Jan Branny (in the years 1921-1925), Rev. Rudolf Płoszek (in the years 1931-1935), Gabriel Ogrocki (2<sup>nd</sup> secretary in the years 1935-1938), Rev. Karol Maultz (in the years 1935-1938). For many years the members of the Management were, among others: Leon Wolf, Jan Ciemala (also the treasurer of the Management), Karol Dziadura, Teodor Guziur, Gustaw Konieczny, Karol Biel, Jan Górniak, Franciszek Czyż, Arnold Kwietniowski, Izidor Kopecki, Piotr Kornuta, Józef Wagner, Teofil Wojtyła, Paweł Mamica (also for many years the treasurer of the Management), Rev. Karol Krzywoń, Karol Chmiel, Antoni Malajka, Karol Toman, Rev. Oskar Michejda, Rudolf Pastuszek, Jerzy Teper, Adam Kubala, Józef Jonszta (for many years the treasurer of the Management); based on: *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Zaolziu za rok 1938*, Cieszyń Zachodni 1939, pp. 76-79.

organisational and educational<sup>18</sup> (its objective was the establishment of new Foundations facilities and development of working programmes), Sikora's park (it had to the care for the order and improvement of park), library (its objective was to discuss the issues related to the organisation and equipment of libraries), theatrical<sup>19</sup> (its objective was the creation of the central theatrical library, organisation of amateur ensembles, organisation of training courses for directors<sup>20</sup>, educational lectures about the theatre), economic (its objective was to vote the realisation of all adaptations and repairs in Foundations buildings).

In 1938 at the General Management of School Foundation were active the following sections: school, economic, educational (that included: 1. day-rooms; 2. library section; 3. choirs of School Foundation), theatrical, museum, Adam Sikora park. The individual sections had clearly defined objectives and tasks. As an example – the educational and theatrical sections were obliged with the resolution of the General Meeting (of 19 April 1938) to: 1. establishment of Self-education Circles at all Branches of School Foundation and, according to the possibilities for all Branches – day-rooms; 2. organisation of model theatrical library at the General Management; 3. organisation of district theatrical ensembles; whereas the museum section was obliged to: 1. organisation of museum and purchase of new exhibits; 2. organisation of mass excursions to the museum; 3. creation of special archives at the Museum, that would be used for storage and collection of the whole material concerning the cultural life of Polish population”<sup>21</sup>.

The educational section was composed of 10 representatives from 10 districts of School Foundation. In each of 10 district there was the separate Management. The members of educational section at the General Management of School Foundation were simultaneously the presidents of district educational sections. Such an organisation allowed to act efficiently and systematically, perform the intensive educational work, in particular with the Polish youth leaving the schools, and especially the foreign schools<sup>22</sup>.

The basic unit in the organisational structure of School Foundation were the Branches of Foundation. Over 18 years of the society's activity the dynamic development of the number of these organisational units was observed. If in 1921 there were 12 branches with 1241 members, then in 1938 Foundation had 93 branches and 9739 members<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> In 1934, with the reference to the organisational and educational section, the General Meeting called the General Management of School Foundation to create the model vagrant theatre at the General Management, using the unemployed young Polish intelligentsia as a personnel, and appointed the model director as a manager. The Managed was also obliged to create the theatrical cloak-room, to make efforts for the acquirement of cinema licence in Karviná, creation of vagrant cinema of School Foundation, purchase of Polish movies (scientific as well as cultural and educational), organisation of training course for the directors, training course for the educational workers, establishment of Macierz's archives; based on: *Jubileuszowe Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim 1885-1935*, Czeski Cieszyn 1935, pp. 42-43.

<sup>19</sup> The theatrical section created at the General Management established in 1934 the popular theatre of School Foundation with the seat in Český Těšín. The director was Karol Berger. The popular theatre organised in 1934 several vagrant performances (among others: comedies by K. Berger “Panna Halka mężatką”, it was played in: Český Těšín, Třinec, Komorní Lhotka, Střítež, Mosty, Albrechtice, Dolní Suchá, Karviná, Mariánské Hory, Svibice based on: *Jubileuszowe Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim 1885-1935*, Czeski Cieszyn 1935, p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> In 1934 the General Management organised the training course for directors, joined by 50 participants, training course for librarians (12 participants). In the Representative House in Český Těšín there was also established the special library “Silesiana”, that operated also as the archives for School Foundation; based on: *Jubileuszowe Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim 1885-1935*, Czeski Cieszyn 1935, p. 45.

<sup>21</sup> *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Zaolziu za rok 1938*, Cieszyn Zachodni 1939, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, p.56-57.

<sup>23</sup> *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Zaolziu za rok 1938*, Cieszyn Zachodni 1939, pp. 36-37; 80-81. In 1938 in the district of Český Těšín the Branches of School Foundation existed in the following localities: Dolní Bludovice I., Dolní Bludovice II., Bocanovice, Bukovec, Bystřice, Dolní Těrlicko, Horní Těrlicko, Český

**The activity of School Foundation** included the whole range of cultural and educational works, but the most important of them was the management of schools and training courses of all types. Foundation realised also the various extra-school educational activity among its members and the whole Polish population in Transolza. It organised the reading-rooms, libraries, amateur theatrical ensembles, choirs, lectures and events on the occasion of holidays – national anniversaries and its own holidays of Macierz Szkolna (among others there were organised the Country Feasts of School Foundation in Sikora Park and Country Balls of Foundation in the Representative House in Český Těšín).

The activity of School Foundation *“significantly contributed to the support of national consciousness and the development of cultural and educational activity of the Poles living in Transolza”*<sup>24</sup>. In its work Foundation *“popularised and organised the Polish private educational system, Polish national life, Polish culture, language, books”*<sup>25</sup>. Two forms of activity prevailed in it, namely: amateur theatrical movement and choral movement. Only then should be noted the next forms like: feasts, society parties, lectures and sport sections. *“The events organised by School Foundation included the elements of Polish folk and national culture – folk songs, songs and other works of Polish composers, poems, sketches or the whole plays”*<sup>26</sup>. *“The organisation of the cultural and educational activity resulted often from the practical aspect. Since the profits from the feasts, parties and performances were assigned for the help for the Polish population in need”*<sup>27</sup>.

The amateur theatre played an important part in the educational work of *School Foundation* – it was the most often observed symptom of the branches’ activity, it was not only the symptom of branch’s activity, but also one of the main sources of its income. *“The shows were the form of defence and cultivation of Polish language irrespective of the contents and nature of performed plays, they were the form of affiliation to the Polish nation”*<sup>28</sup>. The repertoire of the Macierz’s theatres was very various: there was played everything available – Bałucki and Fredro, Korzeniowski and Rydel, Zapolska and plays of all local authors with *“Iste Roki”* by Ernest Farnik at the top<sup>29</sup>. The level of the theatrical

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Těšín, Dolní Datyň, Hnojník, Hradiště, Hrádek, Jablunkov, Karpentná, Chotěbuz, Kojkovice, Konská I., Konská-Kanada II, Košariska, Dolní Lištná, Dolní Lomná, Horní Lomná, Lyžbice, Komorní Lhotka, Milíkov, Mistřovice-Koňákov, Mosty u Českého Těšína, Mosty u Jablunkova, Návsí I, Návsí II, Návsí III, Nebory, Nýdek, Oldřichovice, Písek, Písek-Bahynec, Ropice, Řeka, Svibice, Stanislavice, Šumbark, Smilovice, Třanovice, Střítež, Třinec, Vendryně, Dolní Žukov, Horní Žukov, Životice. In the district of Fryštát the Branches existed in the following localities: Nový Bohumín, Darkov, Doubrava, Detmarovice, Fryštát I, Fryštát II, Hrušov, Karviná I, Karviná II, Karviná III, Karviná IV, Karviná V, Karviná VI, Německá Lutyně, Německá Lutyně -Zbytki, Polská Lutyně, Lazy I, Lazy II, Louky, Dolní Marklovice, Albrechtice, Orlová I, Orlová II, Slezská Ostrava, Petřvald, Petrovice, Poruba Pudlov, Ráj, Rychvald, Skřečeň, Staré Město, Stonava, Dolní Suchá, Horní Suchá I, Horní Suchá II, Horní Suchá III, Střední Suchá I, Střední Suchá II, Šonychel-Bohumín, Věřňovice, Záblatí, Závada.

<sup>24</sup> Z. Jasiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa polskich organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, p. 61.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, p. 64.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, pp. 61-62.

<sup>29</sup> The variety of repertoire and authors can be perfectly shown by the titles of plays performed many times. We can list here among others: Na wymiarze, Końska kuracja, Sąsiedzi, O chlebie i wodzie, To polityka, Poseł czy kominiarz, Zakochany Żyd, Żyd w beczie, Stryj przyjechał, Poczciwy młynarz, Surdut i siermięga, Bursztyń Kasi, Szwaczka warszawska, Macocha, Noc w Belwederze, Ciepła wdówka, Zbójnik śląski, Babska rewolucja, Jaselka śląskie, Prządka pod krzyżem, Zięć dla parady, Gwiazda Syberji, Śluby rybackie, Swaty, Chata za wsią, Zagłoba swatem, Matka żyje, Wiosna na Podhalu, Chrapanie z rozkazu, Miecz Damoklesa, Nawrócony, Przewodnik tatrzański, Karpaccy górale, Ciotka Karola, Mąż z grzeczności, Przy wigilii, Jaselka, Bohaterska chrześcijanka, Zemsta cygana, Miłość ułańska, Tadeusz Czacki, Za nic żydowskie swaty, Radcy pana radcy, Adam i Ewa, Krowoderskie zuchy, Damy i Huzary, Klub kawalerów, Słowniczek, Renegat, Aby handel szedł, Jego kaprańska mość, Ulicznik warszawski, Królowa przedmieścia, Wiesław, Flisacy, Na zawsze, Gęsi i gąski, Święta Barbara, Gołe panny, Katarzyna - księżna cieszyńska.

ensembles of Macierz Szkolna was the highest among the Polish cultural and educational organisations. It resulted from the great care for the appropriate training of instructors – directors, make-up men and scenographers for the amateur and school theatres<sup>30</sup>. The training courses for directors were organised many times, there was taken the care for the theatrical base – so-called cloak-rooms, the bases for the storage of scenery, dresses, repertoire library, were organised and financed<sup>31</sup>. Of course the level of amateur activity was not at the highest level in all branches.

The amateur theatre was one of the most important spheres of educational and cultural work among the Polish population in Czech Silesia. The great number of performances contributed significantly to the maintenance of Polish spirit and national indoctrination of Poles in Czech Silesia, spreading the live Polish word, Polish music and songs among the Poles. In 1928 there were organised in Czech Silesia 668 performances, including 136 performances realised by the schools, 82 performances – kindergartens, 2 – gymnasium, 201 performances organised School Foundation with the help of its 60 amateur circles, 132 shows were organised by Country Educational Committee, 101 shows – Educational and Athletic Association “Siła”, and 14 – scouts<sup>32</sup>.

Very popular in the Polish population were the events of religious and social nature, organised by the Branches of Macierz, like “gwiazdki” [Christmas meetings], “mikołaje” [Santa Claus], Christmas Eve, “wieczorki opłatkowe” [Christmas religious meetings], or “świecone” [Easter meetings] organised in the Easter period – these events on the one hand were of religious nature, however on the other played among the people, and especially with the youth, the important integrative and national part, contributing to the fixing of Polish tradition and customs. The organised parties were usually connected with the recitations, performances of soloists (violinists or pianists) and choirs. Many times the lectures, so-called living pictures or theatrical performances were included into the programme<sup>33</sup>.

The Polish youth organised in the Branches took also part in various events of national nature, like: demonstrations in Těrlicko, organised in relation to the anniversaries of the death of Żwirko and Wigura (these feasts become a kind of national holiday of Polish population in Silesia), in commemorative meetings and festivals and regional events like: harvest home, Polish youth jamborees, traditional spectacles of floating wreaths down the rivers, “flower day”. It was also traditional to organise the celebrations of Polish national holidays like: anniversary of the resolution of 3<sup>rd</sup> May Constitution, anniversaries of national insurrections, anniversary of the regain of independence of Poland, name-days of the President and Marshall Piłsudski, Sea Festival, anniversary of Vistula Miracle<sup>34</sup>. The youth took also part in the celebrations organised by the Branches on the occasion of School Foundation Day (almost each Branch organised the occasional commemorative meetings, evening meetings, performances or lectures informing about the objectives and tasks of

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<sup>30</sup> Z. Jasiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa polskich organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 66.

<sup>31</sup> In 1934 School Foundation had two cloak-rooms: in Orlová and Český Těšín. The cloak-room in Orlová was established in 1929, in 1934 it had 515 inventory records, and 48 associations used it, lending 407 inventory records, Female Section of the 1<sup>st</sup> Branch of School Foundation in Orlová took care for the cloak-room. The cloak-room of Foundation in Český Těšín was established in 1933, and was located in the building of Polish department school, it had many accessories and military dresses, folk dresses, the store-keeper was in 1934 the teacher of Polish department school in Český Těšín – Edward Klimsza. Dresses were made among others by the pupils of supplementary training courses; based on: *Jubileuszowe Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim 1885-1935*, Cz. Cieszyn 1935, p. 103.

<sup>32</sup> F. Kulisiewicz, *Polacy w Czechosłowacji...*, op. cit., p. 63.

<sup>33</sup> Z. Jasiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa polskich organizacji...*, op. cit., pp. 69; 75-76.

<sup>34</sup> Z. Jasiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa polskich organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 67; See also: *Działalność Macierzy Szkolnej Księstwa Cieszyńskiego w roku 1934*, Zarząd Główny Macierzy Szkolnej w Cieszynie 1935.

Macierz), anniversaries of Jan Kochanowski's birthday, or the anniversaries of the birthday of president of the Republic of Czechoslovakia T. G. Masaryk.

The important form of the cultural and educational work of the Foundation branches were the excursions, that apart from the educational function, fulfilled also the national one (creating the opportunity to contact with the homeland) as well as the recreative and touristic function<sup>35</sup>.

The fundamental form of the Branches' work were the meetings, usually connected with the lectures, songs, reading of the fragments of literary works of Polish writers. The themes of lectures took into consideration, among others the problems of culture, Polish history, culture of daily life (there were organised, among others, the lectures about: "pre-school educational facilities, Jan Kochanowski, repulse of the attack of Soviet Russia on Poland, history of Polish nation, Poles in Silesia as the national minority"<sup>36</sup>). The lectures were organised on a quite regular basis, usually together with the national anniversaries and celebrations. The lectures were held mostly by the professors of gymnasium from Orłowice, physicians, lawyers, teachers, more seldom by the engineers and technicians. The most active professors in this sphere were - Prof. Niemiec (about Polish language and literature), Prof. Józef Badura (about history and geography), Prof. Burian (about chemistry and meteorology) and Prof. Farny (about natural sciences)<sup>37</sup>.

In 1938 the General Management organised in Foundations Branches the series of university lectures held by the professors of Uniwersytet Jagielloński. The lectures were held among others by: Rector of Uniwersytet Jagielloński Jan Lehr-Splawiński (theme of lecture: "Polish language as the mainspring of Nation and State"), Kazimierz Dobrowolski ("What was the outlook of the castles, towns and villages of Poland during the first centuries of its history"), Roman Dyboski (Silesia and Polish culture"), Stanisław Pigoń "Polish literature as the national value"), Karol Piotrowicz ("Cultural relationships of Silesia with the remaining part of Polish lands"). There were 61 lectures over the whole area of Transolza. In total, 23 881 participants were present on the lectures, including 17 321 adults and 6 560 children. The most attended were the university lectures in Karviná, Bohumín, Fryštát and Orlová<sup>38</sup>.

The systematic activity was developed by the Self-education Circles. These were the special cultural and educational facilities, oriented to the work with the youth organised in School Foundation (these were the separate sections at the local Branches of School Foundation). Their objective was *"the self-education of the youth, often unemployed, by the organisation of training courses and lectures concerning the current issues"*<sup>39</sup>. The lectures were developed and presented by the members of circles. This way the future workers of School Foundation and other Polish societies were educated in the circles.

The first Self-education Circle was established in 1927, created by the group of young people organised at 5<sup>th</sup> Branch of School Foundation in Karviná. During 7 years of the existence of Karviná's circle (1927-1934) there were organised and held 382 lectures, and 56 of them in 1934. There were also organised 10 educational training courses (training courses for lecturers and language training courses). Very popular were the scientific and touring excursions of Circle. 44 such excursions were organised. The excursions were the practical completion and illustration of lectures and allowed the participants to acquaint themselves with their homeland. Karviná's Self-education Circle became the main centre of Polish youth in this commune, co-operated with other cultural and educational societies. Taking the Karviná's Circle as an example, next circles were organised: in 1933 were established the

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<sup>35</sup> Z. Jasiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa polskich organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 63.

<sup>36</sup> See: *Jubileuszowe Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim 1885-1935*, Czeski Cieszyn 1935.

<sup>37</sup> W. Wójcik, *Powstanie i działalność Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji...*, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>38</sup> *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Zaolziu za rok 1938*, Cieszyn Zachodni 1939, pp. 7-8.

<sup>39</sup> W. Wójcik, *Powstanie i działalność Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji...*, op. cit., p. 15.



circles in Lazy, in Mosty u Jablunkova, in Střední, Dolní Suchá, Stanislavice and Český Těšín. In 1934 the next Circles were organised - in Pudlov, Hnojník, Poruba, Jablunkov, Louky, Střítež, Šumbark, Třinec, Mistřovice-Koňakov, Orlová. Till the end of 1934 existed 16 active Self-education Circles. In total the Circles organised in 1934: 368 meetings (during that 279 lectures were held and discussed); 27 excursions; 19 celebrations of national anniversaries; 10 theatrical performances; 3 training courses; 6 parties; over 2000 people took part in these events <sup>40</sup>. The Self-education Circles significantly contributed with their activity to the popularisation and development of education among the Polish youth.

Together with the increase in number of Self-education Circles, there appeared the need for the regulation of their activity, i.e. for the formulation of some organisational frameworks and determination of unified activity guidelines for the whole movement. To this end the General Management of School Foundation organised on 23 March 1934 in Český Těšín the conference of the Circles' workers. During the conference there was approved the draft of framework regulations, standardising the activity of Circles, and it was decided that the Circles can be the common institution for both School Foundation and Educational Commission as well. On the next conference (9 February 1934) there was established the leading instance for all Circles, that as the section of Foundation worked under the name Committee of Self-education Circles of School Foundation. The area of the Circles' work was divided into 7 districts: Karviná, Orlová, Suchá, Český Těšín, Třinec, Bystřice and Jablunkov. The regulations, standardising the activity of Circles, approved in 1934, defined in details the range of their activity. In accordance with & 1 of the regulations, the Circles were the section of School Foundation – they acted in the frameworks of Foundation. Some Circles were simultaneously the sections of the local Polish Educational Commissions. The objective of the Circle was, according to & 2 and & 3 of the statute of School Foundation, *“the popularisation of education among the Polish population in the Republic of Czechoslovakia, an in particular the instructing of people about the issues related to them, by the organisation of popular lectures, initialisation and organisation of educational excursions, co-operation with the similar Polish educational associations in Czechoslovakia”*. The operation of Circles was based on the principles of self-education (&7 of the regulations). On each meeting at least one lecture had to be held. According to the principles of self-education, the lecturers were first of all the Circle's members, and according to the needs the foreign lecturers were invited by the Management. &4 of the regulations provided for, that each member of Foundation was entitled to be the Circle's participant (Circles that were the sections of Educational Commissions allowed the members of all other educational organisations to attend in the meetings) <sup>41</sup>. According to the regulations, the Circles organised also the celebrations of national holidays, evening meetings, amateur performances, activity of choirs, sport events. It was recommended that the meetings should have the attractive form – there were used so-called light images, recitations, reading and discussions on the fragments of literature, reviews, singing, music, humour <sup>42</sup>.

The Self-education Circles were supported by Foundation, that perceived them as the forge of future educational workers – the Circles had to prepare the future employees and organisers of Foundation <sup>43</sup>. *“These were the centre emitting the Polish character, prepared the numerous group of Polish intelligentsia and Polish cultural and educational workers (...) tried to ensure the young people some good intellectual background, gave them the defined*

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<sup>40</sup> *Jubileuszowe Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim 1885-1935...*, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>42</sup> *Jubileuszowe Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim 1885-1935...*, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 91-92.

*philosophy of life and practical preparation to the life under specific political, social and economic conditions*”<sup>44</sup>.

In 1937 the number of Circles significantly increased – up to 32 (17 Circles in Český Těšín district and 15 in Fryštát district). That year the Circles organised in total: 396 meetings, with 369 lectures – attended by almost 17 000 participants (yearly attendance!) and 450 lecturers, 18 excursions, 26 performances, 46 celebrations of national holidays, 4 training courses, 20 parties<sup>45</sup>.

The important event in the work of Circles was the creation of day-rooms (the first one was organised on 2 November 1936 in Bystřice). The day-rooms were organised by the Educational Section at the General Management of School Foundation. These new facilities for the Circles' activity enabled the more frequent meetings, were equipped with books, newspapers and radio receivers. The main task of day-rooms was to assemble all organisations in the educational work – day-room had to be *“the platform where all religious or political differences disappear in the name of slogan – We are Polish”*<sup>46</sup>. In 1937 were organised the day-rooms in Mosty u Jablunkova, Nýdek, Horní Suchá, Vendryně, Třinec. Till the end of April 1938, there were organised 23 day-rooms, perfectly equipped with the appropriate implements, inventory and materials.

The most of the branches of Foundation organised the singing groups. In many cases the choirs were the foundation, on that the cultural and educational work was based. The choirs of Foundation were the core of the Association of Polish Choirs in Czechoslovakia, established in 1927 on the initiative of School Foundation. These were of inter-organisational nature, *“taking into account the national issue – they served to everyone (...) were the forges of Polish, unifying work, in particular with the youth”*<sup>47</sup>. Thanks to them *“the Polish language was cultivated, Polish songs were sung, patriotic, religious and social plays as well as popular moralising ones and small farces or comedies in Polish were performed”*<sup>48</sup>. In 1928 there were 47 choirs of School Foundation with 1887 members.

The important part in the development of Polish education and culture in Transolza played the reading-rooms of School Foundation. The libraries of Foundation were distributed over the whole area of Silesia and part of Moravia. They became the place of meetings for the Polish society in their locations – *“they were the small centre of national Polish movement in the locality and its neighbourhood”*<sup>49</sup>. The fundamental task of reading-room was of course the making of books and magazines available. The collections were composed mostly of the Polish books coming from the gifts and purchases. The reading-rooms had also the magazines at their disposal. These were the most often the copies delivered for free by the editorial offices of Polish papers in Transolza (*“Dziennik Polski”*, *“Gazeta Kresowa”*, *“Nasz Kraj”*, *“W Obrońce Prawdy”*, *“Prawda Ludu”*) and issued in Poland (*“Rola”*, *“Gwiazdka Cieszyńska”*, *“Na szerokim świecie”*). The reading-rooms organised often the performances, parties and feasts to collect the money for the purchase of new books or equipment<sup>50</sup>. At the most of the reading-rooms there existed the amateur ensembles that prepared the theatrical performances. The reading-rooms organised also the lectures and various training courses<sup>51</sup>. Till the end of April 1939 more than 150 training courses of Polish language and knowledge about Poland were organised in Transolza for the extra-school youth and adults. Their objective was to know Polish language more deeply and

<sup>44</sup> G. Pańko, *Z dziejów polskiego prywatnego gimnazjum...*, op. cit., p.141.

<sup>45</sup> *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej za rok 1937*, Czeski Cieszyń 1938, p. 53.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, p. 54-55.

<sup>47</sup> *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Zaolziu za rok 1938...*, op. cit., p. 58-59.

<sup>48</sup> Z. Jasiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa polskich organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>49</sup> Z. Jasiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa polskich organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, p. 73.

inform the people about the current state of Polish culture and economy as well as about the history of Poland (training courses lasted from 16 January 1939 till the end of April 1939). Each training course included in total 60 lessons. The training courses were completed by more than 3000 participants <sup>52</sup>.

The activity of reading-rooms was of great importance for the life of Polish minority – *“it created the contact with the Polish language and Polish book – and served to wide groups of Poles living in Transolza”* <sup>53</sup>. In 1928 School Foundation managed 63 libraries with 14093 books, 15557 volumes, 3616 readers and 22417 hires. In 1938 the library section worked on the establishment of the central library of School Foundation. To this library the books from the Branches were taken, and several hundreds of new ones were purchased. In September 1938 the library was ready. It contained the sections of belles-lettres, scientific books and dramatic works.

The significant form of extra-school educational work was the Museum of School Foundation, established in 1929. At the beginning the seat of Museum was the gymnasium in Orlová, then it was located in the building of Polish Diaspora in Český Těšín. Already in 1931 the collected exhibits gave it the eminent ethnographical and regional character. In the museum collections there were accumulated the Silesian folk furniture, local woodworks, weaving tools and equipment, folk pottery and glass, folk sculptures, old books and manuscripts, photographs – and first of all the Silesian folk clothes: from Jablunkov, Lasek, highland and their parts, decorations of folk clothes. The museum had also several artistic sculptures and paintings, collection of coins and banknotes, maps, diagrams and several pieces of various weaponry. Thanks to the Museum many valuable evidences of the Polish nature of Silesia were collected. The work of Museum Section at the General Management consisted also in the popularisation, rousing of the interest in the collection with the help of articles in newspapers (*“Dziennik Polski”*, *“Zaranie Śląskie”*). The Museum had many visitors, in particular it was popular for the school excursions <sup>54</sup>.

School Foundation had its own bookshop, that started the activity on 1 July 1930. The bookshop published, at its own expenditure, *“150 pieśni”* collected by J. Samiec, plays of Karol Berger (*“Och ta Kasia”*, *“Panna Halka mężatką”*, *“Babska rewolucja”*) and *“Kolędy beskidzkie”* of A. Fierla. It published also the various exercise books and form registers signed by Macierz’s logo and various school forms. In 1938 the branches of bookshop were opened in Karviná, Jablunkov and Český Těšín <sup>55</sup>.

Adam Sikora Park in Český Těšín was also the ownership of Foundation. The lovely and roomy restaurant pavilion was built in the Park. The Park was the place for the general feasts of Polish societies and often organised school parties.

**Summarising the activity of School Foundation** it is proper to refer to the words of many years’ president of Foundation, Waclaw Olszak, who in May 1930 summarised 10 years of the society’s activity in the following words: *“(…) after the political turnover of 1920 our societies started to work, and to work from the very beginning. The initial depression slowly passed away, since the work strengthened in our hearts the belief in the victory of our fair cause. The most threatened position was the Polish educational system (...), therefore School Foundation, and the whole society with it, started first of all to defend the Polish school, that engaged the whole Polish population. School Foundation built the schools one after the other, where the greatest need appeared (...) established the Polish kindergartens. Now, ten years later, Foundation has many schools and kindergartens (...). From year to year*

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<sup>52</sup> *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Zaolziu za rok 1938...*, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

<sup>53</sup> Z. Jasiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa polskich organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>54</sup> *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Zaolziu za rok 1938...*, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

<sup>55</sup> *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Zaolziu za rok 1938...*, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

*the more and more numerous groups of our nation started to assemble under the auspices of Foundation. They saw in Foundation the mainstay of Polish character in Czechoslovakia, and were and still are eager for it, to work here together to get the better future by the education”*<sup>56</sup>.

In turn, the last president of Foundation in the inter-war period, Piotr Feliks, evaluated 18 years of society's work in Transolza in the following way: *“During 18 years of activity the General Management of School Foundation examined 90 310 of settled cases, positions of application list. These are the huge volumes of the history of struggle for Polish soul in Transolza. The difficult work of responsibility for the Polish character was made disinterestedly by the members of General Management and Branches of Foundation, that in spite of all obstacles worked in perfect harmony for Foundation. All were animated by the single objective: the good of Polish nation and therefore nobody was astonished that in the Management worked together the intelligent and worker, Catholic parish-priest with Protestant parson, representatives of all Polish political parties, always in harmony, and thanks to it School Foundation was able to become the central institution and common tie for the whole Polish society in Transolza. That's why this work could be so profitable”*<sup>57</sup>. Special role in the works of Foundation was played by the Polish teachers that, apart from school, worked in various societies, managed the training courses, held the lectures, worked in the amateur Circles, choirs and Branches of Foundation<sup>58</sup>.

During 18 years of activity of School Foundation in Czechoslovakia there were organised 93 Branches, having 9739 members in 1938, 1337 General Meetings of Branches and 10 976 meetings of the Management of Branches were held, reading-rooms for newspapers were organised (in 1938 there were 14), reading-rooms for magazines (60 - in 1938). The libraries were open (in 1938 there were 61 libraries) that during 18 years of their activity assembled 50 334 readers and hired 440 740 volumes. 4103 lectures were organised. The amateur theatrical circles were managed (89 in 1938), that in total performed 3019 shows, organised 1531 celebrations of national holidays and 3553 parties. The activity of singing Circles was perfectly developed (in 1938 there were 69 choirs with 2817 members)<sup>59</sup>.

Statistics of the activity and development of the Branches of School Foundation in Czechoslovakia in the period 1920 - 1938<sup>60</sup>.

Year	Number of branches	Number of members	Number of meetings of the Branches' Management	Number of reading-rooms for newspapers	Number of reading-rooms for magazines	Number of libraries	Number of books in libraries	Number of readers	Number of hired books	Number of lectures	Number of amateur Circles	Number of shows	Number of national celebrations	Number of parties and excursions	Number of singing Circles	Number of members of singing Circles	Number of the members of Branches' Management
1920	12	1241	21	1	4	11	2674	—	—	—	5	9	—	6	—	—	32
1921	16	1377	95	6	18	13	3042	415	5509	10	7	21	6	15	—	—	144
1922	28	4301	214	15	26	27	5352	743	8286	28	19	48	10	34	—	—	268
1923	46	4879	367	18	38	39	9381	1559	14428	64	24	85	11	88	—	—	321
1924	65	5807	466	14	41	47	12831	4065	15762	103	37	135	17	124	—	—	441
1925	73	6166	492	16	45	60	14186	3664	18667	77	47	156	14	124	—	—	489

<sup>56</sup> *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji za rok 1930*, Czeski Cieszyń 1931, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, p. 67.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, pp. 68-69.

<sup>59</sup> *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Zaolziu za rok 1938...*, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

<sup>60</sup> Data summarised for the districts Český Těšín and Fryštát; a-lectures organised by the Branches of Foundation; b-lectures organised by the Self-education Circles; School Foundation managed the libraries: vagrant, independent libraries of the Branches of School Foundation and the libraries of Branches united with the communal libraries.

1926	75	6016	566	12	38	64	13631	2612	19042	70	53	163	13	153	25	725	551
1927	78	6288	642	19	57	60	13753	3208	24258	177	55	194	51	201	38	1542	572
1928	80	7008	705	18	59	63	14024	3616	31752	199	60	201	91	243	47	1582	615
1929	82	7568	723	20	86	64	14778	3913	22793	244	57	219	75	271	50	1921	612
1930	85	7922	739	18	82	65	14524	2560	25005	315	63	245	124	268	53	1865	694
1931	90	8166	727	19	90	67	15030	3041	27131	352	75	210	108	269	63	2330	780
1932	91	7496	686	17	84	67	14356	3122	28467	210	71	234	126	240	60	1994	729
1933	93	7620	821	15	69	63	14869	3256	28136	289	76	186	106	239	59	2010	719
1934	92	7771	761	12	42	62	15152	3210	28614	a-274 b-279	84	197	135	256	68	2213	538
1935	94	8094	797	10	28	65	15009	3454	33980	a-205 b-380	83	220	158	256	65	2411	815
1936	94	8551	773	13	36	66	13412	2915	28566	273	77	204	160	284	63	2179	644
1937	94	8679	776	11	92	67	12638	2630	19810	286	81	177	222	222	69	2335	731
1938	93	9739	605	14	60	61	12317	2351	18461	268	89	115	104	260	69	2792	669

Based on: *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji za rok 1929*, Czeski Cieszyń 1930, Drukarnia Ludowa we Fryszacie, p. 4; *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji za rok 1930*, Czeski Cieszyń 1931, Drukarnia Ludowa we Fryszacie, p. 48-49; *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji za rok 1931*, Czeski Cieszyń 1932, Drukarnia Ludowa we Fryszacie, p. 54-55; *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji za rok 1932*, Czeski Cieszyń 1933, Drukarnia Ludowa Sembol i Ska, Frysztat, p. 52-53; *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji za rok 1933*, Czeski Cieszyń 1934, Drukarnia Ludowa Sembol i Ska, Frysztat, p. 40-41; *Jubileuszowe Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim 1885-1935*, Czeski Cieszyń 1935, Ludowa Drukarnia Sembol i ska, Frysztat, p. 26, 76-77; *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji za rok 1935*, Czeski Cieszyń 1936, Ludowa Drukarnia Sembol i Ska, Frysztat, p. 38-39; *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji za rok 1936*, Czeski Cieszyń 1937, Ludowa Drukarnia Sembol i Ska, Frysztat, p. 38-39; *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji za rok 1937*, Czeski Cieszyń 1938, Ludowa Drukarnia Sembol i Ska, Frysztat, p. 36-37; *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej w Czechosłowacji za rok 1938*, Cieszyń Zachodni 1939, Ludowa Drukarnia Sembol i Ska, Frysztat, p. 36-37.

School Foundation integrated also the activity and workers of the numerous Polish cultural and educational societies, that acknowledged it as “*their common Mother, (...) some of them like: Towarzystwo Nauczycieli Polskich, Harcerstwo, Sokół, Siła, Związek Chórów, Związki Młodzieży katolickiej i ewangelickiej, Rodzina Opiekuńcza, Beskid Śląski, Związek Gospodyń “Jedność”, worked in harmony with Foundation, often organised common events, celebrations with it*”<sup>61</sup>. Therefore in many Polish societies in Transolza in the inter-war period, School Foundation enjoyed the highest respect. Almost each society more or less co-operated with Foundation. For many of them it was “*the stepmother at the moment of their origin, and their patron as well*”<sup>62</sup>.

School Foundation “*to great extent contributed to the strengthening of Polish national identity, development of Polish culture and education, as well as to the integration of Polish society in Transolza*”<sup>63</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> *Sprawozdanie Macierzy Szkolnej na Zaolziu za rok 1938...*, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, pp. 70-71.

<sup>63</sup> Z. Jasiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa polskich organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 83.

## Lemkos in the Cultural Landscape of Lower Silesia

Anna Haratyk

*Lemkové patří ke čtyřem v Polsku uznaným etnickým skupinám. V důsledku poválečných restrikcí se dnes nachází většinou v západním Polsku, zvláště v Dolním Slezsku. Do konce 80. let nemohli kultivovat své tradice a používat svůj jazyk. V posledních dvaceti letech jejich stará kultura ožívá.*

Klíčová slova: *Lemkové; multikulturalita Dolního Slezska; Sdružení Lemků*

Poland has been for many centuries the country inhabited by the representatives of various nationalities and cultures. The succeeding sovereigns and succeeding governments tried to cope with the problems of the representatives of various minority groups and secure them, according to the valid regulations, the equal rights. At present the issue of affiliation and situation of these groups is governed by the law of 2005 on the national and ethnic minorities and on regional language, called as “small constitution”. According to this law, as the national minority is acknowledged the group of Polish citizens, that is “less numerous than the remaining part of the population of the Republic of Poland” and that identifies with “the nation organised in its own state”, but aiming at the preservation of “clearly separate language, culture or tradition”<sup>1</sup>. Based on the above principles and definitions, 9 national minorities (Belarussian, Czech, Lithuanian, German, Armenian, Russian, Slovak, Ukrainian and Jewish) and 4 ethnic minorities (Caraim, Lemko, Gypsy and Tartar) have been officially acknowledged in Poland<sup>2</sup>. For national and ethnic minorities there was introduced so-called auxiliary language, that can be used at the level of local authority in communes inhabited by the national or ethnic minority, forming at least 20% of the total commune population (there is currently about 30 of such communes in Poland). The right for write and use of surnames and names “in accordance with the spelling principles of minority language”<sup>3</sup>, and for the use of localities’, streets’ and physiographical objects’ names in the language of given have been also granted<sup>4</sup>. However the fundamental documents for the representatives of minority is the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, that warrants the freedom for preservation and development of their own language, religion, customs and tradition, and for the development of their own culture for the Polish citizens belonging to the national and ethnic minorities.

The culture of ethnic groups has considerably changed till the present days under the influence of civilisation development. Some customs disappear at all, while the other ones assume the modified, updated form, and traditional clothes changes together with the fashion trends. We should however agree with professor Roman Reinfuss, that the changes that affected the Lemkos and their traditional culture have quite different background. They were caused in a sudden and drastic way, that has led to the deep destruction of their cultural achievements<sup>5</sup>. Old Lemkivshchyna has completely changed its image: “Sometimes there

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<sup>1</sup> Ł. Kaźmierczak, *Rzeczpospolita czternastu narodów*, [in:] „Przewodnik Katolicki” 42/2010, <http://www.cerkiew.net.pl/Wiadomosci/wiadomoscjedna.php?>, 2010-10-26.

<sup>2</sup> During the general census realised in 2002, the separate character of Silesians and Kashubians was not recognised.

<sup>3</sup> Ł. Kaźmierczak, *Rzeczpospolita czternastu narodów*, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> The principle applies also in the case when 20% of population are the representatives of given minority.

<sup>5</sup> R. Reinfuss, *Śladami Lemków*, Warszawa 1990, p. 4.

happens the little Orthodox church of magnificent form, deserted farmhouse, sometimes farmhouse without holy image and painting, or overgrown cemetery with stone crosses. Even the landscape is not the same as previously, since the forest captured the fields and ridge paths changed into dark tunnels. Also the Lemkos have changed, old inhabitants of this land, that have lost a lot of their traditional achievements in culture during the long stay among the strangers”<sup>6</sup>.

Lemkos as the ethnographic group have formed for a very long time, accepting various elements of ethnic cultures. In opinion of R. Reinfuss “there contributed the Polish colonisation, (...), as well as the shepherds – nomads from the far Balkan Peninsula, so-called Aromanians, with the accompanying southern Slaves and Albanians. (...) in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries the wide tide of Russian colonisation, that assimilated all earlier ethnic elements in its language, accepting at the same time some cultural content from their predecessors, like e.g. mountain pasturage or numerous local geographical names”<sup>7</sup>.

The problem of ethnogenesis is still not finally explained, and the Polish and Ukrainian scientists still prove their concepts. According to Ukrainian scientists “Lemkos are the relic population of primary Russian colonisation in Middle Carpathians, [and scientists from] Poland – associate it with the tide of Wallachian colonisation of 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century. Whereas Lemkos assert that they are the descendants of eastern Slavonic tribe of White Croats”<sup>8</sup>. It should be doubtfully assumed that this ethnic group is included into the Ukrainian language area, but has many own features, distinguishing it from the remaining Ukrainian groups.

The name Lemko has been accepted quite late, since in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century only. Earlier the inhabitants of this area were called as Ruthenians, Rusnaks or Rusnoks. Lemko can be derived from the Slovak word “lem” meaning “only”, “but”, and used only by the ethnic group living on the area of Lemkivshchyna<sup>9</sup>. The mentioned Ruthenians have inhabited Beskid Niski and Beskid Sądecki on the northern side of current Polish-Slovak border and on Slovak side Niskie Beskidy, Lubowniańska Wierchowina near Stara Lubownia, Szaryska Wierchowina along the western bank of Torysa river and partially Spiska Magura to the South of Pieniny for several centuries”<sup>10</sup>. The number of Lemkos population in Poland in the ‘30s of 20<sup>th</sup> century was estimated at about 160 thousand<sup>11</sup>. This population lived in almost 300 villages and formed its own, specific culture, based on historical traditions.

In 1947 the part of region inhabited by the ethnic Lemko group, and located within the Polish borders, has disappeared. “On the 9<sup>th</sup> of September, 1944, from the Kremlin initiative, Polish Committee of National Liberation, and the government of Ukrainian Socialistic Soviet Republic signed the treaty, called also as agreement, in that both parties obliged to relocate (officially the term “evacuation” was used) from Poland “all citizens of Ukrainian, Belarussian, Russian and Ruthenian nationality”, as well as to start the displacement from Soviet Union all Poles and Jews, that were the Polish citizens till 17<sup>th</sup> September 1939. In the treaty it was mentioned that the displacement has to be of voluntary nature, and in this connection the application of direct and indirect pressure was precluded”<sup>12</sup>. The first displaced were the people that did not agree for the affiliation of their land to Poland, and were for the attachment of Podlasie, Chełmszczyzna and Lemkivshchina to the Ukrainian Socialistic Soviet Republic. The next group of Lemkos from the area of Dukla Pass and

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<sup>6</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>7</sup> R. Reinfuss, op. cit., p.11-12.

<sup>8</sup> Lemkos and Lemkivshchyna, <http://www.lemko.org/history/exhibit/index.html>, 2010-10-06.

<sup>9</sup> R. Reinfuss, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Jerzy Czajkowski, *Studia nad Łemkowszczyzną*, Sanok 1999, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> B. Halczak, *Łemkowie i Bojkowie*, <http://www.przegląd powszechny.pl/2009/11/04/lemkowie-i-bojkowie/>, 2010-10-06.

<sup>12</sup> R. Drozd, *Powojenne wysiedlenia Łemków polskich w latach 1944-1950*, [http://www.interklasa.pl/porta1/dokumenty/ridna\\_mowa\\_pl/index.php?page=wysiedlenia-lemkow](http://www.interklasa.pl/porta1/dokumenty/ridna_mowa_pl/index.php?page=wysiedlenia-lemkow), 2010-10-06.

Łupków Pass, as well as from villages Biała Woda, Czarna Woda, Jaworki and Szlachtowa has left to Ukraine in spring 1945. However the most of Lemkivshchyna inhabitants stayed on their motherland. Unfortunately the authorities did not retire, and the started the various compulsory activities encouraging the Lemkos to abandon their farms (the population was taxed, levies were exacted, and finally the official orders to leave the area were issued). Since also these actions were ineffective, the authorities started the transportation action. Some representatives of political parties, local authorities, clergy of Roman Catholic Church and neighbours as well stand up for the displaced people. As a result of these requests and petitions, the Government Proxy for Evacuation ordered Polish Academy of Skills to determine and unequivocally define the nationality of Lemkos. In the answer sent on 16<sup>th</sup> April 1946 there was stated that "Lemkos are the same Ruthenian people like the aboriginal population of former eastern Galicia, [...] they speak the language slightly different than the literary Ukrainian, but more close to it than to Polish. From the point of view of nationality, they always considered themselves to be "Ruthenians", and when about fifty years ago the whole Ruthenian population of former eastern Galicia indoctrinated and declared as the "Ukrainian" nation, the conservative Lemkos remained with their old name Ruthenians or Rusnaks and favoured the old-Ruthenian party, aiming at the unification with single, great inseparable Russian nation"<sup>13</sup>. Furthermore the commission of PAS stated that, in spite of the better than in the case of Ukrainian nationalists attitude to the Poles, Lemkos never considered themselves to be Poles and did not voted in elections to Polish candidates, and additionally their attitude to Nazi occupation was too peaceful, trying to not to expose themselves to occupant's displeasure. Thus their identification with the Polish nationality at that moment resulted from their wish to stay in Poland and to avoid the displacement. Such an evaluation forejudged in principle the further lot of Lemkos' population. In 1946 the deportations of thousands of Ukrainians from Poland to Ukraine were still in progress. Next year, aiming at the creation of nationally homogenous Poland, the authorities decided to finally solve the problem of Lemkos. To this end the next deportation action was organised, code-name Action "Vistula", that aimed at the displacement of remaining Ukrainian population to western and northern Poland. The displacement in Lemkivshchyna started on 28.04.1947. In total, till the end of action, that means till the end of July 1947, more than 140 thousand of Ukrainians, including circa 30 thousand Lemkos were displaced. It was the mass action, but it did not finish the displacements, since the last transport from Lemkivshchyna was recorded in April 1950.<sup>14</sup> Thus Lemkos were illegally and under pressure displaced from their motherland. Each family had to leave their home within only two hours, using their own transport means, with practically no chance to take or secure their property. Lemkos, gathered on the nearest railway stations, were placed in the freight cars, and then transported by railway to so-called Regained Territories. After the reaching the destination place, Lemkos were dispersed and only several families were settled in individual villages, to ensure that their number will not exceed 10% of total population. The most of them were directed to Lower Silesia and Ziemia Lubuska. In new living places they were forbidden to organise the religious, cultural and national life in order to ensure as efficient as possible assimilation of Lemkos' population with the inhabitants of Lower Silesia and, as a result, to include them into nationally homogenous Polish state. The difficulties resulting from the above prohibitions were usually strengthened by the ill-will, or even hostility of new neighbours, new farming, technical and cultural conditions (they were relocated from the mountains to the lowlands), buildings and their equipment of other type, briefly the strangeness and other character, often causing the laugh and sneer of the remaining local population<sup>15</sup>. Any attempts of return to

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<sup>13</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>15</sup> *Lemkowie i Lemkowszczyzna*, <http://www.lemko.org/history/exhibit/index.html>, 2010-10-06.



their old land were frustrated by the authorities. In the years 1957-58 the part of Lemkos succeeded to return mostly to Gorlice district, but the next waves of migration were effectively stopped.

At present in Lower Silesia the Lemkos' population lives in the following districts: Lubin, Legnica, Wołów, Oleśnica, and in Wrocław as well. It is the greatest concentration of this group in Poland. Highest number of Lemkos live near Legnica, mostly the districts: Polkowice (communes: Chocianów, Polkowice, Przemków, Radwanice), Lubin (communes: Lubin, Rudna, Ścinawa), Legnica (communes: Legnica, Chojnów, Prochowice, Kunice, Krotoszyn, Legnickie Pole, Ruja, Miłkowice) and Bolesławiec (commune Gromadka). It were 2564 people from this area that declared Lemko nationality, i.e. that on the territory of four above mentioned districts live almost half of the population of Polish Lemkos<sup>16</sup>. Quite big group of this minority are the inhabitants of Ziemia Lubuska (Zielona Góra, Nowa Sól, Międzyrzecz, Skwierzyna, Strzelce Krajeńskie, Gorzów Wielkopolski), and small part lives in old Lemko villages of Podkarpackie voivodship (Bartne, Blecharka, Bielanka, Konieczna, Kunkowa, Wołowiec, Wysowa). Outside the territories of Poland and Slovakia, Lemkos can be found also in Ukraine, in the districts Lvov, Tarnopol and Ivano-Frankovsk, as well as in exile in Canada, USA and Balkan countries (Serbia, Croatia)<sup>17</sup>.

During the National General Census of Population and Apartments, realised in 2002, the affiliation to Lemko minority was declared by 5850 people. The biggest group, 3082 people, was recorded among the inhabitants of Lower Silesia. The remaining were the representatives of Małopolskie (1580), Lubuskie (784), Podkarpackie (147) and Zachodniopomorskie (66) voivodships<sup>18</sup>.

The problem of the final determination of Lemkos' nationality remains still open and unexplained. About 60% of the descendants of people displaced in the frameworks of Action "Vistula" during the census declared the Lemko nationality<sup>19</sup>, that in fact is not recognised in Poland. While the other part of group declares the affiliation to Ukrainian nation, whereas the rest denies the existence of these relationships, still considering themselves as Ruthenians. Also the issue of Lemkos' religion remains unexplained, since some of them are the members of Catholic Church of Byzantine-Ukrainian Confession, whereas the others are the members of Polish Autocephalic Orthodox Church. The religious background is often indicated as the source of divisions in Lemkos' society<sup>20</sup>. The Lemkos' minority hasn't any representatives in Parliament, and till now did not organised its own elective committees, however the cases of Lemkos' candidates in the frameworks of other elective committees was noted, and thanks to it "six representatives of Lemkos' minority take place in four communal councils in Małopolskie voivodship, and next five in four communal councils in Dolnośląskie voivodship"<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> B. Halczak, *Lemkowie i Bojkowie*, op. cit.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji – Charakterystyka mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych, <http://www2.mswia.gov.pl/portal.php?serwis=pl&dzial=61&id=37>, 2010-10-06; according to data taken from MSWiA website, the total number of people declaring the affiliation to society of Lemkos is different than the number resulting from the summing up Lemkos living in the individual voivodships. It results from the calculation that the total number of Lemkos in Poland should be 5659.

<sup>19</sup> J. Syrnyk, Podstawowe aspekty funkcjonowania ukraińskiej mniejszości narodowej na Dolnym Śląsku po 1989 r., [http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/r\\_mowa/strony\\_pol02/publicystyka/publicystyka01.html](http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/r_mowa/strony_pol02/publicystyka/publicystyka01.html), 2010-10-06.

<sup>20</sup> In the interwar period about 20% of Lemkos converted from Greek Catholicism into Orthodox religion, and during the Action "Vistula" big group of Orthodox Lemkos was settled in Lower Silesia (mostly near Legnica). Now the greatest group of the adherents of Carpatho-Ruthenism idea are the orthodox. B. Halczak, *Lemkowie i Bojkowie*, op. cit.

<sup>21</sup> Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji – Charakterystyka mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych, op. cit.

The teaching of Lemko language was introduced on the areas inhabited by this ethnic minority. According to the data cited by MSWiA [Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration], coming from the school year 2005/2006, Lemko language was taught in 37 facilities, and 295 pupils participated in these classes<sup>22</sup>. While the second report of 2009, concerning the situation of minority, informs that in the school year 2008/2009 Lemko language was taught in 43 educational facilities, and 301 pupils belonging to this minority participated in these classes<sup>23</sup>.

At present Lemkos are associated in organisations helping them to keep their own ethnic identity. One of such organisations is Stowarzyszenie Łemków [Association of Lemkos], with its headquarters and General Management located in Legnica, at 6 Zofii Kossak Str.

The initiator's meeting took place on 05.03.1989, and one month later – on 07.04. – the association was registered. The association popularises the Lemko culture and performs the information and educational activity. It is active in the whole country, forming branches and local circles on Polish territory.

The main objective of association is “the promotion of Lemko culture in the world, remind and teach issues that every Lemko should know and remember”<sup>24</sup>.

The detailed objectives included in the statute are as follows:

- “1. Integration of Lemkos’ population irrespective of opinions and religious beliefs,
2. to rescue, care, develop and popularise the spiritual and material culture of Lemkos,
3. teaching of Lemko language,
4. popularisation of the history of Lemkowyna [Lemkivshchyna] as well as of the knowledge about the life and activity of Lemkos outside Poland,
5. popularisation of Lemko-Polish friendship and co-operation with the similar societies of national minorities in Poland”<sup>25</sup>.

The assumed objectives are realised by means of:

- organisation of cultural and educational activity in the form of performances and reviews of artistic groups, concerts, theatrical performances, movie shows, lectures and talks, seminars, discussions, training courses, exhibitions, parties, evening meetings and formation of new centres
- popularisation of Lemko culture and art, among others thanks to libraries, reading-rooms, clubs, community centres and museum-ethnographic facilities
- establishment of amateur artistic groups and sections of people interested in Lemkivshchyna
- edition of magazines, books, brochures and advertising materials
- listing and registration of monuments and relics of material and spiritual Lemko culture
- organisation of excursion and trips, mostly to the areas of Lemkivshchyna (Beskid Niski and Krynicki)
- co-operation with the organs of state administration and institutions engaged in the care and renovation of the monuments of material culture of Lemkos

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<sup>22</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup> *Drugi Raport dotyczący sytuacji mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych oraz języka regionalnego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Warszawa 2009, p. 5. On page 37 of mentioned report are given slightly different data, that mention 44 facilities in Poland, where 311 pupils learnt the Lemko language. On the next page, 38. there are given the detailed numbers: 21 primary schools with Lemko language, 11 gymnasiums, 1 secondary school and 10 complexes for teaching of Lemko language, that means however in total 43 facilities, with the following numbers of pupils: 115 pupils in primary schools, 89 in gymnasiums, 10 in secondary school and 87 in inter-school complexes, that, however, gives in total 301 pupils.

<sup>24</sup> Statut Stowarzyszenia Łemków w Polsce [Statute of the Association of Lemkos in Poland], <http://www.stowarzyszenielemkow.pl/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=2>, 2010-10-06

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem.

- participation of associated amateur artistic groups in the national and international cultural events

- co-operation with the authorities of the Republic of Poland, organisations, social and cultural associations, local authorities, scientific and cultural institutions<sup>26</sup>.

The members of association can be Lemkos, as well as people particularly meritorious for the Lemko society and culture. In the second case they are appointed to the honorary members.

The General Management of the Association of Lemkos, trying to reach the greatest group of the dispersed representatives of ethnic groups, has started in June 1989 the bi-monthly magazine "Besida", that is its official press organ.

In our country, under the auspices of the association, there are organised several cyclic cultural events, of that should be mentioned among others Biennial of Ruthenian/Lemko Culture (Krynica, May), Łemkowska Watra na Obczyźnie [Lemko Watch-Fire in Exile] (Michałów, August), Chwila z Łemkowską Kulturą [Moment with Lemko Culture] (Lisiec, September), Łemkowska Twórcza Jesień [Lemko Creative Autumn] (Gorlice, October), Dzień z Kulturą Łemkowską [Day with Lemko Culture] (Gorzów Wielkopolski, November)<sup>27</sup>.

The events promoting the Lemko culture are also organised each year in Lower Silesia. These are the opportunity to meet the next generations of Lemko families living not only in western Poland. One of the most important is "Łemkowska Watra na Obczyźnie", organised in August in the village Michałów in Polkowice district (commune Chocianów). The origins of Watra date from the end of '70s, when Lemkos were not allowed to acknowledge their origin too officially. In the period 1979-82, once a year, during holidays, the young people met on "Watch-fires" in Michałów. Since 1983 these meetings have started to be called as "Łemkowska Watra" [Lemko Watch-fire], and since 1990, when the Association of Lemkos started to organise this event, there has been determined the name "Łemkowska Watra na Obczyźnie". The name extension had to mean that it is the Lemkos' holiday, but not on the area of Lemkivshchyna, but on the foreign area, where the Lemkos' society lives opposite of their free will. "Watch-fire is a fire that in Michałów is traditionally started by the oldest village citizen. The fire on Watra is burning all the event long, i.e. from the starting till the end of event"<sup>28</sup>. The objective of "Watra", defined as the cultural and recreational event, became the "rescue and preservation of the national identity of Lemkos"<sup>29</sup>. The annual holiday unites the generations and allows to meet the family, friends, former neighbours, sometimes dispersed over a large country area, and even abroad.

In 2010 in Michałów took place 30<sup>th</sup> Watra na Obczyźnie. It lasted exceptionally 3 days. It was honoured with their performances by many Lemko artistic groups, among others "Łastiwoczka" (Przemków), "Buraky" (Wrocław), "Nadija" (Przemków), "Ruczaj" (commune Sękowa), "Podolanki" (Nowa Wieś), "Lemko – Tower" (Strzelce Krajeńskie), "Roztoka" (Rudna), "Kyczera" (Legnica), "Browaryja" Cabaret (Wysoka)<sup>30</sup>.

In 2009 the calendar of Lower Silesian cyclic events was completed by Lemkos with the next "Watra" in village Ługi, in district Strzelce-Drezdenko.

The Association of Lemkos has 13 local branches, located mostly in small towns and villages. In Lower Silesia, the most efficient branches are in Legnica, Lisiec, Lubin, Malczyce, Michałów and Przemków<sup>31</sup>. They show quite big activity in unification of Lemko

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<sup>26</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.stowarzyszenielemkow.pl/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=8>.

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.stowarzyszenielemkow.pl/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=19>.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.stowarzyszenielemkow.pl/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=68>.

<sup>31</sup> Local branches, <http://www.stowarzyszenielemkow.pl/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=7>.

environment in the Lower Silesian region. The Association, by means of these branches, organises the series of local cultural and educational events, including, among others "Małanka" that means the carnival party in Przemków and other annual parties, Shrovetide Party with Lemko music, realised also outside Przemków, mostly in Szprotawa and Lisiec, workshops of Easter eggs' painting for children and adults (Przemków), music evenings, e.g. Spotkanie z Kolędami i Muzyką Cerkiewną [Meeting with Christmas Carols and Orthodox Music] (since 2000 in Legnica) and many others.

The particular attention should be paid to the artistic enterprises, thanks to that the wider circles of people interested in the problems of minorities and regional societies can get to know the culture, art and history of these groups. In 1989 in Legnica there was established the theatre of the Association of Lemkos, presenting in Poland and abroad the plays with Lemko themes, among others "Odcięte korzenie" [Cut-off roots], "Wertep w Karpatach" [Pathless Tracts in Carpathians], "Na obczyźnie" [On Exile], "Ostatnia hodyna" [The Last Hour], written most often by the former inhabitants of Lemkivshchyna.

The beauty of Lemkivshchyna revives again thanks to, among others, the dance and singing folk groups. The Lemko youth, that can not remember the live on the terrain inhabited by their ancestors, but growing in the families cultivating the old customs and encouraged to cultivate the tradition, actively participates in the popularisation of old culture, among others by means of the membership in these groups. One of the oldest and the most honoured groups is Zespół Pieśni i Tańca [Song and Dance Group] "Kyczera" from Legnica, that made its début in 1992, performing on 12<sup>th</sup> Watra na Obczyźnie. "Kyczera" not only presents the folk dances and songs, but also co-organises the folk events. Thanks to co-operation of this group, the 1<sup>st</sup> Międzynarodowy Festiwal Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych „Europa bez Granic” [International Festival of National and Ethnic Minorities "Europe without Borders"], focussed on Lemkos and Sorb-Lusatians was organised in 1996.

Apart from "Kyczera", also Zespół Pieśni i Tańca "Łastiwoczka" from Przemków is worth mention. It started its activity in 2000 as group "Kružok", composed of several members, lead by Małgorzata Herbut with the help of Adam Boczniewicz. However the group quickly grew up, and as a result there appeared the children's and youth group "Łastiwoczka", that at present has more than forty members. Initially the young artists learnt only to sing, but the group development enabled in 2007 also the Lemko country dances. The repertoire of amateur artists includes the Lemko folklore, they use the original melodies and songs' words remembered by their grandparents and parents, and play mostly in the original Lemko dresses, and any missing elements of traditional dress are completed according to old examples. The basic intention of the group is the "continuation, popularisation and cultivation of old Lemko songs, customs and habits"<sup>32</sup>. The group is from the very beginning patronised by the local Branch of the Association of Lemkos in Przemków.

"Kyczera" and "Łastiwoczka" are not only singing and dancing groups. Apart from them, in Lower Silesia are active also "Kyczarka" gathering the Lemko children, "Okmel" – family band of Irena and Adam Boczniewicz from Przemków, and many other, smaller groups<sup>33</sup>.

However it should be stressed that the Association of Lemkos uses for popularisation of old culture also the up-to-date achievements of computer technology, supporting the teaching

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<sup>32</sup> <http://www.stowarzyszenielemkow.pl/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=15>.

<sup>33</sup> "Okmel" started its activity already in 1984, when the problem of Lemkos was still in the sphere of taboo issues. It influences the specific, as can be said conspiratorial name of group, that is an anagram of the word "Łemko". Initially the young musicians collected the material at homes, performed mostly on the weddings, and in mid-90s stopped the playing due to their family life. In 2000 they returned to their previous activity together with their children. A. Rydzanicz, *Okmel czytaj wspak*, [in:] „Przegląd Prawosławny”, [http://www.przegladprawoslawnny.pl/articles.php?id\\_n=1390&id=8](http://www.przegladprawoslawnny.pl/articles.php?id_n=1390&id=8), 2010-10-06.

of Lemko language by Internet<sup>34</sup>, as well as organising e.g. the Internet competition in knowledge about the history and culture of Lemkos, and the history and achievements of the Association of Lemkos. Its first edition took place in 2010.

Trying to support the native culture in the next generations of this ethnic minority, the teaching of Lemko language was introduced in schools with greater number of children from Lemko families. Such courses have been started, among others, in 1997 in Primary School in Przemyków, where Natalia Kuncik was the teacher. The education in speaking was a very important action, since Lemkos have been afraid to speak their language for a long time after the displacement even at homes, and completely inadmissible was to speak Lemko language outside the family environment. It was only in the '90s of the last century, when the freedom for communication enabled the official return to the language of ancestors. The introduction of school classes and training courses, including the Internet ones, became the best solution for the preservation of this language in vocal and in written form as well<sup>35</sup>.

We should decisively admit that Legnica can be assumed to be the capital of Lower Silesian Lemkos, but the representatives of this minority are also quite numerous in Wrocław. They assemble first of all around the Orthodox church and Greek-Catholic church. One of the first meetings organised by Lemko youth under the auspices of Orthodox Society was "Soirée of Poetry" of Anna Rydzanicz and P. Murianka author's night. The events promoting the Lemko culture are sometimes organised also under the auspices of other organisations, like e.g. Meetings with Lemko Culture, patronaged by Fundacja Dom Pokoju [House of Peace Foundation] and Towarzystwo im. Edyty Stein [Edith Stein Society]<sup>36</sup>.

On the basis of collected material it can be decisively say that Lemkos have started the process of permanent implementation into the cultural landscape of Lower Silesia from the end of the '80s of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The older generations take any pains to present old traditions and language to the young generations, born on the area strange for this ethnic group, in none way related to their history and origin.

But the determination, are Lemkos the culturally closed group, or try to integrate with the multicultural environment of Lower Silesia, would require the realisation of detailed research. It is natural that Lemkos, appearing on the events uniting many cultures, promote their culture making it closer to the remaining inhabitants of region. But first of all we should answer the questions, if the events organised by the local branches and the Association of Lemkos are open for everybody, or rather close for Lemko society only, how intense is participation in these events by non-Lemkos and what is their attitude to the Lemko neighbours, if the people from outside of Lemko society learn Lemko language (at schools and via Internet as well). The facts that also makes us think are as follows: isn't the language barrier (since Lemkos traditionally speak the language similar to Ukrainian and write in Cyrillic) the factor causing the isolation of this group, are the media – papers and TV programmes popular also with the other inhabitants of Lower Silesia. The question, if the next generations of Lemko DPs identify with Lower Silesia as their place of birth and residence, and accept their present place, or the fondness for their motherland decisively prevails in their attitudes and thinking (at present Lemkos buy there the building lots, build the cottages, organise the meetings of Lemkos etc.), is also interesting. Therefore it would be proper to take a closer look at the issue, how much Lower Silesia or e.g. Ziemia Lubuska became new,

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<sup>34</sup> 2-years long course of Lemko language is organised by Stowarzyszenie Ruska Bursa [Association Ruthenian Boarding-School] in Gorlice. It is available in versions for the beginners and for the advanced speakers as well. The whole material was divided into 4 semesters, 120 lessons each (30 per semester). The lessons take place on "Ruska Bursa" website, and are accessible with the link: <http://groups.google.pl/group/kurs-lemkivskoho>.

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.stowarzyszenielemkow.pl/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=9>.

<sup>36</sup> Data concerning the organisation of events, language courses etc. were taken from the website <http://www.stowarzyszenielemkow.pl/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=9>.

contemporary “small homeland” of young Lemkos, and how much these are “cзуżyna” (foreign lands) for them. Thus the question of integration with the cultural environment in Lower Silesia and intercultural activities remains open and worth explanation.

## Cultural Landscape of Upper Lusatia in the Face of Threats

Krystyna Dziubacka

*Region Turszów (Turszówský region) se nachází v místě setkávání tří státních hranic: České republiky, Německa a Polska. Vzhledem k zajímavému typu architektury (s hrázděnou konstrukcí), která je pozůstatkem dříve existujícího tkalcovského řemesla, je označován jako Země hrázděných domů. Snaha o zachování společného kulturního dědictví země je vyjádřena ve formách spolupráce mezi sousedícími zeměmi. Počet památkových objektů v jednotlivých zemích (hrázděná a hrubá architektura) a jejich stav se liší. V Polsku, kde je počet těchto objektů menší, je jejich stav nejhorší. Tento příspěvek se snaží ukázat důvody této situace. Klademe důraz na roli průmyslu existujícího v tomto regionu jako pravděpodobně nejdůležitější příčiny zhoršení v kulturní krajině v Horní Lužici, stejně jako důležitost tzv. lidského faktoru, což je role místních lidí nemajících zájem o technické podmínky jednotlivých objektů.*

Klíčová slova: *hrázděné domy; kulturní dědictví; památkové objekty*

Turoszów region is a very interesting nook of south-western Poland.<sup>1</sup> It is known in literature as “Turoszów Sack”, “Zittau Sack” or “T Peninsula”. These names – hereinafter used exchangeably – result from the characteristic shape, determined by the course of state borders. From the West, along Lusatian Neisse, in accordance with the settlements of the Potsdam Conference, there runs the border with Germany. In southern part of village Porajów (community Bogatynia), former suburb of Zittau, there starts the border with the Czech Republic. It describes the bow to the East and then runs to the North, leaving for Poland the characteristic “sack” or “peninsula”. This delimitation line has been the border between Czech state and Saxony since 1645, and is in general the former state border of Czech state from before 1938.

The location in the meet of three state borders gives the region the specific, transborder character.

The physical and geographical regionalisation of Poland places the area in the macroregion of Western Foothills. From the geographic point of view it is the area of diversified plateaus including the Valley of Lusatian Neisse, placed along this river, and the Turoszów Dale.<sup>2</sup> It was created in Tertiary as the tectonic slump. From the North it is limited by Działoszyn Plateau – highly tectonically ramified granite ridge with the heights of 280 – 350 m a.s.l. South of Działoszyn it reaches 363 m a.s.l. The Zawidów Depression, flat, of the same origin, adjoins from the North to the slightly undulated Zgorzelec Plain.

The differentiation of the sculpture of the earth's surface is strictly related to the specific geological structure, that conditioned the economic development of region. The cultural landscape of this area is determined by the course of culture-creating processes,

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<sup>1</sup>From the administrative point of view, Turoszów Region is located on the area of Zgorzelec District (mostly community Bogatynia) in Province of Lower Silesia.

<sup>2</sup>J. Kondracki: *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, Warszawa 1978; W. Walczak: „*Sudety*”, part I, Warszawa 1968.

connected with the history of Upper Lusatia on the one hand, and on the other with the human economic activity. Although both of them are strongly rooted in the history of this area, but its nature is mostly perceived from the point of view of the extractive and power industry, that started to intensively develop here after the World War II.

The terrain-consuming nature of industry has led to the disturbances in functional and spatial structure, and to the irreversible changes to the cultural landscape: the whole, historically formed colonisation structure of area, its individual colonisation units with the original architecture with half-timbered construction – the relic of traditional handicraft of this area, mostly weaving. The occurrence and particular density of this original architecture in the borderland of the Czech Republic (Northern Bohemia), Germany (Saxony) and Poland (Zittau Hills) is conducive to define this part of Europe as “Land of Half-timbered Houses”. The care for the preservation of cultural heritage of this land finds its expression in the joint initiatives undertaken by these three neighbouring countries.



Višňová/Bohemia Photo by K. Dziubacka

In Poland, on the premises of current Zittau Sack, almost 400 half-timbered houses (dwelling-houses and farm buildings) have been recorded, and their highest concentration can be observed near Bogatynia (ca. 200).<sup>3</sup> These are in various (mostly bad) technical condition, and the reasons of this state of affairs should be sought in the specific character of Turoszów area.

The objective of the present work is to try to draw the attention to the necessity of protection and preservation of cultural landscape of this area, that has been dominated by the expansive industry. Stressing here the destructive role of industry, I draw also the attention to the role of so-called human factor, specific attitudes of local inhabitants, educational competencies, economic possibilities and emotional readiness, favouring the conscious engagement in the activities aiming at the protection of cultural landscape of their place of residence.

## Upper Lusatia in Poland

Upper Lusatia is a land with the area of almost 7200 km<sup>2</sup>, located in the present borderland of the Czech Republic, Germany and Poland, and more precisely Saxony and Lower Silesia.<sup>4</sup> The natural borders of Upper Lusatia are the rivers Kwis in the East and

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<sup>3</sup> See: promotional materials: „*Krajina podstávkových domů. Umgebindeland. Kraina domów przysłupowych.*” Publikaci wydal Liberecký kraj.

<sup>4</sup> W.Bena, *Polskie Górne Łużyce*, Ed. F. H. Agat, Zgorzelec 2005, p. 7.



Połchnica (Germ. Pulsnitz) in the West. In the South this land is limited by the Jizera Mountains and the Lusatia Mountains and Foothills. Its northern border is marked by the wide belt of forests called as Lower Silesian and Lusatian Wilderness.”<sup>5</sup>

After the World War II, as a result of relocation of Polish state borders to the West (to Oder and Lusatian Neisse), Poland automatically became the heir of the history of this land.

The oldest traces of human presence in the vicinity of Lusatian Neisse between Zgorzelec and current Sieniawka are dated to ca. 10 thousand years b.c.e., that means to the middle stone age (Mesolithic).<sup>6</sup>

The process of settlement in this area has intensified in the mid of 13<sup>th</sup> century b.c.e. On the area between Elbe and Lusatian Neisse and Vistula formed then new cultural complex called as Lusatian culture. It owes its name to the area where the monument of this culture have been discovered at the earliest.

We omit here the details of historical processes of this area development, but it should be mentioned that Lusatia is divided into the northern part – Lower Lusatia (Niederlausitz), with its main city Chociebuż (Cottbus), and southern one – Upper Lusatia (Oberlausitz), with its main city Budziszyn (Bautzen). The Turoszów area discussed here is a part of Upper Lusatia.

The people of Lusatian culture were united by their religious beliefs that were expressed at the most by the solar cult and body-burning funeral rites.

From the ethnic point of view, the people of Lusatian culture are in Poland considered to be the ancestors of Slaves (it refers in particular to the people living to the East of Lusatian Neisse, conventionally called as Eastern Lusatia). The cultural centre, in its meaning similar to Ślęza, was in this area the peak of Winna Góra near Tylice.

The greatest development of Lusatian culture is dated to so-called Halstatt period (650-450 years b.c.e.). The defensive settlements – castles – were created then. Such a strongly fortified castle was founded about 2500 years ago near Lusatian Neisse, on a basalt hill near Bratków. In a period of feudal relationships formation (about 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.) there were founded and strengthened the seats of Slave tribes. Near the middle section of Lusatian Neisse the tribes of Sorb-Lusatian group have settled.<sup>7</sup>

Lusatians (Sorb-Lusatians) never created any uniform state organisation, and were only more or less consolidated tribal union. Therefore it was difficult for them to defend against the invading forces.

Across the history the problem of control over this land was very important for Germany, Poland and Bohemia as well.

We resign here the comprehensive description of rich and vivid history of this area<sup>8</sup>, but we should mention that the economic development of contemporary Turoszów area was strictly connected with the development of Zittau, where the flax weaving was started already in 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century the weaving craft propagated to the villages around Bogatynia and to Bogatynia itself. Apart from the weaving workshops manufacturing the flax linen, in the mid of 18<sup>th</sup> century appeared the ribbon shops.

In 19<sup>th</sup> century the manufacturing of various cotton clothes, among others nankeen, was started in Bogatynia; since 1845, when their manufacturing became unprofitable, the manufacturing of light fabrics – semi-cotton, that means the mixture of wool and cotton, and orlon and Jacquard clothes as well was started. Furthermore, the diagonal fabrics (cotton fabric

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<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> K. R. Mazurski, *Mędzy Nysą Łużycką a Kwisą*, Wrocław 1980.

<sup>7</sup> The written history of this land starts with the information of so-called *Bayern Geographer*, that in the mid of 9<sup>th</sup> century described the tribes of Western Slaves.

<sup>8</sup> See among others A. Mierzwiński, *Przemiany osadnicze społeczności kultury Łużyckiej na Śląsku*, Wrocław 1994; K. R. Mazurski, op.cit.;

with twill weave with distinct skew lines) for Turkish market were manufactured in some weaving workshops.<sup>9</sup>

The real breakthrough in the development of weaving in this area happened in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century (1859), when the first mechanical weaving workshop appeared in the vicinity of Bogatynia. This event started the industrial revolution for the hand-weaving of this area. During the next years the number of mechanical workshops increased gradually.

Although the weaving craft was the base for development of that period (hand weaving not disappeared fully till the period of World War I), although the other industrial branches were quite significant for the economic activity of this land. In the first half of 16<sup>th</sup> century Zittau received the important brewing privilege. Beer was brewed in the village Nadrzeczce (there was built the brewery) and in villages Rybarzowice and Biedrzychowice<sup>10</sup> (smaller quantities and illegally) as well as in Opolno, Kopaczów and Białopole located in southern part of area<sup>11</sup>. It favoured the increase of agricultural importance of region. The local inhabitants were engaged in the cultivation of flax, and in the vicinity of Sieniawka - hop. Also the sheep were bred<sup>12</sup>. The pasturage of sheep was continued till the 60' of the last century.

Apart from agriculture, fruit-farming and still growing industry, this area was also of health resort character. In 1802 on the area of contemporary village Opolno there were discovered the springs of sulfurated-ferruginous-magnesium water. In 1836 the first wooden bathhouse has been built. People from neighbouring villages and miners were the patients. The spa developed within next ten years. Gradually rebuilt and developed bathhouse had more than ten new bath-tubs, old inn was rebuilt into modern spa-hotel "Carolabad" with 17 bathrooms, new hotels were built. Opolno became popular health resort for the wealthy people from eastern Saxony and neighbouring Bohemia. In the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century Opolno Zdrój (Bad Oppelsdorf) was already the famous spa. In three spa-houses were treated the rheumatic diseases, arthritis, paralyses, neuralgies, spasmodic and skin diseases. During the inter-war period there were 26 private pensions, and this character of town was kept till the period after the World War II.

Since the discovery of brown coal deposits (1642), the area of present Turoszów Sack started to change its image, formed mostly by the extractive industry, and later also by power industry. The intensive mining of this coal, started in 18<sup>th</sup> century, decides character of this area till the present day.

In the years 1786-1820, 10 small, underground mines of brown coal were established in the Turoszów region, and in 1790 the first open pit was established near Zatonie. In the period 1839-1869 brown coal was exploited already in 69 open pits located on the area of the present Bogatynia and Turoszów. The turning point in the exploitation of local resources became the opening of power plant in Hirschfelde in 1897.

After the World War II, as a consequence of new border, and resulting separation of open pit working for power plant (that was left on the German side), the priority objective for Poland became the construction of its own power plant. Currently the industrial region with mining and power industry profile includes the area of about 1.3 thousand km<sup>2</sup>. Its basic investments are concentrated mostly in the following centres: Bogatynia – Turoszów, Zgorzelec and in dispersed form in many villages. The area of main industrial investment related to the fundamental area function is located in the southern part of Zittau Sack. Two open pits of brown coal (Turów I and Turów II) and power plant are located here.

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<sup>9</sup> M. Iwanek, E. Orłowska, *Bogatynia i okolice, Zarys dziejów*, Jelenia Góra 1994, p. 70.

<sup>10</sup> Villages Nadrzeczce, Rybarzowice and Biedrzychowice do not exist anymore.

<sup>11</sup> E. Orłowska, *Monografia miasta i gminy Bogatynia*. Master work, Wrocław 1979, p. 94.

<sup>12</sup> L. Engelmann, *Geschichte von Reichenau (Sachsen) und Umgebung*, Reichenau 1930-1932.

The intensive (and in the region also the expansive) industrialisation of country after the World War II has caused that the natural landscape is replaced here by the industrial one, slowly dominating here over the cultural heritage of this area. We speak here about the monumental houses with half-timbered construction.<sup>13</sup>



Bogatynia, November 2010

Photo by K. Dziubacka

These are the example of architecture, that is typical for Lusatia only. Their greatest concentrations, several thousand each, can be found in Bohemia and Germany. Their condition is also better there. As mentioned earlier, in Poland (in Lower Silesia) can be found about 400 of these houses, and about 200 of them was preserved in Bogatynia and its neighbourhood. Their condition is rather bad.

## Industry and cultural landscape of Turoszów area

The landscape is the synthetic, unfalsifiable image of everything that exists and takes place in the space. The information given by means of landscape – although it is not the precise one – allows us to guide in the space, reflects and facilitates the recognition of the identity of locations, teaches and creates emotions, and sometimes stimulates to action.<sup>14</sup>

Apart from the natural landscape – formed by the natural factors, giving it the shape defined as the aboriginal, natural landscape – we can distinguish also the cultural landscape created by human beings using the elements of nature.

The cultural landscape is the synthesis of nature and culture formed through the centuries. We define it as the historically formed part of geographical space, resulting from

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<sup>13</sup> Its fundamental element was (is) the half-timber – vertical wooden pillow, supporting the overhanging floor or roof and adjacent to the wall or standing near it (no more than 20 cm). The most of the oldest preserved country houses of this area are the multifunctional double-floor objects of brick-wooden construction (brick nogged timber wall). Ground floor was usually composed of two parts – wooden apartment and brick for economic activity (e.g. weaving workshop). The arrangement of their interior includes many types, characterised by the size, shape and location of rooms and corridor. All houses were covered with ridge roof, often with jerkin heads, previously covered with shingle, and in 19<sup>th</sup> century with roofing-tiles or shale. The wooden walls in rooms were more resistant to the vibrations caused by the working looms (up to 3 in single room). Many houses had rich ornamentation – decorated pillars (cut in a proper manner), swords, door portals and window trims. The shape and ornamentation of portals and other house parts depended on social prestige and wealth of house owner. Also the sizes of individual buildings and arrangement of house interior were conditioned by the nature of households. The apartments in farm houses were smaller in relation to other rooms; cf. M.Iwanek, E. Orłowska, op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>14</sup> K. Pawłowska, *Podstawy kulturowe architektury krajobrazu*. In: *Kultura jako przedmiot badań geograficznych – studia teoretyczne i regionalne*, Wrocław 2002, p. 203.

the unification of environmental and cultural effects, creating the specific structure showing the separate character of the given area.<sup>15</sup>

The landscape, condition resulting from the social and economic human activities as well as the spatial and natural conditions of neighbourhood, testifies the culture of space user. "All and any human activities have their effect in the surrounding environment, that is the most clearly visible also in three-dimensional space, that means the landscape. This effect testifies then for many years the economic and intellectual condition of creator that was present at the given moment of its creation."<sup>16</sup>

The industrial (engineering) landscape is included in the cultural landscape defined in this manner. It is one of many types of cultural landscape, "however created to meet the needs of production, mining or processing of raw materials, but also for the communication, media transfer, military purposes, as well as for the living and movement of people under the hard, extreme circumstances. The engineering landscapes are great metallurgical plants, factories, as well as mining pits and quarries, railway lines and stations, fortifications, firing grounds, inland channels (...) overbridges, roads, airfields etc. Sometimes their effect on the landscape is dominating, since these create and form the landscape, whereas in other cases these are only additions or supplements to the landscape with the other leading nature."<sup>17</sup>

The landscape perception by the space user is various and conditioned by multiple factors. It is related to the emotions caused by positive or negative associations, dependencies of economic nature, individual (group) preferences, needs, expectations of inhabitants etc.

The effects of the present economic activities, based mostly on the mining and power industry, incorporate into the natural and cultural landscape of Turoszów region, shaped by the agricultural and weaving activity of its former inhabitants. The intensive exploitation of local resources (first of all the brown coal) has caused that the natural landscape was replaced by the mining and power landscape with the characteristic heaps, pits or chimneys. Next environment components become subordinated to the industrial needs, causing that the unique cultural landscape of Upper Lusatia is replaced with the industrial landscape.

The dominating in landscape and economy industrial nature of region is the consequence of spectacular processes of country industrialisation and urbanisation, realised during the period of Polish People's Republic. By ignoring the consequences of the concentration of powerful industry on the relatively small area and supporting its uncompromising development, the authorities has led to the serious conflicts between the individual area functions. The clear superiority of industrial function over the remaining ones has led in the area of Zittau Sack to the disturbances in functional and spatial structure. The spatial limitation resulting from the region location between the state borders and terrain-consuming nature of industry have caused the development inhibition in other industry branches (in spite of objectively favourable conditions of resources)<sup>18</sup>, destruction of settlement network in area as well as the deep recession of farming and the degradation of natural environment. As a result of industry development and coal mining, the villages Nadrzeczce, Turów and Turoszów, Zatonie, Strzegomice, Biedzychowice Górne, Wigancice

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<sup>15</sup> U. Myga-Piątek, *Kulturowy zapis ewolucji krajobrazu Wyżyny Krakowsko-Częstochowskiej*, In: *Kultura jako przedmiot badań geograficznych – studia teoretyczne i regionalne*, Ed. E. Orłowska, Wrocław 2002, p. 203.

<sup>16</sup> B. Lipińska, *Kultura użytkowania przestrzeni – problemy degradacji wizualnej krajobrazu wsi*, In: *Obszary wiejskie, Problemy, Bariery, Wizje*, Poznań 2002, p. 45.

<sup>17</sup> K. Wielgus, *Krajobrazy inżynieryjne jako szansa dla turystyki kulturowej*, In: *Eksploracja przestrzeni historycznej*, Wrocław 2008, p. 172.

<sup>18</sup> It is not out of place to mention here, as an example, that the exploitation of other brown coal system minerals, that is profitable in other countries, was resigned here; see: *Niektóre skutki antropopresji na środowisko geograficzne gminy Bogatynia*, In: *Geografia Społeczna i Ekonomiczna* Vol. XIII. Wrocław 1996, p. 57–68.

Żytawskie, Wyszaków, Wolańów and Rybarzowice have been destroyed.<sup>19</sup> The already destroyed (and currently under destruction) villages had rich history, numerous estates and monuments, and houses built using the half-timbered construction, characteristic for this area. After the World War II all estates became impoverished under the management of state farms, or were destroyed due to unfavourable results of industrial activity<sup>20</sup>. Some of them were devoured by huge pit, while the other were covered by the dump (heap), made of power plant waste and mine overlay. The inhabitants of destroyed villages were displaced to the block houses in Zgorzelec and Bogatynia, and abandoned two and three hundred years old houses were razed to the ground.

The trials taken to protect the monumental objects of half-timbered architecture, located on the area of destroyed villages, evince themselves in single, individual initiatives consisting in relocation of whole houses from the threatened areas to the other ones.<sup>21</sup>

## Half-timbered Architecture and People

The industry dominating in the cultural landscape threatens the cultural heritage of area, not only directly influencing the deterioration of defined cultural values, but also indirectly – creating the feeling of temporariness of individual villages, and thus strengthening the attitudes of relative insensibility and lack of care for the condition of individual objects.

The feeling of temporariness in relation to the place of residence is not extraneous to the inhabitants of this area, in particular to the older ones, that means these settled here shortly after the end of World War II. As we can see from the history, the existence in temporary conditions contributes in particular way to the destruction and deterioration of values.

Continuing this train, it should be stressed here that area located to the South of Zgorzelec – as opposite to almost whole area near the border – was unharmed by the military activities. The deterioration of property and cultural values on this area (among others palace in Radomierzyce) was during the initial years after the war connected first of all to the policy of authorities in relation to the borderland of Western Poland. The ban on the settlement of civilians in this area, after the expulsion of German inhabitants (depopulation), and delivery of this land under the management of Soviet military authorities caused the uncontrolled pillage of post-German property. The whole industrial facilities and other property was disassembled and sent to Soviet Union<sup>22</sup>. The “looting” of abandoned houses and thoughtless destruction of German property were the common occurrences.

In connection with the aversion of German government to finally ratify the border on Odra and Lusatian Neisse, the unfavourable for settlers reality of new borderland awoke their fears and sense of incertitude<sup>23</sup>. In opinion of the most of Polish DPs, their existence on this area was temporary only. They felt threatened by the possible return of Germans, and their fears were accompanied by hope to return – in the nearest future – to their homeland<sup>24</sup>. Thus there

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<sup>19</sup> Till 2040, next 20% of the present villages will disappear. Only 3 development settlements with typically residential function (Porajów, Działoszyn and part of Sieniawka) and 6 non-development villages with agricultural function (Jasna Góra, Kopaczów, Posada, Bratków, Lutogniewice and Krzewina) will remain on this area.

<sup>20</sup> E. Orłowska, op.cit., p. 63.

<sup>21</sup> The example of such activities is the initiative of Ms Elżbieta Lech-Gotthardt, who rescued the wheelwright's house of 1822, taking it away from the destroyed village Wigancice Żytawskie, see *Gazeta Wyborcza* of 7 May 2010 “*Miłość od pierwszego wejrzenia*” – Aneta Augustyn, p. 14.

<sup>22</sup> See Cz. Osękowski, *Spółeczeństwo Polski zachodniej i północnej w latach 1945-1956*, Zielona Góra 1994.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J. Topolski, *Rozwój stosunków polsko-niemieckich a problemy polsko-niemieckiego pogranicza*, In: *Polacy - Niemcy: idea dobrego sąsiedztwa*, Rocznik Lubuski, vol. XVIII, Zielona Góra 1993, p. 7-22.

<sup>24</sup> See K. Dziubańska, *Jakość życia mieszkańców wsi w rejonie wydobywania węgla brunatnego*, In: *Ludzie – Węgiel – Środowisko...*, op. cit., p. 181-190 and *Menschen – Kohle – Umwelt. Die Erfahrungen auf dem Grenzgebiet Polens und der Europäischen Union*, Wrocław 1996.

was no sense to “unpack their luggage” or to invest in someone else’s farm, that will be abandoned in a while.

The factor favouring the deterioration of found property was also the difference in technical culture. The volume of German houses (farms) as well as the equipment and technical infrastructure surpassed the competencies of new owners with reference to their use.

We should also remember, that the new inhabitants of this area were not psychically prepared to take care for the culturally foreign “heritage”. The settlers coming into this land after the war had the negative attitude towards everything related to Germany – there was no knowledge concerning the previous regional affiliation of this land. It was associated with the German heritage, and affiliation of this area to Lusatia was not generally known. The area of historical Lusatia within the present Polish borders is too small to create the separate social or economic entity. Therefore in the journalism of post-war period it was identified with Lower Silesia, that sunk deeply into the mind of new inhabitants<sup>25</sup>.

The lack of emotional relationship with the new place and feeling of regional identity, connected with the long-lasting feeling of temporariness were unpropitious to the care for the cultural heritage of this land.

The “new quality” in the feeling of temporariness is the temporariness resulting from the acceptance of the superiority of mine or power plant needs in relation to the other needs of area (often at the cost of cultural heritage). The inhabitants of individual villages are already for many years aware that it will be necessary to abandon their present living places, since the terrain will be used for industrial needs. The low-standard houses, that haven’t been repaired for many years, or repaired in a flimsy way – not in accordance with the requirements of the conservator of monuments, extorting the care for preservation of cultural climate, are readily abandoned by their present inhabitants. The expectations for the better living conditions in their new place of residence are unpropitious to the reflection on the destiny of abandoned houses.

We can encounter the temporariness of living place with reference to the used half-timbered houses also on the premises of Bogatynia. Bogatynia is the greatest depositary of the objects of this unique architecture in Poland. The single, private, renewed houses stand in contrast with the town negligence, in that the houses were not, as in Germany, promoted as the regional touristic attraction, but are often assigned for the communal or social apartments. Their low standard and many years’ negligence in repairs cause that the living in these houses is often treated as forced situation. In this relation, Bogatynia that suffered huge losses due to the flood in August 2010 was exposed to the desperate vandalism, “securing” the inhabitants of some houses damaged by water against the necessity to return to them.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>A. Jerkiewicz- Z. Morawski.: *Komentarz do projektu mapy granic Śląska*, In: *Struktura współczesnego społeczeństwa Polski w świetle badań śląskich*, Wrocław 1993, p. 23-25.

<sup>26</sup>See:[http://bogatynia.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/634244,bogatynia-plona-domy-przyslupowe,id,t.hti\(of](http://bogatynia.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/634244,bogatynia-plona-domy-przyslupowe,id,t.hti(of) 29.10.2010).



Bogatynia, November 2010

Photo by K. Dziubacka

## Conclusion

The cultural landscape of the borderland of Germany, Czech Republic and Poland is co-created by about 19 000 half-timbered houses. However this land isn't any huge open-air museum, but the place where people live, work and rest.

To keep the common cultural heritage in the form of these unique houses with half-timbered construction (so-called Lusatian houses) for the future generations, the local authorities (of Polish districts Lubań and Zgorzelec, German – Löbau-Zittau, Bautzen and Sachsichen Schweiz, as well as Bohemian districts: Liberec and Usti nad Labem) have started the close co-operation. In its frameworks there are realised the projects leading to the preservation of half-timbered architecture as the characteristic element for this region and touristic attraction of Upper Lusatia and Jizera Foothills. The common idea of regional development, “Days of open half-timbered houses”, touristic mark “Holidays in half-timbered house” or campaign “Love at second sight” aiming at the finding of new owners for the abandoned or neglected half-timbered houses have been developed.<sup>27</sup> The actions taken in the individual countries or the method of the realisation of projects are different. The Bohemian authorities and house owners focus on the repairs and giving new function or “new life” to the renewed objects. In Germany their attention is focussed on the search for new owners for the buildings repaired after 1990 – thanks to the new funds coming after the reunification of Germany.

In Poland, the most need seems to be, on the one hand the protection against the destruction of houses located on the areas taken over by the mine, and on the other the initiation of activities (including the educational ones) encouraging and supporting the inhabitants and owners of half-timbered houses in their activities aiming at the repairs and improvement of technical condition.<sup>28</sup> The house owners more and more often undertake their individual renewal, joining the traditional form with the modern interior and equipment. It is propitious to the increase in their attractiveness and actuates the similar behaviour in other people.

To make these activities more common, the appropriate education and help in acquirement of resources for repairs are needed. The initiatives taken by the local society (among others Society of the Lovers of Bogatynia Region) contribute to the changes in the perception of region. The perception of cultural landscape of Turoszów area from the point of

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.domyprzyslupowe.pl/>

<sup>28</sup> There should be stressed here the initiatives of the Society of the Lovers of Bogatynia Region that, on 08.09.2010 organised the workshops on cleaning and conservation of half-timbered houses for the inhabitants of buildings flooded in August. (See: [http://www.tnzb.e...\\_coctakt&Itemid=9](http://www.tnzb.e..._coctakt&Itemid=9)).

view of its Lusatian cultural heritage, but not of its industry only, is propitious to the increase in its touristic attractiveness and improvement of the living conditions of local population.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>See.: A. Augustyn.: *Na Dolnym Śląsku powstanie Kraina Domów Przyszłowych*,  
<http://wroclaw.gazeta.pl/wroclaw/2029020,35751,8743555.html?sm>.



## Education of Future Elite – Contemporary Differentiated Educational System in Lower Silesia

Barbara Jędrychowska

*V současné době je diferencovaný vzdělávací systém v Polsku (tento název nahradil předcházející “ne-koedukační systém”, uznáný jako pejorativní) pouze alternativním vzděláváním, které hraje druhotnou roli ve vzdělávání. Ale stále jasněji lze pozorovat sklon rodičů vzdělávat děti ve vzdělávacích zařízeních vysoké kvality, které by se mohly stát zlomem ve vnímání tohoto typu vzdělávacího systému. Je to odpověď na otázku významných vývojových odlišností mezi děvčaty a chlapci, objevujících se především během dospívání.*

*Pedagogická praxe po celém světě ukazuje, že diferencované vzdělání poskytuje velmi dobré výsledky, tj. nejlepší výsledky jsou dosahovány v zařízeních, kde se dívky a chlapci neučí společně. Podle názoru jeho stoupenců, se psychofyzický vývoj u dívek a chlapců liší, ale nejen v běžně známé souvislosti s rozvojem věku (časové rozdíly ve vývoji): mají rozlišný způsob ve vnímání zrakových a sluchových podnětů, odlišné reakce na okolní teplotu, mají odlišné potřeby v oblasti fyzické aktivity. Ko-vzdělávací školy nejsou schopny brát v úvahu většinu z těchto předpokladů, zatímco diferencovaný vzdělávací systém se pokouší vybrat nejúčinnější metody didaktické a vzdělávací činnosti pro obě pohlaví. To zajišťuje ne jenom lepší vzdělávací výsledky, ale také komplexní rozvoj dětí.*

**Klíčová slova:** *diferencované vzdělávání, diferencovaný vzdělávací systém; odlišení diferenciací, sexuální identifikace, vzdělávání elit, vzdělávání*

The co-education in the present world is acknowledged to be the most natural form of education, although already one hundred years ago the education and training in schools and educational facilities was organised separately for both sexes. During the initial years after the World War II our educational system was organised mostly basing on the scheme from the pre-war period, with separate schools for girls and boys, however in 1948 the authorities started to close them, and the act of 1961, together with later decrees, finally sanctioned the separation of sexes. Only in few cases, among others in private general secondary school governed by Ursulines in Wrocław, or Immaculates in Szymanów, previous rules protecting the female nature of facilities remained still in force.

The present differentiated educational system in Poland (this name replaced the previous “non-co-educational system”, acknowledged to be of pejorative nature), is only the alternative education, playing the secondary role in education. But there can be more and more clearly seen among the parents the inclination to educate the children in educational facilities of high quality, that could become the turning point in perception of the educational system of this type. It is the answer to the question for the significant development differences between the girls and boys, appearing mostly during adolescence. Taking this assumption into account, the separate education because of sex is not the discriminating tendency, but just the separation of sexes in the course of didactic and educational process from the justifiable pedagogical and psychological reasons. The discrimination could appear when the separately learning boys and girls are educated in a different way: different range of information is delivered (e.g. information science and chess-playing for boys and cooking and sawing for girls) and their

education is given at different levels, as well as the criterion are previously defined and assigned social roles.

The pedagogic practice all over the world shows that the differentiated education gives the very good results, i.e. the best results are achieved by the facilities where the girls and boys do not learn together. As an example we can point at, among others, some public schools in USA, that were hitherto ill reputed, where the sexual differentiation has been introduced as an experiment. Some time later their teaching results have improved and significant part of educational problems has been eliminated.

In Western Europe the differentiated education can be found in most of countries, in some of them including even tens of percent of all schools (e.g. in Ireland 44%, Great Britain 16%, Austria 10%). The condition for its existence is first of all the attitude of tolerance, pluralism and opening to the “dissimilarity” of society.

In opinion of its followers it has more advantages than shortcomings. Referring first of all to the results of studies in psychology they assume that the psychophysical development in girls and boys has different course, but not only in commonly known context of development age (time differences in development). They also have different way of perception of visual and auditory stimuli, therefore the teacher should talk to girls a little softer, more quiet and using more narrative form; quite different as to the boys that expect short and concise information, told loud and decisively. Psychological studies revealed also that ambient temperature also influences the quality of educational process. Thus the girls, in particular in winter, work better in the classroom where the temperature exceeds 24°C; but the boys under these circumstances become sleepy and their activity decreases. But the natural differences in behaviour of both sexes become the most visible feature. The boys need much more activity than their female classmates, and it is difficult to require from them e.g. during breaks, to walk quietly in pairs like girls.

The co-educational schools are unable to take into account most of conclusions resulting from the discoveries of psychologists and pedagogues, concerning the sexual differentiation. While the differentiated educational system tries to select the most efficient methods of didactic and educational work for each sex. Directors of these facilities convince that these ensure not only the better teaching results, but also the more comprehensive development of children. They favour the creation of better atmosphere in class by the building of mutual solidarity between the pupils, form the skill of unrestricted expression of their own opinion and higher self-confidence. In particular with reference to female schools, the girls’ predispositions to individual initiative become more visible; they also easier engage in the team work.

With reference to the differentiated schools we can assume their division into:

- public and private (that can have the status of private school with the rights of public schools),
- religious – usually established by the diocese or other religious or church institution, their activity results mostly from tradition,
- managed by societies, foundations – their activity results first of all from the considerations and decisions of parents themselves.

In Poland most of differentiated schools are the private and religious facilities – from elementary schools to gymnasiums and general secondary schools. The fundamental rule concerning the agreement of student to the specific conditions of education is valid for all of them. Children and young people of various religions as well as atheistic can join these schools, however on condition that the school regulations will be observed (e.g. participation in prayer before classes). However the differentiated education is not based on religious assumptions.

Sometimes the names “elite schools” or “schools of elite” are used in relation to such facilities. It results from the fact that these are usually paid, their classes have small numbers of pupils, upbringing and high level of education are highly emphasised there, and sometimes their statute provides for the education of future intellectual elite. All schools of this type have very clearly defined and distinct educational ideal. They also pay great attention to the strict relationships and identification of pupil with the school, among others by the homogenous uniform, anthem and school banner, sometimes obligatory boarding-school.

In Lower Silesia differentiated education is offered by several facilities: Publiczne Gimnazjum oraz Prywatne Żeńskie Liceum Ogólnokształcące Sióstr Urszulanek Unii Rzymskiej (Public Gymnasium and Private Female General Secondary School of Ursulines of Roman Union) in Wrocław, Prywatne Gimnazjum i Liceum Sióstr Niepokalanek im. Marceliny Darowskiej (Marcelina Darowska Private Gymnasium and Secondary School of Immaculates) in Wałbrzych and Katolickie Liceum Ogólnokształcące im. bł. Edmunda Bojanowskiego (Blessed Edmund Bojanowski Catholic General Secondary School) in Henryków (for boys). Last year in Wrocław Stowarzyszenie Wspierania Edukacji i Rodziny Sternik (Society for Support of Education and Family Steersman) was also started its activity. Previously it offered only the co-educational kindergarten, but from the school year 2011/2012 it plans to open there the separate elementary schools for girls and boys.

Wrocław Ursulines are the only in Poland Ursuline catholic secondary school for girls with the uninterrupted activity since 1945 and educational traditions reaching back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Its idea (like the gymnasium) is included in accepted and realised by the pupils motto “serviam” (I will serve), placed among others on school emblem and Serviam decoration, awarded to the best graduates after the exam for secondary school certificate. This idea refers to the service to God, Church, homeland, family and relatives and to all people in need. School pays great attention to the formation of girls’ character.

Secondary school and gymnasium of Immaculates emphasises the intellectual formation, religious and patriotic education as well as responsibility for the assumed duties. The educational concept is realised in four areas: dominant of truth, confidence and scrupulousness, dominant of individualism, dominant of unselfishness, dominant of upbringing in educational process. The preparation of girls to play the various social and family roles takes important place. The educational work with young girls is realised according to the following rule: “let the education is teaching, and the teaching is educating”.

Catholic General Secondary School for young men in Henryków was established in 2002 as the private school with the rights of public school. Its managing authority is Wrocław Archdiocese, and the honorary patronage is held by the Commanders of Tadeusz Kościuszko Army Officer’s School in Wrocław and rectors of the University of Environmental and Life Sciences. The facility realises several specialised educational profiles, among others military, information, humanistic. The boarding-school is its integral part. The fundamental idea of school is to give very good education and upbringing to the youth.

In the schools managed by the Society for Support of Education and Family Steersman the Catholicism-based religious formation is offered to the parents and pupils, although its use is not obligatory. They keep the Christian identity, and simultaneously are not the religious facilities. Starting from the elementary school, the boys and girls learn in separate schools, called as Streams and Sails (sometimes Rays and Azimuth); in the first ones, in accordance with the principles of psychology and pedagogy, teachers speak more silently and more often praise the pupils, in the second ones boys hear to simple commands, spoken louder. Also the methods of educational work are selected taking the need for sexual identification of young people into account, e.g. in Sails, the joint choirs of boys and their fathers are created, or joint survival camps during holidays are organised. Very close co-operation between parents and school is also required, and educational programme is realised in parallel at home and at

school. There is no general meetings to inform parents about the educational progress of their children, but the parents are obliged to contact tutor individually at least four times a year. The formation of the character of children and young people is highly emphasised. The didactic and educational work in the differentiated schools managed by Steersman results in the measurable effects – during last three years these facilities acquired the best results in the exams for sixth class in the whole country.

The increasing interest of parents and pedagogues in the differentiated educational system results in the including of this problem in the scientific research (till now none large-scale studies confirming the pertinence and efficiency of co-educational teaching have been realised), and as an effect it starts to appear more and more frequently in the scientific conferences. In May 2009, one of the first conferences in Poland about the differentiated education was organised in Józefów. This conference took into consideration the issue of the importance of sex in the teaching and educational process, effect on differentiated education model on the formation of personality, as well as the mutual relationships between the girls and boys in the differentiated educational system.

The appearance of this problem in the agenda of 8<sup>th</sup> Pedagogic Meeting in Toruń in 2010 testifies the interest in this issue and its increasing importance.

Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal  
**Coaching – New Climate in the Adults' Education**

Marek Podgórný

*Proces vzdělávání dospělých a možnosti jako optimalizace odedávna zajímají badatele z různých vědeckých disciplín. Autor se zabývá specifiky této formy výuky, podtrhuje význam kombinace klasického vyučování a samostudia.*

**Klíčová slova:** *vzdělávání dospělých; celoživotní vzdělávání; vyučovací styl*

The process of adults' education, its course and optimisation possibilities has been for many years interesting for the scientists from various branches. Essentially we can recognise two fundamental trends of research interests with reference to this issue. The first is described as the scientific trend, whereas the second as the artistic one.<sup>1</sup> The scientific trend, started by the works of E. Thorndike, has established the scientific background for the future studies on adults' education, decisively finding that the adults can still learn and their interests and cognitive possibilities are different than those in children. It was the discovery that started the search for the adults-specific factors and circumstances influencing the course and results of learning process.

The artistic trend, started by E. Lindeman – the continuator of J. Dewey's philosophic idea of education – focussed on the efforts aiming at the construction of the specific theory of adults' learning.

The main conclusions of Lindeman's research can be summarised in the following statements:

- \* Motivation of adult students depends on the degree of satisfaction of their needs and interests.
- \* Orientation of adults focuses on their living situation.
- \* Experience plays an important part in the process of adults' learning.
- \* Self-government is the significant need of adults.
- \* Differences between the adults increase with age.

These settlements create the picture of adult student, that is clearly different than situation observed in children. It should be particularly stressed that the adult student focuses on his living situation and subordinates the educational process to it, concerning the issue of formulated expectations and needs, as well as the accepted work methods or scale of costs borne. All this is additionally strengthened by, particularly developed in adults, need for self-deciding. It quite unequivocally defined the rules of the work of adults' teacher.

At present in the andragogy there is much discussed about the relocation of stress from the teaching to learning. We go from the technological model to the humanistic and critical ones, where the learning overweighs the teaching. There prevails the idea of lifelong learning, that "transfers the centre of gravity from the educational institutions (teaching) to the learning individuals and local societies (learning)"<sup>2</sup>. This way the responsibility for the effects of learning is first of all borne by the learning subjects. It was the subjectivity that became the essential part of this idea. The lifelong learning assumes also that the knowledge resulting from the daily life experience of people is not subordinated to the scientific knowledge, but is of the same value. The interests in the subjectivity of adult student has started the further interests in the individual dimension of adults' education. This resulted in particular attention to the differences between the learning people and in the search for the styles of adults' learning.

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<sup>1</sup> M. Knowles., E. Holton, R. Swanson. *Edukacja dorosłych*, Warszawa 2009, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> M. Malewski, *W poszukiwaniu teorii uczenia się ludzi dorosłych*, [in:] *Teraźniejszość-Człowiek-Edukacja*, No. 2/2006, p. 25.

It seems that the most popular typology of the cognitive styles was proposed by Kolb, that distinguished four fundamental elements of learning process: thinking, feeling, action, observation, and on this basis he recognised four styles of adults' learning (convergent, assimilative, divergent, accommodative), depending on which stages of learning process prevail in the given person.

The convergent style is presented by the activists and empirics. They are efficient in action, problem solving, active form of science. They like to work in teams. They often use their skill of abstractive expression of thoughts and problem solving, as well as the active experimentation, and thanks to it they easy use their ideas in practice. The assimilative style belongs to the analytic and reflective people. The time pressure and stress, as well as the requirement for engagement have negative effect on them. They are bad candidates for leaders, team work is also difficult for them – they are more interested in the abstractive ideas than in people. They have no problems with the inductive conclusion and creation of theoretical models. The divergent style of learning can be found in theorists. To learn efficiently, they have to know the objectives, tasks and principles to follow. They have great imagination, can look at each problem from many directions and organise the found relationships into the single image. Their co-operation with activists is rather bad. The accommodative style of learning, that is characteristic for the pragmatists, is – just like the convergent one – oriented for action. Such people need the possibility to try the issues they learn. They solve the practical and decisive problems under the risky circumstances. However they have to see the application of acquired knowledge in practice.<sup>3</sup> The existence of so various styles of learning implies the necessity for the use of various forms of knowledge delivery in the course of teaching – to act on various contents reception channels.

The effects of learning are also influenced by the various dimensions of cognitive style, defined as the reflectivity-impulsiveness, abstractionism-reality and dependence-independence on the field.

The reflective style favours the convergentional tasks, requiring the accuracy, analysis of details and regularity. Whereas the impulsive style favours the divergentional tasks, that require the hurry, taking fast decisions and tolerance for the cognitive risk.

The persons with the abstractive cognitive style are the best in the realisation of complex tasks, that require the coping with more than one meaning. The persons with the substantial cognitive style are better in simple tasks, realised in unequivocal situations.

The people independent on the field are better able to structurise the material, and are the most efficient in the realisation of tasks requiring the selectivity, data organisation, realised in the situation of the lack of return information. They have higher leading abilities, can effect on the others. The people dependent on the field are more conformistic, they cope better in the tasks requiring the subordination and co-operation with other people. The people independent on the field prefer the mathematical, natural and technical sciences and “practical” professions, whereas the people dependent on the field select the Arts and social sciences and the service and administrative professions.<sup>4</sup>

Taking the variety of learning styles of adults into account, e.g. the programmes of adults' education should be modified in the way enabling everyone the acquirement of the same amount of information, irrespective of the individual style of learning. That's why the effect on the learning people via various channels and selection of various techniques of the knowledge delivery is so important. If not, only the people showing the highest consistency of their own style of learning with the information delivery techniques selected by the teacher will profit the most by the training course.

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<sup>3</sup> Encyklopedia pedagogiczna XXI wieku, Volume V, Warszawa 2006, pp. 1120-1121.

<sup>4</sup> A. Matczak, *Style poznawcze*, Warszawa 1982, p. 125.

Similar conclusions are included in Faure's report, stating that "finally the various aspects of personality – intellectual, emotional, esthetic, social and political – have been realised, creating thanks to them the idea of the integral educational activity. At present we close more and more to include in this concept the whole educational process, considered from the point of view of the individual"<sup>5</sup>.

We can without exaggeration say that now we can observe quite new attitude in the approach to the adults' education – a specific climate of trust in the cognitive competencies and educational choices, or in wider approach – life choices of adult students.

We should also mention here also three dimensions of lifelong education distinguished by R. Kidd in 1966 in his work *The Implications of Continuous Learning*:

- \* vertical education,
- \* horizontal education,
- \* deep education.<sup>6</sup>

The first dimension concerns the attaining of subsequent stages on the path of school education. Starting from the kindergarten, primary school, gymnasium, general or technical secondary school, or any other educational facility of this stage, up to the university or post-graduate studies. The realisation of this dimension for the youth and the adults is secured by the rules of permeability and availability, enabling the young people and adults to educate irrespective of the age, sex, place of residence, occupation and other factors that could hinder the education.

The next dimension of lifelong education – the horizontal one, includes the learning of various areas of culture, science and life irrespective of the formal school education. The stress is laid here on the individuality of human being, its activity, as well as on the activity of various extra-school educational facilities, where the individual has the chance to develop and fulfil itself.

The last of dimension – deep – is closely connected with the subjective individual's motivations to learning, self-education, development of personal intellectual interests and life in accordance with the principles of lifelong education, not putting aside the cultural use of free time. The quality of education is very important in this case<sup>7</sup>.

The Kidd's concept is one of the most interesting and valuable, since it broadens the understanding of lifelong education thanks to the stressing of the quality of educational activities and revealing of abundant needs and possibilities of extra-school education and adults' education. There is also stressed its particular value for the lifelong education, resulting from the unification of school education, extra-school education and self-education, that results in the complex approach to the components of lifelong education.

It seems that the idea of coaching perfectly enters in this new image of adults' education. This issue has started the terrific carrier lately, simultaneously arousing the discussion between the practitioners and theorists as well. The consequence of such situation is the increasing interest in the concept, practice and even the sole notion of coaching.<sup>8</sup>

In Poland the term *coaching* has been used for several years now. In spite of that the critical voices for the use of this term, as the unnecessary neologism supplanting the notion of *training*, are still numerous. There are also the people stating that these objections are groundless, since the notion *coaching* can not be directly translated. Its source, English term *coach*, is strictly related to the borrowing from the 16<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian, where the word

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<sup>5</sup> E. Faure, *Uczyć się, aby być*, Warszawa 1975, p. 276.

<sup>6</sup> W. Wróblewska, *Konsekwencje założeń koncepcji edukacji ustawicznej dla autoedukacji*, E-mentor, No. 5 /2006, p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> J. Półturzycki, A. Wesołowska (Eds.), *Człowiek w społeczeństwie, Edukacja ustawiczna i oświata dorosłych w okresie transformacji*, Warszawa 1994, p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> M. Sidor- Rządkowska (Ed.), *Coaching teoria, praktyka, studia przypadków*, Kraków 2009, p. 19.

*kocsi* meant the specific carriage assigned, among others, for the long journeys. With time it was accepted by other European languages (among others *coche* in French, *kotsche* in German, *cocchio* in Italian; the word *kocz* was used also in Polish) and in many of them its meaning has remained the same till the present age. However it is very interesting that the present meaning of the term *coaching* originated in the close relation with the primary meaning of this word. It appeared much later, at the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century, and was related with quite specific activity observed initially on Oxford University, and later also on Cambridge University. In the academic slang the word *coach* meant the scientific patron, that individually supported the students, like the “long-range carriage” helped them to reach the distant goal, that could be the passing of exam or the completion of studies at all, always supporting the realisation of their projects. With time this term has become to be used more generally in connection with the training, instruction or private teaching, but it was this 19<sup>th</sup> century’s, academic meaning is the origin of the noun *coach* and the verb *to coach*. It is proper to add that the terms like training, instructing or tutoring have the direct equivalents in English (*training, instructing, tutoring*), and the word coaching is not synonymous to them and means the practice different from the traditional education. Its sense is well expressed by the specific action taken by the coach at the English universities in 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup>

At present, pointing at the essence of coaching processes, their two fundamental types are recognised. The objective of the first one is to form the substantial skills, whereas of the second one – the personal development of an individual. Thus from the one hand the coaching is *the binder joining together the traditional training courses*, whereas on the other one *the way for development of personal skills and individual learning*.<sup>10</sup>

Like each developing branch, the coaching only creates its notational apparatus, has no clear borders and requires the more precise specification of its own essence and the precise discrimination from the similar activities. The genesis of coaching’s origin is of great importance for the methods of the creation of definition. Its origins should be looked for in the multidisciplinary, theoretic heritage, as well as in the reasonable activity and experiences of accidental practitioners, that did not called themselves as the coaches, spontaneously and intuitively supported the development of defined people.<sup>11</sup> Some authors stress that the variety of disciplines that were and are the basis for the development of coaching is reflected in the formulated definitions. For instance they point that the effect of pedagogy can be seen in the definitions, where the stress is laid on the process of teaching and learning of people in various spheres and periods of their life. The sociological inspirations and these from the sphere of social communication, in turn, can be found in the definitions stressing the role of interactivity, conversation and wider context of action. Whereas the reference to psychology, its types and any trends is evident in the accenting of mental life, individual potential and change in behaviour. There are also visible in the definitions the references to the management sciences and theory of organisation development, occupational advisory or even the philosophy and theology. There are also the definitions uniting many threads of various branches, where the proportions and accents are distributed according to the author’s will, mostly to his scientific or practical background. Hence we should agree with Collins, that accurately points that the content of coaching definition depends on the person who formulates it and whom should it serve, and what response is to be caused in the addressee<sup>12</sup>.

Still another type of definition precises the coaching by the listing and showing of essential properties distinguishing the practice, like e.g. Grant’s definition, in that the

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<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 36.

<sup>10</sup> E. Parsloe, M. Wray, *Trener i mentor udział coachingu i mentoringu w doskonaleniu procesu uczenia się*, Kraków 2002, p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> M. Sidor- Rządkowska, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 23.



coaching is presented as *The co-operating, individualised, objective-oriented and results-oriented process facilitating the change by the supporting of self-directed learning and personal development based on the evidences and by the engagement of ethical practice*. There are also many more abstractive definitions, suggesting the special character and advancement of coaching, rising it to the level of the Art, like in Rosinski or Downey in the definition of coaching, described as *the art of facilitating of the action, teaching and development of the other man*.<sup>13</sup> Thorpe and Clifford use the definition describing the coaching as *the help to the given person in the strengthening and improvement of action by the way of reflection on the application of given skill and/or knowledge*.<sup>14</sup> In the typical understanding the coaching inclines to thinking on one's own activity in the substantial sphere with the help of well-oriented, supporting, objective person. Its essence is the help in the use of the knowledge of the given man in the working environment and in private life as well, and consequentially the improvement of his functioning. The coaching is fundamentally the relationship between two persons, with some objective in background. When the objective is achieved, the relationship becomes obsolete. What is this objective? The help to the given person in passing from the place where he is to the place where he wants or has to be – in the other words to support his development.<sup>15</sup> Starr summarises it similarly and writes that in the most simple way *the coaching is just the conversation or series of conversations between two people*. The person acting as the coach intends to form the conversation to make it profitable for the second person in the way related to his processes of learning and development. Such a conversation can be held in various environment and have various course. The coaching assumes many forms and is in different ways expressed in various spheres of human activity.<sup>16</sup>

The interesting and different from the others idea is presented by McLeod. Its base are three, recognised by him, fundamental instruments of coaching:

- Silence – is listed as the most important instrument. “The essence of coaching are the moments, when the student thinks and feels, and the coach is only the silent witness of events. These are the moments when the charge can again evaluate the usefulness of his hitherto existing knowledge, look at the analysed problems from the other point of view than seemed obvious to him. (...) In the case of coaching the clue is not to know when to lapse into silence, but to know, when the silence should be broken”<sup>17</sup>.
- Questions – are the tool, enabling among others “to study the experiences of the past and draw the constructive conclusions, point at the areas controlled by the charge and these out of his control, incite to look at the problem from the other point of view, verify the convictions that could limit the charge (...)”<sup>18</sup>. These questions help to determine the sphere of charge's prospects, and at the same time to verify them and incite to discover the new ones.
- Challenges – the last element of triad has to result in the similar consequences as the asking the questions. But it is of much more confrontation nature<sup>19</sup>.

Taking the above into account McLeod states that the coaching is *the using of silence, questions and challenges to help the charge* in the realisation of substantial professional or personal objective<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, p. 21.

<sup>14</sup> S. Thorpe, J. Clifford, *Podręcznik coachingu kompendium wiedzy dla trenerów i menedżerów*, Poznań 2004, p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 21.

<sup>16</sup> J. Starr, *Coaching*, Warszawa 2005, p. 11.

<sup>17</sup> A. McLeod, *Mistrz coachingu*, Gliwice 2008, p. 22.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, p. 24.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 27.

Just like in the defining or understanding of the essence of coaching, as well as with reference to the course of this process we can find many different approaches. It is just enough to remind the stages defined by J. Starr:

- I. Determination of coaching's context
- II. Understanding and direction
- III. Course of process and strengthening of learning
- IV. Final<sup>21</sup>

The proposal of S. Thorpe and J. Clifford seems to be much more detailed and more often used in practice. It points at six stages, that the complete process of coaching should be composed of:

- I. Determination of needs and objectives
- II. Agreement of substantial development needs
- III. Development of detailed plan
- IV. Realisation of task or activity
- V. Review of action and planning of better function
- VI. Final.<sup>22</sup>

The above stages can repeat in special cases (especially the third, fourth and fifth). *It results from the general objective of coaching, that is the acquirement of the permanent change in behaviour. Therefore the achievement of objectives by the customers may require many experiences (acquired during the training sessions or in real situations) and summarising discussions<sup>23</sup>.*

In the first stage the reflection on the general need for coaching is necessary. In this case the source of the process starting is analysed – was it initiated by the coach or by the charge, and adjusts the appropriate initial questions, thanks to that it will be possible to determine if the coaching is the proper solution in this situation, and if both parties will cope. Then the conversation between the coach and the customer takes place, when the reasons for the starting of session, motivation governing both parties are discussed. It is also when the person subjected to coaching is informed about the model and systemic approach, according to that subsequent meetings will be held. During this dialogue the contract defining the rules for co-operation should be also agreed. The second stage consists in the definition of substantial development needs and the stage that the customer currently is, and what he wants to achieve. To define the customer's development needs in an efficient manner, there should be established the contact, created the relationship, in that the coach and the charge as well will feel naturally and comfortable with each other.

In the third stage the review of all detailed objectives should be made. Then should be also defined the time frames for the whole process and individual meetings, initial tasks that should be made by the customer, and evaluate the possibility for the engagement of customer's social environment.

Stage four is the implementation of earlier agreed plan that includes the organisation and structuration of practical experience. It is the stage of experience in the cycle of learning. There are two possibilities in the case of the realisation of tasks: the customer acts in the real situation or in situation arranged by the coach. In the selection of situation it should be taken into account that each experience in the real life leads to the more efficient learning than in the arranged situation. During the realisation of tasks, the observation and formulation of feedback information is one of fundamental methods controlling the customer's experiences, that will be the basis for the next session.

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<sup>21</sup> J. Starr, *Coaching, Procesy, zasady, umiejętności*, Warszawa 2005, p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> S. Thorpe, J. Clifford, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p. 41.

Stage five includes the review of action and planning of better function of the charge. It consists in the analysis of actions, results and feelings, and their comparison with the required standards. Thus it is important to return to the basic objective of coaching and perform the analysis on the basis of detailed objectives. It is the moment when the conclusions about the aspects to be improved are drawn on the basis of discussions and reflections. At this stage also the coach and the trainee discuss the experiences from the point of view of possible improvements. In the planning of the next, more efficient activities there should be analysed and discussed all aspects of hitherto existing experiences together with their consequences for the development of the charge. After such analysis the planning of future activities of individual should be made, taking into account its past experiences. It will allow to plan the future customer's activities eliminating the mistakes made during the coaching. The analysis will also allow to list the strong points and, what is more important, to define the areas that have been significantly improved as well as these ones still requiring the improvement.

The last stage, finalising the coaching, should be clearly accented. The final is the moment when the customer should be ready for the further independent activities. Whereas the role of the coach is the evaluation and finalisation of the relationship and the whole coaching session in a way enabling the charge to avoid the loss of self-confidence and to make him believe in his strength and skills. The determination, if the contact between them will exist after this last stage or not falls within the cognisance of both parties. Putting aside the situations where the breaking of contact is impossible, because the coach was the customer's superior working together with him. Therefore it is particularly important to define clearly the moment when the coaching ends<sup>24</sup>.

The above statements clearly show that the coaching, as the process of development support, is the new attractive solution with the wide application in the present adults' education and responding to the demands generally formulated for this education, that can be summarised adapting the Buber's opinion: *The foundation of adults' education is dual and single at the same time. It is the desire of adult man to get the confirmation from the others about the fact how he is or even how he could be, and the ability of adults' teacher for such confirmation for his students.*<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, p. 97.

<sup>25</sup> M. Buber, *Ja i Ty*, Wybór pism filozoficznych, Warszawa 1992, p. 143.

## Balbín's Work *Diva Wartensis*.<sup>1</sup> Contribution to the Marian Pilgrimage Tradition of Silesia.

Jiří Mihola

*Abstrakt: Příspěvek je zaměřen na mariánskou úctu v historicko – hagiografickém díle Bohuslava Balbína v kontextu barokní poutní tradice v českých zemích. Podrobněji přibližuje nejstarší Balbínovo dílo z trilogie věnované dějinám a zázrakům nejslavnějších mariánských poutních míst Čech, Moravy a Slezska – Diva Wartensis, vydané latinsky a přeložené do německého jazyka a jeho odraz v dalších dobových tištěných pramenech, zejména v Mariánském atlase W. Gumpffenberga. Silně vlastenecké Balbínovy Divae nabízí četné možnosti jejich využití ve školním dějepise, zejména na poli regionálních dějin, v rámci mezipředmětových vztahů, pro zařazení práce s tištěnými a obrazovými prameny, při praktickém poznávání formou exkurzí atd.*

**Klíčová slova:** barokní kultura, Bohuslav Balbín, české dějiny, mariánská poutní místa, Slezsko



Picture 1 The original of the wooden polychrome love statue venerated in Warta.

### Introduction

Silesia, now largely located in the area of Poland and a smaller part also in the Czech Republic, is one of the culturally richest and most remarkable regions of Central Europe. After more than four centuries, when it had been an integral part of the Czech Crown, it was largely lost in the wars of the Austrian succession and the “Czech” history and heritage of this

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<sup>1</sup> B. Balbín, *Diva Wartensis : seu Origines, et Miracvla Magnae Dei, Hominúmque Matris Mariae, quae à tot retro saeculis Wartae, in limitibus Silesiae, Comitatusque Glacensis, magnâ populorum frequentiâ colitur, Clarissima Miracvlis; Libris duobus comprehensa, & nunc primùm in lucem edita, Impensis Reverendissimi Et Amplissimi Domini D. Simonis Abbatis Camencensis / Authore P. Bohvslao Aloysio Balbino è Soc. Iesv. Cum Facultate Superiorum*, Pragae 1655.

area had been gradually forgotten. Interest in Silesian history, personalities and sights has deservedly grown among researchers especially in the last decade.<sup>2</sup> Probably the most detailed look at the cultural and historical relations of Silesia and other Czech countries was offered in the monumental exhibition entitled *Silesia – a Pearl in the Czech Crown*.<sup>3</sup> The baroque pilgrimage tradition<sup>4</sup> has a significant place in cultural and religious history. Works written in Czech, both older and newer, however, almost without exception, only deal with places of pilgrimage of the so called Czech, or before Austrian Silesia. As in most countries of Central Europe, also in Silesia the Marian cult<sup>5</sup> dominated. The Virgin Mary was held in special esteem for many reasons. She was invoked as a protector of religious orders, a patron of countries and cities, aristocratic and royal families and the imperial house of Habsburg, where she was venerated as a personal patron saint in a special way by Ferdinand II, Ferdinand III and Leopold I.<sup>6</sup> Contemporary literature has been widely dedicated to the Marian veneration and the history of the pilgrimage sites. Within it a special place belongs to the so called Marian atlases, mapping *Regnum Marianum*, an imaginary kingdom created by love statues and paintings of the Virgin Mary, which was not limited by provincial boundaries. The most famous example is the *Atlas Marianus* of the jesuit W. Gumpfenberg, which has been published several times, including the extended German version or fragmented Czech translation.<sup>7</sup> It also contains a treatise on the most important Marian statues and paintings of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.<sup>8</sup> A large place in the atlas is devoted to the most adored thaumaturgist of Silesia, Virgin Mary of Warta. In its final part we can find a link to the works of Bohuslav Balbín, who was in the implementation of the extended edition of the atlas by one of the Gumpfenberg's assistants.

### **Marian devotion in Balbín's work**

In a large production of the jesuit and historian, Bohuslav Balbín (1621-1688), Marian orientation is one of the most important characteristics.<sup>9</sup> His interest in history and wonders of Marian pilgrimage sites in the Czech lands was not random. In addition to the influence of the overall atmosphere of the Baroque period, it was because of Balbín's dedication to the Virgin Mary in Bohosudov and in Stará Boleslav at a young age because of his poor health and later also he belonged to the Society of Jesus, in which the spirituality of Marian cult had, as well as in many other religious orders, a privileged position. From the amateur collector of Marian wonders there gradually grew the most significant Baroque historian of the Czech lands,

<sup>2</sup> R. Fukala, *Slezsko - neznámá země Koruny české : knížecí a stavovské Slezsko do roku 1740. (Silesia – an Unknown Country of the Czech Crown – Princely and Corporative Silesia to 1740)*, České Budějovice 2007.

<sup>3</sup> M. Kapustka – J. Klípa – A. Koziel – P. Oszczanowski – V. Vlnas (eds.), *Slezsko. Perla v České koruně. Historie, kultura, umění. (Silesia. A Pearl in the Czech Crown. History, culture, art)*, Praha 2007.

<sup>4</sup> J. Rojt – V. Vlnas, *Barokní slezské nebe v Čechách a české nebe ve Slezsku (Baroque Heaven in Bohemia and Bohemian Heaven in Silesia)*. In: M. Kapustka – J. Klípa – A. Koziel – P. Oszczanowski – V. Vlnas (eds.), *Slezsko. Perla v České koruně. Historie, kultura, umění. (Silesia. A Pearl in the Czech Crown. History, culture, art)*, Praha 2007, pp. 313-326.

<sup>5</sup> A. Fridrich, *Historye cudownych obrazów najświętszej Maryi Panny w Polsce, tom charty*, Krakow 1911.

<sup>6</sup> See V. Štajnochr, *Panna Maria divotvůrkyně. (Virgin Mary, the thaumaturgist)*, Uherské Hradiště 2000; Initiation of Ferdinand III., his children, people, army and country to God and the Virgin Mary from 18<sup>th</sup> March 1647, compare in a study K. Vocolka, *Habsburská zbožnost a lidová zbožnost. (K mnohovrstevnatosti vztahů mezi elitní a lidovou kulturou). Habsburg Piety and Popular Piety. (To the multiple layers of relations between elite and popular culture)*. *Folia Historica Bohemica* 18, Praha 1997, pp. 236.

<sup>7</sup> G. Gumpfenberg, *Atlas Marianus quo sanctae dei genitricis Mariae imaginuj Miraculosarum origines Duodecim Historiarum Centurijs explicantur*, Monachii 1672.

<sup>8</sup> Silesia is represented e.g. by love statues at the Jesuits in Kladsko, Vambeřice, Vilémov, Horní Šalejov, Bílá Voda, Hlohov, Nisa, at the benedictines in Stříhom, in Kamen, in the Cistercian Monastery in Libuše, in Wadochovice, Třebnice, as well as love paintings at the Jesuits in Opava, at the Cistercians in Křesobor etc.

<sup>9</sup> W. Bobek, *Úloha kultu mariánského v dějepisické tvorbě Balbínově (The Role of the Marian Cult in Balbín's Historical Works)*. *Sborník Matice slovenskej*, IX. 1931, book 1-4, 13 p.

whose famous hagiographic works *Divae* became the model for many other authors of the history of famous pilgrimage sites, which were drawn up and published in the 17th and 18th century.<sup>10</sup> *Diva Wartensis* is the first of Balbín's historical writings and one of the oldest books of this type at all. Balbín approached Tuřany analogously as the most ancient Marian pilgrimage site in Moravia. *Diva Tursanensis*, published in 1655, devoted to the son of Ferdinand II, Leopold Wilhelm von Habsburg (the bishop of Passau, Strasbourg, Olomouc and Wrocław), is the example of Balbín's patriotic and religious feelings and given the representation of hagiographic and natural motifs, it is considered to be the first Moravian regional sight-seeing publication.<sup>11</sup> The Marian trilogy was completed by the work *Diva Montis Sancti* (1665), celebrating the love statue of the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora. Balbín was motivated to write the history of the most important Marian pilgrimage site of Bohemia by the representatives of the order, as these were the Jesuits who in 1647 gained Svatá Hora into their administration from the emperor Ferdinand III. The most extensive (618 s.) and historically most valuable work has garnered the only contemporary translation into Czech, although in a somewhat freer version emphasizing the wonders of Svatá Hora and focused primarily on the popular strata.<sup>12</sup>

### Pilgrimage site Bardo (Warta) in the mirror of *Diva Wartensis*<sup>13</sup>

In the Baroque period the pilgrimage site Warta was one of the most popular Marian pilgrimage sites of the Czech lands. Evidence of the importance and popularity among pilgrims is, among others, including Warta in most of so the called Marian atlases, both written and visual (that is wall or hanging paintings on the walls of the love Madonnas on the walls of cloisters of some of the Czech pilgrimage sites).<sup>14</sup> The Baroque pilgrimage landscape

<sup>10</sup> J. Royt, *Obraz a kult v Čechách 17. a 18. století. (Image and Cult in Bohemia in the 17th and 18th century.)*, Praha 1999, pp. 28-55.

<sup>11</sup> B. Balbín, *Diva Turzanensis*, seu historia originis et miraculorum magnae dei hominumque Matris Mariae: Cujus Venerabilis statua, prope Brunam indicio coelestis lucis inrubic inventa, magno populorum accursu honoratur, nunc primum A R. P. Bohuslav Aloysio Balbino e Societate Iesu conscripta, Olomutii 1658. *By document containing 34 chapters takes a closer look: Z. Kalista, Česká barokní pout'. K religiozitě českého lidu v době barokní. (Czech Baroque Pilgrimage. To the Religiosity of the Czech People in the Baroque Period)*, Žďár nad Sázavou 2001, pp. 31-70; further J. Skutil, *Bohuslav Balbín a Morava. (Bohuslav Balbín and Moravia)*. In: *Bohuslav Balbín a kultura jeho doby v Čechách: Sborník z konf. Památníku nár. písemnictví. (Bohuslav Balbín and Culture of his Time in Bohemia: Collection from the Conference of the Museum of National Literature)*, Eds. Zuzana Pokorná, Martin Svatoš, Praha 1992.

<sup>12</sup> B. Balbín, *Diva montis sancti*, *Diva montis sancti*, seu origines et miracula magnae dei hominumque Matris Mariae, quae in Sancto Monte Regni Bohemiae, ad Argentifodinas Pržibramenses, quotidiana populi frequentia, in Stahua sua mirabili, aditur et colitur. V. *Libris comprehensa / Authore R. P. Bohuslao Balbino e Soc. Jesu, Reginohradicensi Bohemo*, Praegae 1665; B. Balbín, *Přepodiwná Matka Swato Horská Marya (The Most curious Mother of Swata Hora, Marya)*, W Zárazých, a Milostech swých na Hoře Swaté nad Městem Přjbrami Hor Stjbrných, den po dni wjc a wjc se stkwěgjcý / Z Latinské Hystorye skrz Ctihodného Kněze Bohuslawu Balbína z Towaryšstwa Gežjsowa sepsané wybraná, w Czesstinu od gednoho z téhož Towaryšstwa Patera přeložená... *The translation is the work of Matěj Václav Šteyer, Balbín's friend and preacher in Svatá Hora. The comparison of the original and the Czech translation is dealt with in the work A. Bočková, Dobový překlad Balbínova díla Diva Montis Sancti (Contemporary translation of Balbín's work Diva Montis Sancti)*. In: *Balbínovská miscelanea. Bohuslav Balbín (Balbinian miscelanea. Bohuslav Balbín)*, ed. V. Viktora, Klatovy 2002, pp. 28-35.

<sup>13</sup> The author worked with a German translation of the work. Compare B. Balbín, *Diva Wartensis : Oder Vrsprung vnd Mirackel Der ... Mutter Mariae, Welche ... zu der Warten, In den Gräntzen deß Landes Schlesien ... verehrt wirdt, vnd hoch mit Wunderwercken leuchtet : Nunmehr aber ... auß der Lateinischen in die Teutsche Sprach gebracht ... Von Ferdinandt Augustin Tannern von Lewenthal, beyder Rechten Doctore ... Cum Licentia Superiorum. / an das Liecht gegeben Von Bohuslao Balbino.*

<sup>14</sup> J. Royt, op.cit., pp. 223-239, especially pp. 228.

of Klodzko<sup>15</sup> and Silesia, on whose border is the Warta, however, after 1740 changed owners several times. Even today Warta (today's Bardo) is considered to be a place of miracles, but there is an influence of pilgrims, mainly Polish, to a lesser extent foreign pilgrims, on a contemporary increase in the population here during the pilgrimage season and it is mainly Polish authors who have replaced older German scholars looking into their history.<sup>16</sup>

Let us go back now to Balbín's work, in which he celebrated the thaumaturgist of Warta, one of the oldest Marian images venerated in Silesia. There was an interest in the historical-hagiographic work, written to the request of Simon Rüdiger, abbot of the Cistercian monastery at the nearby town Kamenec, and so two years after publishing the Latin original a German translation appeared from F.A. Tanner from Lewenthal.<sup>17</sup> A rather large book (304 pages) consisted of two main parts. In the first of them the author gave a detailed description of the history of the pilgrimage site in nine chapters, the second details miracles that occurred through the intercession of the Virgin Mary of Warta.

The work is opened by a preface dedicated to the abbot of the monastery in Kamenec, thanks to whom the book was written. The author devoted the following pages to the central theme of the book – Our dear Lady of Warta, it deals with the origin of her image and early respect for her. Then the historical section divides into individual chapters: That the origin of the biggest things is the most uncertain and why age has buried old monuments as well, this unhappiness also affected our Warta; Warta – the place, village and location; Whence comes the name of Warta (Balbín gives the etymology of the name of the village in connection with the military campaign of Břetislav I to Poland) and who are its founders; What one can find on the ground in Warta, what is the origin of the church and its description, and about the holy little church visible from the far hill, and its origin; on the estate of Warta, and to whom it belonged, turning to the noble monastery in Kamenec, our findings on its origin, which is still not known, then the troubles, which have affected our dear spirituals here; the Chronicle of Warta or memorable accidents (that have happened) to the miraculous image of our dear Lady and the little town of Warta in the shortest possible summary; the True origin of our lovely Lady in Warta; the image of our lovely Lady in Warta. Balbín finishes the historical part with the ninth chapter, its content is, given the time and environment in which Diva Wartensis arises, somewhat surprising. He brings forward in it namely "*objections against railers to the saint miraculous image and miraculous signs.*"

The text is accompanied by a number of notes placed at the sides documenting Balbín's work with sources. In addition, some of the significant authorities, to whom and to whose work Balbín is endorsed, are remembered or cited directly in the text, we can mention at least Václav Hájek from Libočany and his Czech Chronicle.

The most important information and events described at length in the historical part of the Diva Wartensis offers the chapter on a love statue of Virgin Mary in Gumpfenberg's Marian Atlas, which directly refers to Balbín's work:

*„This statue has been worshiped for four and half centuries in Warta. At the same time it is not known how many centuries ago and by which wood-carver (it is wooden) it was made. Around the year 1200 the Virgin appeared to one boy during his prayers (his name was*

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<sup>15</sup> E. Semotanová, *Kladsko jako barokní komponovaná krajina?(Kladsko as a Baroque Landscape Composition?)* Historická geografie 35/1 (2009), s. 161-185.

<sup>16</sup> Most recently A. Herzig – M. Ruchniewicz, *Dzieje Ziemi Kłodzkiej*, Hamburg – Wrocław 2008, pp. 171-182; also compare W. Bein, – U. Schmielewski (Eds.), *Wartha. Ein schlesischer Wallfahrtsort*, Würzburg 1994; J. Schweter, *Wartha. Geschichte dieser Wallfahrtsortes und der Wallfahrten dahin. Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte Schlesiens und der angrenzenden Länder*, Schweidnitz 1922 etc.

<sup>17</sup> Balbín's Diva Wartensis is a rare sight and source together with the examples of images of Virgin Mary of Warta briefly mentioned in an extensive catalogue A. Niedzielenko – V. Vlnas, *Slezsko. Perla v České koruně. Tři období rozkvětu vzájemných vztahů (Silesia. Pearl in the Czech Crown. Three seasons of flourishing the relationships)*, Praha 2006, pp. 350-352.

*forgotten even by the woman who remembers the event, as her memory does not serve her well at her age any more) and he devoted to her the beloved statue of which I speak and who, when being honoured by the people, performs miracles. The noble Czech, whose broken leg has been healed without the intervention of a physician thanks to the Blessed Virgin after he brought her a sacrifice, built the first Chapel for the wooden statue and soon afterwards a stone temple, now called the Czech Temple. This temple is on a high mountain, on whose foothills is the town that belongs to the Cistercian monastery in Kamenec, it is in a very convenient location in Bohemia that is very easy to protect. As it lies on the border of Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia and Lusatia, it is reasonably called the centre of these provinces. People believe that Virgin Mary gave power to this place, as in 1241 it was under siege, as it is known, when 15 000 Tartars settled there. And still they did not move a step behind Warta. More than Moslems it was heretics (who have wrongly derived their name from Jan Hus) who inflicted evil. As it was them who in 1425 robbed the temple full of gifts and burnt it to ashes. And yet it did not have to happen, because the Virgin had appeared many times on the mountain to the local people a long time before that and she let herself be seen crying over the horrors that would come into those places. She also expressed in words that the arch-heretic would be born and she openly predicted that heresy would go wrong. The stone on which the Mother of God sat at the revelation had the Virgin's footprints on it till 1600, but they did not remain there any longer, because there were large numbers of pilgrims coming from every quarter and they damaged it with their over-pious love or took it away in fragments.*

*And so the memory of it will not perish, it was decorated in 1617 by his Majesty, the Archduke Charles, the brother of emperor Ferdinand II, the bishop of Wroclaw, this place with the most beautiful sanctuary where the altar is located directly on the place of the footprints of the Virgin and that can be seen even today. There is not just one way leading to the footprints of the Virgin – because of such a large number of foreign visitors. There are three: one is the way of Warta's farmers, second and third of Poles and Czechs who often come to the mountain on their knees...<sup>18</sup>*

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<sup>18</sup> G. Gumpfenberg, *Atlas Marianus quo sanctae dei genitricis Mariae imaginuj Miraculosarum origines Duodecim Historiarum Centurijs explicantur*, Monachii 1672, pp. 121-122.





Picture 2 Marian revelation over the Warta, in which tears of the Thaumaturgist warned of the dangers that the town subsequently suffered through the invasion of Tartars (1241) and the Hussite wars (1425).

The second, hagiographic part of the work *Diva Wartensis*, slightly larger than the first one, is devoted to the miracles and miraculous signs, which are arranged in chronological order.<sup>19</sup> The first miracle of Warta is described in detail associated with the year 1200, which is the beginning of the local tradition of pilgrimage. Religious – educationally conceived interpretation of miraculous events concludes with an alphabetically ordered list of diseases,

<sup>19</sup> To the issue of miracles and miraculous healings, compare K. Černý – J. M. Havlík, *Jezuité a mor. (Jesuits and plague.)*, Praha 2008; K. Černý, *Uzdravující zázraky. Věda a víra v zázraky na prahu novověku. (The Healing Miracles. Science and Belief in Miracles on the Threshold of Modern Times)*. Dějiny a současnost 11/2006, pp. 25–27; Miracles and piety of early modern times are also a subject of studies of journal *Folia historica Bohemica* 24/1, Praha 2009, pp. 7–16; M. Sládek, „Zázračná uzdravení“ a „dobrotivá vzhlednutí“ v literatuře českého baroka. (“Miraculous healings“ and “Good looking up“ in the Czech Baroque literature) In: *Česká barokní literatura. Sborník příspěvků k literatuře 17. a 18. století. (Czech Baroque Literature. Proceedings of the literature of the 17th and 18th century.)*, Praha 1993, pp. 248–249; M. Holubová, *Zázračná uzdravení ve světle svatohorských knih zázraků. (Miraculous Healings in the Light of Books of Miracles in Svatá Hora.)* Český lid, roč. 89, 3/2002, pp. 217–238.

problems and pains, both physical and mental, indicating the number of miraculous healings. Like in many other places of pilgrimage they are numerically represented by the eye diseases, especially blindness, ear problems, various injuries, fractures, fever, bleeding, colic and also gout. A part of the census is also the statistics capturing miraculous events related to the protection of individuals or entire communities in various dangerous situations.

*“... People here are especially healed for cases of three evils. Firstly, the Virgin refreshes those, who suffer from severe pains; secondly the foolish and stupid, from which thirty rallied; finally she helps those who suffer from jaundice; from which she tells of the many individuals, who, through the intercession of Virgin, recovered during the fifty years. An even greater miracle is that the people of Warta never lost their true faith, even if it did not seem that on any side of Warta hill there had not been a place unaffected by heresy. This perseverance in faith of fathers and grandchildren for two and more centuries brought honour to the Virgin’s credit, when in 1590, due to the pitfalls of dissenters, the statue of the saint was not on the mountain of Warta, a considerable part of the landscape had disappeared under the Nisa river, which had overflowed and run to the Warta hill; the water itself lost its nature and it saved the worshippers of the Virgin.”<sup>20</sup>*

An important part of *Diva Wartensis* is represented by four illustrations of Wolfgang Kilian (identical in the Latin and German edition), produced according to the master of Christian Vetter.

## Conclusion

The oldest historical-hagiographic work of Bohuslav Balbín “*Diva Wartensis*“, is a significant source concerning the issue of the Baroque pilgrimage in the Czech lands. At the same time it is a literary gem radiating the patriotism and respect for Mary, which is especially highlighted by the Czechs. The work has contributed significantly to the fame of the pilgrimage place of Warta and it inspired a number of similarly conceived works. At a time when the Baroque pilgrimage reached its peak, the issue also underwent another book devoted to Marian cult in Warta.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> G. Gumpfenberg, *Atlas Marianus quo sanctae dei genitricis Mariae imaginuj Miraculosarum origines Duodecim Historiarum Centurijs explicantur*, Monachii 1672, pp. 123-124.

<sup>21</sup> S. Kleinwächter, *Erneuertes und vermehrtes Wartenbuch...ausführlicher Bericht von dem Gnadenbilder in Warta*. W Nisie 1711.



Picture 3 The Virgin Mary of Warta with little Jesus on the throne planted all over with the votive gifts symbolizing miraculous healings. In the corners there are four elements of allegory, the characters on the left and right hand of the Mother of God belong to the historical countries surrounding Warta from the four cardinal points (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Klotzko). Inscriptions in the bottom of the engraving in Latin, Czech and German languages emphasize the national universality.

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