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# DEPARTMENT OF MUSEUMS AND MONUMENTS OF POLISH MARTYROLOGY IN 1945–1954 AND TO-DATE CONTINUATION OF ITS TASKS<sup>1</sup>

**Piotr Kułak**

Eryk Lipiński Museum of Caricature in Warsaw

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**Abstract:** The operations of the Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology were launched in April 1945 as an organizational unit within the Head Authorities of Museums and Monument Preservation active within the structure of the Ministry of Culture and Art. The Department's supreme goal was to document and visually commemorate sites connected with the martyrdom of Poles under the German occupation in 1939–1945 by founding museums and raising monuments on execution sites throughout the whole country. The establishment of such an institution was a response of the government to the spontaneous social movement whose goal following the tragic war experience was to commemorate all the fallen in armed struggle and the executed in the Nazi death camps. The social initiatives inspired the authorities to coordinate such efforts, to identify the priorities in this respect, and to select various commemoration forms. These tasks, along with many other ones, were to be implemented by the Department of

Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology.

The paper deals with the characteristics of the Department's activities, its organizational structure, as well as the detailed aims and tasks implemented over the 9 years of its operations: from the establishment in 1945 to its winding up in 1954. All the Department's activities meant to commemorate martyrology sites can be divided into those related to the organization and establishment of museums on the sites of former camps, prisons, and Gestapo investigating offices (e.g. museums in Auschwitz, Majdanek, at Warsaw's 25 Szucha Avenue), and those related to raising monuments to the Nazi regime's victims. Furthermore, forms meant to continue the efforts initiated by the Department since 1954 are described. The paper is to a great degree based on the documentation preserved in the Central Archives of Modern Records, yet constitutes but an introductory outline as well as encouragement to further investigate the Department's history.

**Keywords:** Jewish museums, new museology, narrative exhibition, Holocaust, commemoration, multiculturalism, pluralism.

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Even before the official end of WW II, members of the State National Council (KRN) and the Provisional Government of the Republic of Poland (RTRP), aware of the magnitude of the tragedy suffered by Poland's population and the suffering inflicted in the course of the German occupation, decided to undertake the first steps in order to commemorate Poles' martyrology. For the purpose appropriate agencies were established, whose main task was to protect all the traces of crimes committed by the Nazis. Four institutions, of varied tasks and competences, were to play the main role in the process: the Main Committee to Investigate German Crimes in Poland, Institute of National Remembrance, Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology, and the Central Jewish Historical Commission, the latter to handle mainly the martyrology of the Jewish population.

The Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology (further on referred to as the Department) launched its operations in April 1945 as a unit within the Head Authorities of Museums and Monument Preservation active within the structure of the Ministry of Culture and Art. The Department's supreme goal was to document and visually commemorate sites connected with the martyrdom of Poles under the German occupation in 1939–45 by founding museums and raising monuments on execution sites throughout the whole country. The establishment of such an institution was a response of the government to the spontaneous social movement whose goal, following the tragic war experience, was to commemorate all the fallen in armed struggle and the executed in the Nazi death camps. The post-WW II social attitudes can be best reflected in the words included in the letter of the Chief Director of Museums and Monument Preservation of 20 June 1945 addressed to the Minister of Transportation in relation to commemorating the heroes and victims of the struggle for independent Poland. This preserved document reads: *Following the victorious conclusion of the war against the Germans, a strong desire to preserve the memory of and commemorate the heroes and victims of the occupation has been stirred. Among all the circles, the assessing of losses both in casualties and suffering inflicted is being conducted. Respective employee groups put together lists of colleagues tortured in labour camps, or murdered secretly and publicly; examples of unrivalled heroism, sacrifice, and self-determination of those Polish fighters who until the end unsparingly fulfilled their obligation towards their Homeland are now being exposed.*<sup>1</sup> Actions undertaken by the population and many other social initiatives referred to in the letter, encouraged the authorities to coordinate such efforts, to identify priorities in this respect, and to select various commemoration forms. The implementation of these tasks was to be supervised by the Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology. The present paper deals with the characteristics of the Department's activities, its organizational structure, as well as the detailed aims and tasks implemented over the 8 years of its operations (1945–54). Furthermore, forms meant to continue the efforts initiated by the Department since its winding down in 1954 to the present day are described. The paper is to a great degree based on the documentation preserved in the Central Archives of Modern Records, yet as the archival records have been preserved only partially, this having been pointed to

some years ago by Jan Pruszyński,<sup>2</sup> it constitutes but an introductory outline as well as encouragement to further investigate the Department's history.

## Structure of the Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology

The Department's activity was based on several fundamental assumptions, the most important one being the upkeep of the memory of all the victims of the Nazi extermination. The memory was to be, as can be read in the preserved documents, *a huge bell tolling nationwide, worldwide, a bell resounding as long as Poland exists (...)*.<sup>3</sup> What was to serve as the most appropriate and durable means of commemorating martyrology-related sites were museums and monuments raised under the supervision of the state authorities, which were to *pass from generation to generation the memory of the martyrdom struggle of Poles*.<sup>4</sup> In the view of the state central authorities it proved essential to undertake activities aimed at creating one timeless visual language of the monuments to guarantee a respectful commemoration of the victims, and to perpetuate the memory of the martyrology for years to come.

The Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology, created as part of the structure of the Ministry of Culture and Art,<sup>5</sup> reported directly to the Head Authorities of Museums and Monument Preservation<sup>6</sup> established with the resolution of the Council of Ministers on 13 February 1945. The first seat of the Department was in the edifice of the National Museum in Warsaw at 13 Trzeciego Maja Avenue. Subsequently, as of May 1946, it was transferred to the building of the Zachęta Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts at 3 Małachowskiego Square in Warsaw.<sup>7</sup> The Department was made up of two organizational Sections: 1. Planning Section, 2. Section of Inventory, Documentation, Protection, and Propaganda. The first was to deal with the artistic solutions for the topics specified by the latter. Its main task was to organize museums dedicated to the martyrdom of Poles under the Nazi occupation, to plan cemeteries, and to evaluate all the monuments to be raised in commemoration of the victims of the Nazi crimes. The second of the Sections was made up of three offices. The main tasks of the Inventory and Documentation Office was to collect data related to Polish martyrology, which were to constitute the grounds for elaborating artistic commemoration projects in the field. The Protection Office was responsible for the legal protection of all the sites pointed to by those inventorying them. The Propaganda Office focused on informing the largest possible section of the population on the Department's work, encouraging society to participate in inventorying and documenting, mounting permanent and temporary exhibitions, holding lectures, publishing, and directing all the social and private initiatives related to the commemoration of martyrdom under the Nazi occupation to the Department.<sup>8</sup> With time, the state authorities extended Department's competences and tasks. As of 1947 it was not only responsible for commemorating sites of martyrdom of Poles and other nations, but also sites of battles against the Germans. This shift was reflected in the new name, which beginning with 1947 was: Department of

Museums and Monuments of Struggle and Martyrology of the Polish Nation.<sup>9</sup> From 1948, namely from the moment of adopting the organizational statutes of the Ministry of Culture and Art by the Council of Ministers, the unit was called the Department of Museums and Monuments of Martyrology.<sup>10</sup> In the early 1950s, after the Department's current activity had been verified, and it had been decided that this activity should also cover commemoration of all the efforts to oppose Nazism, the Communist authorities assigned additional tasks to the Department, changing its name to the Department of Museums and Monuments of Struggle against Nazism, which remained unchanged until the Department was dissolved in 1954.<sup>11</sup>

The Department of Museums and Monuments of Martyrology was headed by the official whose main task, apart from coordinating the activity of respective sections, was to organize work in the Planning Section, and who held particular responsibility for the operations of this particular unit. In the first two years of the Department's operations it was headed by Prof. Romuald Gutt.<sup>12</sup> As of November 1946 the position was taken over by his deputy Ludwik Rajewski. The scope of responsibilities of the Head's deputy was to organize

work related to documentation, inventorying, protection, and propaganda. Moreover, the position of the Head of the Office of the Department was created; his or her responsibilities covered e.g. elaboration of all the documentation flowing into the Department, as well as supervision of the martyrdom sites on which monuments approved by the Department were raised. Apart from the executive staff, the team employed 3 assistants (one senior and two junior ones) who were to be employed in the Planning Section, and to report directly to the Head.<sup>13</sup> Major changes among the Department's executives and staff took place in 1951, and were related to the institution's restructuring.<sup>14</sup>

### Goals and tasks of the Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology

The document in the Central Archives of Modern Records titled *Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology. Introductory Remarks on the Structure, Goals, and Operation Modes*,<sup>15</sup> signed by its Head at the time Prof. Romuald Gutt, contained the mission, main goals, tasks, and the scope of the institution's activities and competences. From the document it is clear that the main goal of this Ministry unit, as already mentioned above, was to permanently commemorate Poles' martyrology under the German occupation. The state authorities' emphasis on the durable visual commemoration was motivated by the fact that the traces of the crimes committed momentarily effaced, this certainly prompted by increasingly widely undertaken works to tidy up and reconstruct the territories destroyed by the war. In the quoted document this very goal was expressed in the following words: *The aim of this work is not to provisionally apply relics or to mount exhibitions, but to create durable monuments which for many generations will constitute a strong reminder of how free people struggled against the violence of the German terror.* As the organizer mentions further on, the goal was to be achieved in a two-fold manner. Firstly, the Department was to participate in creating museums which collected monuments related to the martyrology of Poles. Secondly, it was to supervise and be responsible for monuments-altars dedicated to war heroes who perished fighting against the invaders, as well as to the population slain in numerous camps located on the Polish territory, on execution sites, and in Nazi prisons.

Furthermore, the discussed document also identified the Department's competences and the scope of its responsibilities. Its work was to be based on the collected materials and documentation, serving as bases for founding museums and raising monuments. The Department's obligation was to conduct a broad cooperation with the Ministry of Propaganda, Investigation Commission at the Presidium of the Council of Minister, State Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, and the Central Jewish Historical Commission. Resorting to the collected materials, the Department was expected to organize museums and raise monuments. It was also granted a particular right to have a decisive say on the artistic format of the martyrdom topics submitted both on social and private initiative, as well as by other state institutions. The Department was also the decision maker as



1. The obverse of the information leaflet issued by the Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology; pattern of the protective plaque placed by the Department on mass executions sites

for the architecture of future museums. In this respect it was to cooperate with the Ministry of Reconstruction, Office for the Reconstruction of the Capital, and the Association of the Architects of the Republic of Poland. The scope of activities also included information on the plan of establishing an advisory body meant to represent all the state and social institutions interested in commemorating the martyrdom of the Polish people. It was to incorporate specialists in different areas, e.g.: philosophers, historians, lawyers, and writers. The proposal was implemented in 1947 when with the Act of 2 July the Council for the Protection of Martyrdom Monuments was founded.<sup>16</sup> Its main task was to evaluate and coordinate activities of the authorities, institutions, and social organizations for commemorating struggle and martyrdom that had occurred during the Nazi occupation, as well as to hold celebrations, ceremonies, and run publishing and popularizing activities.<sup>17</sup>

Among the many tasks faced by the newly-established Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology, at the initial activity stage one of the most important ones was to identify and elaborate different martyrdom forms. The first category of martyrdom-related sites included, among others, prisons, penal camps, and Gestapo interrogation offices. This group covered e.g. the Majdanek and Auschwitz camps, Warsaw's Pawiak, and the Gestapo Prison at 25 Szucha Avenue. The second category was to include all the sites of street executions, civilian pacifications, roundups, deportations, and of murders.<sup>18</sup> Naming and singling out martyrdom sites was of major importance, opening up ways to further works related to documentation and collecting of all the testimony to the committed crimes. On the grounds of the collected information, precise places within which museums or monuments were to be raised were identified. Aware of the magnitude of the crime throughout Poland, it was through the intervention of the Ministry of Culture and Art that the Department appealed to Voivodeship Departments of Culture and Art asking them to take particular care of all the singled out execution sites. Local branches were to provide makeshift and provisional commemoration, as well as to protect those sites by placing crosses with the crown of thorns, and placing wooden boards of the Ministry informing that the spot was protected and reserved for the construction of a permanent monument. Additionally, in order to acquire all the available information on the martyrdom sites, the Departments were to contact local social organizations, e.g. Committee for the Protection of Heroes' Graves and the Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners.<sup>19</sup>

The next Department's important task was to design, on the grounds of the collected documentation, durable martyrdom memorials which in their content and form would refer to the kind of the crime, as well as to the place where it was committed. The Department's assumption was to treat all the collective execution sites as non-usable spaces, entirely dedicated to martyrdom.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the topics of fine arts works were to be strictly related to the place at which the crime had been committed. In the event when such monuments could not be implemented for urban-planning and spatial reasons, it was possible to raise symbolic monuments at alternatively designated spots. All the formats of the commemoration

of the nation's martyrdom, be it a plaque, a monument, a cemetery, a section, or a prisons interior, were to be adjusted to the terrain on which they were to be created. This unquestionably led to a certain individualising of respective designs. What was meant to unite them all, and therefore imply that they refer to one issue, was the shared artistic 'language'. In order to create the latter, the set of appropriate symbols and texts meant to express the idea of martyrdom was to be defined. As for the shape of the monuments, the Department thought that simple and monumental forms, capable of opposing transitory fashions, were to be the most appropriate. The Department considered as inappropriate all the attempts at a realistic recreation of the events that had taken place during the occupation.<sup>21</sup> These guidelines were relevant for both the artists cooperating with the Department and those undertaking the monument designing in other projects. Furthermore, all the designs created at social and private instigation, as well as for other state institutions, were to be submitted for approval to the Department. On the other hand, if these bodies had the intention of raising commemoration, the Department could commission the task of designing plaques and monuments to artists regularly



2. The reverse of the information leaflet issued by the Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology; pattern of the protective plaque placed by the Department on mass execution sites and the cross with the crown of thorns made of barbed wire





3. Department's temporary plaque placed on the execution site at Skalka Polska, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship

cooperating with the Ministry of Culture. Furthermore, the Department was extremely positive about the initiatives submitted by local artists. In this case, however, it had the guarantee to have a say as far as making them uniform in content and form was concerned. These Department's activities, and *imposing of several simplified presentation schemes affected the artistic expression of the majority of monuments*, this having earlier been pointed to by Joanna Hübner-Wojciechowska.<sup>22</sup> Interestingly, the monuments proposed at the instigation of local communities were to be financed with their own resources. Although the main funding was to be provided by the initiators of the monument raising, the Ministry of Culture and Art and the Ministry of Reconstruction did not exclude the option of participating in the costs to a certain degree.<sup>23</sup>

### Department's activity in 1945–54

Throughout the very first months of the activity of the Department of Museums and Monuments of Martyrology, it concentrated mainly on singling out, protecting, and inventorying the martyrology-related sites. The Department focused particularly on Warsaw, which being the state's capital, had witnessed numerous dramatic and bloody war developments. In Warsaw the activities meant to protect martyrology sites were undertaken immediately, since the crime traces were promptly obliterated in the course of works meant to tidy up and rebuild the capital. Similar steps were taken throughout the country, and for the purpose cooperation with the Departments of Art of Culture at Voivodeship Offices was established. In the latter half of 1945, the Department also undertook activities aiming to coordinate works of the central institutions dealing with martyrology, namely the Main Committee to Investigate German Crimes in Poland, Institute of National Remembrance,

and the Central Jewish Historical Commission. These efforts were crowned with the meeting of the above institutions' directors and representatives held at the Department's seat on 25 January 1946. During the meeting, the decision was made for all the institutions to closely cooperate in numerous aspects connected with the martyrology of the Polish nation.<sup>24</sup>

Among the major works initiated and executed by the Department until the end of 1945 mention can be made of e.g.: inventorying of 98 execution sites within Warsaw;<sup>25</sup> launch of inventorying at the Gestapo Prison at 25 Szucha Avenue;<sup>26</sup> collection of museum exhibits from the protected execution sites;<sup>27</sup> collection of reports on the course of mass murders;<sup>28</sup> provisional protection of several dozen of execution sites throughout the whole country by placing wooden plaques and crosses with the crown of thorns, thus initiating the raising of durable monuments, e.g. in Warsaw, Poznań, Gdańsk, Olsztyn, Legnica, Bydgoszcz, Rzeszów;<sup>29</sup> durable protection of the underground of the Gestapo Office at 25 Szucha Avenue; protection of the area of the Majdanek and Auschwitz camps;<sup>30</sup> and first activities meant to expropriate land owners for the camps' territory to become state property;<sup>31</sup> starting designs related to the Gestapo Prison at 25 Szucha Avenue;<sup>32</sup> selection of the location for the cemetery of the German mass slaughter in the Warsaw Wola District, and beginning of works on the designs of: the cemetery in Wola (designed by Romuald Gutt and Alina Scholtz),<sup>33</sup> the Palmiry cemetery (designed by Ewa Śliwińska);<sup>34</sup> beginning of designs of plaques to commemorate mass executions in Warsaw in Radzywińska and Kępa Streets (both designs by Franciszek Masiak) and in Miedzeszyński Embankment (design by Romuald Gutt).<sup>35</sup>

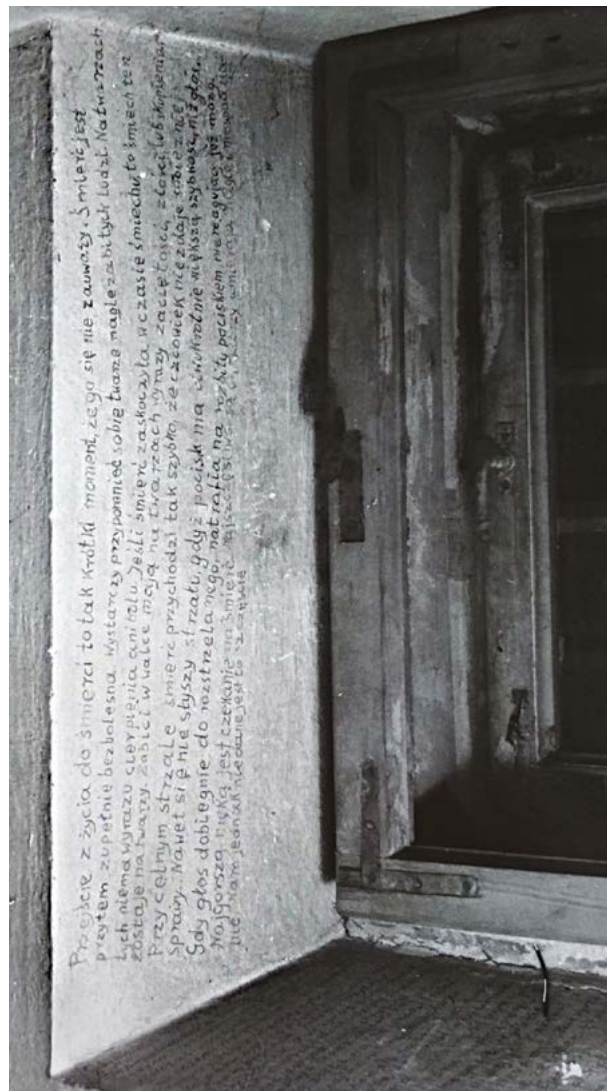
Throughout the following year, many of the Department-initiated works were continued, while incessantly more new tasks were also undertaken. The Section of Inventory,

Documentation, Protection, and Propaganda continued the inventorying and provisional protection of the martyrology-related sites. By the end of 1946, thanks to the cooperation with the Departments of Culture and Art at Voivodship Offices, 538 sites of execution around the whole country had been registered.<sup>36</sup> What proved to be of major impact was the official file of execution locations worked out by the Documentation Section on the grounds of the Voivodship Culture Units' reports. Furthermore, the Section collected all the documents, paper clippings, reports dedicated to Polish martyrology, meant to fuel the interesting archive in the collections of the Central Martyrology Museum planned to be established.<sup>37</sup> As part of the works meant to provisionally protect the identified execution site, by the end of 1946 the Department had placed 393 protection plaques. Out of them, the greatest number, namely about 100, were located in Warsaw.<sup>38</sup> In relation to durable protection, i.e. which required relevant legal acts, the Department, in cooperation with various institutions, focused mainly on the works preparing the nationalization of the Majdanek and Oświęcim Concentration Camps' sites.<sup>39</sup> The attempts to section off 10 prison cells located in the former Gestapo Prison at 25 Szucha Avenue were successful, and already on 25 July 1946 they were nationalized as a result of the Resolution of the Council of Ministers. That same year, the Department started works aimed at protecting the Treblinka Extermination Camp. It was also in 1946 that the Department initiated cooperation with the Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners, and put forth the initiative to establish the Martyrology Council planned as an advisory, as well as a decision-making body in relation to commemorating martyrology.<sup>40</sup>

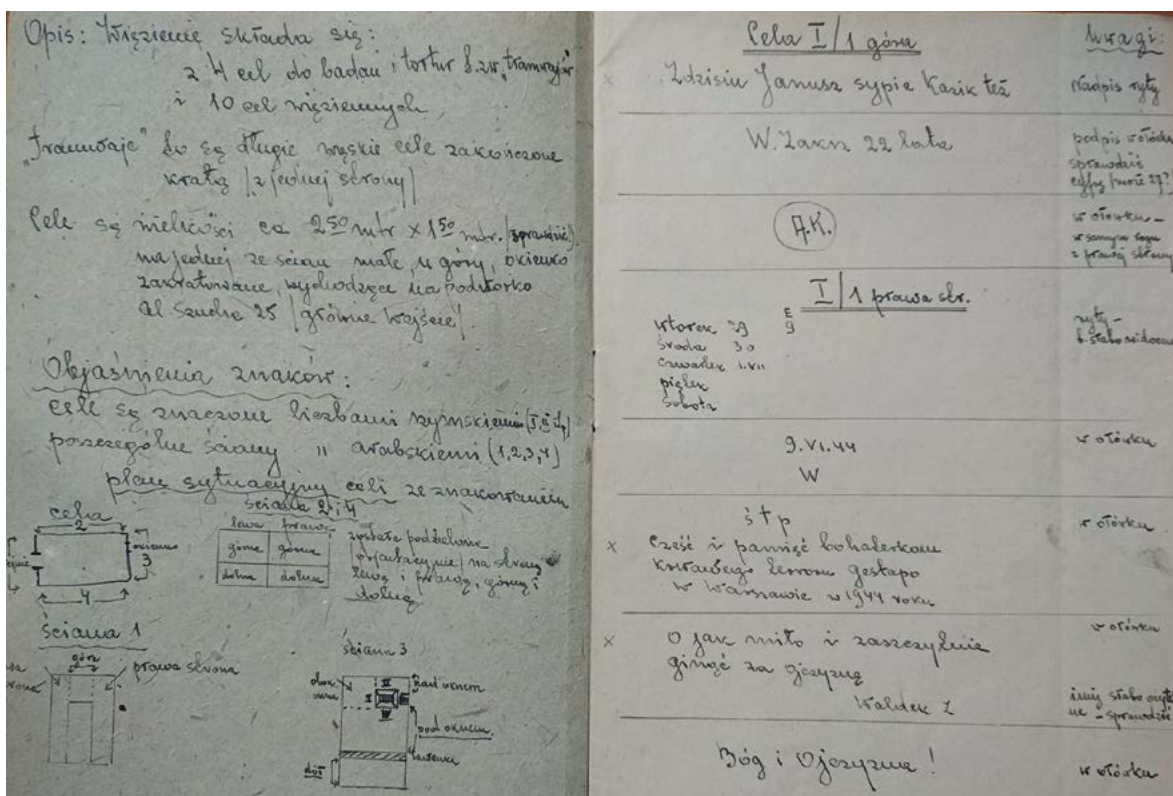
In 1946, the Planning Section continued works connected with establishing and refurbishing museum institutions on the premises of the Auschwitz and Majdanek Concentration Camps. In the case of the first, 12 blocks were designated to form museum premises; they were dedicated to various issues related to e.g. the Camp's organization and operations, as well as the life, labour, and death on its premises.<sup>41</sup> The blocks were designed following the concept of the Department's lawyer Ewa Śliwińska and the sculptor Tadeusz Myszowski. Apart from the Auschwitz premises as such, the works also extended to the Brzezinka Camp, in which the preserved barracks were to serve as museum exhibits.<sup>42</sup> It was Romuald Gutt who supervised the entire complex of works as well as the landscaping-related questions. As far as the museum at the former Majdanek camp was concerned, it was to be arranged following the model of the Auschwitz museum.<sup>43</sup> Here the museum was to take advantage of the administration barracks, and it was in them that works on the future exhibition were started. Some of the camp facilities were to be given in September 1946 to other nations whose citizens also perished as prisoners.<sup>44</sup> The works adapting the former camp to museum purposes were supervised by Prof. Gutt, while the landscaping of the whole area was the responsibility of Alina Scholtz.<sup>45</sup>

Throughout 1946, the Planning Section continued works on designing plaques and monuments which

were to be placed on the sites of public executions and mass murders. The artist Franciszek Masiak, cooperating with the Department, continued to work on the designs of the monuments planned for Radzymińska and Kępa Streets in Warsaw.<sup>46</sup> The monument, commemorating the public execution at the Miedzeszyński Embankment, was designed by Romuald Gutt.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, in 1946 works were also started to place two commemorative plaques in Nowy Świat Street.<sup>48</sup> The design of the plaque at No. 49 founded by the Trade Union of Journalists, was commissioned to Feliks Kanclerz.<sup>49</sup> The second, at 64 Nowy Świat Street, founded by the Guild of Shoe- and Bootmakers was to be designed by Józef Gazy. That year also monuments and plaques were designed throughout the country, e.g. in Celestynów (designed by Józef Gazy, monument unveiled in September 1946), in Płock at 13 Straconych Square (monument designed by Franciszek Masiak, inscription on the plaque designed by Tadeusz Tuszewski, urban design by Romuald Gutt), at Parchatka (designed by Józef Gazy, plaque



4. Inscriptions from a Gestapo Prison cell at 25 Szucha Avenue, Warsaw



5. Inventory of inscriptions and signs from Cell 1 at the Gestapo Prison at 25 Suchoa Avenue, Warsaw

unveiled in December 1946), and in Mława (designed by Józef Gazy).<sup>50</sup> Moreover, the Department approved several monument designs submitted from around Poland: e.g. in Szprotawa, Krzeszów, Magdalenka, and the Liszki County.<sup>51</sup> Additionally, works were continued on planning the cemeteries in Palmiry, Wola, and Treblinka.<sup>52</sup>

Worth mentioning is also the exhibition mounted in 1946, prepared by representatives of the Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology titled 'German Crimes in Poland'; it was launched on 5 June 1946 at the National Museum in Warsaw at the instigation of the Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland; it served as the first attempt at giving an overall record of all the crimes committed by the Nazis on the territory of Poland, and made the public realize its magnitude. Among the organizers, next to the Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland and the Department, there were also representatives of the Institute of National Remembrance, Central Jewish Historical Commission, and the Association of Former Political Prisoners of Nazi Camps. It was Ludwik Rajewski and Ewa Śliwińska who represented the Department in the organizational committee. The exhibition was held under the patronage of the major state officials: President of the State National Council (KRN), Prime Minister Edward Osóbka-Morawski, as well as ministers heading various departments.<sup>53</sup>

In 1947, design works on the Palmiry Cemetery were completed, and the implementation of the project began. Moreover, the designing of the monuments in Warsaw (49 and 64 Nowy Świat Streets) as well as in Płock (Straconych

Square) was finalized. Decisions were made to commemorate the events at 31 Stalina Avenue (former NASDAP headquarters in Warsaw, currently Ujazdowskie Avenue) and the crimes committed in Wawer (designs by E. Śliwińska, J. Gazy). The Association of Polish Artists and Designers was contacted in order to design the Sanok Mausoleum. Three museum blocks in Auschwitz were successfully refurbished, this allowing the opening of the Museum to the public on 14 June 1947. Furthermore, design works on the artistic commemoration of the site of the Majdanek Camp were completed. Still that very year, the Department approved Alina Scholtz's design, and works on executing it were begun. Of major importance for the Department's activity was the fact that on 2 July 1947 the Polish Sejm adopted two bills on commemorating the martyrdom of the Polish nation at Auschwitz and Majdanek, as well as on founding the Council for the Protection of Martyrdom Sites.<sup>54</sup> Among other major tasks undertaken by the Department in 1947, mention can be made of the launch of two competitions: for the artistic commemoration at the Suchoa Avenue Prison<sup>55</sup> and the artistic commemoration of Treblinka.<sup>56</sup> On the Department's initiative a meeting related to the Pawiak and 'Gęsiówka' (KL Warschau) meant to alter the already existing designs was held at the Office for the Reconstruction of the Capital. The main topic that emerged during the meeting was the allocation of the area of the former 'Gęsiówka' Camp to raise the Central Martyrology Museum.<sup>57</sup>

In 1948, the Department continued works related to the inventorying and documenting of martyrology-related sites and the execution of the approved designs. In March of that



year, the first meeting of the Council for the Protection of Martyrdom Sites, which since then was to closely cooperate with the Department, was organized. Zygmunt Balicki Engr. was appointed the Council's President by the Minister of Culture and Art.<sup>58</sup> The Head Ludwik Rajewski represented the Department in the Council.

In August 1948, the Department launched the first stage of the competition for the wording and symbols that were to be placed on the monuments and plaques at execution sites. This stage was organized in cooperation with the Polish Writers' Union (ZLP). On 8 November 1948, the competition jury headed by Maria Dąbrowska, awarded the following phrasings: *Site sanctified with the martyr blood shed by Poles fighting for freedom* (by E. Śliwińska), *Glory to the perished, freedom to the living, peace to the nations* (by J. Benedyktowicz), *To the fallen, yet not defeated* (by E. Śliwińska), *With their own death they have given us life* (by S. Feist). Moreover, the competition jury chose the military Cross of Valour as the overall symbol.<sup>59</sup> By the end of the year the second stage of the competition was launched meant to choose the design of plaques and free-standing monuments to be raised at execution sites throughout Warsaw. Out of the major developments in 1948 mention has to be made of the erection of a monument in Radzymińska Street, and the placing of commemorative plaques at 49 and 64 Nowy Świat Street (eventually both implemented by J. Gazy).<sup>60</sup>

In early 1949, the Department began works intended to commemorate the camps in Sztutowo (KL Stutthof) and Rogoźnica (KL Gross Rosen). Furthermore, works were continued on the display and the adaptation of blocks for

museum purposes at Auschwitz and Majdanek. By the end of the year, the results of the second stage of the competition for the artistic commemoration of execution sites in Warsaw were announced. Among others, the following artists were invited: Wojciech Jastrzębowski and Bonawentura Lenart (as a team), Franciszek Krzywda-Polkowski, Marek Leykam, as well as Franciszek Masiak. The competition jury awarded the first prize to Karol Tchorek for the design of the commemorative plaque,<sup>61</sup> which, according to the jury, *highlights the inscription that constitutes the essential element of the design, while giving an artistic solution of the Cross of Valour; moreover, it is a composition simple enough to be applied repeatedly: as a general sign symbolizing the national cause. Therefore, this is the plaque that with the assumption for it to be still given some final designing detail, has been selected for execution.*<sup>62</sup> The Department was planning to place first such plaques in Warsaw already in 1950.

In the early 1950s, a lot of changes were introduced into the structure of the Ministry of Culture and Art. The centralization process did not spare the Head Authorities of Museums and Monument Preservation, which from then on became part of the Central Board of Museums and Monument Protection. Its structure included a unit dedicated to the protection and durable commemoration of struggle and execution sites. The Department of Museums and Monuments of Struggle against Nazism, as such was now the name of the former Department of Museums and Monuments of Martyrology, apart from commemorating martyrology sites was also meant to initiate the raising of monuments commemorating the revolutionary and liberating struggle, while also emphasizing the role of



6. Monument commemorating the shooting of ten Pawiak prisoners in 1943, Radzymińska Street, Warsaw; designed by Franciszek Masiak



7. Plaque at 49 Nowy Świat Street, Warsaw; designed by Karol Tchorek



the Red Army, People's Army (AL), and People's Guard (GL) in the fight against Nazism.<sup>63</sup> The future works of the Department also entailed plans to reconstruct or eliminate monuments *hostile to the People's Republic of Poland*,<sup>64</sup> raised even before 1939.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, the exhibitions at the former Auschwitz and Majdanek death camps were to be reorganized; apart from the crimes committed by the Nazis, they were to draw the visitors' attention to new forms of Fascism identified with American imperialism by the new Communist regime. The Department's restructuring, including entire re-staffing, with additional new tasks spoke articulately of the then policy of Communist Poland's authorities.<sup>66</sup> The changes introduced hardly improved the Department's situation, and as of 1951 its importance began to weaken. The audits conducted in the Central Board of Museums in 1952 demonstrated that the Department of Museums and Monuments of Struggle against Nazism was involved in the works that due to their character were not supposed to be done by a central administration unit. The Controlling Department was unequivocal in stating that the Department's tasks were self-contradictory, since a single institution could not design, execute, and control its own work.<sup>67</sup> This led to depriving the Department of a portion of its statutory tasks, and to transferring them to other organs,<sup>68</sup> such as e.g. Central Committee Department of Party History, Central Board of Fine Arts Institutions, Voivodeship National Councils, Ministry of Municipal Economy, and Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (ZBoWiD). These activities, paired with the Department's limited budget, finally made its role dwindle, and as a result it was dissolved in 1954.

From among major works that were completed in 1950–54, mention has to be made of the following: continued refurbishing of the block interiors and pavilions at Auschwitz and Majdanek; mounting exhibition at the former Gross-Rosen Camp; completion of the documentation works on the Sztutowo Camp premises; placing of numerous commemorative plaques throughout Warsaw; launch of activities aimed at commemorating mass execution sites in Bełżec, Chełmno, Sobibór, and Treblinka; opening of the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom at 25 Szucha Avenue in Warsaw (18 April 1952); running a competition for monuments at Auschwitz and Brzezinka; mounting the *Unmasked Imperialism* Exhibition; thorough reorganization of the display at Auschwitz and Majdanek; protection of the Radogoszcz prison (Łódź); raising of monuments throughout the whole country, e.g. in Kielce, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Iłża, Nowy Sącz, Zamość, and Kołobrzeg.<sup>69</sup>

Continuation of works related to the idea of commemorating struggle and martyrdom after 1954 Merely 2 years following the dissolution of the Department of Museums and Monuments of Struggle against Nazism, the idea to restore the activity of an agency meant to restart works on commemorating struggle and martyrdom, and to coordinate them was reborn. The role was to be played by the Council for the Protection of Martyrdom Monuments established with the Act of 1947, whose name in compliance with the Act of 7 April 1949 was changed to the Council for the Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom Sites (further on the Council).<sup>70</sup> Although as of 1951 the Council's works were stopped, the Act on its activity continued in force. Therefore,

in 1956 voices could be heard to reactivate it as an organ of the Ministry of Culture and Art, continuing the commemoration idea initiated by the Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology.<sup>71</sup> However, by the late 1950s the Council had not undertaken any major commemoration-related activities. It was only as of 1960 when under the Head of the Office of the Council of Ministers Janusz Wiczorek the first steps were taken, and works started to implement the tasks formulated for the Council. It comprised 43 members who selected among themselves a 12-people Presidium meant to be the executive organ. Moreover, four professional committees were formed: Historical, Propaganda, Artistic, and Conservation, whose chairs were also part of the Presidium. Briefly afterwards, the Artistic and Conservation Committees merged, while another one: Committee for the Protection and Patronage of National Commemoration Sites was formed.<sup>72</sup> Such Council's structure directly pointed to the main areas of the Council's activity, namely the registering, commemorating, popularizing, and regular care of national commemoration sites. The implementation of these tasks throughout the country constituted a real challenge. Aware of this, the Council set up cooperation with organizations interested in its activity, such as Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (ZBoWiD), Polish Scouting and Guiding Association (ZHP), Polish Red Cross (PCK), Polish Association for Adult Education (TWP), and others.<sup>73</sup> An important initiative of the Council in 1961 was to organize and establish Voivodeship Civic Committees for the Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom Sites, and their relevant counterparts on county and municipal levels. The Committees were headed by the Presidium Presidents of respective National Councils, while their members were heads of the local ZBoWiD branches, members of trade unions, and of educational, youth, and army organizations.<sup>74</sup> Within the Committees three commissions were set up: historical, propaganda, and of preservation of struggle and martyrdom sites; their members were local activists, scholars, feature writers. As remarked by Stanisław Bujas: *In this very way the whole country was covered with Council's local branches, close to the local community, and with a strong executive potential.*<sup>75</sup> Quite understandably, the scope of responsibilities of the Committees mirrored the range of the Council's activity.

Upon the Council's reactivation, its priority was the registering and verification of the sites worthy of commemoration. These works were assigned to the newly established civic committees who were closely supported by local ZBoWiD branches. In the mid-1960s, around 20.000 sites of struggle and martyrology had been registered. The next step was to provide respectful commemoration to those sites: in the case of the majority of sites the Council dealt with this directly, beginning with the approval of the designs submitted by investors and plans, through the assistance in acquiring credits and materials.<sup>76</sup> The remaining projects were controlled by the Council's organs relevant for Voivodeship levels.

In the 1960s–80s, the Council's activity covered the following commemoration guidelines: commemorating the struggle of the Polish People's Army (LWP), Red Army fights, Polish-Soviet brotherhood of arms, 1939 Defensive War, struggle to defend the people's power, and martyrology of

the Polish and other nations during the Nazi occupation.<sup>77</sup> Over the span of more than 20 years, the Council implemented many important projects commemorating the above events and historical processes both in Poland and abroad, e.g. Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, East Germany, West Germany, Norway, Switzerland, and Italy. Among the major projects in Poland, mention should be made of e.g.: Mausoleum in Radogoszcz in Łódź (1961<sup>78</sup>, designed by Tadeusz Łodzian, Roman Modzelewski), Mausoleum Monument of the Prisoners of the Stalag C-VIII in Żagań (1961, designed by Mieczysław Welter), Monument of the AL Partisan (1962, designed by Waclaw Kowalik), Monument of Poland Wedded to the Sea in Kołobrzeg (1962, designed by Wiktor Tołkin), Monument to the Victims of Nazism in Cracow (1964, designed by Witold Cęckiewicz), Monument in Kuźnice (1964, designed by Władysław Hasior), Monument to the Martyrology of POWs at Łambinowice (1964, designed by Jan Borowczak, Jerzy Beski, Marian Nowak, Florian Jesionowski), Monument to the Heroes of Warsaw (1964, designed by Marian Konieczny), Monument to the Victims of the Death Camp in Chełmno on the Ner (1964, designed by Józef Stasiński, Jerzy Buszkiewicz), Monument to the Victims of the Treblinka Death Camp (1964, designed by Adam Haupt, Franciszek Duszeńko), Monument to the Defenders of Westerplatte (1966, designed by Adam Haupt, Franciszek Duszeńko, Henryk Kitowski), International Monument to the Victims of Fascism at Brzezinka (1967, Polish-Italian designing team, including e.g. Pietro Cascella, Jerzy Jarnuszkiwicz, Giorgio Simoncini, Julian Pałka), Monuments to the Victims of the Stutthof Camp in Sztutowo (1968, designed by Wiktor Tołkin), Monuments to the Victims of the Majdanek Camp (1969, designed by Wiktor Tołkin), Monument to the Partisans at Rąbłów (1969, designed by Stanisław Strzyżyński), Monument of the Martyrology of Children in Łódź (1971, designed by Jadwiga Janus, Ludwik Mackiewicz), Perished Invictus Monument in Warsaw (1973, designed by Gustaw Zemła), Glory to the Sappers Monument in Warsaw (1975, designed by Stanisław Kulon), Monument to the Perished in Service to and Defence of People's Poland in Warsaw (1985, designed by Jan Bohdan Chmielewski, Lidia Chmielewska). An exceptional commemoration of the children worldwide who perished in wartime was the peculiar hospital-monument: Children's Memorial Health Institute opened in Warsaw on 3 June 1979.<sup>79</sup> In 1982, the Council also contributed to the construction of the memorial hospital in Lodz, namely the Polish Mother's Memorial Hospital Research Institute. Besides raising monuments, also several martyrology museums on the sites of former concentration camps and in former prisons were established, in e.g. Sztutowo, Rogoźnica, Treblinka, Żabikowo, Łambinowice, Warsaw (Pawiak), Lublin (Under the Clock), Lodz (Radogoszcz).

As of 22 January 1988 the till then Act of 1947 on the Council's activity ceased to have effect, and the Council for the Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom Remembrance was founded in its place; its goal was to initiate and coordinate activity related to commemorating historical developments and sites, as well as individuals in the history of struggles and martyrdom of the Polish Nation, both in Poland and abroad. Additionally, the new Council was to commemorate



8. Monument to the Heroes of Warsaw 1939–1945 unveiled in Warsaw in 1964; designed by Marian Konieczny

sites of struggle and martyrdom close to the heart of the Polish people but of other nations on the territory of the PRL, namely Communist Poland.<sup>80</sup> The 4-year term-of-office Council was under the direct responsibility of the Prime Minister's Office. On the Voivodeship level Voivodeship Committees for the Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom Remembrance were established, these tightly cooperating with the new Council. The main tasks of the new body included as previously: protection of martyrology and struggle sites as well as their commemoration: holding celebration and ceremonies commemorating struggle and martyrology; assessment of the state of protection of monuments, cemeteries, graves, struggle and martyrology museums; consultancy to and care of the struggle and martyrology museums; artistic and historical assessment of applications for durable commemoration; cooperation with centres of Polish community abroad as for the protection of martyrology sites abroad. The above changes resulted from the new tasks that the Council faced in the atmosphere of inevitable alterations imminent on the political map of East-Central Europe. From that time onward, apart from commemorating the victims of WW II, the Council was also assigned to protect



9. Warsaw's Monument to the Fallen and Murdered in the East unveiled in 1995; designed by Maksymilian Biskupski

(Fot. 1, 2 – zbiory Archiwum Akt Nowych: AAN, MKiS, CZM, WMiPWzF, sygn. 65; 3 – tamże, sygn. 45; 4, 5 – tamże, sygn. 11; 6-9 – P. Kulak)

sites important due to national and religious traditions that happened to fall within the boundaries of the Soviet Union following its attack on Poland during WW II. These sites included first of all: cemeteries, war cemetery sections, soldiers' graves, graves of illustrious Poles, and unmarked tombs of Polish population scattered on battlefields.<sup>81</sup>

However, the major changes in the Council's activity occurred following 1989, since in relation to the government-assigned tasks from that time onwards it was to implement the programme of commemorating both Nazi crime victims and those committed by the Soviet Union on Polish officers e.g. at Katyn and Kharkov, or by Ukrainian nationalists in Volhynia. After 1989, numerous monuments commemorating crimes committed on Poland's former Eastern territories were raised, e.g.: Monument to the Fallen and Murdered in the East in Warsaw (1995, designed by Maksymilian Biskupski), Katyn Monument in Września (1995, designed by Andrzej Chudziak), Monument to the Victims of Katyn and Siberia in Poznan (1999, designed by Robert Sobociński), Monument to the Victims of the Katyn Massacre in Wrocław (2000, designed by Tadeusz Tchórzewski), the Katyn Memorial in Warsaw (2012, designed by Andrzej Renes), and one of the recent projects, namely the Monument to the Victims of Volhynia Massacres in Warsaw (2013, designed by Marek Moderau). Furthermore, in the early 2000s, war cemeteries at Katyn, Mednoye, and in Kharkov were designed. Another group of memorials built in a larger number following 1989 were monuments commemorating the struggles of the Home

Army (AK) and of the Polish Underground State. Of these mention can be made of, for instance, the monument designed by Jerzy Staniszkis and unveiled in Warsaw's Wiejska Street in 1999.

Another important date in the Council's history was 2016 when the Parliamentary majority voted through the Act of 29 April 2016 on the Amendments to the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Persecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation and several other acts.<sup>82</sup> In consequence, as of 1 August 2016 the Council as well as its Voivodeship counterparts were dissolved. Their tasks and competences were shared between the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) and the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. The Amendments to the Act transferred the majority of the Council's responsibilities with respect to commemoration of struggle and martyrology to IPN. The fulfilment of the tasks assigned by the Act are currently the responsibility of the Office for Commemorating Struggle and Martyrdom within the Institute's structure. The dissolved Voivodeship Committees were supplanted by Branch Offices for Commemorating Struggle and Martyrdom at the Institute's branches; their responsibility is to supervise commemoration projects within their respective regions.<sup>83</sup> In compliance with the new regulations, it is the President of the Institute of National Remembrance that has been given the right to provide opinion, previously issued by provincial governors, on the permits to raise durable facilities commemorating struggle and martyrdom. As for the questions related to national remembrance sites and martyrology museums, in 2018, the Council for Museums and National Memorial Sites was formed for a 3-year term of office within the structure of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage meant to provide consultancy and evaluation with respect to managing, financing, and cultural policy relevant to museology and questions related to national memorial sites, these including extermination monuments.<sup>84</sup>

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It can be clearly seen that issues related to commemorating struggle and martyrdom sites have been and continue being essential for Polish society since the end of WW II. As it was society who were strongly involved in preserving the memory, following the war the authorities of the revived Polish state made the decision to establish respective organs meant to coordinate those activities. As the result, already in 1945 the Department of Museums and Monuments of Polish Martyrology was formed within the structures of the Ministry of Culture and Art, and so were subsequent institutions dealing with the commemoration of martyrology and struggle. The institutions were not only to initiate and implement projects, but first of all to supervise an appropriate form of future monuments. The effects of this work can be judged today at numerous locations throughout Poland. What testifies to the value of many of them, apart from the very idea of commemoration, is their timeless value which perfectly renders the solemnity of a given site. Regrettably, however, it can be observed that after 1989 and in our contemporary times the realistic tendency in designing martyrology monuments has been growing, thus allowing to almost literary recall tragic historical events.



Such works can occasionally take on grotesque to the extent of being caricature forms, thus belittling the impact of the recalled event.<sup>85</sup> Another disturbing phenomenon observed currently is the wide-ranging 'Decommunization'. This activity, in turn, leads to destroying or eliminating from public space artistically valuable monuments, as well as to effacing from history developments occurring in Poland

between 1945 and 1989. Monuments as material facilities are often the only memento of the past, recalling definite historical events that co-created the national identity. *A monument preserves the memory of history*,<sup>86</sup> as Kazimierz S. Ożóg wrote, and what is more, it should preserve it in a durable manner, regardless of the current views and historical and political conditionings.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Niniejszy artykuł jest fragmentem pracy powstającej na Podyplomowym Studium Muzealniczym na Wydziale Historycznym Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- <sup>2</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM, WMiPWzF, sygn. 1, s. 2.
- <sup>3</sup> J. Pruszyński, *Dziedzictwo kultury Polski. Jego straty i ochrona prawna*, T. 2, Kantor Wydawniczy „Zakamycze”, Kraków 2001, s. 109.
- <sup>4</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., s. 153.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 153.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 128, 136; Więcej na temat organizacji Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki, zob. Uchwała Rady Ministrów z dn. 14 maja 1948 r. w sprawie statutu organizacyjnego Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki M.P.1948.51.294.
- <sup>7</sup> Naczelna Dyrekcja Muzeów i Ochrony Zabytków obejmowała 5 następujących Wydziałów: 1. Muzeów i Pomników Martyrologii Polskiej, 2. Muzeów, 3. Ochrony Zabytków, 4. Rewindykacji i Odszkodowań, 5. Państwowy Instytut Historii Sztuki i Inwentaryzacji Zabytków. Więcej na ten temat, zob.: *Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki w dokumentach 1918-1998*, A. Dąbrowski, J. Gmurek (red.), Instytut Kultury, Warszawa 1998, s. 90. Przywoływany wcześniej Jan Pruszyński w swej książce *Dziedzictwo kultury Polski. Jego straty i ochrona prawna* stwierdza, że Wydział Pomników Martyrologii Polskiej [sic!] był jedynie formalnie częścią Naczelnej Dyrekcji Muzeów i Ochrony Zabytków, a faktycznie powiązany był i podległy Ministerstwu Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego, zob. J. Pruszyński, *Dziedzictwo kultury ...*, s. 114-115.
- <sup>8</sup> W maju 1946 r. w sprawozdaniu z prac Wydziału po raz pierwszy pojawia się pieczęć Wydziału z nowym adresem.
- <sup>9</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., s. 3, 159.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 176.
- <sup>11</sup> M.P.1948.51.294.
- <sup>12</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., s. 164-165.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, sygn. 3, s. 36.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, sygn. 90, s. 18.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, sygn. 1, s. 166.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 128.
- <sup>17</sup> Ustawy dotyczące powołania Rady: Dz.U. 1947 nr 52. poz. 264. i nr 63. poz. 372. oraz późniejsze zmiany Dz.U. 1949 nr 25. poz. 183. i 184.
- <sup>18</sup> Jan Pruszyński, *Dziedzictwo kultury ...*, s. 117.
- <sup>19</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 1, s. 128.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 4.
- <sup>21</sup> Wznoszenie pomników upamiętniających męczeństwo w miejscach kaźni było działaniem powszechnie aprobowanym zarówno przez ludność, jak i urzędników, o czym pisała Joanna Hübner-Wojciechowska – *Rzadko przedmiotem ostrej krytyki, czy burzliwych sporów dotyczących formy czy lokalizacji stawały się pomniki wznoszone w miejscach masowej zagłady. Sam fakt ich budowy wystarczał do rozładowania społecznych emocji i istniejącego w ludziach napięcia, które domagało się upamiętnienia*, zob. J. Hübner-Wojciechowska, *Společno-artystyczne warunki powstania pomników w Polsce w latach 1945-1980*, Instytut Kultury, Warszawa 1986, s. 57.
- <sup>22</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 1, s. 150-151.
- <sup>23</sup> J. Hübner-Wojciechowska, *Společno-artystyczne warunki ...*, s. 13.
- <sup>24</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 1, s. 6.
- <sup>25</sup> Spotkanie odbyło się 26 stycznia 1946 r. o godz. 10 w siedzibie Wydziału Muzeów i Pomników Martyrologii Polskiej przy Alei 3 Maja 13. Na spotkaniu obecni byli: Naczelnik Wydziału Muzeów i Pomników Martyrologii Polskiej, prof. Romuald Gutt, Zastępca Naczelnika Wydziału MiPMP, Ludwik Rajewski, Kierownik Biura Dokumentacji Wydziału MiPMP, Władysław Woydyno, przedstawiciele Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce, Alfred Fiderkiewicz i sędzia Jan Sehn, przedstawiciel Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, Stanisław Płoski oraz przedstawiciel Centralnej Żydowskiej Komisji Historycznej, Henryk Wasser, AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 3, s. 36.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 21.
- <sup>27</sup> Prace polegały głównie na zgromadzeniu i zabezpieczeniu dokumentów gestapo, spisywaniu i sfotografowaniu zachowanych w celach więziennych napisów, zabezpieczeniu eksponatów muzealnych. Wydział wystąpił również do Ministerstwa Sprawiedliwości o wskazanie sposobu zabezpieczenia prawnego pomieszczeń więziennych, zob.: *Ibidem*, s. 19, 21.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 9, 11.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 17, 19, 21.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 22.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 23.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 11.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 14.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 14, 60, 76, zob. także: *Cmentarz Poległych w Powstaniu 1944 r. w Warszawie*, „Architektura” 1946, nr 3, s. 73-75; K. Móraski, *Warszawskie*

- omentarze: przewodnik historyczny, PTTK „Kraj”, Warszawa 2012, s. 159-162.
- <sup>35</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 3, s. 19, 60.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 19, 73.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 63.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 63.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 64.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 65.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 66, zob. także A. Czerkawska, M. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Aleja Szucha. Mauzoleum Walki i Męczeństwa 1939-1944*, Warszawa 1967; *Informator Mauzoleum Walki i Męczeństwa Aleja Szucha 25*, Wydawnictwo „Sport i Turystyka”, Muzeum Niepodległości, Warszawa 2007.
- <sup>42</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 3, s. 67.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 70.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 71.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 51.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 71.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 51, 71.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 72, 73.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 73.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 73.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 73.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 74.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 74.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 75, 76.
- <sup>55</sup> Wystawa „Zbrodnie Niemieckie w Polsce 1939-1945”, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Warszawa 1946, s. 6.
- <sup>56</sup> Dz.U. 1947 nr 52. poz. 264., 265., 266.
- <sup>57</sup> Konkurs ogłoszony został 2 października 1947 roku. W dniu 9 grudnia 1947 r. ogłoszono rozstrzygnięcie konkursu na plastyczne rozwiązanie muzeum w podziemiach dawnego więzienia gestapo przy Al. Szucha 25 w Warszawie. Sąd konkursowy przyznał następujące nagrody: Franciszek Masiak oraz Kazimierz Kamler otrzymali nagrodę za rozwiązanie fragmentu elewacji frontowej oraz za rozwiązanie wnętrza krypty; Jan Bogusławski i Czesław Wielhorski nagrodę za rozwiązanie wejścia do krypty; Franciszek Krzywda-Polkowski za projekt elewacji od dziedzińca głównego, zob. E. Śliwińska, *Podziemia więzienia na Szucha*, „Wolni Ludzie” 1948, nr 6, s. 1; W. Żarnowski, *Muzeum na Szucha. Przed 70. rocznicą udostępnienia społeczeństwu*, „Niepodległość i Pamięć” 2016, nr 2, s. 344.
- <sup>58</sup> Wygrał projekt konkursowy autorstwa inż. Alfonsa Zielonki i inż. Władysława Niemca, nie został on jednak zrealizowany, zob. M. Rusiniak, *Obóz zagłady Treblinka II w pamięci społecznej (1943–1989)*, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa 2008, s. 40-43.
- <sup>59</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 3, s. 115.
- <sup>60</sup> Zygmunt Balicki przewodniczył Radzie w latach 1947-1953.
- <sup>61</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 82, s. 150, 151; *Ibidem*, sygn. 14, s. 1-182; E. Śliwińska, *Wyniki konkursu na rozwiązanie plastyczne miejsc straceń*, „Stolica” 1949, nr 50, s. 9.
- <sup>62</sup> Projekt Józefa Gazego odrzucono ze względu na negatywną opinię Urzędu Konserwatorskiego. W tych miejscach zrealizowano projekt art. rzeźbiarza Karola Tchorka, który otrzymał I nagrodę w konkursie ogłoszonym przez SARP na zlecenie Wydziałów i Pomników Walki i Męczeństwa. Z zachowanej dokumentacji wynika, że oba projekty autorstwa Józefa Gazego na Nowym Świecie zostały zrealizowane. W chwili obecnej nie udało mi się dotrzeć do dokumentów, które wskazywałyby jaki był przebieg demontażu tablic zaprojektowanych przez Józefa Gazego oraz kiedy dokładnie miało to miejsce. Pewne jest natomiast, że zostały one zdemontowane. AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 3, s. 147; *Ibidem*, sygn. 82, s. 150, 151.
- <sup>63</sup> W skład sądu konkursowego weszli: Romuald Gutt, Jan Koszyc Witkiewicz, Jan Szczepkowski, Marian Wnuk, Zygmunt Balicki, Ludwik Rajewski, Ewa Śliwińska, zob. E. Śliwińska, *Wyniki konkursu na rozwiązanie...*, s. 9.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 9.
- <sup>65</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 1, s. 86.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*..., s. 86.
- <sup>67</sup> Jan Pruszyński w swojej książce zwraca uwagę, że władza ludowa pozbawiła ochrony miejsca pamięci walk o niepodległość i granice podczas I wojny światowej, a także wojny 1920 roku. Co więcej autor wspomina, że znaczenie Armii Krajowej i Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych podczas wojny w latach 1939-1945 było celowo przez rządzących zohydzone i umniejszane, zob. Jan Pruszyński, *Dziedzictwo kultury ...*, s. 115.
- <sup>68</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 1, s. 166.
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 50.
- <sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 50-51.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 92-94.
- <sup>72</sup> Niezwykle ważną pozycją poświęconą działalności Rady Ochrony Pomników Walki i Męczeństwa jest *Przewodnik po upamiętnionych miejscach walk i męczeństwa lata wojny 1939-1945*. Pierwsze wydanie ukazało się w 1964 roku. Od tego czasu zostały opublikowane 3 kolejne wydania wraz z uzupełnieniami. Ostatnie 4. wydanie ukazało się w 1988 roku. W *Przewodniku...* znajdują się opisy miejsc pamięci narodowej oraz krótka wzmianka o sposobie ich upamiętnienia. *Przewodnik ...* przedstawia upamiętnione miejsca usystematyzowane według podziału administracyjnego kraju, zob. Z. Czarnocki, C. Czubryt-Borkowski, *Przewodnik po upamiętnionych miejscach walk i męczeństwa lata wojny 1939-1945*, Warszawa 1988.
- <sup>73</sup> AAN, MKiS, CZM ..., sygn. 1, s. 104.
- <sup>74</sup> S. Bujas, *Działalność Rady Ochrony Pomników Walki i Męczeństwa w latach 1961-66*, „Ochrona Zabytków” 1967, nr 20/3 (78) s. 3.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 4.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 6.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 6.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 10.

<sup>79</sup> H. Urbanowicz, *Upamiętnienia miejsc walki i męczeństwa narodu polskiego przez ROPWiM*, w: *Pamięć wiecznie żywa. 40 lat działalności Rady Ochrony Pomników Walki i Męczeństwa*, Warszawa 1988, s. 33-34.

<sup>80</sup> Podane w nawiasie daty są datami odsłonięcia pomnika.

<sup>81</sup> A. Górny, *Z historii Rady*, w: *Pamięć wiecznie żywa...*, s. 20.

<sup>82</sup> Dz.U. 1988 nr 2. poz. 2., Ustawa z dn. 21 stycznia 1988 r. o Radzie Ochrony Pamięci Walk i Męczeństwa.

<sup>83</sup> Strona archiwalna ROPWiM, <http://www.radaopwim.gov.pl> [dostęp: 02.02.2019].

<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*. W 2007 r. ukazał się przewodnik po miejscach związanych z aktami ludobójstwa ludności polskiej w latach 1939-1947 przeprowadzonymi przez nacjonalistyczne ugrupowania ukraińskie, zob. S. Siekiera, H. Komański, *Przewodnik. Pomniki, tablice pamięci i mogiły na terenie Polski ofiar ludobójstwa dokonanego na Polakach przez Organizację Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów (OUN) i tzw. Ukraińską Powstańczą Armię (UPA) w latach 1939-1947*, Wrocław 2007.

<sup>85</sup> Dz.U. 2016 poz. 749., Ustawa z dn. 29 kwietnia 2016 r. o zmianie Ustawy o Instytucie Pamięci Narodowej – Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu oraz niektórych innych ustaw.

<sup>86</sup> ipn.gov.pl [dostęp: 20.02.2019].

<sup>87</sup> <http://www.mkidn.gov.pl> [dostęp: 20.02.2019].

<sup>88</sup> Dostyc jaskrawym przykladem tego typu monumentu moze byc Pomnik Rzezi Wołyńskiej projektu Andrzeja Pityńskiego.

<sup>89</sup> K.S. Ożóg, *Pomnik przemocy i przemoc w pomniku – cztery odstony*, „The Polish Journal of Arts and Culture” 2014, nr 11, s. 90.

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### Piotr Kułak

Graduate from the Institute of the History of Art, University of Warsaw, and the Institute of Scientific Information and Librarianship, University of Warsaw; assistant at the Scientific Elaboration of the Collections Department, Eryk Lipiński Museum of Caricature in Warsaw; currently student at the Postgraduate Museology Studies, Faculty of History, University of Warsaw; piotr.kulak@muzeumkarykatyry.pl

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