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EDUCATIONAL ASSUMPTIONS OF THE PERMANENT EXHIBITION AT THE PAN TADEUSZ MUSEUM IN WROCŁAW AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

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Abstract: The Pan Tadeusz Museum of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław has been opened to the public since 2016. It is dedicated to Pan Tadeusz, the national epic poem and the most acknowledged work by Adam Mickiewicz, published for the first time in 1834. It also presents the reception of the poem, the longevity of Romantic concepts, and the legacy of freedom in Polish history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The investment was co-financed by the European budget as part of *The Pan Tadeusz Museum – an innovative space – education through culture* project whose realisation envisaged the creation of an educational museum using museum exhibits, multimedia presentations, and an indispensable infrastructure for achieving a modern arrangement of the exhibition. A permanent exhibition was prepared by a team whose core was composed of educators

with long-term museum practice. Their experience and the theoretical educational premises to which they referred, together with the exhibition theme focusing on an exceptional masterpiece in the history of Polish culture, i.e. the Manuscript of *Pan Tadeusz*, determined decisions pertaining to selections of exhibits, contents of multimedia applications, captions under exhibits, titles of individual showrooms, themes for audio guides as well as material and solutions adapted to the needs of visitors with disabilities.

The article discusses "The Manuscript of Pan Tadeusz" permanent exhibition from the viewpoint of the applied narration and its educational premises, subsequently referred to museological reflection, which analyses the educational potential of museum exhibitions as well as interpretation practices and narration strategies realised by exhibitions and educational activities.

Keywords: Adam Mickiewicz, national epic poem *Pan Tadeusz*, Pan Tadeusz Museum in Wrocław, Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, new museum, museum education, exhibition arrangement, narration.

Introduction

One of the premises of contemporary museum education involves connecting the dimension of educational institutions with assorted aspects of the entire program activity: research, conservation, exposition, resource access, and relations with the social surrounding in which, and for whose sake, the museum institution exists. The assumption in question is the outcome of the conviction that museum education must be realised in a multi-aspect manner, thus comprising an element permeating the program of the museum institution, in particular the most fundamental medium in which this program is carried out, i. e. the exposition. Hence the realisation in 2014-2016 of The Pan Tadeusz Museum – an innovative space – education through culture project of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, whose purpose is to prepare a permanent museum exposition, constitutes an example showing how premises and postulates associated with the educational dimension of the exhibition were realised in practice, what sort of premises appeared at the onset of the project, and the way in which they were implemented. Within the context of the mentioned premises the process of drawing attention to the Wrocław institution, which emerged within an undertaking with "education" in its name, appears to be exceptional considering that the contents of the main permanent exhibition: "The Manuscript of Pan Tadeusz by Adam Mickiewicz" (further as: Manuscript) were prepared by a team whose core was composed of educators. Their competence within the domain of cultural education and museum experience introduced into the project exerted an essential impact on the selection of topics, contents, and exhibits as well as ways of their presentation at the exposition. The degree and scope of this impact were delineated by program premises and project solutions accepted at the onset of the investment.

History and premises of the Pan Tadeusz Museum – an innovative space – education through culture project

Sources of the conception of establishing in Wrocław a museum dedicated to a national epic poem were connected with a presentation by the authorities of Wrocław and the Tarnowski family of a manuscript of Pan Tadeusz to the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław (1999); presumably the manuscript had been earlier a deposit in the Ossolineum resources.² Initial plans did not envisage the creation of a museum. In as late as 2006, the year of signing an agreement between the Minister of National Education, the Minister of Culture and National Heritage, the President of Wrocław, and the Director of Ossolineum concerning joint efforts made for promoting the "Pan Tadeusz in Wrocław" project, plans were made only to open a permanent exposition presenting the autograph of the epic poem.3 The renovation – carried out in 2006–2010 – of historical buildings donated by the Commune of Wrocław and situated between 6a Market Square and 5 Kiełbaśnicza Street, where the Museum was ultimately opened, also did not foresee museum functions. Not until renovation was completed did the Ossoliński National Institute initiate endeavours aimed

at acquiring funds for setting into motion a permanent exposition in accordance with the agreement of February 2006.4 In 2009 the director of Ossolineum established a Program Board composed of historians of literature, historians, and museum curators, 5 whose task was to devise an exhibition program for the needs of a competition for a project of a permanent exposition. The initial premises of the museum were determined and facultative proposals of consigning themes to particular showrooms and their problem range were defined. According to a suggestion made by the Program Board (further as: Board) the exposition of the Pan Tadeusz Museum was to pertain to European and Polish Romanticism, with a narrative sequence spanning from the Manuscript of Pan Tadeusz to Cabinets of Great Poles and stressing the contemporary permanence of nineteenth-century Romantic tradition. 6 In 2011 program premises prepared by the Board made it possible to announce a competition for a permanent exposition of the Pan Tadeusz Museum in the House Under the Golden Sun, which concerned exclusively the Pan Tadeusz Manuscript. Out of four submitted proposals the competition judges⁷ chose a project by the Agnieszka Sowa-Szenk studio from Wrocław, whose characteristic features included an intense application of multimedia. The justification of the verdict stressed the cohesion of the presented visual arts conception with the program premises, the attractive portrayal of the Romantic idea and its subsequent reception, the proposal of a logical sequence of touring the exhibition, skilful connection with the architecture of the House Under the Golden Sun, the process of taking into account proposals addressed to children as well as guaranteeing access for the disabled. At the same time, attention was drawn to the potential of the suggested conceptions, both for further work on the scenario project and a discussion concerning concrete functional and spatial solutions.8 The conclusion of the competition paved a path towards endeavours aimed at obtaining a subsidy from European funds. Already in 2012, the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław applied for additional financing of the investment. 9 The first attempt at acquiring financial means ended in a fiasco owing to formal transgressions, one of which was the excessively low sum intended for investments. 10 The new application, whose objective range was increased by adding, predominantly, preparations of a second permanent exposition dedicated to the Cabinets of Witnesses of History, the digitisation and conservation of the collections, the adaptation of the Museum to the needs of the handicapped, and the creation of space allowing the implementation of a wide educational offer, was prepared in 2013.11 After receiving a favourable financial decision, in 2014 Ossolineum started to supplement the documentation and contentual part of the project. In May 2014 the Agnieszka Sowa-Szenk studio completed executive projects for the prepared conceptions. A so-called literary scenario of the exposition, whose point of departure consisted of the earlier premises of the Program Board and the conception-winner of the exposition project, was completed in June of that year. 12 In July 2014 the scenario was supplemented by adding a proposal concerning museum objects. 13 Two temporary exhibitions were featured at the House Under the Golden Sun in 2102^{14} and 2014^{15} in the course of preparations for the establishment of the museum.

Education premises accepted during the realisation of the project

While referring to an earlier outline of the exposition contents and detailed project solutions the Representative Director of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław - Pan Tadeusz Museum commissioned a team of museum educators, invited in August 2015 to create realisation documents for the earlier conceived project premises and a "literary scenario". Consequently, emergent studies rendered precise the thematic range of the exhibition scenario, 16 guidelines concerning multimedia, 17 and the educational program. 18 At the beginning of 2015 they were supplemented by a factual scenario intended for multimedia stations referring to Old Polish manners and morals, the gentry manor house, the reception of works by Adam Mickiewicz, the permanence of Romantic ideas, and the legacy of freedom in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Poland. 19 All studies created a "realisation scenario" and a Museum educational program.

From the educational point of view solutions proposed in the "realisation scenario" within the range of the exposition content originated from premises maintaining that the Museum exhibition should comprise a specific medium making use of its presentation qualities and referring not only to the contentual merit of the topic to which it is dedicated but also taking into account the recipient and methods of involving him in the applied solutions. At the same time, the value of this sui generis medium refers to the extent in which it is capable of engaging the spectator, his heretofore knowledge, memory, imagination, and experience upon a contentual, emotional, or creative level, and thus not solely in categories of information value, i.e. the degree to which the exposition is capable of transmitting knowledge about a given topic. Hence, in comparison with the original premises it should, above all, reduce and realign contents proposed in the "literary scenario" and lists of exhibits, 20 which it planned to display at the exhibition. This became possible thanks to the earlier mentioned premise formulated in the justification of the verdict passed by the Competition judges, namely, that the winning project conception opens up a path for further detailed discussions about concrete solutions. Documentation prepared upon this basis defined only general slogans, topics, carriers, and their localisation, but did not contain any concrete projects and specifications of exhibits, applications, graphic works, and captions, which were to be part of the exposition. This would be the responsibility of a team created by Ossolineum, whose core and contentual supervisors were educators.²¹

Reduction of the earlier planned range of information made it possible to reinforce a cohesive narration axis, which, at the same time, was to re-project one of the showrooms (9) with the "Manuscript of *Pan Tadeusz*" exposition. Corrections, supplements, and elaborations of earlier program premises and projects prepared upon their basis were to introduce into the exposition solutions that not so much altered – because in the case of such an advanced project this was simply impossible – as expanded the conventional approach to the educational values of the exhibition, considering the important role performed by narration.

Critical museological analysis emphasises the necessity of reformulating the concept of museum learning and teaching,

particularly if we take into account the significance of narration²². The foundation of our vision of the world is not only scientific knowledge but also the way in which it is presented and the sort of narrative order in which it reveals itself. This merger is almost tangible in the space of museum exhibitions, where scientific knowledge is transmitted with the assistance of rhetorical instruments²³ prepared in such a fashion as to create space possessing both its three-dimensional physical structure and the time factor inscribed in it owing to the premise of being experienced by visitors.²⁴ This fact is of colossal importance for the way in which spectators learn in a museum and the manner in which the museum teaches them. The preparation of an exhibition is the reason why, apart from concentration on historical facts and exhibits, also that which lies beyond knowledge is of importance for the visitor, together with his motivations for coming to a museum, the way in which he behaves in the institution, who he tours it with, and his awareness of the fact that he is immersed in space that presents events and historical objects in an arbitrary mannner.

Owing to the initial phase of preparing and realising the project as well as its advancement and formal rigours resulting from the discipline of financing it, the moment educators became involved it was no longer possible to conduct independent research on the expectations of the public vis-à-vis the future Pan Tadeusz Museum. Nonetheless, findings functioning in contemporary museum studies and theory of education proved to be of help in discovering an answer to those questions - predominantly, in publications by such museum professionals, philosophers, psychologists, and pedagogues as Lynn D. Dirking and John H. Falk, George E. Hein, Howard Gardner, and David Kolbe. Upon their basis it became possible to try to expand conventionally comprehended museum education connected, as a rule, with museum projects, in which educational objectives did not appear until the successive stages of their realisation, as was the case with the Pan Tadeusz Museum, where it was distinctly accentuated only after preparing an application for financing from European sources. Lisa C. Roberts noticed that the fulfilment of educational functions by a museum should - upon the level of exhibitions and programs - be characterised by a determination of superior goals connected with narration. Hence greater attention should be attached to inspiring visitors to discover and construe their narratives.²⁵ Naturally, it is much easier to put this down in writing than to realise it in praxis. Nonetheless, certain methods facilitating this task do exist. One of them is the language technique applied by educators in direct verbal work with the museum public; the technique in question consists of becoming open towards interpretation via the formulation of suppositions and conjectures instead of direct information. Another method involves "subjectivisation" allowing a presentation of a concrete fact through the filter of its chief participant. A successive method consists of producing surprise, which provokes assessments and involvement. Such techniques also help to develop exhibitions engaging visitors in the construction of individualised narrations, facilitating the realisation of the key task faced by every process of narration occurring in the space of the exposition, i.e. the creation by the visitor upon its basis of his own, and in a certain sense virtual, text. Practices consisting of the inclusion of social and historical contexts connected with objects or presenting the perspectives of other cultures comprise additional factors intensifying the narrative construction of the exposition, stressing the relativity and diversity of deciphering museum exhibits. Apart from interpretation, which exerts a fundamental impact on the creation of narration by the visitors, another method involves setting up educational targets linked with concrete visitors, their interests, and needs.²⁶ Upon a general level, and in reference to the most often applied typologies of the visitors and their needs met by museums, museum narration should take into account both methods and means adequate for professionals, characterised by a close connection with a given domain, as well as for visitors seeking sensations and "ticking off" a museum envisaged as one of many attractions. Persons motivated to tour by general curiosity about the museum's activity should not be omitted, and the same holds true for those whose visits concentrate predominantly on learning and interactions with the people with whom they tour the exhibition.²⁷

It is those contentual foundations of museum education – featured here in the most general outline possible – that delineate the range of the activity of educators, which consists of selecting objects for an exhibition as well as preparing its contents and ways of presentation.

The basic objective – as has been mentioned – was an attempt at expanding the conventional approach to museum education by introducing – while referring to the typology formulated by Carmen Mörsch – discourses other than affirmative and transformative, i.e. characteristic for traditionally comprehended education realised by museums.²⁸ At the same time, this objective involves implementing – as much as possible – elements of deconstruction and transformation discourses that embark upon a critical analysis of museums and the domains with which they deal and broaden the definitions of the institutions by recognising them to be factors of social changes.

The "Manuscript of Pan Tadeusz" permanent exhibition²⁹

The conception of the narration of the "Manuscript of Pan Tadeusz" permanent exhibition was connected with a second exposition realised within the "Mission:Poland" project dedicated to Władysław Bartoszewski and Jan Nowak--Jeziorański.³⁰ Its basic axis concentrated on the concept of "freedom", which comprised a shared wish, a message, and a basic value both for A. Mickiewicz and his works and the activity of W. Bartoszewski and J. Nowak-Jeziorański. A striving for freedom is inseparably connected with the history of Poland – her fall at the end of the eighteenth century, renascence during the inter-war period, another loss of freedom at the beginning of the Second World War and in the course of post-war restrictions, to the final recovery of liberty in 1989 and its enrootment by Poland's access to NATO structures in 1999 and the European Union in 2004. A thus constructed narration made it feasible to link into a single whole both permanent expositions of the Museum, rendering it achievable to merge contents referring to the autograph of Pan Tadeusz and an inclusion of witnesses of twentieth-century history into a joint narration. Here the keystone consisted of the complicated history of Poland and consecutive generations attempting to win independence

conceived as a basic dimension of liberty understood in the categories of modern statehood. In this sense the exhibition dedicated to the Manuscript was focused on motifs connected with Adam Mickiewicz and the circumstances that moulded him as the author of Pan Tadeusz as well as the significance of this literary work for nineteenth - and twentieth-century culture, primarily as a repository of gentry tradition but also as a catalyst of strivings towards political freedom. The "Mission: Poland" exhibition was, in turn, based on the biographies of two persons born and cast in independent inter-war Poland suffused with the Romantic spirit of Mickiewicz. Compelled by historical circumstances - similarly as Mickiewicz - they found themselves stateless, and after the end of World War II, active on both sides of the Iron Curtain they laboriously strove for Poland to win total political independence. After 1989 they also insisted on the introduction of Poland into structures guaranteeing greater military and economic security for the independent state.

On the one hand, the construction of exhibition narration founded on this motif made it possible to justify a combination of two different problems under a single roof: an exposition of a literary work and a biographical exhibition concerning historical figures not linked with it; on the other hand, it justified decisions regarding the choice of the detailed contents of both expositions, a fact of special significance for the one dedicated to the Manuscript of Pan Tadeusz. It was precisely this presentation that produced numerous additional problems, which, keeping in mind the clarity of the exposition, had to be resolved in such a way so as not to lose its fundamental meaning. Apart from the Work and its Author a separate motif, important due to the character of the institution, was a material object, i.e. the Manuscript – an artefact kept at Ossolineum.³¹ In turn, its history crossed with that of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław and was essential for justifying and explaining to the visitor the sense of opening the Pan Tadeusz Museum precisely in Wrocław.

The "Manuscript of Pan Tadeusz" exhibition was designed on two storeys of the House Under the Golden Sun in 6 Market Square, one of the most impressive and best-preserved town residences in Central Europe, 32 which, at the same time, as Małgorzata Orzeł noticed, definitely does not bring Polish culture to mind.33 The exhibition was composed of nine showrooms and a corridor - the tenth showroom was conceived as a link with the "Mission: Poland" exposition. The narration structure took into consideration the division and layout of particular interiors. The part arranged on the lower storey was dedicated to the circumstances of the origin of Pan Tadeusz. Here, the authors of the display foresaw a presentation of the main exhibit of the Museum - the autograph of the national epic. The upper storey was to feature motifs directly associated with the contents of Pan Tadeusz as well as its reception and significance. In accordance with the prime narration axis the message was focused on the concept of freedom and the role performed by artistic creativity in its comprehension by successive generations of Poles. Corresponding to the direction of the narration the lower storey includes the following showrooms: 1. The Epoch, 2. The Romantic Salon, 3. Mickiewicz, 4. The Library and 5. The Manuscript. On the upper storey narration passes through: 6. The Nobility,

7. The House, 8. Meaning, and 9. Freedom and then the corridor: 10. Afterimages.³⁴

The Epoch showroom opening the exhibition concentrates on historical events of greatest impact on Adam Mickiewicz - their traces are present in different forms in the content of Pan Tadeusz. The showroom is also a presentation of the history of the Manuscript, its provenance, and the circumstances in which it became property of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław.35 The exposition started with a monumental showcase featuring exhibits connected with the culture of the Commonwealth of Two Nations (second half of the eighteenth century) and evoking persons and political events that affected the last years of the state prior to its final fall. The events in question were displayed against the backdrop of an enlarged reproduction of Le gâteau des rois, a graphic work by Noel Lemir (after 1773) – a symbolic and, at the same time, satirical depiction of the first partition of Poland. The same scene was presented in a more legible manner by the anonymous author of an oil canvas - the first work encountered by the Museum visitor.³⁶ Successive exhibits referred to debates of the Four Years' Sejm and its greatest accomplishment, i.e. the Third May Constitution, as well as the Kościuszko Insurrection. The latter was illustrated also by Cavalry Skirmish, a sketch to the painting: Kościuszko at Maciejowice by Jan Bogumił Plersch (1795), and Scene from the Kościuszko Insurrection – Bulwark Defended by Cracow Peasants by Aleksander Orłowski (1798), both showing battle scenes from the Insurrection, together with an oil portrait of its commander, Tadeusz Kościuszko, executed by Feliks Hanusz (1865). The same showroom contains exhibits referring to the Napoleonic wars and the unique "Napoleon mania"37 prevailing during the nineteenth century – its devotees included Adam Mickiewicz.³⁸ On the other hand, the history of the Manuscript was accompanied by a single exhibit, i.a. a casket made in the second half of the nineteenth century specially for storing the autograph.³⁹ The exhibits were additionally supplemented by multimedia presentations, including the dominating - both visually and sonically - large-format Panorama of the epoch: a graphic collage of historical events from the end of the eighteenth century to the 1830s. The adjoining display was an in-depth presentation of contents referring to scenes depicted in the Panorama and planned in such a way so that it could be viewed by persons of different heights and those on invalid chairs. The selection of suitable contents was achieved by focusing one of three monitors on the selected scenes. Showcases containing exhibits possessed separate multimedia stations in the shape of transparent screens as well as rear projectors and stations using Augmented Reality technology, each offering the visitor a different type of access to the presented questions. Transparent screens enabled making an independent choice of in-depth contents and – thanks to a show of 3D scans - created an opportunity to see some of the exhibits invisible in a frontal view. Active access to contents was offered also by a computer presentation connected with the casket – the only in the showroom addressed to young visitors (6-10-year olds). Here the contents, adequately to the age of the target recipient, did not offer historical information associated with the casket but, via this exhibit, drew attention to more general questions resulting from a supra- and inter-generational need for placing treasured objects not only in secure settings but also in settings valuable or exceptional for their owner.⁴⁰ Its contradiction – owing to the addressee, the way of depicting the content, and the information content – was a station composed of a rear projection screen showing the history of the manuscript and requiring several minutes devoted to a static and concentrated reception of the contents in the form of a fictionalised time axis.

The Salon – a successive stage of the exhibition narration - was linked with the intellectual and artistic evolution of Mickiewicz as a representative of the Romantic epoch. The architectural outfitting of this showroom created an opportunity to use it for a presentation of paintings, while its size (this being one of the largest interiors employed for exposition purposes) predestined it for a concert hall. Hence while arranging this space the author of the project resigned from showcases and considered the presence of a piano and chairs for the public. On the other hand, selected exhibits were to evoke a period when Adam Mickiewicz attended meetings held by early nineteenth-century intellectual and cultural luminaries. The presented paintings, therefore, are connected via their themes or authors with Romantic art or historical figures who held salons frequented by Mickiewicz. Paintings on show were dominated by landscapes from the 1820s and 1830s,41 a period that exerted direct impact on the stand represented by the author of Pan Tadeusz, as well as a portrait of Henrietta Drohojowska by Józef Pitschmann (after 1800), visually linked with the piano on display in the showroom. The most prominent exhibit was a statue portraying Adam Mickiewicz, executed by Pierre Jean David d'Angers (1835). The multimedia part expanded visual experiences by introducing a musical aspect: on the one hand, it offered - due to the showroom's sound system - access to a selection of music from the Romantic epoch, while, on the other hand, and through multimedia stations outfitted with earphones - access to in-depth contents of questions connected with the history of music illustrated by examples. The same stations provided information about the history of painting from the first half of the nineteenth century. The whole display - thanks to a merger of thematic motifs in a single space - presented sources of the intellectual and social development of European representatives of the young generation from the onset of the nineteenth century.⁴² A separate group, composed of portraits of members of the family of Juliusz Słowacki and occupying a whole wall of the gallery, illustrated this motif by referring directly to the biography of Adam Mickiewicz, a habitué of the salon held by Słowacki's mother Salomea Bécu.

The *Mickiewicz* showroom was dedicated to the biography of the author of *Pan Tadeusz*; here narration was defined predominantly by multi-media applications displayed on six spatially expanded stations, each composed of two presentation areas and a small showcase for the exhibits. The visual aspect of the multimedia presentation was dominated by animation in the form of an impression featured sequentially on vertical glass screens. The main protagonist was the Bard travelling from screen to screen between scenery referring to one of the six motifs connected with his biography. ⁴³ Pertinent information was accessible thanks to additional monitors installed into pulpits, next to small spaces, which, in turn, showed drawn and bas-relief portraits of Mickiewicz at different stages of



1. Pan Tadeusz Museum in Wrocław, Mickiewicz room, April 2016

his life. Rhythmically arranged multimedia stations guided the visitor towards a monumental reproduction of a map of nineteenth-century Europe with a marked route of the voyages, which Adam Mickiewicz took during his lifetime.⁴⁴ Multi-media stations supplemented contents connected, on the one hand, with the theme of the journey and, on the other hand, directly evoking Pan Tadeusz and dedicated to the correspondence conducted by its author in the course of writing the epic poem as well as illustrations, whose most imposing and influential examples (executed by Michał Elwiro Andriolli) are to be found in the Lwów edition from 1882. Scarce remaining exhibits in this showroom were to create the context of selected episodes from Mickiewicz's biography by conjuring historical views of Wilno, portraits of his friends and children, voyages, and objects most probably belonging to the Bard.

The penultimate room on the lower storey is The Library. Arranged in a nineteenth-century style it was dedicated to widely comprehended literary inspirations of an epoch that moulded both Mickiewicz's generation and the institutional and material history of readership and literature. The arrangement of The Library space made it possible to feature reprints and models of most important books, which shaped the literary taste of a generation that matured and initiated independent literary activity during the third decade of the nineteenth century. Exhibits also included reprints of the first Parisian edition of Pan Tadeusz. Each reprint fulfilled the function not so much of a museum exhibit as that of a unique item, which - as in a real library - can be taken off a shelf. The visitor could be just as active in the case of multimedia applications presented in this space by means of a leap motion controller translating

hand and finger movements: swipe, tap, and turn page gestures, and installed in the form of a large reading room table. The applications enabled the creation of multimedia books providing access to in-depth contents, for which the interface was composed of blank books with hard covers. In this way the visitor had at his disposal material books with virtual contents screened after opening and placed under a lamp in which the appliance had been installed.⁴⁵

The Library led to the last showroom on the lower storey. In accordance with its name, The Manuscript room was intended for the prime exhibit, i.e. the autograph of Pan Tadeusz in a showcase and a setting resembling a historicised interior supplemented by a multimedia presentation. The opposite side of the interior featured a triple station with large-format screens containing a digitalised version of the Manuscript offering visitors access to its contents.

Concluding the narration on the lower storey in the showroom featuring the Manuscript made it possible to complete the theme connected with the circumstances of the origin of *Pan Tadeusz* and with its Author, as well as opening it up – on the upper storey – to the epic poem as such, its plot, and significance in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Polish culture. The five exposition spaces situated here were divided in such a way that the first two: *The Nobility* and *The House* were connected with the contents of *Pan Tadeusz*, while successive spaces: *Meaning, Freedom,* and *Afterimages* (the corridor) referred to the reception and impact of the Epic Poem.

The project of the exhibition configuration linked *The Nobility* and *The House* rooms by means of a similar concept referring them to two domains of the plot of *Pan Tadeusz* concentrated on gentry culture. *The Nobility* showroom displayed motifs connected with the visible, external, and

representative public sphere, and thus accentuated – by selecting exhibits and topics of multimedia material – the "masculine" type of connotations linked with it. 46 At the same time, they referred directly to themes justified by the plot of Pan Tadeusz. The most characteristic element of the thus comprehended exhibition space was "stretching" it between the castle and the manor house, proposed in the arrangement project. The first sphere was delineated by a set of exhibits and presentation material, which took up a considerable part of the right-hand side wall of The Nobility room. The showcase displayed graphic works after drawings by Napoleon Orda, showing landscapes with the motif of manor houses and other gentry residences originating in the nineteenth century. The adjoining interactive station used a kinect appliance, which permitted a virtual tour inside a manor house in Koszuty (the county of Środa, Greater Poland), one of the best-preserved gentry seats of its sort from the second half of the eighteenth century. The castle zone, situated opposite the manor house, occupied a large part of the left-hand side wall of The Nobility showroom and was limited to a setting occupying a fragment of the façade with windows and a door portal. Its defensive character was emphasised by rustic bossage and thickset proportions of the openings, while the ambiance of the castle was accentuated by installed replicas of Renaissance torches. The setting was used, predominantly, as a dais and background for displaying contemporary sculptures comprising an element of the visual arts arrangement of the exhibition, and as scenery for a film projection. The figures and the film presented the theme of historical men's costumes (replicas) and ways of wearing them. Linking this topic with the contents of Pan Tadeusz was the reason for the appearance of the costumes of a Jew, a monk, and a peasant, apart from those of the gentry. The significance of the poem's content for the layout and selection of themes in this showroom was indicated also by a multimedia station centrally placed between the castle and the manor and in the form of a clock face with a projection screen on the dome. This station was worked by the visitor, who by choosing an hour with the help of a hand of the clock set into motion a suitable fragment of the sound version of Pan Tadeusz from a book whose number corresponds to the given hour. The application contains fragments of the epic poem describing the customs of the gentry. Visually, they were illustrated by animations screened on the dome of the clock face. Within the context of the masculine connotations of this part of the exposition the content of the poem made it possible to stress primarily two motifs conspicuous in



2. Pan Tadeusz Museum in Wrocław, table in the Library room, April 2016



3. Pan Tadeusz Museum in Wrocław, The Nobility room, April 2016

Pan Tadeusz: the ways in which the gentry spent leisure time and fulfilled official functions. The former referred to hunting and picking wild mushrooms, and the latter – to the names of the main protagonists. Exhibits, which the organisers managed to collect in this room, supplemented the main thematic motifs and included paintings portraying gentry officials, hunt scenes, a replica of a kontusz (an outer garment worn by the male nobility) and its original components as well as a set of documents connected with administering a landed estate and legal acts binding in the Commonwealth of Two Nations.

The House showroom accentuated the role played by women in gentry culture. Here, the organisers focused on presenting the private, inner, and domestic space described in Pan Tadeusz. Hence this part of the exposition was dedicated to so-called dining culture and gentry culinary tradition as well as female fashion and the private (intimate) dimension of "costume culture".47 Space was dominated by a showcase together with a table fulfilling an exposition function and featuring elements of tableware supplemented by a multimedia presentation, whose topics could be chosen by the visitor. Showcases arranged around the table contained additional exhibits connected with the interior of a gentry residence from the turn of the eighteenth century - furniture, tableware, vessels as well as replicas of women's costumes from the beginning of the nineteenth century, accompanied by multimedia stations referring to particular monuments⁴⁸ and the contents of Pan Tadeusz.⁴⁹

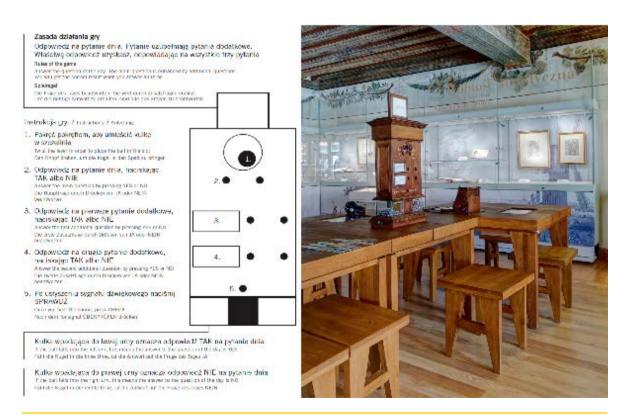
As has been mentioned, the last three showrooms of the "Manuscript of Pan Tadeusz" exhibition were dedicated to the reception and role of the text. The first – Meaning – was arranged in the form of a cinema rotunda composed of three concave screens on a circular plan and hanging on walls together with analogously shaped boards with

large-format graphic works separating them. The layout of exhibit showcases under the screens echoed the arrangement of the former and the boards. The centre of the thus designed space featured a two-level seat on a circular plan, which allowed the visitor to sit opposite a selected screen. Such a design of the room exerted a direct impact on choosing the way of presenting a specially prepared film and its content. The making of the film also referred to the architecture of the showroom so as to stress the diversity and variability of the assessment of Mickiewicz's text. The film: Porozumienie ponad podziałami (Consensus over Divides), maintained in the convention of a mockumentary, showed a fictional scene from a discussion conducted in an advertisement agency, with the agent inviting literary scholars as experts with whom she might talk about a proposed new edition of Pan Tadeusz addressed to young readers. The two experts represented radically different stands, the sort that had been formulated in past assessments of the work in question. While exchanging views they referred to authentic opinions held by men of letters, literary critics, and scholars in the course of 180 years from the moment of the poem's publication. The debate was projected simultaneously on all three screens so that the spectator sitting opposite one of them could comfortably follow the statements of one of its participants.

The station of the second expert called for turning in its direction and thus disturbing the "standard" and most uninterrupted way of watching the shown film, i.e. by facing the screen. This operation was used for illustrating the process, characteristic for reception, of identifying with opinions about works, which are closest to the individual point of view (and in the context of this arrangement – the most comfortable). Showcases under the screens featured documents, whose part comprised the first editions of *Pan Tadeusz*, their translations into foreign languages, original



4. Pan Tadeusz Museum in Wrocław, Meaning room, April 2016



 $5.\ Pan\ Tadeusz\ Museum\ in\ Wrocław,\ Freedom\ room,\ and\ the\ user's\ manual\ of\ an\ interactive\ device,\ May\ 2016$

(Wszystkie fot. / All photos: M. Szeląg)

literary and critical texts expressing the opinions of the protagonists of the mockument as well as others testifying to the impact of the poem both on literature and assorted fields of artistic creativity, such as the visual arts, the cinema, and the theatre.

The Freedom showroom was a culmination of the ideological narration motif of the exhibition divided into four sub-topics: Political freedom, Gentry freedom, Personal freedom and Artistic freedom. Its layout was inspired by Book IV of Pan Tadeusz - the scene at Jankiel's tavern, with a distinct motif of armed struggle waged for the sake of regaining independence. The accentuation of the pro-independence theme was identified with the concept of liberty, in particular its political dimension guaranteeing sovereign existence, which in formally, legally, and culturally defined conditions constitutes the fundamental element of another sort of freedom. In reference to the plot of the epic poem stress was placed, first and foremost, on the liberty of the nobility, whose reminiscences constitute the dramaturgic axis of the plot of Pan Tadeusz. Drawing attention to artistic and personal freedom, both present in the poem to a slight degree, made it possible to underline the topicality of the national problem in Pan Tadeusz. In accordance with the hierarchy of "significance" the visitor began touring the Freedom showroom by choosing a direction – either from Gentry freedom (to the right of the showroom entrance) or from Political freedom (to the left). Subsequently, he viewed Personal freedom or Artistic freedom. Each theme was represented by exhibits originating from a period spanning from the end of the eighteenth century to the 1980s, including paintings, graphic works, sculptures, documents, coins, patriotic jewellery, photographs, and everyday items (clothes, shoes, a tape recorder), making it possible to illustrate assorted events by means of the artefacts recalling them. The above-mentioned reference to Jankiel's tavern was expressed by an introduction into the centre of the showroom of four wooden tables, each being "assigned" to one of the freedoms discussed by exhibits in the showcases. The tables constituted a setting for multimedia stations - digital and analog. The former - in the shape of an expanded computer application – made it possible to access in-depth contents by discussing each problem presented in the room from a historical perspective and in connection with the contents of Pan Tadeusz. They were also supplemented by contemporary musical illustration, as in the case of the Personal freedom theme, which involved compositions performed by the R.U.T.A band, brilliantly resonating with the question of the oppression of serfs. In turn, Gentry freedom was a pretext for creating a game whose plot and tasks were based on historical events connected with the course of the parliamentary sessions of the Sejm convoked at the time of the decline of the Commonwealth of Two Nations. Analog interactivities, similarly as digital ones, were linked with particular types of freedom, thus encouraging the interested visitor to resort to manual activities developing both creative and analytical skills. They included one of the most controversial ways of perceiving freedom, roughly described as a "ballot box". This was an appliance whose task was to collect answers to the question of the day displayed at its top and additionally supplemented by two indirect ones, which could influence the final answer given to the main enquiry.⁵⁰

The visitor went from the Freedom showroom along the Afterimages corridor, whose characteristic features were granted by presentations shown on fog screens and a video wall in its closing section. The corridor was to form a literal and metaphorical merger of the "Manuscript of Pan Tadeusz" exhibition and "Mission: Poland" dedicated to Władysław Bartoszewski and Jan Nowak-Jeziorański. The fog screens, which the visitor passed while walking along the corridor, showed selected film stills or fragments of motion pictures made by the so-called Polish Film School. Their symbolic meaning concerned the significance of the cinema for twentieth-century collective imagination, with the film taking over the function fulfilled by literature in the not-so-distant nineteenth century. Within this context the corridor linked the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and concrete scenes chosen from motion pictures – not only those universally present in the collective awareness of the Poles but also those dealing with widely comprehended freedom-oriented problems - stressed the ideological connection between nineteenth-century Mickiewicz and the Bartoszewski and Nowak-Jeziorański generation, born already in the twentieth century.

The preparation of the "Manuscript of Pan Tadeusz" exhibition, which according to its initial premise was to be an innovative educational space addressed to the contemporary visitor, constituted both an enormous opportunity and a challenge producing many difficulties in the realisation stage. The opportunity was a consequence of the potential embedded in resources and means provided for the authors and realisers of the exhibition, who had at their disposal a renovated historical building in the centre of Wrocław, the vast collections of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, and the prestige of this institution, which made it easier to obtain exhibits also from other museums. libraries. and archives, both at home and abroad. 51 Additional financing granted by European funds and own means as well as the Ossolineum staff facilitated the realisation of construction, arrangement, technological, and conservation undertakings on time and with the preservation of high standards. On the other hand, it appears that the symbolic meaning of the text to which the main exposition was dedicated and the role it played in national culture constituted the core of difficulties encountered in the course of the exposition's realisation. They pertained predominantly to discussions about the ultimate shape of concrete exhibition solutions, which appeared whenever it was proposed to reduce and limit the presented contents, or when suggestions aimed at bringing problems broached in Pan Tadeusz as well as their reception up to date were introduced by referring to an education discourse other than an affirmative one – to cite concepts introduced by Carmen Mörch.⁵² Such were the consequences of divergencies concerning the way in which current education tasks of museums making use of newest technologies, and the potential offered by contemporary curator and education strategies, should be realised, especially in a situation when emphasis is placed on the importance of the visitors' experience instead of historical knowledge, as in the mockumentary shown in the Significance showroom or

analog interactivities in the *Freedom* room, which introduced elements of a deconstructive and transformative discourse into exposition space. In doing so they permitted

a critical reaction to the contents on show at the exhibition and their introduction into the sphere of the world in which the visitors function today.

Przypisy

- ¹ Apart from the author of this text, who became curator of the "Manuscript of Pan Tadeusz" exhibition and a contentual supervisor of solutions addressed to the disabled as well as of exposition arrangement, the core of the team was composed of Dr Piotr Szaradowski and Paulina Szeląg, both with longstanding museum education experience and authors of publications on museum education. Furthermore, assorted levels of the realisation of the exhibition and its particular elements involved Jolanta Gomula, former head of the Educational Section at the National Museum in Cracow and initiator of the Education Centre of the Royal Łazienki Museum, Piotr Górajec, previously employee and head of the Education Department at the Museum of King Jan Ill's Palace at Wilanów, and Sabina Mayer and Beata Salamon from the Department of Education at the National Museum in Poznań. All were connected with the Museum Educators' Forum.
- ² M. Orzeł, Pan Tadeusz w Zakładzie Narodowym im. Ossolińskich, in: Inne strony rękopisu Pana Tadeusza, [catalogue], Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 2017, pp. 25–30.
- ³ A. Juzwenko, *Komentarz do artykułu z Gazety Wrocławskiej z dn. 6 grudnia 2013,* "Gazeta Wrocławska" 10 December 2013, p. 1 and 4, https://ossolineum. pl/index. php/komentarz-do-artykulu-z-gazety-wrocławskiej-z-dn-6-grudnia-2013/ [accessed on: 3 June 2018].
- ⁴ Ibidem.
- ⁵ The Program Board included: Dr Justyna Bajda (chairperson), Joanna Bojarska, Prof. Dr hab. Marcin Cieński, Prof. Dr hab. Bogusław Dopart, Dr Dariusz Gawin, Dr hab. Krzysztof Koehler, Zbigniew Maćków, Jan Ołdakowski, Prof. Dr hab. Andrzej Waśko, Prof. Dr hab. Jerzy Zdrada and employees of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław; cf. M. Orzeł, *Muzeum Pana Tadeusza jako ikona współczesnego Wrocławia*, in: *Pan Tadeusz. Poemat Postacie Recepcja*, E. Hoffmann-Piotrowska, A. Fabianowski (ed.), Wydawnictwo UW, Warszawa 2016, pp. 448–449.
- ⁶ Program ekspozycji stałej Muzeum Pana Tadeusza we Wrocławiu w Kamienicy pod Złotym Słońcem, J. Bajda (prep.), Wrocław 2011, typescript, pp. 3–5.
- ⁷ Prof. Dr hab. Stanisław Waltoś (chairperson), Joanna Bojarska, Alicja Knast, Dr Paweł Ukielski, Prof. Dr hab. Michał Jędrzejewski, Tadeusz Kosarewicz, Dr Stanisław Lose, Zbigniew Maćków, Adam Dobrucki, and Małgorzata Orzeł.
- ⁸ Wyrok Sądu Konkursowego powołanego przez Zamawiającego Organizatora Konkursu, a mianowicie Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich na Koncepcję ekspozycji stałej Muzeum Pana Tadeusza we Wrocławiu w Kamienicy pod Złotym Słońcem wydany i ogłoszony w dniu 24 lutego 2012 r. we Wrocławiu, https://ossolineum.pl/index.php/wyniki-konkursu-na-koncepcje-ekspozycji-stalej-muzeum-pana-tadeusza/ [accessed on: 3 June 2018].
- ⁹ The application concerning funds from the Operational Program Infrastructure and Environment was sent in May 2102; cf. A. Juzwenko, Komentarz do artykulu...
- ¹⁰ The costs of the project were estimated at 17 980 160 zlotys, *ibidem*.
- ¹¹ This time Ossolineum applied for funds from the Financial Mechanism of European Economic Area 2009–2014 and the Norwegian Financial Mechanism 2009–2014 as part of the "Conservation and Revitalisation of Cultural Heritage" program, *ibidem*; the sum required for additional financing amounted to 38 491 789 zlotys.
- 12 M. Orzeł, E. Dzikowska, P. Załuski, Muzeum Pana Tadeusza. Scenariusz ekspozycji, Wrocław, no date, typescript, 96 pp.
- ¹³ Listy obiektów muzealnych jako propozycje do zatwierdzenia w scenariuszu rzeczowym Muzeum Pana Tadeusza, typescript, 80 pp.
- ¹⁴ Cf. Historia rękopisu Pana Tadeusza teksty, konteksty, realia. I odsłona wystawy, fasc. 1–3, M. Orzeł (prep.), Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 2012.
- ¹⁵ M. Łuczyńska, *Historia rękopisu Pana Tadeusza*, http://skarbykultury.pl/wydarzenia-wczoraj-dzis-jutro/recenzje/1194-historia-rekopisu-pana-tadeusza [accessed on: 5 August 2018].
- ¹⁶ J. Gomula, P. Górajec, M. Szeląg, Autorska propozycja korekty scenariusza rzeczowego sal 1–9 Wystawy Głównej Muzeum Pana Tadeusza, Warszawa-Poznań, September 2014, typescript, 181 pp.
- 17 J. Gomula, P. Górajec, M. Szeląg, Autorska propozycja zmiany założeń dotyczących wykorzystania multimediów w Projekcie Muzeum Pana Tadeusza, Warszawa-Poznań. October 2014. typescript. 134 pp.
- ¹⁸ J. Gomula, P. Górajec, M. Szeląg, Autorska propozycja założeń programu edukacyjnego Muzeum Pana Tadeusza (podstawa do dalszych opracowań), Warszawa-Poznań, November 2014, typescript, 114 pp.
- ¹⁹ J. Gomula, P. Górajec, M. Szeląg, *Uzupełnienie scenariuszy rzeczowych stanowisk multimedialnych Muzeum Pana Tadeusza, w zakresie sal 6–10 (Informacje niezbędne dla dalszych etapów prac nad stanowiskami multimedialnymi ekspozycji głównej*), Warszawa-Poznań, January 2015, typescript, 108 pp.
- ²⁰ Lists of exhibits included objects from leading world museums presented at permanent exhibitions. Moreover, the original proposals exceeded the chronological range, justified by narration, of the exhibition, whose part connected directly with *Pan Tadeusz* should have concentrated on the turn of the eighteenth century and references to its author should have been restricted to the 1830s or to later objects albeit directly linked with the created narration. Consequently, the suggested lists did not become a basis for the inauguration version of the exposition. The final list of presented exhibits was, predominantly, the effect of work conducted by a team of educators and took into account supplementary surveys carried out in Polish museum collections at the turn of 2015; cf. also note 51.
- ²¹ Cf. note 1.
- ²² L. C. Roberts, From Knowledge to Narrative. Educators and the Changing Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 1997, pp. 131–152.
- ²³ More extensively in: D. Preziosi, *Nowoczesność ponownie: muzeum jako trompe l'oeil,* in: *Display. Strategie wystawiania,* M. Hiussakowska, E. M. Tatar (ed.). Universitas. Kraków 2012. pp. 65–80.
- ²⁴ Analiza wystawy uwzględniająca czynnik czasu; cf. M. Bal, Wystawa jako film, in: ibidem, pp. 105–132.
- ²⁵ L. C. Roberts, From Knowledge to Narrative..., p. 142.

- ²⁶ Ibidem, p. 143.
- ²⁷ J. H. Falk, L. D. Dierking, *The Museum Experience Revisited*, Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek 2013.
- 28 C. Mörch, At a Crossroads of Four Discourses, in: Between Critical Practice and Visitor Services, C. Mörch (ed.), Zürich 2009, pp. 9–11.
- ²⁹ The description of the exhibition presented in a further part of this article deals with its form at the time of inauguration in April 2016. The current exhibition was altered particularly as regards its holistic message composed also of the presence of the "Mission:Poland" exposition. Interventions most important from the viewpoint of contents pertained to a division of the permanent expositions of the Museum (by introducing separate entrance tickets), the inclusion into showrooms of objects, which chronologically and historically do not correspond to the main narration, and the removal of exhibits whose purpose was to justify exposition layouts (women's shoes together with a corset in the *Personal Freedom* section).
- 30 The exhibition was prepared by a team composed of Mariusz Urbanek (head), Małgorzata Preisner-Stokłosa, and Mateusz Pałka.
- ³¹ The Manuscript consists of two parts bound together: a notebook in a marbled cardboard cover and an album with several score clean pages. It is accompanied by four documents associated with the Manuscript; cf. E. Ostromęcka, *Nota katalogowa nr 1,2*. *Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855) Pan Tadeusz, 1832–1834*. *Autograf poematu w czystopisie i brulionie,* in: *Inne strony rękopisu...*, p. 87.
- ³² P. Oszczanowski, A. Dobrzyniecki, *Pod Złotym Słońcem. Rynek 6 we Wrocławiu. Dom mieszczan, rezydencja władców, arcydzieło architektury,* Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, Wrocław 2016, p. 7.
- 33 M. Orzeł, Muzeum Pana Tadeusza..., p. 450.
- ³⁴ In relation to the original project conception in which particular showrooms were given names: 1. *The Epoch*, 2. *The Romantic Salon. European Romanticism*, 3. *Polish Romanticism*, 4. *The Library of a Romantic*, 5. *The Manuscript*, 6. *The Polish Language Centre*, 7. *The Polish House*, 8. *The Reception of Pan Tadeusz*, 9. *The Permanence and Continuity of Romantic Ideas* and the corridor between expositions, 10. *Contemporaneity*, the themes of the rooms did not undergo a fundamental change and different names were given at the stage of realisation.
- ³⁵ Originally it was assumed that the history of the manuscript would be presented in room 9.
- ³⁶ Anonymous, *Le gâteau des rois*, after 1773.
- ³⁷ The miniatures portrayed members of Napoleon's family, elements of uniforms of Polish armies serving under Napoleon's command, medals, and minor Napoleonic-theme objects from the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.
- ³⁸ A. Mickiewicz, *Dzieła*, vol. X, *Literatura Słowiańska. Kurs drugi*, J. Krzyżanowski *et al.* (editorial committee), Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Czytelnik, Warszawa 1955. p. 282.
- ³⁹ The casket was commissioned by Stanisław Tarnowski and made by Józef Korwin Brzostowski in 1873; cf. E. Ostromęcka, *Nota katalogowa nr 3. Szkatuła hebanowa do przechowywania rękopisu Pana Tadeusza Adama Mickiewicza ozdobiona płaskorzeźbami i rytowanymi płytkami z kości słoniowej,* 1873, in: *Inne strony rękopisu...*, pp. 87–88.
- ⁴⁰ This purpose of the application referred to the premises of progressive education and in particular the conception launched by John Dewey, cf. G. E. Hein, *Progressive Museum Practice, John Dewey and Democracy*, Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek 2012, p. 75.
- 41 Including: Antoni Lange, Romantic Landscape (1834), On the Bank of a Bay (1837), Ruins of Teczyn Castle (1839), Ruins of Odrzykoń Castle (1839).
- ⁴² The multimedia character of the showroom referred to a conception of styles of learning; cf. D. Kolb, *Experiential Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey 1984.
- ⁴³ The themes were: Home and family, Literary oeuvre, Extra-literary activity, Friends and close acquaintances, Life of Adam Mickiewicz: synthesis.
- ⁴⁴ By juxtaposing the circulation of persons between multimedia stands and depicting journeys on a map the Mickiewicz showroom brought to the foreground aesthetic experiences envisaged as primary for building narration by provoking personal artistic experiences. Leslie Bedford maintains that this way of shaping exhibition space is the most effective instrument for involving the visitor and affects him not by presenting facts but by stirring emotions; cf.
 L. Bedford, The Art of Museum Exhibitions: How Story and Imagination Creates Aesthetic Experiences, Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek 2014, pp. 91–128.
- ⁴⁵ Both varieties of haptic activity made it possible to change the perspective of access to contents within museum space, particularly essential for visitors whose ways of becoming acquainted with reality are based to a greater degree on bodily-kinaesthetic intelligence, cf. *Muzea i uczenie się przez całe życie podręcznik europejski*, P. Majewski (ed.), NIMOZ, Warszawa 2013, p. 30.
- ⁴⁶ On masculine and feminine connotations of museum expositions cf. G. Porter, *Przejrzeć przez konkret: feministyczne spojrzenie na muzea, in: Muzeum sztuki. Antologia,* M. Popczyk (ed.), Universitas, Kraków 2005, pp. 411–430.
- ⁴⁷ Stations dedicated to women's costumes and female and male clothes.
- ⁴⁸ The application dedicated to the development of cutlery in the eighteenth century was realised in the form of a game, whose purpose was to select a suitable piece of historical cutlery to match a dish. It thus referred not so much to the visitors' historical knowledge about the presented cutlery and tableware as to their life experience and imagination.
- ⁴⁹ The *Culinary Dictionary* presentation shown on a screen concealed in a showcase resembling a cabinet was an animated film featuring a contemporary vision of an Old Polish feast together with its course and dishes, whose recipes were borrowed from *Kucharz doskonały* by Wojciech Wielądko, published in 1783. The same cookbook was used by Adam Mickiewicz while writing *Pan Tadeusz*.
- ⁵⁰ The posed question asking: should every person have the right to freely cross state borders? was supplemented by successive questions: 1. can the frontiers of Poland be freely crossed by citizens of states in which armed conflicts take place? 2. can the frontiers of Poland be freely crossed by citizens of states threatened with terrorism?
- 51 Objects used for the inauguration of the exhibition were loaned by the National Museum in Warsaw, the National Museum in Cracow, the National Museum in Wrocław, the Leon Wyczółkowski Regional Museum in Bydgoszcz, the City Museum of Wrocław, the Karkonosze Mountains Museum in Jelenia Góra, the Museum in Bolesławiec, the Boris Voznitski Lviv Art Gallery, the Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine, the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw.
- ⁵² C. Mörch, At a Crossroads of Four Discourses..., pp. 9–11.

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