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MIECZYŚLAW TRETER (1883–1943): PRECURSOR OF POLISH MUSEOLOGY

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Abstract: Mieczysław Treter is by no means an ordinary individual: an art historian, aesthetician, museum practitioner and theoretician-museologist, an individual of many professions, lecturer, journal editor, member of numerous organizations, propagator of Polish art abroad, manager, exhibition organizer. In the interwar period one of the most influential critics and art theoreticians, among the museum circles he was mainly known as the author of the recently reissued 1917 publication called *Contemporary Museums. Museological Study. Beginnings, Types, Essence, and Organization of Museums. Public Museum Collections in Poland and Their Future Development*.

Born on 2 August 1883 in Lvov, in 1904 Mieczysław Henryk Treter started working with the Prince Lubomirski Museum as the scholarship holder of the Lvov Ossolineum. In 1910, he became Curator at the Museum, performing this function until the outbreak of WW I. He participated in the First Congress of Polish Museologists, held in Cracow on 4 and 5 April 1914. During WW I, he was in Kharkov and Crimea, and it was there that he wrote his most important study *Contemporary Museums*. In 1917, having moved to Kiev

he became involved in the activity of the social movement for the care of Polish monuments throughout the former Russian Empire. In 1918, he returned to Lvov, became member of the national Eastern Galicia Conservation Circle, and retook the position of the Curator at the Prince Lubomirski Museum, to finally become its Director. On 4 February 1922, Mieczysław Treter was appointed Director of the State Art Collections, the position he retained until 1924. In 1926, he became Director of the Society for the Promotion of Polish Art Abroad, whose main task was to promote works of Polish artists in Poland and abroad. He passed away in Warsaw on 25 October 1943.

Systematizing the theoretical knowledge and the report on the existing museums in the country deprived of its statehood in the book *Contemporary Museums* created a departure point for its Author, who following Poland's regaining independence worked out the organization of state collections. Treter's proposals were to regulate the position of Polish museum institutions complicated due to the partition period, for them, while rivaling foreign museums, to become elements boosting the young state's prestige.

Keywords: Mieczysław Treter (1883–1943), museologist, museum, classification of collections, museum policy.

Mieczysław Treter is by no means an ordinary individual: an art historian, aesthetician, museum practitioner and theoretician-museologist, individual of many professions, lecturer, journal editor, member of numerous organizations, propagator of Polish art abroad, manager, exhibition organizer. In the interwar period one of the most influential critics and art theoreticians, this being reminded by the publication of Diana Wasilewska that has been released this year.¹ Among the museum circles he was mainly known as the author of the recently reissued 1917 publication called *Contemporary Museums. Museological Study. Beginnings, Types, Essence,*

and Organization of Museums. Public Museum Collections in Poland and Their Future Development.²

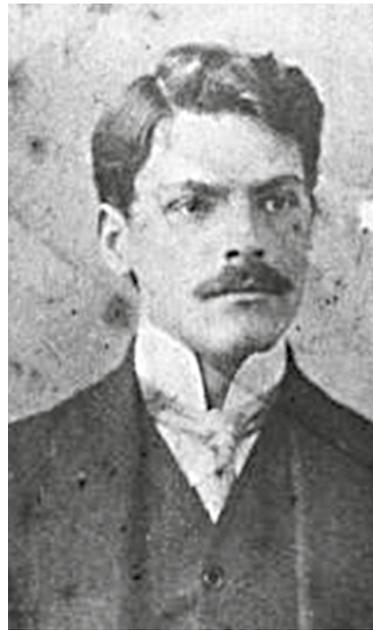
Born on 2 August 1882 in Lvov,³ it was there that Mieczysław Henryk Treter graduated from the Lvov Musical Institute and Philological Department of the University of Lvov where he studied philosophy under Kazimierz Twardowski, creator of the Lvov-Warsaw school of philosophy, as well as history of art under Jan Bożo Antoniewicz, supervisor of Treter's doctoral dissertation defended in 1910.⁴ The education, the first teachers, and the cultural-artistic circles of the 'city of museums', as he

used to call Lvov,⁵ with which he was connected for almost 40 years, undoubtedly had some impact on his later career.

Treter first came across the institution of museum already in 1904 when he started working for the Museum of Prince Lubomirski as a grant holder of the Lvov Ossolineum.⁶ In 1909, he published a guide to its collections, worked out on the grounds of the long-standing inventoring conducted by the Museum Curator of the time Edward Pawłowicz and his own, signalling the importance of the institution as a major cultural centre of the city.⁷ In 1910, he became Curator of the Prince Lubomirski Museum, and performed the function until the outbreak of WW I.⁸ Treter attended the First Congress of Polish Museologists, held in Cracow on 4–5 April 1914, participated by representatives of the major museums from the territories of the three partitions.⁹ Furthermore, he travelled a lot, as of 1907 frequently attending the Venice Biennale,¹⁰ also writing reports on exhibitions in Rome;¹¹ in July 1913, he ‘personally’ visited the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil.¹²

During WW I, he was in Kharkov and Crimea, and it was there that he wrote his most important study *Contemporary Museums*. In 1917, having moved to Kiev, he became involved in the activity of the social movement for the care of Polish monuments throughout the former Russian Empire. In 1917–18, he served as Deputy President of the Polish Society for the Care of Monuments in Ruthenia (Kiev), involved in an animated patriotic and cultural inventoring activity.¹³ He also worked as the artistic manager of the illustrated periodical ‘Muzeum Polskie’ dedicated to the preservation of Polish museums and collections in the territory of Russia, published in Kiev.¹⁴ Beginning from October 1917, he ran the course titled *Problems and Methods of Contemporary Aesthetics* at the Polish University College, and it was there that he participated in the group of the founders of the Polish Scientific Society;¹⁵ furthermore, he lectured in history of art at the Polish School of Fine Arts in Kiev.¹⁶

In 1918, upon his return to Lvov, he became member of the national Eastern Galicia Conservation Circle, and ran courses in 19th- and 20th- century history of art at Lvov Polytechnic; furthermore, he retook the position of the Curator at the Prince Lubomirski Museum,¹⁷ to finally become its Director.¹⁸ As recalled by Adam Fischer, former Deputy Curator of the Lvov Ossoliński Library, it was to be restored to its former excellence, while its image was to be *the feat accomplished through meticulous work of Curator Mieczysław Treter*.¹⁹ The archivist of that institution, in turn, Jerzy Koller reported that although the collections in their majority had survived, the condition of the museum after the war was disastrous: *Upon his wanderings in Russia, the current Museum’s Curator Dr Mieczysław Treter submitted an exhaustive memorandum to the authorities, discussing in detail shortages and drawbacks in the so-far interior and collection conservation*.²⁰ When Treter single-handedly played the role of the Board, he was authorized to run redecoration works and preservation of the collection. According to Koller, *what had suffered the least was the painting gallery; the Curator arranged it in compliance with the ‘scientific’ requirements, having installed devices controlling temperature as well as a fire alarm; he also organized new rooms: storerooms, conservation laboratory, darkroom, and a basic workshop*.²¹



1. Mieczysław Treter, photo from the Plaque commemorating Kazimierz Twardowski of 12 Febr. 1904, by courtesy of the Digital Archives of Combined Libraries in Warsaw



2. Konrad Krzyżanowski, Portrait of Mieczysław Treter, after: K. Malinowski, *Prekursorzy muzealnictwa [Museology Precursors]*, Poznań 1970, p. 105

As of 1918, Mieczysław Treter was member of the Council for Fine Arts in Warsaw, an advisory body to the Ministry of Art and Culture,²² to accept in January 1919 the proposal of the Minister of Art and Culture Zenon Przesmycki to work out the outline of the state organization of museum-related questions.²³ When attending the 1921 Congress of Museologists in Poznań, he was elected deputy President of the Historical and Artistic Association of Polish Museums, upon which he put forth the proposal to establish the Polish Gallery of Contemporary Art, essential for the research into Polish art and for its promotion *among our people and foreigners*.²⁴ During the first Session of the Council for Fine Arts on 7 May 1921, he was elected representative of the Museology Section. On 4 February 1922, Treter was appointed Director of the State Collections of Art (PZS), the position he held until 1924.²⁵ PZS was established at the Ministry of Public Works (to be later transferred into the structure

of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment), mainly with the concept of taking care of the monuments recovered from Russia, Ukraine, and Austria in mind, as well as their inventorying, conservation, and dividing the collections among the Stately Buildings of the Polish Republic (GRR).²⁶ What is more, PZS was also the organization which received donations meant for state collections from owners of private ones. Apart from professional care, the Director was also to perform administrative tasks. It was thanks to Treter that the 'GRR Archive' was organized, while a modern homogenous inventory applied to the vindicated collections of art works.²⁷ In order to recreate the furnishing of the rooms of the Royal Castle, Treter would resort to old inventories from 1795, 1808, and 1819, made after the abdication of King Stanislaus Augustus.²⁸ He treated the former residence of the ruler with utmost care; one of the Warsaw newspapers claimed that *the Warsaw Castle is to store museum collections, whose gathering and ordering has been the task of Mieczysław Treter, currently the President of the Museum Council, known for his academic works as well as ordering the Prince Lubomirski Museum in Lvov.*²⁹ Treter's plan was to create the Polish Museum (on this below), rivalling great European institutions, as well as the seat for the central management of historical-artistic museums. Difficulties in the communication with the government administration meant that the utopian grandiose project of the Polish Museum was not implemented. PZS collections formed part of the decoration of GRRs, namely ministry and office buildings.³⁰ Lack of a decisive museum policy, which in his understanding was to be the symptom of the prestige of the revived state, as well as problems with excessive bureaucracy, forced Treter to resign from the position of the PZS Director, which took place on 12 May 1924.³¹

At the same time, Mieczysław Treter lectured in the most recent art and art theory at the University of Warsaw (at the time Józef Piłsudski University). In due course, having been granted the post-doctoral degree at the University of Lvov in 1925, he ran courses in art theory and history there.³² As a museologist, he was invited as an expert to participate in the projects implemented by the new museum institutions.³³ In the 1930s, he was once again assigned member of the Committee of Experts for PZS (1931–1933)³⁴ by the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. What is more, he never stopped being an art critic, serving as editor of numerous periodicals, also publishing many articles in daily press.³⁵ Remaining an indomitable apologist of Polish culture and 'newer' art, he co-founded the Institute of the Propaganda of Art. In 1926, Treter became Director of the Society for the Promotion of Polish Art Abroad (TOSSPO), the organization whose supreme goal was to promote works of Polish artists, presenting a 'distinct national style', both in the country and abroad. TOSSPO organized exhibitions, encounters, and trips, and in 1927–39 it mounted eighty exhibitions in 28 countries.³⁶ After the outbreak of WW II, Treter continued intensely working academically.³⁷ He passed away on 25 October 1943 in Warsaw.³⁸

Mieczysław Treter's considerations on museums' role, task, and structure

The harbinger of Treter's view on the role that museum should play was his reaction to the idea of establishing

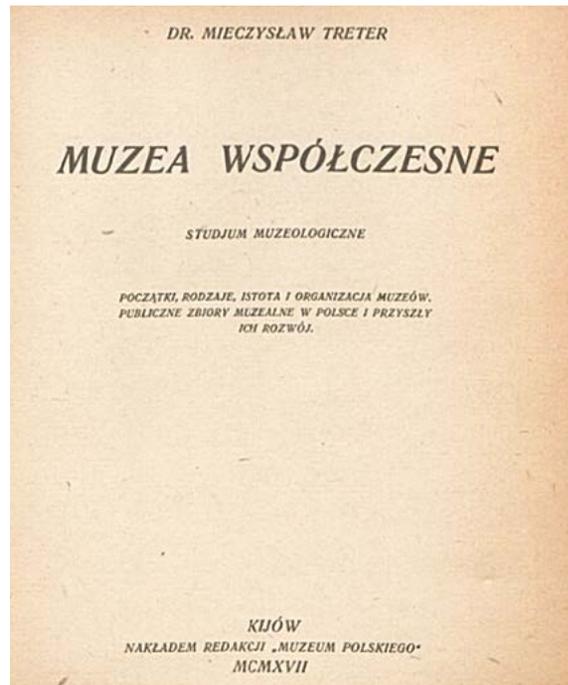
a museum of the War that was first proposed in November 1914 in 'Kurier Warszawski' by Jan B. The author of that article encouraged the collecting of all the objects related to the War in order to preserve the memory of *one of the most powerful breakthroughs in history*. The proposed Museum of War in Warsaw was, in the opinion of its instigators, possible to be implemented following the end of the War activities; meanwhile, an institution closed for the War period could serve as storage for collected: periodicals, proclamations, illustrations, photographs, ephemeral prints, arms, bullets, uniforms.³⁹ The idea was supported by an anonymous author writing for Lvov's 'Słowo Polskie' that in view of the war turmoil this was not the most important of things, however it was topical for the circles related to Polish life and Polish culture, while the collecting of *all that was connected with the war* could be dealt with by the Ossoliński Museum in Lvov, which would certainly find volunteers *among the intelligentsia*.⁴⁰ Treter voiced his opinion in the debate in 'Kurier Lwowski'.⁴¹ On the examples of the existing arsenals and armouries: in London, Paris, Vienna, Venice, and Milan, he pointed out to the fact that they were places of collecting arms and trophies won with *one's own army*, taken care of by the state, allocating substantial sums to their development, and treating them as government institutions serving political and propaganda purposes.⁴² He emphasized that in Poland we could boast our collections of historical mementoes in the armouries of the Prince Lubomirski Museum, Museum of John III in Lvov, and the Krasieński Museum in Warsaw. However, in the face of the extent of the War and the fact that Poles were conscripted into the armies of the partitioning powers, in his view the Polish museum could not be created as the question would have to be asked what arms and which uniforms were to be placed there: *Austrian, Prussian, or Russian?* These mementoes, he wrote, should never be the source of pride for Poles, such a museum would only disgrace the Polish national seriousness and dignity. In this context, Treter emphasized that value should not be sought in this kind of populist displays, but in museums that carry an important message. He pointed to the only museum in Europe: the Museum of War and Peace at Lucerne founded by Jan Gotlib Bloch, engaged in the pacifist movement, author of the Future War known in the English translation as *Is War Now Impossible?*, who had foreseen and warned against the devastating results of the Great War. Bloch argued that it was militarism and not pacifism that *disarms nations morally and mocks heroism*. Opened in 1902, the Lucerne Museum was to play an essential educational and scientific role.⁴³ Interestingly, however, despite Treter's opinion the idea to create the War museum had many followers. As can be read in 'Kurier Warszawski', already in October 1914 the activity of collecting 'warfare' objects was undertaken by the Museum of Industry and Agriculture in Warsaw. One of the organizers was Władysław Kiślański⁴⁴ supported by the local authorities, this causing that numerous objects were either brought or sent into it, with the intention for them to be arranged and temporarily made available for public viewing.⁴⁵ The need to collect objects and document Poles' participation in WW I and *the reception of the Polish cause* in the Europe of the time yielded in January 1915 the foundation of the Polish War Archive in Vienna run by Galician scientists and social activists, with the intention of depositing it at *the place which after the war will be the centre of Polish culture and science*. For the purpose of the initiative

50 local branches and 6 committees throughout the Polish territory and Europe were established: Cracow, Lvov, Warsaw, Lublin, Vienna, and Freiburg. A print that was the statute names 4 collection categories and their content.⁴⁶

Coming back to Treter's article, it is interesting to emphasize that in the introduction he resorted for the first time to the main principles *known from museology*⁴⁷ which needed to be followed when a museum was established if, contrary to vulgar antiquarian collection of curiosities, it was to boast real value. A museum collection, continued Treter, could not be accidental junk; contrariwise, it should be collected in compliance with an earlier assumed logical plan set out by the council. By emphasizing *that we have as many museums as there are manifestations of cultural life of mankind*, he pointed out the main museum types: historical; covering the history of the population or one nation; of fine arts; as well as natural history and technical ones. Museum's tasks and character are defined, according to Treter, by the domain of knowledge and culture, as well as era and place, optionally also nationality.⁴⁸

Museology issues had not been earlier discussed within the Polish lands; museum itself, though popular, was an institution referring mainly to political and military history of the nation and former state, but also its culture, technical civilization, and nature. Those who actually practiced museology in Poland, found practical guidance in study trips abroad; these provided grounds for the authors of museological concepts, historians, and specialists in different sciences, as a vade mecum for the steps to be taken when establishing a museum. Meanwhile, in the West questions related to museology as a specialized branch of science, treated broadly, and covering the domain of history, art, archaeology, natural sciences were being discussed. The process of the new discipline taking on its shape reaches back into the 19th century, though the term as such was used for the first time already in 1717.⁴⁹ The question of museology was tackled in 1883 by Johann Georg Theodor von Graesse in an article published in the German museological-antiquarian newspaper claiming that museology had become a specialized branch of science (*Fachwissenschaft*).⁵⁰ However, one of the most important publications of the time can be found in the book on the evolution of museum by the British painter David Murray, containing an extensive bibliography.⁵¹ Meanwhile in Germany the work *Die Zukunft der deutschen Museen* by Theodor Vollbehrr, containing the first programmatic essays in museology, was published in 1909.⁵²

The perspective adopted then by researchers was of key importance, and Polish institutions derived from the model worked out in the West. Apart from the increasing number of museums, the early 20th century also brought about the interest in their history and theory. In Polish literature it was Zenon Przesmycki who first wrote about museology, supporting the reformatory slogans by Ruskin who opposed the concept of museum as a place of entertainment and was against cramming museum displays.⁵³ However, it was Mieczysław Treter who wrote about museology as a rightful branch of science, and in consequence about the growing specializations of museums in his *Contemporary Museums: A new, unknown before, discipline of science is being created, called museology, and dealing with a whole range of practical and theoretical problems connected with establishing and running museums, collection*



3. *Contemporary Museums. Museological Study. Beginnings, Types, Essence, and Organization of Museums. Public Museum Collections in Poland and Their Future Development*, Kiev 1917, title page

*conservation, etc.*⁵⁴ In this context Treter's publication was of a breakthrough character for the history of Polish museology, since it was the first to define its theory in Polish. The essence of the views expressed in it was taking on its final shape when its Author served as a museum assistant, someone whom we would refer to today as a museologist,⁵⁵ boasting a well-grounded theoretical knowledge of the history of art as well as practical knowledge gained in the course of inventorying and organizing museum collections described in his guide to the display.⁵⁶

The impact of Treter's book was pointed to nearly 50 years ago now by Kazimierz Malinowski;⁵⁷ however later the publication almost entirely fell into oblivion. It was only in the course of the studies on Polish museums conducted currently as part of the research *Museum in the Polish Memory Culture* Project, and it is only Piotr Majewski's reflections in the Preface to the reprinted *Contemporary Museums*, as well as the review of Tomasz de Rosset in the present 'Muzealnictwo' issue that revived the content and the importance of Treter's study for the history of museology in Poland.⁵⁸ This fact allows us to bypass a detailed analysis of the book, in order to merely enumerate the Author's major accomplishments. The publications referred to in the text itself and in the bibliography testify to the fact that Treter was acquainted with the basic writings in his contemporary museological literature.⁵⁹ The example being the professional journal 'Zeitschrift für Museologie' published in Dresden from 1878, as 'Museumskunde' as of 1905,⁶⁰ referred to by Treter in order to confirm the fact that museology had formed as a separate branch of science, as well as the above-quoted study (present in the book's bibliography) by David Murray,⁶¹ which allowed Treter to albeit briefly follow the

evolution of museum as an institution, to finally state that *museums, just like at the times of ancient past, in the 19th century, too, served first of all the purposes of scientists.*⁶² When referring to the examples of the collections of the noble families from the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with the leading among them collections of Stanislaus Augustus and Izabela Czartoryska's Puławy, as a fertile bud of Polish museum, Treter followed the study of Władysław Łoziński,⁶³ adding that the collections preserved at the Prince Czartoryski Museum were *a cultural enrichment of the country*. Of crucial importance for the history of museology, emphasized Treter, was the opening of the Louvre Museum to the public, since it meant that Europe boasted the first National Museum. He foresaw the future development of museums in the progress of sciences and the segregation of knowledge systems, which caused the systemizing of collections and their professional management, in consequence leading to the birth of a new branch of science, namely museology, which developed in the 1890s.⁶⁴

The principal rule, reiterated by Treter on numerous occasions, resulting from the development of museology should be found in the appropriate organization of the collections, this consisting in a precise *identification of the museum's content and scope, as well as the goal and the methods leading to it*. In the light of the similarly phrased motto it was of supreme importance in Treter's view to identify basic museum types. He distinguished two basic groups: nature-related and historical museums. Another distinction element, equally important and defining museum's profile in Treter's view, were time and space limits. With respect to the first of the two groups Treter quoted the studies by Stefan Stobiecki, Ludomir Sawicki, and Aleksander Maciesza.⁶⁵

Although the author of *Contemporary Museums* did not give a precise definition of 'museum', it can, however, be read between the lines. In the first sentence of his study he underlined that *Museums and libraries constitute a clear indicator of civilization and culture of each nation*, this being finally completed with the statement that *museums are scientific institutions in which thanks to a systematic arrangement of specimens collected in a planned and skilful way and properly conserved (...) the whole of human knowledge, or alternatively its one branch, of the nature of the universe or of man and his civilization or culture, is manifested.*⁶⁶ Rejecting the accusations which appeared in the early 20th century versus museums as 'cemetaries of art',⁶⁷ Treter emphasized that next to keeping traces and mementoes of the nation's past, in view of the development of natural and humanistic sciences, museum was to serve mainly as a scientific institution,⁶⁸ research and educational one, which he emphasized resorting most likely to the first Polish textbook of social pedagogy by Tadeusz Szydłowski.⁶⁹ Of importance is the fact that Treter emphasized the need for public collections to be organized by professionals boasting higher education in the domain that formed part of the museum activity, experience in library and museum activity, who should be talented organizers, with energy and enthusiasm for work. In this context he wrote about the need to organize museum courses and museology lectures at universities. The museum manager, in Treter's view, should have a decisive voice and freedom to act, while not an extremely numerous museum council, reporting to the Association of Polish Museums,

should serve as an advisory body to the manager.⁷⁰ On this issue he was not merely speaking as a practitioner with a longstanding experience, but a museologist – theoretician. Furthermore, Treter's guidelines for collection carers were essentially modern and useful, even from today's point of view, since they related to the conditions a museum building should fulfil,⁷¹ as well as its refurbishing: offices, a library with a reading room, auditorium for lectures with devices allowing the use of visual aids,⁷² as well as workshops: photographic, conservation, carpentry, bookbinding, plus a vestibule for cloakroom and ticket office. The emphasis was also put on the cooperation with the organization preserving monuments and conservation offices.

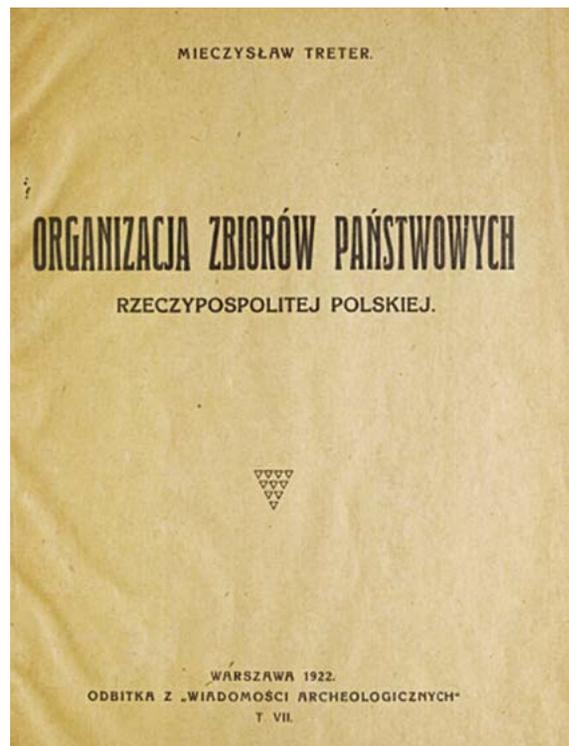
The monograph on Polish museums, contained in the second part of Treter's dissertation, fulfilled one of the claims put forth during the First Congress of Polish Museologists in 1914, and was the first such extensive list,⁷³ showing the extent of the museological movement in the Polish territories before the outbreak of WW I. What strikes is the number of articles Treter referred to that were published in magazines and everyday press: in the footnotes he quotes the press from Lvov, Cracow, Warsaw, but also Moscow, St Petersburg, and Kiev, certain issues reaching as far as 1917, which demonstrates that the presented information was updated. Following the typology identified in the first part of the study, Treter described the museums classifying them (at times conventionally) to appropriate groups. In this listing, today of exceptional worth for the research into the early museum institutions in Poland, Treter demonstrated the foundation of 99 public museum institutions in 44 towns, e.g.: 17 in Warsaw, 16 in Lvov, 13 in Cracow (including 3 private ones), and 3 in Poznan. He ranked among the natural history museums 21 landscape museums founded in different Polish Tourist Society (PTK) branches, which were quite a phenomenon, constituting a visible sign of civil and patriotic activity of the residents of the Kingdom of Poland in the provinces.⁷⁴ Furthermore, he mentioned 4 Polish museums abroad: in Rapperswil, Brussels, Paris, and Vienna. The currently conducted research has demonstrated that there had existed many more public museums than that in the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before 1914.⁷⁵ In a thorough report on the conditions of public collections, Treter took into account the circumstances of their creation, the process of amassing the collections, their profile, as well as the conditions under which they were kept. He thus demonstrated that in view of the lack of the sovereign Polish statehood, museology, despite being deprived of the support of state institutions, developed mainly thanks to social generosity and activism of scientific and artistic societies, social organizations, people of science and local individuals of passion. Although in other countries museums were created under totally different circumstances, often with little public interest and reluctance of the authorities, in poor housing conditions, the strong need to establish museums resulted both from the need to manifest people's national identity, as well as from the development of science, education, industry, and tourism. Of major social impact were provincial museums which became important cultural and educational centres in the region. The final touch was Treter's idea to raise in independent Poland a Museum of Struggle for the Independence of the Polish Nation dedicated to all

the national heroes along the history marked by the following dates: 1794, 1831, 1846, 1863, 1914–1917. Most clearly Treter, not so long before the opponent of the waged war, regarded it an important development for the Homeland, marking its years in his plans.

Prestige of the nation and the state

Following WW I, in the altered political reality, the culture-related issues, including the organization of museum collections, became the topic for a broad debate. In the first years of independent Poland many different concepts and publications on rational museum policy appeared; the debate was participated by e.g. Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, Jan Czekanowski, Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz, Bronisław Gembarzewski, Marian Gumowski, Feliks Kopera, and Mieczysław Treter.⁷⁶ In the memorandum written on the instruction of the then Minister of Culture and Art Zenon Przesmycki related to the activity programme of a separate Public Museum Department, this in reality grouping historical-artistic museums,⁷⁷ Treter provided guidance of an organizational character and defined essential points of the attitude of the state to museums.⁷⁸ He was of the opinion that the *Responsibility of a rational museum policy throughout the whole state, caring for a high quality of museum collections, both in the provinces and in the capital, remains first of all with the state, and not with boroughs, social organizations, and respective units, as was the case – out of necessity – before the war.*⁷⁹ He remarked that within the country there had remained *rare and fragile museum organisms which had been created under the partitions through exceptional efforts and heroic patience and energy as well as outstanding sacrifice on part of numerous entities, of individuals who felt their civic obligation, of several social organizations and town authorities.*⁸⁰ The author of Contemporary Museums knew the problems which museum organizers had had to face in the country deprived of its statehood, when they could only expect a minor support from the town, local authorities, or society, therefore he claimed that the *tough responsibility of the care of museums could be fulfilled only by the state and it would be a mistake to suppose that the state could be replaced in this respect by town authorities or social organizations, even if handsomely subsidized.*⁸¹ Treter proposed to entrust the issues related to historical-artistic museums to one government institution, subdued directly to the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment since, in his view, making different government institutions responsible for various museums would not benefit the museums and could contribute to shapelessness of Polish museology. His proposal, among others, was to follow the example of artistic museums in France and Germany, there mainly the Berlin museums, but also those in Russia, England, and in Hungary, and to establish the office of the General Museum Inspector at the Department of Monuments and Museums.⁸²

He emphasized that the main purpose of the activity of museum was promoting education; without museums scientific progress was impossible, both in natural sciences and in the humanities, since it is there that youth, and in consequence, maybe future scientists, were educated *using visual materials*. An important role was played, in his

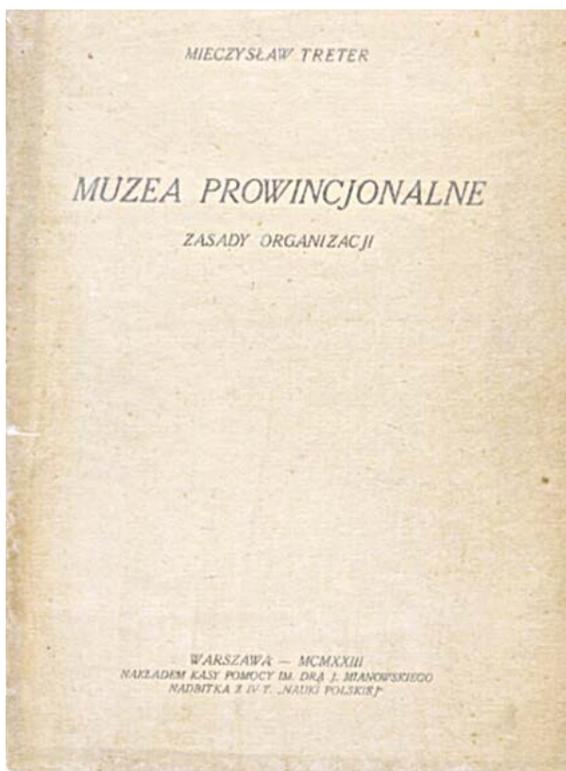


4. *Organization of State Collections of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw 1922, title page*

view, by historical museums, which apart from developing general knowledge, taught us how to look at the heritage of our forefathers, and constituted a *real temple of national mementoes*. However, not only cultural and educational reasons were an important factor contributing to museum development. What mattered as well were stately and political-propaganda purposes, since the *prestige of the nation and the state was of importance*. Therefore Treter repeated after Prof. Czekanowski: *in view of such great numbers of bigger and smaller collections, as well as objects that qualify as museum objects, the question of their preservation, ordering, and making available for public viewing, becomes priority.*⁸³ In the debate on the museum personnel issues, staff employment, and assigning appropriate individuals to management positions, Treter proposed giving university lectures or state museum courses, adding in the footnote that museology lectures were given only at Cracow's Jagiellonian University by the Director of the National Museum in Cracow Franciszek Kopera.⁸⁴

Polish Museum at the Royal Castle in Warsaw

The museologist's greatest 'favourite' was the Royal Castle (made available for museum purposes in 1918, MW); his dream was to *e.g. create at the Royal Castle in Warsaw a sui generis grand Polish Museum – the Museum in the noblest, entirely modern meaning of the word, which would proclaim the glory of our state and of our artistic culture worldwide.*⁸⁵ He quoted the examples of French museums: the Louvre, Versailles, and the Nemours Mansion, also recalling the words of Sizeranne, a former opponent of museums:



5. Provincial Museums. Organization Principles, Warsaw 1923, title page

*pour un pays, les musées sont une richesse et une force (for a country museums are wealth and power).*⁸⁶ Furthermore, he pointed to the fact that what could be superior to even the grandest European museums is not the number of exquisite specimens, but a different character, a creative arrangement and *vitality* which should be an advantage of the institution. He proposed the recreation of the royal rooms as well as Bacciarelli's painting studio, but, first of all, the restoring of the climate present there in Stanislaus Augustus' times. Consequently, Treter recalled Stanislaus Augustus' merits.⁸⁷ It was at the Castle that he was planning to locate the Central Archaeological Museum as well as the Museum of the Struggle for the Independence of the Polish Nation from 1794 to 1920; it was there that he was also intending to place the main office of the General Directorate of State Collections as the main capital's and country's artistic and intellectual centre, for the prestige of the state and nation, just like at the times of Stanislaus Augustus when Marcello Bacciarelli, Director for Fine Arts, had his office at the Castle; also for stately and political and propaganda reasons *for us (...) to be able to testify before whole Europe that we are not nouveau riches, that we, too, in the previous centuries were moving forward, creating, or had art created,*⁸⁸ adding that *here the pulse of Polish creativity could be the liveliest, the pulse of Polish artistry. From here it could be radiating with life-giving rays to the most remote recesses of the Polish Republic.*

Treter had a very modern idea when speaking of rooms also for temporary exhibitions and for presenting the most recent art, mainly native, in order to comply with Norwid's words: *to restore the broken thread between the old and new years, we have to insist on our art, so that finally we could derive*

from it a chain of crafts.⁸⁹ It was mainly a print cabinet that Treter saw equipped with old collections, yet completed with the most recent works, where the *locals and strangers* could become acquainted with different prints, which, as he wrote, would be unique in the country.⁹⁰ He made attempts at appropriately organizing the collections, so as to make Warsaw a true *ville d'art*, capital of the Polish Republic, with rationally arranged museum institutions, representing the country internationally. In 'Ziemia' he wrote that it was not only about spending lots of money on creating huge museums, but in view of the state's poor financial standing, it was important to take great care of the existing collection buds. He encouraged Polish society to make donations and deposits, *generous and conscious*, bearing in mind Sizeranne's words: *l'enrichissement d'un musée c'est l'enrichissement de la Nation (enriching a museum is enriching the nation).*⁹¹ Importantly, Treter pointed out to economic reasons thanks to 'tourists' (in today's meaning of the word) visiting museums in the capital: (...) *the state grows more powerful, also as far as trade is concerned, enhancing its prestige among its neighbours and around the world.* He elaborated on all the above issues in a series of articles sharing the same title: *Principles of Museum Policy*, with the subsequent headings: *Topical Character of Museumological Issues in Poland: Government's Obligation and Privilege; Role of Museums: Polish Museology: Hungarian Case – It Is Different in Our Country; Practical Consequences – Museum's Autonomy – Red Tape Hydra – Rational Museum Policy.*⁹²

A group apart was formed by issue-focused articles; in the paper titled *Public Museums and Private Collections*,⁹³ when refuting the arguments that museum is said to be 'a cemetery of art', he argued for the teaching and educational role of the institution for students and craftsmen. Moreover, he emphasized the importance of private collections in the preservation of cultural heritage, at the same time, however, pointing to the dangers resulting from ownership titles: a collector is able to either exchange or sell his or her collection, while a public museum cannot get rid of an integral part of its collections. Meanwhile, if collectors give their collections as a donation or deposit, they benefit all. He published the paper *Provincial Museums: Organizations Principles* in the scientific 'Nauka Polska' Journal,⁹⁴ emphasizing that provincial museums should fulfil their social role, and constitute centres of scientific and cultural movement in a given locality. Furthermore, he argued that a museum that with its range covered a certain area, acquired a *peculiar shade*, while its character *becomes more decisive and differs from others.* He emphasized that a network of provincial museums could render the image of a given region's distinctness and peculiarity of nature and culture. He wrote that museum's organization should not depend on the authorities, but result from the needs of the local community, and it is from them that the initiative should come to be based on cooperation with professionals, e.g. naturalists or historians. He emphasized that in a provincial museum not everything needed to be collected, pointing out to the important *non multa sed multum!* rule. In his view, the development of a provincial museum should be supported by a committee or a society; the manager should be someone boasting tertiary education in the domain that formed part of the museum's disciplines, as well as enthusiasm for work. The priority should be given to the graduates from museum courses

run by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment as well as students of university museological lectures.

In numerous articles written in the inter-war period, the museologist reported on the current difficulties in the museum organization. Treter was outraged as the University of Warsaw and not the Royal Castle was given the recuperated collection of the Royal Print Cabinet, the view he expressed in the article *Stanislaus Augustus' Print Cabinet*, all the more so, according to the instigator of the Museum at the Castle, as works were just conducted to reconstruct the Library Hall.⁹⁵ At that point he referred to the decisions made by the Committee of State Collections: *Objects, and particularly works of art (...) closely connected with an old castle or palace, with respect to which there is no doubt, (...) should essentially find their stable location in this building.*⁹⁶ At another place he wrote about the collections of the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil, founded in 1869 by Władysław Broel-Plater. The national mementoes collected with so much effort by our countrymen living as migrants, donated to honour the nation by its creator had become, according to Treter, an *unwanted problem*. What was unacceptable in his view was the division of the collection [brought in 1927 to Warsaw, and placed at the National Museum and National Library, MW] among several institutions, which resulted from the lack of systemizing museum issues, when everything, as he wrote, *depended on accident and whim of that or other administration clerk, always an ignorant*. Of great significance is the statement that the rich collection of the institution created in bondage in order to *give testimony to the vitality of Poland has collapsed now when the Polish State exists*. Soon afterwards, he spoke of the future usage of the Rapperswil Castle. On the grounds of the comment made by the Rapperswil librarian Adam Lewak PhD, he suggested that an exhibition showing the development of Polish agriculture, resources, industries, trade and contemporary art could be mounted there at least once a year with *an important historical department*

working to weed the widespread in Europe concept that Poland is supposedly a new nation. He justified the propaganda importance of a well-organized exhibition of modern art and artistic industry. In the face of different concepts of a further museum organization he proposed holding e.g. temporary exhibition of contemporary art by the Society for the Promotion of Polish Art Abroad (TOSSPO) in cooperation with other scientific institutions.⁹⁷ On another occasion he discussed the idea of the National Museum in Warsaw (MNW); supporting the very idea, he was against raising a monumental building with huge collections, like the Paris Louvre where *one has to run across vast rooms*.⁹⁸ He was in favour of small institutions with a definite programme and scope, in this remaining faithful to his earlier principle *non multa sed multum*. He did not support the concept of connecting the Polish Army Museum with the National Museum in Warsaw, suspecting that such a development took place due to Col. B. Gembarzewski, as if our military had not been able to afford their own *building to glorify the Polish army*.

Kazimierz Malinowski in his book dedicated to the pioneers of Polish museology wrote the following about the author of *Contemporary Museums: (...) we can see a man of broad horizons well informed in museology tendencies and requirements, a man who asks for much, since he knows what we need and what we could expect after the period of bondage*. This comment of Malinowski does not only emphasize the versatile knowledge of Treter, but also the moment in time when his study was created. Systemizing the theoretical knowledge and providing a report on the existing museums in the country deprived of its statehood formed the departure ground for the Author himself when following the regained independence he was devising the proposal for the organization of state collections. Mieczysław Treter's proposals were to organize the complicated story of Polish museum institutions following the period of the partitions, at least of the historical-artistic museums, so that rivalling foreign museums with their quality, they could at the same time become the factor boosting the prestige of the new state.

Przypisy

¹ In an ample monograph the Author conducted the analysis of Treter's peculiar critical language amidst the clashing views on Polish art in the inter-war period, and showed him as the author of the definition of aesthetics, a separate scientific discipline. She presented Treter's accomplishments as an aesthetician, art critic, author of papers on problems of contemporary art and artists, a reviewer, author of catalogues, artistic life observer, determined critic of carelessly organized and crammed exhibitions at the Warsaw Zachęta, finally as Director of the Society for the Promotion of Polish Art Abroad (TOSSPO), exhibition organizer of the Polish pavilions at the Venice Biennale, curator of numerous exhibitions. She has become acquainted with his manner of organizing and arranging exhibitions presenting contemporary painting, sculpture, and Polish prints, but also of textiles, architecture, books, and theatre. – D. Wasilewska, *Mieczysław Treter: estetyk, krytyk sztuki oraz „szara eminencja” międzywojennego życia artystycznego w Polsce* [Mieczysław Treter; Aesthetician, Art Critic, and 'Grey Eminence' of Interwar Artistic Life in Poland], Kraków 2019, there full bibliography of M. Treter's publications; and *Eadem, Wybór pism estetycznych i krytycznych (Mieczysław Treter)* [Selection of Aesthetical and Critical Writings (Mieczysław Treter)], Kraków 2019.

² M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne. Studium muzeologiczne. Początki, rodzaje, istota i organizacja muzeów. Publiczne zbiory muzealne w Polsce i przyszły ich rozwój* [Contemporary Museums. Museological Study. Beginnings, Types, Essence, and Organization of Museums. Public Museum Collections in Poland and Their Future Development], 'Muzeum Polskie' 1917, fasc. 1, pp. 5-32; 1918, fasc. 4, pp. 1-70; the full text also published by 'Muzeum Polskie', Kiev 1917; the next (second) edition M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne* [Contemporary Museums], prefaced by P. Majewski, *Wszystko już było... Pomniki Muzealnictwa Polskiego* [We Have Had It All Before...Monuments of Polish Museology], NIMoz and PIW, Warszawa 2019.

³ 'Sprawozdanie Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie' [Report of the Scientific Society in Lvov] 1921, Vol. 1, fasc. 1, p. 58; *Czy wiesz kto to jest* [Do You Know Who This Is?], S. Łoza (ed.), Warszawa 1938, pp. 756-57. Some sources erroneously give Cracow as Treter's birthplace. It was Bogdan Treter, Mieczysław's relative, a painter and conservator of art works, who was born in Cracow. The same error made by D. Wasilewska who in the monograph gives Lvov as Mieczysław's birthplace, while Cracow in the anthology of texts (footnote 1).

⁴ M. Treter's dissertation *Franciszek Tępa, jego życie i dzieła* [Franciszek Tępa, His Life and Works] was accepted as a doctoral dissertation on 30 June 1910

- letter of the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty, Imperial-Royal University of Lvov, currently at the Ossolineum, ACNO 16370/II.
- ⁵ M. Treter, *Lwów miasto muzeów* [Lvov the City of Museums], 'Gazeta Polska' 15 February 1930, No. 45, p. 4.
- ⁶ A. Fischer, *Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Zarys dziejów* [The Ossoliński National Institute. History Outline], Lwów 1927, chapter *Kuratorowie, dyrektorowie i urzędnicy Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich* [Curators, Directors, and Clerks of the Ossoliński National Institute] after <http://www.lwow.com.pl/ossolineum/ossolineum2.html> [Accessed: 22 May 2019].
- ⁷ As an art historian he demonstrated his expertise when enumerating paintings together with their attribution, showed in respective rooms, describing the museum display arrangement, layout and content of display cases, rendering the impression of the size and range of the collections growing, as he wrote, thanks to the generosity of numerous private collectors. They were historical mementoes, archaeological monuments, and precious collections of paintings, sculptures, displayed in four exhibition rooms and the Armoury, Kossak Room, Painting Gallery, Cabinet of coins and Polish medals – *Przewodnik po Muzeum imienia Książąt Lubomirskich we Lwowie* [Guide to the Prince Lubomirski Museum in Lvov], M. Treter (put together), Zakład Ossolińskich, Lwów 1909. His museum work also yielded: *Pamiętki po Słowackim w Muzeum im. X. X. Lubomirskich we Lwowie. Z 13 reprodukcjami (portretów rodzinnych oraz rysunków własnoręcznych Słowackiego) na osobnych tablicach* [Słowacki-Related Mementoes at the Prince Lubomirski Museum in Lvov. With 13 reproductions (family portraits and Słowacki's own drawings) on separate plates], Lwów 1910; *François Gérard i portret jego pędzla w Muzeum im. X. X. Lubomirskich we Lwowie* [François Gérard and the Portrait He Painted at the Prince Lubomirski Museum in Lvov], Lwów 1910; *Pamiętki w Muzeum XX. Lubomirskich we Lwowie* [Mementoes at the Prince Lubomirski Museum in Lvov], 'Lud' 1910. He demonstrated the value of Polish painting as well as the educational and scientific role of art galleries in the publication: *Nowsze malarstwo polskie w Galerii Miejskiej we Lwowie – z 24 reprodukcjami w autotypii podwójnej na osobnych planszach* [Newer Polish Painting at the City Gallery – with 24 reproductions in double halftones on separate plates], Lwów 1912. While working at the museum, he continued extremely active in other fields, being member of the Polish Philosophical Society, editor of the ethnographic 'Lud' quarterly and of the 'Science and Art' Series; he also cooperated with 'Słowo Polskie'.
- ⁸ A. Fischer, *Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich...*
- ⁹ 'Sprawozdanie Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie'..., p. 59. The sessions were chaired by: Józef Leski –Chairman (Museum of Industry and Agriculture in Warsaw), Feliks Koper (National Museum in Cracow), Władysław Stroner (Industrial Museum in Lvov), Eugeniusz Tor (City Technological and Industrial Museum in Cracow), after: *Ze stowarzyszeń* [From the Associations], 'Ziemia' 1914, No. 17, pp. 270-71; B. Mansfeld, *Związek Muzeów w Polsce (1914–1951)* [The Museum Association in Poland (1914-51)], 'Muzealnictwo' 1990, No. 33, pp. 13-22; The decisions made during the Congress following Poland's independence served as the grounds for the state museum structure of the Second Polish Republic – A. Murawska, *Związek Muzeów w Polsce w latach 1914-1939* [The Museum Association in Poland 1914-1939], 'Muzealnictwo' 2015, No. 56, pp. 115-18, B. Mansfeld, *Muzea na drodze do samoorganizacji, Związek Muzeów w Polsce 1914-1951* [Museums on the Way to Self-Organisation, The Museum Association in Poland 1914-51], Warszawa 2000, pp. 84-7.
- ¹⁰ D. Wasilewska, *Mieczysław Treter...*, p. 352. In 1912, he published an extensive paper: guide to the most precious monuments and life of the inhabitants of the city of the Doges, M. Treter, *Wenecja* [Venice], 'Wędrowiec' 1912, pp. 348-52.
- ¹¹ M. Treter, *Wrażenia z Rzymu* [Impressions from Rome], 'Gazeta Wieczorna' 1911, No. 220, 239, 241 and 245.
- ¹² M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne...*, p. 82.
- ¹³ M. Treter, *Dział sztuki na P.W.K. w Poznaniu i dziesięciolecie sztuki polskiej 1918–1928* [Art Department at PWK in Poznan and the Decade of Polish Art 1918-1928], 'Sztuki Piękne' 1929, No. 8-9, pp. 281-348, particularly 289-90. Within the movement meant to provide protection to Polish cultural heritage of the former Russian Empire in 1915-18 over 40 social organizations were founded; they grouped illustrious Polish historians, researchers into the past, archivists, museologists, collectors living in those territories for many years or those who had arrived there in the course of WW I turmoil. Their work conducted in very tough conditions proved priceless in the process of the restitutions of Polish property in compliance with the Treaty of Riga, after: E. Manikowska, *Państwowe zbiory sztuki. U źródeł pierwszej państwowej kolekcji muzealnej* [State Art Collections. At the Sources of the First State Museum Collection], 'Cenne, Bezcenne, Utracone' 2017, 1/86-4/89, 20, pp. 180-86, particularly 182, also – *Polskie życie artystyczne w latach 1915–1939* [Polish Artistic Life in 1915-39], A. Wojciechowski (ed.), Wydawnictwo PAN, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1974.
- ¹⁴ Only two issues were released of the journal 'Muzeum Polskie poświęcone dziejom i zabytkom sztuki i kultury', L. Grocholski (ed.), M. Treter (artistic direction), Kiev 1917 and 1918.
- ¹⁵ 'Muzeum Polskie' 1918, p. 221.
- ¹⁶ J. Róziewicz, L. Zasztów, *Polskie Kolegium Uniwersyteckie w Kijowie (1917–1919)* [Polish University College in Kiev (1917-19)]. 'Rozprawy z dziejów oświaty' 1991, Vol. XXXIV.
- ¹⁷ 'Sprawozdanie Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie'..., p. 58.
- ¹⁸ *Sprawozdanie z posiedzeń I zjazdu delegatów Związku Polskich Muzeów Historyczno-Artystycznych, odbytego w Poznaniu* [Report from the Sessions of the First Congress of Delegates of the Polish Association of Historical-Artistic Museums Held in Poznan], in: *Pamiętnik I i II zjazdu Delegatów Związku Polskich Muzeów Historyczno-Artystycznych w Poznaniu w r. 1921 i w Krakowie w r. 1922* [Diary of the First and Second Congress of the Association of Polish Historical-Artistic Museums in Poznan in 1921 and in Cracow in 1922], Warszawa 1924, p. 5.
- ¹⁹ A. Fischer, *Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich...*
- ²⁰ J. Koller, *Muzeum XX Lubomirskich* [Prince Lubomirski Museum], in: *Zakł. Nar. im. Ossolińskich we Lwowie* [Ossoliński National Institute in Lvov], 'Przegląd Muzealny. Miesięcznik poświęcony muzeologii' 1920, No. 4, pp. 55-8.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- ²² *Polskie życie artystyczne...*, p. 76.
- ²³ The extended programme presented to Przesmycki was published in 1922, M. Treter, *Organizacja zbiorów państwowych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* [Organizations of State Collections of the Polish Republic], Warszawa 1922, copy from 'Wiadomości Archeologiczne', Vol. VII.
- ²⁴ B. Mansfeld, *Muzea na drodze...*, p. 89. On this demand Treter in: Idem, *Muzea polskie wobec sztuki współczesnej (projekt Polskiej galerii Sztuki Współczesnej w Warszawie)* [Polish Museums versus Contemporary Art (Planned Gallery of Contemporary Art in Warsaw)], in: *Pamiętnik I i II Zjazdu Delegatów Związku Polskich Muzeów Historyczno-Artystycznych w Poznaniu w r. 1921 i w Krakowie w r. 1922* [Diary of the First and Second Congress of the Association of Polish Historical-Artistic Museums in Poznan in 1921 and in Cracow in 1922] [jest wprzypisie 18], F. Kopera, W.S. Turczyński (ed.), Związek Polskich Muzeów Historyczno-Artystycznych, Warszawa 1924, pp. 27-8. It needs to be added that had it not been for the outbreak of WW II, the project would have

been implemented, since in 1938 the city was granted the permission to rent the tenement house at 15 Podwale Street for it to serve as the Gallery of Contemporary Art.

²⁵ E. Manikowska, *Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki...*, pp. 180-84, particularly 180.

²⁶ These included: Royal Castle in Warsaw, Copper-Roof Palace, Royal Łazienki, Belvedere, Wawel, Spała, Białowieża, Poznan Castle, Racot Palace, Palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw, former Bishops' Palace in Vilnius. The recovered collections found home in the Stately Buildings of the Polish Republic in compliance with the provisions of the Resolution of the Council of Ministers on government buildings meant to serve stately functions of 19 Feb. 1920, B. Mansfeld, *Muzea na drodze...*, p. 49.

²⁷ The system Treter introduced consisted in initially producing a short description, to later follow to detailed sheet catalogue meant to serve to make registers of separate categories of objects which would then be entered into department books. Due to a high cost of photographing objects, the Director decided to introduce a very helpful drawn catalogue. On sheets and loose pieces of paper lists were made of: reference library, archival materials, reproductions, water colours, and prints from GRR, W. Wojtyńska, *Działalność Państwowych Zbiorów Sztuki* [Activity of the State Art Collections], 'Kronika Zamkowa' 2005, Vols. 1-2, (49-50), pp. 193- 220, particularly p. 197.

²⁸ M. Treter, *Zbiory Państwowe na Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie* [State Collections at the Royal Castle in Warsaw], 'Tygodnik Ilustrowany' 1923, Vol. XII, No. 49; *Idem, Zbiory Państwowe na Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie. (Doba St. Augusta a czasy dzisiejsze), z 15 rycinami* [State Collections at the Royal Castle in Warsaw (in Stanislaus Augustus' Times and Today) with 15 prints], Warszawa 1924.

²⁹ 'Gazeta Powszechna' 1923, No. 23, p. 3.

³⁰ E. Manikowska, *Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki...*, p.183.

³¹ W. Wojtyńska, *Działalność Państwowych Zbiorów...*, p. 193.

³² *Czy wiesz kto to jest?...*, pp. 756-57.

³³ In 1925, Treter was invited by the authorities of the city of Toruń as an expert to take part in the planned construction of a new museum in the city. The information comes from the letter of Bogdan Treter from Cracow to the Toruń Council. There also information can be found that in 1925 Treter received his post-graduate degree at the University of Lvov. The State Archive in Lvov (APT), ACNO 331/I. The issue of establishing the Museum of the Pomeranian Land in Toruń: minutes, correspondence, contracts – 1921-25), [gdzie początek nawiasu?] Furthermore, on 26 June 1939 Treter was also asked by Jan Parandowski, President of Polish PEN Club, to work out the memorandum in relation to the plans for the Museum of Literature in the former house inhabited by Józef Kraszewski in Mokotowska Street in Warsaw. The outbreak of the war most probably interrupted preparatory works, IS PAN Special Collections, ACNO 1541/II.

³⁴ IS PAN Special Collections, *ibid.*

³⁵ These were 'Przegląd Warszawski', 'Sztuki Piękne', 'Monografie Artystyczne'; he also published in 'Tygodnik Ilustrowany', 'Warszawianka', 'Rzeczpospolita', 'Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny', 'Gazeta Polska'.

³⁶ *Sztuka Polska Wśród Obcych. Sprawozdanie z działalności Towarzystwa Szerzenia Sztuki Polskiej Wśród Obcych 1926-27* [Polish Art among Foreigners. Report on the Activity of the Society for the Promotion of Polish Art Abroad for 1926-27], with 19 prints, Warszawa 1928 (MCMXXVIII), p. 9; A. Chmielewska, *W służbie państwa, społeczeństwa i narodu. Państwowotwórczy artyści plastycy w II Rzeczypospolitej* [In the Service of the State, Society, and Nation. State-Consolidating Fine Artists of the Second Polish Republic], Warszawa 2006, p. 89; D. Wasilewska, *Przełom czy kontynuacja? Polska krytyka artystyczna 1917-1930 wobec tradycji młodopolskiej* [A Breakthrough or Continuation? Polish Artistic Criticism 1917-30 versus Young Poland's Tradition], Kraków 2013, p. 36; D. Wasilewska, *Mieczysław Treter...* p. 12. The precise list and venues of the exhibitions given by K. Nowakowska-Sito, TOSSPO – *Propaganda sztuki polskiej za granicą w dwudziestolecu międzywojennym* [TOSSPO: Propaganda of Polish Art Abroad in the 1920s and 1930s], in: *Sztuka i władza* [Art and Power], D. Konstantynow, R. Pasieczny, and P. Paszkiewicz (ed.), Warszawa 2001, pp. 143-55.

³⁷ IS PAN Archive in Warsaw has preserved his typescripts of works on aesthetics and history of art, these being part of: *Z zagadnień estetyki jako filozofii sztuki* [On the Issues of Aesthetics as Philosophy of Art]; *Zarys estetyki; Rodowód impresjonizmu a malarstwo polskie, O własne oblicze sztuki polskiej* [Outline of Aesthetics: Descent of Impressionism versus Polish Painting. Struggling for Polish Art's Own Face]. Fragments of these works have been published in: D. Wasilewska, *Wybór pism estetycznych i krytycznych...*

³⁸ <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Treter-Mieczyslaw;3989026.html> [Accessed: 05 June 2019].

³⁹ J. Cz., *Muzeum wojny* [War Museum], 'Kurier Warszawski' 22 Nov.1914, No. 323, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁰ *Muzeum wojny* [War Museum], 'Słowo Polskie' 30(Nov.) 3(Dec.) 1914, No. 546 p. 3.

⁴¹ M. Treter, *W sprawie polskiego muzeum wojny* [On the Polish War Museum], 'Kurier Lwowski' 15 (2) Dec. 1914, No. 479, p. 1; 16 (3) Dec. 1914, No. 480, p. 1; 17 (4) Dec. 1914, No. 481, p. 1.

⁴² Treter enumerated the following arsenals and armouries: United Service Museum in London, Musée de l'Armée at the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris, Zeughaus in Berlin, Arsenal and the Military History Museum in Vienna, Arsenal with a museum section in Venice, Museo del Risorgimento Nazionale in Milan.

⁴³ The Museum was founded in the territory of neutral Switzerland, thus preventing criticism of supporting either the countries of the Triple Alliance or of the Triple Entente, more: G.P. Bąbiak, *Muzeum Wojny i Pokoju w Luzernie* [The Museum of War and Peace at Lucerne], <http://muzeumpamieci.umk.pl/?p=2649> [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

⁴⁴ Władysław Teodor Kisiel-Kisłański was the instigator and in 1891-1906 Director (Committee Chairman) of the Museum of Crafts and Applied Arts, instigator and organizer of Higher Industrial and Agricultural Courses at the Museum of Industry and Agriculture in Warsaw in 1911.

⁴⁵ 'Kurier Warszawski', 05 Dec.1914, year 24, p. 3.

⁴⁶ More: <http://muzeumpamieci.umk.pl/?p=4999> [Accessed: 20 July 2019].

⁴⁷ M. Treter, *W sprawie polskiego muzeum wojny* [On the Polish Museum of War], 'Kurier Lwowski' 15 (2) Dec.1914, No. 479, p. 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ C.F. Einckel, *Museographia oder Anleitung zum rechten Begriff und nützlicher Anlegung der Museorum, oder Raritäten-Kammern*, Leipzig 1727. Dorota Folga-Januszewska points out to an earlier use of the word 'museology' to define methods of collection creation (Quiccheber, 1565), in: *Eadem, Seria Muzeologia* [Museology Series], 'Muzealnictwo' 2012, No. 53, p. 212.

⁵⁰ *Had someone spoken or written of museology as science thirty, or even twenty years ago, they would have faced a compassionate scornful smile of many*

- *Die Museologie als Fachwissenschaft*, (transl. M. Wawrzak) 'Zeitschrift für Museologie und Antiquitätenkunde sowie verwandte Wissenschaften' 1883, No. 15, p. 113. On the authorship of the article in: P. van Mensch, *The Museology Discourse*, <https://www.phil.muni.cz/unesco/Documents/mensch.pdf>.
- ⁵¹ D. Murray, *Museums. Their History and Their Use. With a Bibliography and List of Museums in the United Kingdom*, James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow 1904. However, the bibliography was limited mainly to West European countries and the US.
- ⁵² T. Vollbehre, *Die Zukunft der deutschen Museen*, Stuttgart 1909.
- ⁵³ Z. Przesmycki, *Pro Arte. Uwagi o sztuce i kulturze. Nieco z obyczajów, teatru, kabarety, muzyki, literatura. Sztuki plastyczne. Miejskie muzeum sztuki* [Pro Arte. Remarks on Art and Culture. Some Customs, Theatres, Cabarets, Music, Literature, Fine Arts], Warszawa-Lwów 1914, p. 525.
- ⁵⁴ M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne...*, p. 10.
- ⁵⁵ Changes occurring in the perception of museologist as a profession, from the Antiquity to modern times, analysed by Dorota Folga-Januszewska, writing that *Tradition associated a museologist with a scientist*, D. Folga-Januszewska, *Muzealnik. Zawód, profesja czy powołanie?* [A Museologist. Job, Profession, or Vocation?], in: I Kongres Muzealników Polskich [First Congress of Polish Museologists], Programme Committee of the First Congress of Polish Museologists chaired by M. Niezabitowski (ed.), Warszawa 2015, pp. 57-64; also M. Niezabitowski, *Muzealnik a wspólnota pamięci. Próba zdefiniowania pojęć na użytek zmian legislacyjnych* [Museologist versus Community of Memory. Attempt at Defining Terms for the Sake of Legislative Amendments], this 'Muzealnictwo' issue.
- ⁵⁶ M. Treter, *Przewodnik po Muzeum imienia Książąt...*
- ⁵⁷ K. Malinowski, *Prekursorzy muzeologii polskiej* [Precursors of Polish Museology], Poznań 1970, pp. 106-126.
- ⁵⁸ M. Wawrzak, *Studium muzeologiczne Mieczysława Tretera* [Mieczysław Treter's Museological Study], within the Project: *Muzeum w polskiej kulturze pamięci (do 1918 r.): wczesne instytucje muzealne wobec muzeologii cyfrowej* [Museum in Polish Memory Culture up to 1918; Early Museum Institutions versus Digital Museology], Department of Fine Arts, Nicolaus Copernicus Museum, Toruń, <http://muzeumpamieci.umk.pl/?p=626>; P. Majewski, *Wszystko już było.....*, pp. 7-27; T. F. de Rosset, *Mieczysław Treter, Muzea współczesne* [Mieczysław Treter. Contemporary Museums], this edition of 'Muzealnictwa'.
- ⁵⁹ It is common knowledge that the library, containing the largest next to the Jagiellonian Library academic book collection in the Polish territories of the time, constituted Ossolineum's branch equivalent to the Prince Lubomirski Museum at which Treter worked.
- ⁶⁰ 'Zeitschrift für Museologie und Antiquitätenkunde sowie verwandte wissensschaften', J.G. Th. Graesse (ed.), Dresden 1878-85; 'Museumskunde', K. Koetschau (ed.) until the last year of publication in 1924.
- ⁶¹ Murray bases 'museum's' evolution on many examples, supported with extensive literature, D. Murray, *Museums. Their History...*, pp. 1-12.
- ⁶² M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne...*, p. 9.
- ⁶³ W. Łoziński, *Życie polskie w dawnych wiekach* [Polish Life in Old Times], Lwów 1907, p. 32.
- ⁶⁴ M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne...*, p. 10.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-5.
- ⁶⁷ Treter is referring to the claims made by W. Morris and R. de la Sizeranne, this in Z. Przesmycki, *Geneza muzeów sztuki i błędne ich drogi* [Genesis of Art Museums and Their Erroneous Paths], in: *Pro Arte. Uwagi o sztuce...* p. 519; *Museums: cemeteries!*, is also the slogan of Avant-garde artists yielded by the increase of the number and popularity of museums in the late 19th century; more – D. Folga-Januszewska, *Muzeologia, muzeografia, muzealnictwo* [Museology: in Polish *Muzeologia, Muzeografia, Muzealnictwo*], in: „Muzealnictwo” 2006, No. 47, pp. 11-16.
- ⁶⁸ The scientific role was emphasized already by the first authors of museum plans, e.g. Stefan Chardon de Rieule, plan published in 1766 r., *Projekt Stefana de Rieule'a stworzenia w Warszawie Muzeum Przyrodniczego w wieku XVIII* [Stefan de Rieule's Plan to Create a Natural History Museum in Warsaw in the 18th Century], B. Hryniewiecki (transl.), 'Wiadomości Muzeum Ziemi' 1947, Vol. III; M.J. Mniszech, *Mysli Względem Założenia Museum Polonicum* [Thoughts Regarding the Establishment of the *Museum Polonicum*], 'Zabawy Przyjemne y Pożyteczne z Sławnych Wieku tego Autorów Zebrane' 1775, Vol. 11, part 2 and Treter's contemporaries, to mention only the following: E. Majewski, *O potrzebie muzeów naukowych* [On the Need for Scientific Museums], 'Światowit. Rocznik poświęcony archeologii pradziejowej i badaniom pierwotnej kultury polskiej i słowiańskiej' 1905, Vol. 6; S. Udziela, *Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Dział Etnograficzny* [National Museum in Cracow. Ethnographic Department], Kraków 1905; S. Stobiecki, *W sprawie Krajowego Muzeum Przyrodniczego* [On the Question of the National Natural History Museum], Kraków 1910; A. Maciesza, *Zasady organizacji muzeów krajoznawczych* [Organization Principles of Tourist Museums], 'Ziemia' 1910, No. 36.
- ⁶⁹ Szydłowski pointed to the need for cooperation of museum institutions with schools and other education-related organizations, *idem*, *Muzeum jako czynnik oświatowy* [Museum as a Factor in Education], in: *Praca oświatowa, jej zadania, metody, organizacja, Podręcznik opracowany staraniem Uniwersytetu Ludowego im. A. Mickiewicza przez T. Bobrowskiego* [Education Work, Its Tasks, Methods, Organization. Manual Elaborated Through the Efforts of the A. Mickiewicz Popular University by T. Bobrowski], Kraków 1913, pp. 443-60. After Szydłowski, B. Mansfeld justified that combining scientific tasks with educational ones was started by the construction of the Sheffield Museum following J. Ruskin's concept, and afterwards the reorganization of the Hamburg Kunsthall conducted by Lichtwark, as well as the congress of museologists in Meinhheim in 1903 following the slogan of museums as folk education institutions, *idem*, *Proces autonomizacji muzeów w XIX wieku* [Empowerment Process of Museums in the 19th Century], 'Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici', 'Zabytkoznawstwo i Konserwatorstwo' 1973, V(52), pp. 51-9, particularly 58.
- ⁷⁰ M. Treter, *Muzea współczesne...*, p. 96.
- ⁷¹ He emphasized the importance of lighting in museums, as well as of installations: electricity, heating, telephone, and fire alarm, *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 31. On lecture rooms equipped with the whole set of scientific and presentation devices, a rich collection of reproductions and slides also in T. Szydłowski, *Muzeum jako czynnik...*, p. 451.
- ⁷³ Earlier basic information on archives, libraries, museums, private collections and collectors in a brief study by Hieronim Wilder and Edward Chwalewik's publication, see: A. Tołysz, *Polskie muzea przed 1918 – próba klasyfikacji* [Polish Museums before 1918 – Attempt at Classification], <http://muzeumpamieci.umk.pl/?p=1410> [Accessed: 20 April 2019].
- ⁷⁴ Following the foundation of PTK in the territory of the Kingdom of Poland in 1906, twenty-eight PTK branches were established, and they amassed regional museum collections, M. Wawrzak, *O muzeach Polskiego Towarzystwa Krajoznawczego do 1918 roku. Od teorii do praktyki* [On Museums of the Polish Tourist Society before 1918. From Theory to Practice], in: *Muzeum a pamięć – forma, produkcja, miejsce* [Museum versus Memory: Form, Production,

Place], T.F. de Rosset, E. Bednarz Doiczmanowa, A. Tolysz (ed.), *Materiały z konferencji zorganizowanej w dn. 8-9 czerwca 2017 r. przez Zakład Muzealnictwa Wydziału Sztuk Pięknych UMK w Toruniu* [Proceedings from the Conference Organized on 8-9 June 2017 by the Museology Department of the Faculty of Fine Arts at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń], 'Biblioteka NIMOZ' 2018, Vol. 11, pp. 113-34, particularly 121-23.

⁷⁵ See the paper in the present issue of 'Muzealnictwo' – T. F. de Rosset, *Mieczysław Treter...*

⁷⁶ The discussion focused on museology policy conducted in the press presented in detail by B. Mansfeld, *Sprawy muzealne u progu II Rzeczypospolitej* [Museum-Related Questions at the Threshold of the Second Polish Republic], 'Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici'. 'Zabytkoznawstwo i Konserwatorstwo' 1980, IX(112), pp. 147-72; Idem, *Muzea na drodze...*, pp. 41-56.

⁷⁷ Historical-artistic museums reported to the Ministry of Art and Culture, whereas natural history, archaeological, ethnographic ones etc. to the Science Department at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment.

⁷⁸ The extended programme submitted to Przesmycki in 1919 was published in 1922, M. Treter, *Organizacja zbiorów...*, its abridged version published in 'Rzeczpospolita' 1921, No. 116, 118, 120.

⁷⁹ M. Treter, *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸² *ibid.*, pp. 14-22.

⁸³ Jan Czekanowski, ethnographer, ethnologist, from 1913 affiliated with the University of Lvov, worked at the Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Museum of the Nations in St Petersburg.

⁸⁴ Franciszek Kopera lectured in museology at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow in the academic year 1920/1921.

⁸⁵ The King himself did not claim his exclusive title to the Castle; its former name was 'Castle of His Majesty the King and the Commonwealth'; this was also the understanding from after the war, and generous donors came to support the Castle for the future.

⁸⁶ M. Treter, *Organizacja zbiorów...*, pp. 7, 8, after: *Les forces de la France – Nos Musées*, 'Revue Hebdomadaire' 1917.

⁸⁷ This is the issue pointed to by D. Kielak, *O kulturotwórczej roli muzeum w projekcie Mieczysława Tretera* [On Museum's Culture-Creative Role in Mieczysław Treter's Plan], in: 'IDEA – Studia nad strukturą i rozwojem pojęć filozoficznych' 2018, Vol. XXX/1, pp. 161-74, particularly 168.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹⁰ Treter informs that there are exceptions where one can see print collections, this is the collection of Feliks Jasieński or other private 'freaks', *ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹¹ *Zbiory Państwowe w Gmachach Reprezentacyjnych w Warszawie* [State Collections in Stately Buildings in Warsaw], 'Ziemia' 1922, No. 12, pp. 346-50.

⁹² M. Treter, *Zasady polityki muzealnej* [Principles of Museum Policy], 'Rzeczpospolita' 1924, No. 117, p. 3; No. 118, p. 3; No. 119, p. 3.

⁹³ Newspaper clipping featuring the date: 1920, preserved at IS PAN Special Collections, No. 1541/III.

⁹⁴ M. Treter, *Muzea prowincjonalne. Zasady organizacji* [Provincial Museums. Organization Principles], 'Nauka Polska' 1923, Vol. IV, pp. 274-81, nadb. [nie pamiętam co ten skrót znaczy]

⁹⁵ M. Treter, *Gabinet Rycin St. Augusta* [Print Cabinet of Stanislaus Augustus], 'Rzeczpospolita' 1924, No. 124, p. 4 and No. 128, p. 4. It has to be remembered that the Print Cabinet containing the collections of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, purchased in 1818 on the initiative of Stanisław Kostka Potocki by the heirs of Prince Józef Poniatowski, remained from then onwards a unit within the University Library - J. Talbierska, *Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie 1818-1832* [Print Cabinet of the University Library in Warsaw 1818-32], in: *Kultura artystyczna Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego: ars et educatio* [Artistic Culture of the University of Warsaw: *Ars et Educatio*], J. Miziołek (ed.), Warszawa 2003, pp. 399-415.

⁹⁶ M. Treter, *Gabinet Rycin...*, *ibid.*, p. 4

⁹⁷ M. Treter, *Rozbiór zbiorów rapperswilskich* [Fragmentation of the Rapperswil Collections], 'Warszawianka' 26 Oct. 1927, No. 294, p. 4; Idem, *Od pamiątek do obrazu rzeczywistości. Przyszłość Rapperswilu* [From Mementoes to the Image of Reality. The Future of Rapperswil], 'Warszawianka' 18 Nov. 1927, p. No. 317, p. 2.

⁹⁸ M. Treter, *Środowiska artystyczne Warszawy. (Muzea które są, a których właściwie nie ma)* [Artistic Circles in Warsaw. (Museums That Exist, But Are Actually Not There)], 'Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny' 1931, No. 197, p. 2. It was Zenon Przesmycki who wrote about crowded museums and lost tourists running across museum rooms, quoting Ruskin's words: *It is better to study one painting by Tintoretto than superficially catalogue all the world galleries*, Z. Przesmycki, *Pro Arte ...*, p. 523.

⁹⁹ K. Malinowski, *Prekursory muzeologii polskiej...*, p. 125.

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