Muz., 2018(59): 163–174 Rocznik, eISSN 2391-4815 received – 05.2018 reviewed – 06.2018 accepted – 06.2018

DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0012.2320

MARIAN MINICH (1898–1965)

Paulina Kurc-Maj

Museum of Art in Łódź

Abstract: Marian Minich was born on 21 December 1898 in Baligród near Lesko and died on 6 July 1965 in Łódź. For thirty years, with the exception of the World War II period, he was director of the Museum of Art in Łódź. Studied history of art at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów; graduated in 1929. From 1928 employed at Lwów University, first as assistant of Professor Władysław Kozicki and then of Professor Władysław Podlacha. In 1932 presented a doctoral thesis on the oeuvre of Andrzej Grabowski (published in 1957). Already as a student granted a University award for his study: Koncepcja sztuki u Wölfflina; Wölfflin's methodology influenced Marian Minich's future exhibition concepts. From the late 1920s worked as an art critic writing for Lwów newspapers. In 1935 assumed the office of director of the Museum of Art in Łódź (at the time the J. and K. Bartoszewicz Municipal Museum of History and Art). Major achievements included not only a considerable

expansion of Museum collections but also the Museum's transformation into an institution dedicated exclusively to art, with a significant representation of contemporary exhibits. In difficult post-war years Marian Minich maintained this trend both before and after the Socialist Realism-era constriction of cultural policy. In 1948, in the wake of a first post-war permanent exhibition the Museum of Art in Łódź opened, thanks to Director Minich, the "Neo-Plastic Room" designed by Władysław Strzemiński. Marian Minich was also a persistent defender of the avant-garde - he strove towards introducing it as an integral part of the organisation of art museums. From 1946/1947 to 1951/1952 taught history of art at the University of Łódź. Described his experiences as museum director in the book: Szalona galeria (published in 1963) and dedicated the article: O nowg organizację muzeów sztuki (1966) to assorted museum problems.

Keywords: Marian Minich (1898–1965), Museum of Art in Łódź, Neo-Plastic Room, contemporary art, organisation of art expositions.

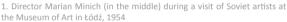
On the first pages of Marian Munich – pod wiatr, a book dedicated to her father, Agnieszka Minich-Scholz wrote: Many persons, even those from the circle associated with art, are totally unaware of the existence of the first director of the Museum of Art in Łódź. Thirty initial years of the Museum's history are swathed in a mysterious mist of self-existence.¹

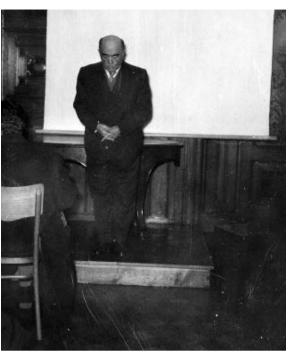
True, as a rule the Lwów-Łódź museum curator appears in the background of the most frequently evoked event of the period – the International Collection of Modern Art of the a.r. group. The above-cited publication, accompanied by Wspomnienia wojenne Mariana Minicha and a re-edtion of his Szalona galeria,² indubitably disperses this mist and is not merely a story told by a daughter about her father but also an effortlessly written brilliant biography bringing the reader closer to colourful family anecdotes and a nuanced portrait of a museum curator and art lover, who managed his museum also in difficult times, with an interval for the Second World War tempest.

The first director of the Łódź institution is little-known even within the museum milieu. Meanwhile, his activity was just as fundamental – although within a different range and for different reasons – as the rather well-popularised work performed by Ryszard Stanisławski, a successive director of the Łódź institution. It was Marian Minich who decided about the initial shape of the Museum of Art in Łódź – the first Polish museum presenting avant-garde modern art – and granted a direction to its development.

Marian Minich was born on 21 December 1898 in a family with Austrian roots in Baligród, at the time located in the Austrian partition area. In 1916 he graduated from a secondary school in Tarnów and when not quite 18 years old enrolled at an officer academy in Troppau. Consequently, conscripted into the Austrian army in which he served at the time of the First World War, and finally joined the Polish Army. In independent Poland Marian Minich lived together with his family in Lwów, where he studied chemistry at the local







2. Director Marian Minich welcoming participants gathered in the auditorium of the Museum of Art in Łódź upon the occasion of launching the Amateur-Artists Club. 1961

Polytechnic (certificate of completion in 1923). Already a year later he aditionally signed up for a five-year history of art course at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów. While ending his studies he became assistant professor at the Chair of the History of Modern Art under Prof. Władysław Kozicki, and subsequently at the Chair of Polish and East European Art under Prof. Władysław Podlacha. In 1929 Minich received a University award for his Koncepcia sztuki klasycznei u Wölffling, and three years later, in 1932, he presented a Ph.D. thesis on the oeuvre of Andrzej Grabowski; the summary was published in "Rocznik Lwowski Towarzystwa Naukowego" and the annual "Sztuki Piękne"4; a supplemented version was issued more than twenty years later. 5 Minich did not earn a Ph.D. degree until 1955.⁶ At the turn of the 1920s he worked sporadically as an art critic ("Gazeta Poranna", "Lwowski Kurier Poranny", "Kurier Lwowski", "Gazeta Lwowska") and a painter (member of the Lwów Society of the Fine Arts and the Lwów Union of Visual Artists).7

In September 1934 the Consultative Commission at the J. and K. Bartoszewicz Municipal Museum of History and Art in Łódź met⁸ in order to choose a director – a historian of art with no less than one and a half year's experience in museum praxis. In his application Marian Minich stressed interest in twentieth-century Modernist art and to prove his museology abilities mentioned the post of collections administrator at the Department of the History of Modern Art of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów. The main challenger for the function of future director was Dr Józef Grabowski, head of the Pokucie Museum in Stanisławów. The fact that Grabowski was unable to accept the post prior to the summer of 1935 proved decisive for choosing Marian Minich, Ph.D., available at the time¹¹ and ready to hold

the office as of 1 January 1935. Members of the Museum Commission included, i.a. Dr Zbigniew Bocheński, custodian at the National Museum in Cracow, and Dr Michał Walicki, docent at the University of Warsaw.

Already in January 1935 the Łódź press recorded that the new director of the Bartoszewicz Museum of History and Art was Dr Marian Minich from the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów: Dr Minich is not only to act as Museum director but also to deal with its expansion and the establishment of new, heretofore non-existent departments.¹²

At that time, despite possessing the Bartoszewicz collection and the International Collection of Modern Art of the a.r. group, the Łódź Museum of Art was a small institution with a fragmentary collection; it was also new and had been detached from the Municipal Museum as a separate institution only a few years earlier. 13 It was obvious both for the Commission appointing the new Museum director and for the latter that at this stage the most significant tasks involved granting the Museum a developmental line and completing its collections. Additional efforts involved expanding educational activity for the sake of popularising the Museum within the challenging Łódź environment composed mainly of workers. An active milieu associated with the fine arts did not emerge in Łódź until the 1930s. An inauguration exhibition was held in January 1931 at the local Art Propaganda Institute.14 This was also the year of the establishment of the first Visual Artists Union, subsequently split in 1933 into the Trade Union of Polish Visual Artists promoting modern art and publishing the periodical "Forma", and the Polish Trade Union of Łódź Visual Artists concentrated around the more conservative "Ryngraf" group. 15 The former also contributed to the fact that Łódź was now described as the "town of the

www.muzealnictworocznik.com MUZEALNICTWO 59 227

avant-garde"¹⁶ and to the delineation of a specific trend of the development of the Łódź Museum of Art by its director.

Dr Marian Minich was well-aware of the difficulties facing him but also of the exceptional character of the entrusted institution. In a brief summary of his activity he mentioned the tragic state of culture in a predominantly proletarian town, but also the interesting Bartoszewicz a.r. group collections, which created a fascinating and unique phenomenon against the background of Polish museum reality. 17 Almost from the very onset he considered it essential to retain at all cost the international Modernist art collection and the trend of the expansion of his institution. 18 The first significant reform, implemented in 1935-1936, was the separation of historical collections and old prints (the so-called Bartoszewicz Library) from the Museum and their transference to the Municipal Public Library, while archival material dating basically from the time of the Great War (and partly composed of remnants of the former Museum of the Study of Art) and manuscripts (not until after 1945) were to be entrusted to the Archive of Historical Records of the City of Łódź. 19 Only books on the history of art remained at the Museum - this was the way in which the Museum library was to be expanded in the future. This extremely controversial decision was made contrary to the will of Kazimierz Bartoszewicz (deceased), donor and patron of the Łódź Museum.²⁰ Nonetheless, the fact that such a solution enabled Minich to concentrate the activity of the Łódź Museum exclusively on art deserves to be appreciated. Without this crucial resolution the institution in question would have been unable to develop into a museum dedicated to modern art.

The reorganisation of the Museum exposition conducted at the time was not only technical (renovation and partial redesigning of the showrooms), but also affected its contents. Minich wrote: The art department was collated according to epochs and artistic currents as far as was permitted by the scarcity of representative artworks, and gaps were finally filled by exhibits representing a higher standard, arranging all – as far as possible, owing to the rather unsuitable location of the collections – according to binding laws of optics. ²¹

The programme launched by Minich, although at the time still not described in detail, remained a consequence of a formal analysis expounded by Henrich Wölfflin and reflected in the Director's views concerning the history of art. As pertinent writings indicated recently²² those opinions were outright borrowed from the studies of Prof. Władysław Podlacha, with whose Zagadnienie metody historii sztuki the first director of the Łódź museum institution was probably thoroughly familiar. The Museum collections and exposition were to be created in such a way so as to present stylistic transformations across various epochs as emphatically as possible,²³ the objective being resignation from the traditional layout showing great artists, themes or techniques. This was the way in which the first version of the Bartoszewicz collection was constructed in 1930 in the newly-established Museum, entailing, for instance, separate presentations of collections of works on paper, genre scenes, or Łódź art.²⁴ Now Minich arranged the new exhibition so that it depicted the development of artistic forms upon the basis of concrete successive trends: Idealism, Classicism, Realism, Impressionism, Expressionism, Formism, Constructivism,

Purism, Neo-Plasticism, and Surrealism. Another novelty involved the addition of a Formism Room and an International Surrealism Room to already existing showrooms. Marian Minich later described this method of setting up expositions as *systematic-stylistic*, presented in: "Rocznik Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi 1930–1962" and the article: *O nową organizację muzeów sztuki*²⁵ from 1958. The latter text was not published, however, until 1966, after the director's death and, as has been revealed recently, in a significantly abbreviated and partly changed form.²⁶

The pre-war exposition prepared by Marian Minich was displayed in 11 showrooms of the Museum building in 1 Wolności Square in Łódź and encompassed modern art to the nineteenth and twentieth century, including a display of the International Collection of Modern Art of the a.r. group. Already then it lacked, i.a. works by European Impressionists and Expressionists, replaced by reproductions.

Despite its contemporary stylistic configuration, the exposition was criticised by a radical part of the Trade Union of Polish Visual Artists. Mention is due to the fact that already in 1934, the Union passed judgment on the composition of the Consultative Commission entrusted with choosing the new Museum director by pointing out that the Commission was not representative for circles involved in modern art.²⁷ The Union was displeased with the exclusion of its members from decisions concerning artistic issues. The Museum was criticised particular fervently by Władysław Strzemiński, whose feuds with Marian Minich were cited even by Jan Brzekowski in letters to Julian Przyboś. 28 The "Forma" periodical issued as many as three anonymous critical articles, of which the most extensive, published in August 1935, 29 became the direct reason for the resignation of Karol Hiller from the post of editor-in-chief.³⁰ The article in question disapproved of the Minich exhibition's ostentation, aestheticisation, and absence of clarity. According to the unidentified author, the exposition featured too many epigonic works, making it impossible for a member of the public to understand assorted stages in the development of visual arts.

Despite those comments, the conception of a permanent gallery showing the progress of successive artistic forms, devised by Dr Minich before the war, was continued in his museum undertakings also after 1945.

The exposition from the end of the 1930s was additionally enhanced by rather determinedly increased collections, thus testifying to the skills of the director, who obtained exhibits from artists, their families, and collectors. During Minich's brief pre-war term of office the Museum received successive works predominantly by Polish nineteenth- and twentiethcentury artists. The objective of this policy was the widest possible demonstration of a spectrum of artistically interesting phenomena, while the profile of the collection was distinctly focused on contemporary and current art. Fundamental extant archival material, i.e. the former inventory of the Museum of Art in Łódź, 31 shows that this was a period of purchases of, i.a. paintings by Jack Malczewski, Jan Matejko, Piotr Michałowski, and Olga Boznańska, sculptures by Henryk Wiciński and Zbigniew and Andrzej Pronaszko, and canvases by Maksymilian Feuerring, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, and Tytus Czyżewski. Marian Minich valued also representatives of the Lwów milieu, predominately those linked with the Artes group: Jerzy Janisch, Ludwik Lille, Roman Sielski, and





and Art. 1938



4. Formism Room at the J. and K. Bartoszewicz Municipal Museum of History and Art, 1939 $\,$

Henryk Streng [Marek Włodarski], and the Łódź milieu: first and foremost, Jankiel Adler and Karol Hiller. The director of the Łódź Museum particularly highly regarded the latter artist and in 1938 initiated a monographic exhibition of his works at the Warsaw Institute for Art Propaganda. Mention is also due to the fact that Minich was always an advocate of the oeuvre of Władysław Strzemiński and Katarzyna Kobro. Spectacular purchases made at the time included that of *Mother* by Henryk Rodakowski, bought from the artist's son in 1937 for a large sum – a decision criticised by the municipal authorities of the period. On the eve of the outbreak of World War II Director Minich also secured the Karol Rajmund Eisert collection - a donation composed of European late mediaeval, modern, and nineteenth-century art, i.a. a North Italian school canvas probably by Gentile da Fabriano (first half of the fifteenth century): Bishop and St. Agnes, works by Jacob Jordaens and Adriaen van de Velde, unfortunately lost during the Second World War, and Fritz von Uhde's Soldiers Casting Lots for Christ's Garments, up to this day in the collections of the Museum of Art in Łódź. Finally, the director acquired Polish nineteenth-century paintings donated by the heirs of Henryk Grohman, i.a. works by Henryk Siemiradzki, Teodor Axentowicz, Leon Wyczółkowski, and Włodzimierz Tetmajer.

In 1938–1939 Marian Minich briefly fulfilled the function of head of the Łódź Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum, and from January 1939 was also the Łódź voivodeship expert on the export of artworks.³² At the time of the Second World War he was relegated by the German occupants from all the above posts, as well as that of director of the Łódź Museum of Art. Minich portrayed the wartime period in his detailed reminiscences:33 he fought in the September 1939 campaign and at the end of that year was arrested in Łódź together with his family. From 1942 he worked as a teacher of trade correspondence (and clandestinely also of literature, art, history, and the history of social doctrines) at the Gardening Secondary School in Ursynów.³⁴ Subsequently, in 1945 Minich returned to Łódź where he immediately – in February – again assumed the post of head of the Museum of Art. For the next three months he also supervised all the Łódź museums and then, for a short time, the Ethnographic Museum (1954). Since in 1950-1958 the Museum of Art was simultaneously the Regional Museum Marian Minich was, for all practical purposes, head of museum institutions in this region. In addition he lectured on the history of art, first at the State Institute of Theatrical Arts in Łódź, and then, in 1946/1947 -1951/1952, at the University of Łódź. In 1946 he joined the Polish Workers' Party and from 1948 was a member of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP). Acted as secretary and vice-chairman of the Łódź branch of the Art Historians Association. In 1953-1957 Minich was a member of the Museum and Conservation Board at the Ministry of Culture and Art, the Culture Commission of the Voivodeship National Council, and the Culture Commission at the Plenary Session of the Łódź Committee of PUWP. In 1964 he received a 2nd degree individual State Award for overall activity in the domain of museology.35

www.muzealnictworocznik.com MUZEALNICTWO 59 229

After World War II the Museum of Art in Łódź was granted a new building - a former factory owner's palace in 36 Wieckowskiego Street, totally ill-suited for its new functions. Director Minich rapidly began to seek permission to construct a new seat, but unfortunately to no avail.³⁶ Almost to the end of the 1940s the activity of the Museum was, therefore, hallmarked by post-war reorganisation. It began to receive recovered artworks and former German property, collections of pre-war Łódź entrepreneurs (from the Biederman and Geyer palaces and the Heinzel collection) and so-called postmanorial property acquired with the intermediary of the Regional Liquidation Office and Provisional State Property Board. The Director also accepted significant donations of Łódź avant-garde art - the Museum collection now included the legacy of Karol Hiller, a set of works by Władysław Strzemiński, and preserved sculptures by Katarzyna Kobro. In connection with the closure of a permanent exposition of old art at the National Museum in Warsaw the Łódź institution accepted a deposit, i.a. mediaeval artworks, which did not have to be returned until the 1990s, i.e. at the time of Director Jaromir Jedliński.³⁷

The further trend of the development of the institution headed by Marian Minich was unambiguously defined in the Statute of the Municipal Museum of Art in Łódź, passed on 6 February 1948 and including an entry declaring that its purpose is the scientific and didactic accumulation and development of possessed works of art and crafts, with special attention paid to international modern art.38 In June 1948 Dr Minich opened the first post-war museum exposition - a continuation of the exhibition conception introduced by him already prior to the war. The display was presented on three Museum storeys and encompassed 30 showrooms featuring the development of art spanning from the Gothic era, followed by foreign paintings from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, a department of Polish painting from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, to International Modern Art. In order to support the structure of the narrative the exposition was supplemented with reproductions. The Director assigned the entire second floor to a presentation of newest art, whose "point of arrival" and apogee of development was the Neo-Plastic Room. In 1948 this interior today, already historical – boldly proposed to grant a high rank to abstract art. Designed by Władysław Strzemiński upon the request of Minich, the Neo-Plastic Room contained numerous works from the International Collection of Modern Art of the a.r. group executed by authors associated with the Geometric Abstract Art of the Neo-Plastic circle and the French Circle et Carré group. The Room's essential supplement consisted of Kobro's spatial compositions as well as those (and furniture) by Strzemiński. The 1948 exposition was welcomed by the authorities,³⁹ but did not affect the further fate of the Museum. It was closed on 1 October 1950 and reorganised due to the exacerbation of the cultural policy pursued by the communist authorities in Poland. One and a half months later the new permanent exhibition no longer showed avant-garde works recognized as excessively Formalistic, and the Neo-Plastic Room was excluded from the display. Dr Marian Minich was compelled to present exhibits indicating the progress of Realism. The exposition was left mainly with old (spanning from the Gothic period to modern painting) and Polish art, divided thematically and placing

particular emphasis on social issues. Its supplement was the exhibition: "The development of textiles industry Łódź from 1825", presenting the history of the titular industry against the background of that of the proletariat. ⁴⁰The Museum also opened a department dedicated to Critical Realism. ⁴¹

Enforced political changes, defined as scientific reorganisation carried out from the viewpoint of Marxist aesthetics, were lauded at a conference held Nieborów in 1951.42 As a consequence of recommendations made by central authorities the Museum of Art held a series of strongly indoctrinated ideological-professional courses conducted by assorted staff members. It is worth adding that courses proposed by Director Minich concentrated as much as possible on aesthetics and not on workers' movements (Postulowanie realizmu socjalistycznego w sztuce, 1951; O estetyce marksistowskiej, 1951; O stosunku historii sztuki do estetyki, 1953; O interpretacji dzieła sztuki, 1954).⁴³ It is a known fact that at the time Director Minich conducted unofficial courses on modern art, held in the Museum storerooms.44 His involvement, and that of the Museum, in undertakings of the communist authorities was partly an outcome of the program policy imposed by the Ministry. It could have been also the effect of support for some of this policy's trends, such as workers' education, and certainly assumed different forms in the 1940s or 1950s and even more so in the 1960s. For artists and art theoreticians who originated from the pre-war left wing the new state policy could have been concurrent with their expectations regarding social equality, an approach disclosed in numerous stands (e.g. those of the architects Helena and Szymon Syrkus). Director Marian Munich also backed pre-war leftist circles. This is the way he was described by Klaudiusz Hrabyk, connected with "Kurier Lwowski": (...) An excellent reviewer of painting and, at the same time, as we all knew, one who favoured radically leftist views and, we suspected, even communist ones. 45 Today it has become difficult to assess within this context Museum documents and texts published by Minich after the war. Being connected with one of the more important state museum institutions of the region they must has been subjected to official doctrine and, on the other hand, expressed support for certain decisions made by the authorities regarding culture - such as centralisation or enfranchisement, which the director of the Łódź Museum of Art did not criticise openly. We know from his notes that in time he became aware of a dissonance between the new state policy and the freedom of art. Although his autobiographical book: Szalona galeria contains an optimistic assessment of the post-war situation its author already excluded Socialist Realism of the first half of the 1950s. The impetus, which thanks to culturally active factors of the people's government enabled us to create original values in museology in the course of several years, was hampered as of 1 January 1950, after the institution was handed over to the Ministry of Culture and Art. Mistakenly comprehended "socialist realism" and the incompetence of civil servants, who at the time decided about culture, created a cul de sac of sorts in the domain of culture. 46 The problem of art within the context of the new state policy resounds even more loudly at the end of the book: Bombarded with anonymous threats, warnings, and poisoned missiles of opinions I asked myself upon numerous occasions whether I am not trapped in some sort of an anti-cognition delusional



MIEJSKIE MUZEUM SZTUKI W ŁODZI – WIĘCKOWSKIEGO 36 –

ZAWIERA EKSPONATY SZTUKI GOTYCKIEJ, RENESANSOWEJ, BAROKO-WEJ, DZIEŁA MALARSTWA POLSKIEGO XVIII, XIX I XX WIEKU, ORAZ DZIAŁ MIĘDZYNARODOWEJ SZTUKI NOWOCZESNEJ. I TKACTWA ART.

5. Poster of the Municipal Museum of Art in Łódź, 1948



6. Neo-Plastic Room at the Museum of Art in Łódź, 1948–1949

world – whether the display of my interpretation of modern visual art is not some sort of a fatal mistake? Is all this art truth or a lie? An act of discovery or an expression of impudent arrogance? Is it part of the development of the constructivist requirements of the epoch or does it constitute decayed individualistic fiction? AT This dilemma faced by Minich was expressed also in the title of his book describing the Łódź Museum of Art as wild, with the author simultaneously supporting such passion.

Avant-garde art returned to the exposition in 1956, at the time of the "thaw" following the death of Joseph Stalin. In 1958 a separate department of International Modern Art was introduced in the Museum and a refurbished exposition, comprehensively presenting the premises of the vision launched by Marian Minich, was opened two years later. In 1957-1963 Dr Minich travelled to France, the Netherlands, the German Democratic Republic, and the Soviet Union,⁴⁸ enjoying opportunities to gain further knowledge about the state of museology and visual art trends in other countries. His stay in Paris proved to be particularly crucial: through the intermediary of Jerzy Kujawski interesting examples of Abstract Expressionism - canvases by artists from the Phases circle - made their way into the collection, albeit not without mishaps. Just as fundamental was the revival and establishment of contact with the Parisian art milieu: Henryk Berlewi, Galerie Denise René, and Michel Seuphor. Consequently, in 1957 Director Minich became one of the members of the honorary committee of the "Precursors de

l'art abstrait en Pologne" exhibition held at Galerie Denise René in Paris. 49

In 1960 – upon the occasion of the 25th anniversary of work and the 30th anniversary of the Museum – Dr Marian Minich opened a permanent exhibition arranged according to a supplemented plan from the 1940s and once again featuring the stylistic-formal development of art across the ages. As Dr Jacek Antoni Ojrzyński, the oft-cited member of the Museum staff, recalled, this was the swan song of the Director, 50 who now could display the progress of art with momentum and by resorting to new purchases. This time too the exposition was supplemented by facsimiles – both of old (e.g. paintings by Raphael and Rubens) and modern art (reproductions of works by the Impressionists), making it possible to guide members of the public across the most significant moments in the development of art notwithstanding the absence of such examples in the Museum collections.

The exposition prepared by Marian Minich was a sui generis lecture on the history of art, and the above-mentioned O nową organizację muzeów sztuki proved to be an extremely important proposal of changing the traditional order of art exhibitions as well as the one imposed by authorities of the Socialist Realism era. 51 The chief premise of Minich's article consisted of reflections about the creation of expositions that would reflect the formal development of art,52 hence endowing art research with a scientific and rationalised character. Minich was of the opinion that the objective of such activity was educational, exceeding in-depth comprehension of visual art phenomena or the process of moulding exclusively the awareness of recipients. He maintained that art does not come into being autonomously vis à vis the world surrounding it,53 and thus is of immense importance for shaping social stands.54

The cited article devoted considerable attention to the exposition of international modern art featured on the second storey of the Museum building in Wieckowskiego Street. In this case the author had at his disposal relatively comprehensive material – at least in comparison with the collection of old art - making it possible to fully present his conception.55 The exhibition began with a display of Impressionism and Neo-Impressionism, followed by Expressionism, Formism, Cubism, Constructivism, and Post-Constructivism, crowned by the Neo-Plastic Room. 56 The first variant of the Room's arrangement proposed a presentation of a striving towards a neutralisation of the energetic tension of form and color via paintings by Vilmos Huszár, Henryk Berlewi, Georges Vantongerloo, and Henryk Stażewski as well as a facsimile of a canvas by Piet Mondrian.⁵⁷ The second variant featured works by Theo van Doesburg and other compositions by Vilmos Huszár and Henryk Stażewski as well as Jean Hélion. 58 Sculptures by Katarzyna Kobro, added to the Room, were to depict the way in which spatial sculpture based on the potential energy of color organises external space. 59 The Neo-Plastic Room was followed by a presentation of Architectonic and Unistic Compositions by Władysław Strzemiński and an exposition of Surrealism. The last two showrooms showed examples of Abstract Neo-Expressionism. For some of the showrooms, similarly as for the Neo-Plastic Room, Marian Minich also prepared exposition variants, always carefully choosing works that in his opinion were the most representative and avoiding eclectic and epigone compositions, thus granting the gallery a distinctly educational merit.

The embedding of the Minich conception of the exposition in the theory formulated by the Swiss historian of art Heinrich Wölfflin linked this proposal with the methodology of history of art conceived as a theory of perception, formulated in the same period by Władysław Strzemiński, whose book originated in his pre-war articles. ⁶⁰ The book in question was written from the end of the 1940s, based on, i.a. notes from Strzemiński's lectures held at the State Higher School of Visual Arts in Łódź and published posthumously in 1958. ⁶¹ Although the similarity is significant Marian Minich never referred to it directly. ⁶²

The two conceptions were certainly devised independently, although a certain mutual impact cannot be excluded since the artist and the museum director were in contact. Apart from the fact that the source of both theories was Wölfflin's development of the theory of form they were also

part of a wider Modernist concept of the history of art, in which the latter was envisaged as a collection of mutually evolving trends and tendencies, and as such expanded and even progressed. The scientific systematisation of the theories propounded by Minich and Strzemiński was thus also affiliated with, i.a. the famous geneaological tree of the development of modern art proposed by Alfred H. Barr, director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, who in this way attempted to describe phenomena appearing in art in a manner resembling the progress of biological forms. Researchers also drew attention to a similar significance of the Minich conception of the museum exposition and the visions of modern art expositions devised by Alexander Dorner and El Lissitzky in the form of the Abstract Cabinet in Hanover. 63 They shared the didactic merit of a systematised presentation and the rank of the holistic reception of works exemplifying transformations in art, including the possibility of using reproductions. The conception created by Minich





7. and 8. Cubism and Constructivism Room at the Museum of Art in Łódź, 1960–1966

(Photo: 1-8 Department of Scientific Documentation of the Museum of Art in Łódź)

233

indicates also inspiration drawn from, i.a. Max Dvořák and Benedetto Croce;⁶⁴ just like avant-garde artists and Modernist historians of art Minich remained an anti-Naturalist.⁶⁵

One of the significant differences between the Minich and Strzemiński programs involved drawing attention to the so-called social factor, which was extremely essential at the time of an interpretation maintained in the spirit of Marxist historiosophy, imposed upon culture and science. When, however, we take a closer look at the configuration of the Minich gallery it appears that he attached decidedly less importance to this factor. Director Munich severed ties not only with a layout presenting artistic individualities but also with a thematic-chronological one shocking by means of its social contents, essential at the time of Socialist Realism. Nonetheless, while describing his conception of examining art Minich attempted to grant it raison d'être in new conditions by linking it with general tendencies in the development of Polish museology aimed not only at educating but also at reinforcing the ideological message connected with the cultural policy pursued during the 1950s.66 Full of inner conflicts, I finally decided to adapt Wölfflinian idealistic premises to the teachings of Marx;67 here we may also come across citations from the writings of Lenin referring to the necessity of communist science adapting the whole of human knowledge, by means of which Minich endeavoured to discover support for the necessity of reaching for the legacy of the West.68

Marian Munich regarded the principal target of the new organisation of an art museum to be restoration of the importance of the artistic creativity factor, i.e. form, and granting museums a mission focused on the expansion of artistic progress, namely, the introduction of attentiveness for the artistic development of individual recipients and collective culture. 69 Furthermore, implementation of the new method of presenting collections was to create conditions for documenting the progress of artistic thought in a manner acknowledged by Minich to be the best, in other words, aiming at objectivism. 70 The director of the Łódź Museum of Art indicated that the most prominent tasks of his conception included: equal treatment of all epochs, periods, and trends of art, affirmation of the purposefulness of the development of the artwork, the progress of culture, and the creation of conditions for an iconographic analysis of contents and thus a better comprehension of the artwork.⁷¹

The introduction of this method was to have far-reaching positive effects - from the comprehension of culture as a whole, also within the range of one of its domains (music, literature, etc.), all the way to a fully humanistic bringing up of man for the sake of a better understanding, experiencing, and organisation of his life.⁷² Those views held by Marian Minich had a lot in common with the stand of the Constructivist Avant-garde, which he acknowledged in his text to be correct. 73 The original typescript of *O nowa* organizację muzeów sztuk, preserved in the family archive, followed the example of representatives of the avant-garde by placing strong emphasis on the democratisation of culture and postulating the anti-elitist nature of art. 74 This stand was connected with Minich's belief in the role played by museums conceived as institutions possessing genuine force raising the level of the culture of a given society

and, consequently, equally profound faith in the positive significance and causal power of the mission of humanism in shaping society and its environment;⁷⁵ his views were thus close to the stand represented by the inter-war avant-garde.

In practice, the new perspective of organising expositions granted the director of the Łódź Museum of Art also other opportunities – it was a scientific justification and restoration of the presentation of modern art during the era of the Socialist Realist cultural policy. Particular importance was attached to the Neo-Plastic Room, which, as researchers confirm, was treated by Minich as a sui generis "leap forward" owing to referrences to the oeuvre of the pre-war left wing. 76 Importantly, this scientification of stylistic analysis - treated as a foundation of the exposition - made it possible to evade official directives of presenting "progressive" art, which assessed positively only certain historical realisations of selected epochs, e.g. by emphasising the battle waged by rationalism and realism against mystical religiosity and refined schematics, 77 or by means of a suitable selection of temporary exhibitions focused on the progressive traditions of the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and Positivism, as postulated by Wanda Załuska in one of the early issues of "Muzealnictwo".78

The idea launched by Minich was also a proposal of a total reorganisation of art museums. In his opinion the layout of a permanent gallery was to be formal-stylistic, but a historical-chronological model could be characteristic only for temporary expositions. Furthermore, the director of the Łódź Museum of Art was an adherent of a centralisation of exhibitions in Polish art museums. ⁷⁹ Owing to the absence of other possibilities he did not refrain from a permanent, and not only an occasional, application of facsimiles of works of art in the name of a presentation of historical and stylistic truth. ⁸⁰ By referring, consciously or not, to the intention postulated by avant-garde artists in an issue of the "Blok" periodical (1924)⁸¹ Minich outright postulated an organisation of museums of reproductions and an introduction of copies of artworks into lesser institutions. ⁸²

Against the author's wish the text: O nowq organizację muzeów sztuki – credo (which was, simultaneously, Marian Minich's testament) was not issued as a separate publication. On the other hand, Szalona galeria, mentioned at the beginning of this article, was published during his lifetime. This colourful story about years spent at the Łódź Museum of Art remains up to this day an interesting source of knowledge about the then prevailing situation, artistic life, and complex meanders of shaping a modern art museum.⁸³

Marian Minich died on 6 July 1965. A day later a Łódź daily wrote: Łódź culture and science suffered an irreparable loss! The passing of a man who for thirty years devoted every day and moment of his life to beloved art by popularising and collecting its most outstanding works. (...) Extremely vital, connected by various links with the Łódź cultural milieu, Doc. Dr Marian Minich was a true activist (...). Apart from didactics he was engaged in publicists. (...) First and foremost, however, he left behind a magnificent institution — a museum, which thanks to his initiative and work established its high rank. (...) Hail to His memory! (...). 84 Director Marian Minich was buried in the communal section of the so-called Avenue of Notables in the Doly Cemetery in Łódź.85

Przypisy

- ¹A. Minich-Scholz, *Marian Minich pod wiatr*, M. Minich *Wspomnienia wojenne. Szalona Galeria*, Instytut Wydawniczy Książka i Prasa, Warszawa 2015, p. 14; already at the time of Director Minich the history of the Museum of Art was the topic of several publications. Particular attention is due to such general studies as: *Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi. Historia i wystawy*, U. Czartoryska (ed.), Oficyna Bibliofilów, Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi, Łódź 1998 and a monograph containing numerous articles: *Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi*. Monografia, vol. I, A. Jach, K. Słoboda, J. Sokołowska, M. Ziółkowska (ed.), Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi, Łódź 2015 including an extremely valuable article by M. Selig: *Testament muzealny Mariana Minicha*, pp. 268–301. In addition, I referred to the activity of Marian Minich in the following articles: P. Kurc-Maj, "*Teoria widzenia" Władysława Strzemińskiego i "O nową organizację muzeów sztuki" Mariana Minicha, czyli jak patrzeć na sztukę*, in: *Acta Artis. Studia ofiarowane Profesor Wandzie Nowakowskiej*, A. Pawłowska, E. Jedlińska, K. Stefański (ed.), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2016, pp. 135–165; P. Kurc-Maj, *Rola inicjatyw i kolekcji prywatnych w muzealnictwie polskim na przykładzie polityki budowania zbiorów w Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi w latach międzywojennych i bezpośrednio powojennych XX wieku*, in: *Kolekcjonerstwo polskie XX i XXI wieku. Szkice*, T. F. de Rosset, A. Kluczewska-Wójcik, A. Tołysz (ed.), NIMOZ, Warszawa 2015, pp. 81–93, and: P. Kurc-Maj, J. Sowińska-Heim, *Awangardowa kolekcja w czasach socrealizmu. Polityka programowa Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi w latach 50. XX wieku, Socrealizmy i modernizacje*, A. Sumorok, T. Załuski (ed.), ASP im. Władysława Strzemińskiego w Łodzi, Łódź 2017, pp. 506–532. It is worth mentioning that archival material dealing with the history of the Museum of Art in Łódź is rather limited and pertains mainly to documents and documentary photographs.
- ² First edition: M. Munich, *Szalona galeria*, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, Łódź 1963.
- ³ I present a brief recollection of fundamental facts from the life of Marian Minich upon the basis of: A. Minich-Scholz, *Marian Minich...*, the article: J. A. Ojrzyński, *Marian Minich. Dyrektor Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi*, "Miscellanea Łódzkie" 1994, fasc. 3, pp. 8–12 and the biographical note: M. Rubczyńska, *Minich Marian Teodor (1898–1965)*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXI, Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo PAN, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1976, pp. 287–288. Other sources of information include biographies preserved in archival documents: M. Minich, *Marian Minich*, in: *Memoriały, sprawozdania personalne i budżetowe 1945–1947*, State Archive in Łódź, Museum of Art in Łódź, fond 39/2448/0, inv. no. 9, p. 6 and M. Minich, *Do Wydziału Oświaty i Kultury Zarządu Miejskiego w Łodzi...* [*Podanie na stanowisko kierownika Miejskiego Muzeum Historii i Sztuki*], Records of the City of Łódź. Department of Education and Culture, State Archive in Łódź, inv. no. 17093, pp. 213.
- 4 "Rocznik Lwowskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego" 1934, no. XIV, fasc. I, item. 727 and "Sztuki Piękne" 1934, X, no. 6, cited after: M. Minich, Do Wydziału Oświaty...
- ⁵ M. Minich, Andrzej Grabowski 1833–1886. Jego życie i twórczość, "Studia z Historii Sztuki" 1957, vol. 6.
- ⁶ M. Rubczyńska, Minich Marian Teodor..., p. 288.
- ⁷ M. Minich, Do Wydziału Oświaty...
- ⁸ The Łódź institution was distinguished from the Municipal Museum of Science and Art in Łódź, which possessed also natural history, archaeological, and ethnographic collections. It was opened in 1930 as the J. and K. Bartoszewicz Municipal Museum of History and Art. After World War II it was accessible initially as the Municipal Museum of Art in Łódź (since 1948), and from 1 January 1950 under its present-day name (after its management was transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Art 14 December 1949).
- 9 Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Opiniodawczej, Akta Miasta Łodzi. Wydział Oświaty i Kultury, State Archive in Łódź, inv. no. 17093, pp. 203–205.
- 10 M. Minich, Do Wydziału Oświaty....
- 11 Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Muzealnej, Akta Miasta Łodzi, Records of the City of Łódź. Department of Education and Culture, State Archive in Łódź, inv.
- ¹² Muzeum miejskie pod kierownictwem dr. Minicha, "Ilustrowana Republika" 6 January 1935, 13, no. 6, p. 5.
- ¹³ I wrote about the history of the Museum to 1950 in the article: P. Kurc-Maj, Jakie muzeum? uwagi na temat historii Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi do 1950 roku, in: Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi. Monografia..., pp. 124–175.
- ¹⁴ A. Łabęcka, Łódź miasto awangardy (lata 1929–1939), in: Sztuka łódzka. Materiały sesji naukowej Oddziału Łódzkiego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, J. Ojrzyński et al. (ed.), PWN, Warszawa-Łódź 1977, p. 127.
- ¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 132–133.
- ¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 134
- ¹⁷ M. Minich, Miejskie Muzeum Historii i Sztuki im. J. i K. Bartoszewiczów, in: Prace polonistyczne, Koło Polonistów w Łodzi, Łódź 1937, p. 415.
- ¹⁸ M. Minich, Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi, in: Rocznik Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi 1930–1962, M. Minich, M. Rubczyńska, J. Ładnowska (ed.), Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, Łódź 1965, p. 11.
- ¹⁹ M. Minich, *Miejskie Muzeum Historii...*, pp. 417–418.
- 20 Z. Zielińska-Klimkiewicz, Księgozbiór Bartoszewiczów przeszłość i teraźniejszość, "Acta Universitatis Łódzensis. Folia Librorum" 1998, no. 8, pp. 94–96.
- ²¹ M. Minich, *Miejskie Muzeum Historii...*, p. 418.
- ²² M. Kunińska, Henrich Wölfflin Władysław Podlacha Marian Minich. W stronę systematyki "plastycznych uzupełnień" (strona plastyczna jako centralne zagadnienie analizy dzieła sztuki), in: M. Minich, O nowy typ muzeów sztuki, P. Brożyński (prep.), Universitas, Kraków 2018, pp. 178–179.
- ²³ M. Minich, *Miejskie Muzeum Historii...*, p. 420.
- ²⁴ Cf. Katalog Działu Sztuki nr 1, the J. and K. Bartoszewicz Municipal Museum of History and Art, Łódź 1930.
- ²⁵ M. Minich, *Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi...*, pp. 7–69; M. Minich, *O nową organizację muzeów sztuki, in: Sztuka współczesna. Studia i szkice*, vol. 2, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1966, pp. 70–190.
- ²⁶ See: a critical publication of the original typescript and a reprint of the text published in the volume: *Sztuka współczesna*. *Studia i szkice z 1966 roku,* in: M. Minich, *O nowy typ muzeów...*; the basic difference between the published version and the typescript is the absence in the former of a chapter on widely comprehended museum education. Moreover, certain fragments of the text differ, but this does not alter the message and contents of the theory described in the published article.
- ²⁷ List Karola Hillera do Komisarza Rządowego Zarządu m. Łodzi z dnia 26 April 1934 and 17 May 1934, in: Records of the City of Łódź. Department of Education and Culture. State Archive in Łódź. inv. no. 17093.
- ²⁸ Brzękowski mentioned, i.a. that Strzemiński demanded that Minich should accept and display absolutely all paintings offered by the a.r. group. The head of the Łódź Museum of Art, on the other hand, accused the artist of forcing him to feature the worthless works of his students. Cf. List Jana Brzękowskiego do

- Juliana Przybosia z dnia 24 sierpnia 1936 roku, in: Źródła do historii awangardy, T. Kłak (prep.), "Archiwum Literackie" 1981, vol. XXIV, p. 155.
- ²⁹ Muzeum, "Forma. Czasopismo Związku Zawodowego Polskich Artystów Plastyków w Łodzi" August 1935, no. 5, p. 23.
- ³⁰ According to Dr Jacek Antoni Ojrzyński the author of the article was not, as is universally believed, Strzemiński but Bolesław Hochlinger, cf. J. A. Ojrzyński, *Marian Minich. Dyrektor...*, p. 11.
- 31 Księga inwentarzowa Miejskiego Muzeum Historii i Sztuki im. J. i K. Bartoszewiczów, 1930–1939, State Archive in Łódź, the J. and K. Bartoszewicz Municipal Museum of History and Art, fond no. 39/2451/0, inv. no. 2.
- 32 Cf. M. Rubczyńska, Minich Marian Teodor..., pp. 287–288 and M. Minich, Marian Minich...
- 33 Cf. inv. no. 1 and 2.
- 34 M. Minich, Marian Minich...
- ³⁵ General information about the post-war activity of Director Marian Minich is based on: M. Rubczyńska, Minich Marian Teodor..., pp. 287–288.
- 36 J. A. Ojrzyński, Z perspektywy pół wieku... Muzeum Sztuki subiektywnie widziane, in: Sztuka w Łodzi (6). Złe miasto dobre miasto, M. Wróblewska-Markiewicz et al. (ed.), SHS Oddział w Łodzi, Łódź 2014, p. 105.
- ³⁷ *Ibidem,* p. 110.
- ³⁸ Statut organizacyjny, State Archive in Łódź, Museum of Art in Łódź, fond 39/2448/0, inv. no. 1, p. 1.
- 39 J. A. Ojrzyński, Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi a artyści łódzcy 1949–1956, in: Sztuka w Łodzi (3). Sztuka obok awangardy, Ł. Grzejszczak, M. Kuźnicki, P. Uznański, J. Weinberg (ed.), Association of Art Historians, Museum of Cinematography, Łódź 2005, p. 95.
- ⁴⁰ Materialy do formalnego uznania Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi za placówkę naukową z dnia 28.07.1954, Records of the Museum of Art in Łódź, State Archive in Łódź, inv. no. 320. Problems connected with the program of the Museum of Art at the time of the exacerbated Socialist Realism doctrine were described in the article: P. Kurc-Maj, J. Sowińska-Heim, Awangardowa kolekcja w czasach....
- ⁴¹ J. A. Ojrzyński, Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi..., p. 96.
- ⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 95.
- ⁴³ Cf. M. Minich, Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi..., pp. 53-63.
- ⁴⁴ J. A. Ojrzyński, *Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi...*, p. 97.
- ⁴⁵ K. Hrabyk, *Wspomnienia*, "Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego" 1971, no. 10/1, p. 87.
- ⁴⁶ M. Minich, Szalona galeria..., p. 170.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibidem,* p. 171.
- ⁴⁸ M. Rubczyńska, Minich Marian Teodor..., p. 288.
- ⁴⁹ M. Minich, Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi..., p. 36.
- ⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 104.
- ⁵¹ M. Minich, *O nową organizację muzeów...*, p. 70.
- ⁵² Ibidem, p. 72.
- ⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 175.
- ⁵⁴ Magdalena Kunińska additionally emphasised that the Minich method, which followed the example of his teacher, Prof. Władysław Podlacha, linked anew the conception of the diversity of artistic forms with social life, cf. M. Kunińska, *Henirich Wölfflin Władysław Podlacha...*, p. 192.
- 55 M. Minich, Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi..., pp. 45–46.
- ⁵⁶ Exposition outlay cf. Schematyczny plan ekspozycji międzynarodowej sztuki nowoczesnej w Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi w roku 1950, in: M. Minich, O nową organizację muzeów..., p. 148, fig. 55.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibidem,* p. 118.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibidem,* pp. 120–123.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibidem,* p. 124.
- ⁶⁰ W. Strzemiński, *Aspekty rzeczywistości, "*Forma" 1936, nr 5, pp. 6–13.
- 61 W. Strzemiński, *Teoria widzenia*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1958.
- 62 I wrote more on the conceptions of Marian Minich and Władysław Strzemiński in: P. Kurc-Maj, "Teoria widzenia" Władysława Strzemińskiego....
- 63 M. Szelag, Testament muzealny Mariana Minicha..., pp. 278–279.
- ⁶⁴ M. Minich, *O nową organizację muzeów...*, p. 91.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 77.
- 66 M. Szeląg, Testament muzealny Mariana Minicha..., pp. 296–299; cf. P. Brożyński, Maszynopisy nie płoną. Nota wydawnicza, in: Marian Minich, O nowy typ muzeów..., p. XIII and P. Brożyński, Muzeum w płynnej rzeczywistości, in: ibidem, pp. 167–168.
- ⁶⁷ M. Minich, *O nową organizację muzeów...*, p. 91.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 174.
- 69 Ibidem, p. 71.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 89.
- ⁷¹ M. Minich, Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi..., pp. 41–42.
- ⁷² *Ibidem*, pp. 72–74.
- ⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 70.
- ⁷⁴ M. Minich, *O nowy typ muzeów...*, p. 123.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 128–129.
- ⁷⁶ M. Szeląg, *Testament muzealny Mariana Minicha...*, p. 286 and 295.
- ⁷⁷ W. Załuska, *Malarstwo współczesne w galeriach muzealnych*, "Muzealnictwo" 1953, no. 3, p. 6.
- ⁷⁸ W. Załuska, *Wytyczne do programu prac muzealnictwa na rok 1953*, "Muzealnictwo" 1952, no. 1–2, p. 10.
- ⁷⁹ M. Minich, *O nową organizację muzeów...*, pp. 172–173.

Paulina Kurc-Maj

Historian of art, head of the Department of Modern Art Collection at the Museum of Art in Łódź; interested primarily in avant-garde art, i.a. co-author of the following exhibitions: "Afterimages of life. Władysław Strzemiński and rights for art" (2010/2011), "Un Mundo Construido: Polonia 1918–1939" (2011), "DADA Impulse. Egido Marzona Collection" (2015), "Superorganism. The avant-garde and the experience of Nature" (2017), "The organisers of life. De Stijl, the Polish avant-garde and design" (2017/2018) and the publication: Zmiana pola widzenia. Druk nowoczesny i awangarda (2014); e-mail: p.kurc@msl.org.pl

Word count: 8 292; Tables: -; Figures: 8; References: 85

Received: 05.2018; Reviewed: 06.2018; Accepted: 06.2018; Published: 08.2018

DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0012.2320

Copyright©: 2018 National Institute for Museums and Public Collections. Published by Index Copernicus Sp. z o.o. All

rights reserved.

Competing interests: Authors have declared that no competing interest exits.

Cite this article as: Kurc-Maj P.; MARIAN MINICH (1898-1965). Muz., 2018(59): 163-174

Table of contents 2018: https://muzealnictworocznik.com/issue/10809

MUZEALNICTWO 59 | 237

⁸⁰ Ibidem, p. 173.

^{81 [}W Polsce pozbawionej...], "Blok" 1923, no. 8–9, p. nlb. [2].

⁸² M. Minich, O nową organizację muzeów..., p. 173.

⁸³ M. Minich, Szalona galeria....

⁸⁴ Zmarł M. Minich, "Dziennik Łódzki" 7 July 1965, XX, no. 160 (5778), p. 2.

⁸⁵ Spacerownik. Cmentarz na Dolach, J. Podolska (ed.), free-of-charge supplement to "Gazeta Wyborcza" 30 October 2008, http://bi.gazeta.pl/im/4/5908/m5908234.pdf, p. 6 [accessed on: 25 June 2018].