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URSZULA CZARTORYSKA: A WRITER AND MUSEUM CURATOR

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Urszula Czartoryska's¹ career spanning four decades, dealing with criticism, museology, and curatorship coincided with an extremely turbulent time in the history of Polish artistic culture. Begun during the 1956 October 'thaw', it concluded in the late 1990s. In the first stage of her career she focused on writing, and it contributed to her deepening the knowledge of and extending competences related to contemporary art, with photography taking a particular place as one of the artistic techniques.

Czartoryska's writing output is of major standing in the history of Polish photography, but not only. More importantly, she was the first art historian to seriously tackle photography as an artistic phenomenon.

Her varied and rich writing related to the art domain scarcely described and investigated that photography continues to be, actually started accidentally. Nothing had signalled earlier, after her graduation, that photography would become one of the main areas in her career. When graduating in 1956 from the Lublin Catholic University, the only university in Communist Poland which provided full opportunities to study to individuals like herself who came from aristocratic families, she faced no bigger chances of carrying out her career at any major institution. As she recorded, it was by accident that having graduated she started working for the editorial team of the *Fotografia* [Photography] monthly. She was affiliated to that journal for a very long time: until 1973, and later, in 1976–1989, she was member of the editorial team of the *Fotografia* quarterly.

At the initial stage she focused mainly on artistic criticism. She started her career at a very interesting and important moment for Polish art: in the course of the post-October 1956 thaw. Among others, through the cooperation with Zbigniew Dłubak, Editor-in-Chief of the *Fotografia* monthly, she reached the artistic circle very active in Warsaw grouping artists strongly opting for modern art.

Czartoryska's critical reflection accompanied the revival of modern art in Poland following the Stalinist period. Permanent contact with photography and current modern art caused that from the very beginning her approach to artistic questions was much broader than of other critics of the time who generally did not assess photography as an artistic phenomenon important also for modern art. Dealing with photography, Czartoryska took into consideration its multiple relations to other artistic, or more broadly speaking, cultural phenomena. The critical tools she worked out herself allowed her to effectively and genuinely describe and analyse phenomena in the whole art of that time. She was always particularly interested in the art of the borderline between genres, as well as the complexity of relations occurring in contemporary artistic culture. Equally interested in artistic praxis as in its theoretical context, in a balanced way, she combined various description methods and oeuvre analysis. Czartoryska was the first among Polish critics to make references to new methods of contemporary humanities: sociology of art, semiology, structuralism.² This approach was favoured by the main topic of her interest: photography entangled much more profoundly and clearly than traditional artistic disciplines in non-artistic and nonaesthetical cultural relations.

Furthermore, she introduced a new manner of approaching its artistic aspects into criticism dealing with photography. It significantly differed from the narrow perception of artistic questions deeply rooted among the Polish photographic circle, burdened with the tradition of photographics. The latter term coined by Jan Bułhak in the 1920s defined artistic activity based on the principles of pictorialism of the turn of the 20th century which perceived the way of creating photographics, a photographic piece artistically equalling painting only in the imitation of form and content used in the traditional forms

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of fine arts. Her critical writing was characterized by referring photographic art to contemporary art, emphasizing their numerous and mutual relations, albeit devoid of the one-sidedness of the photographics isolating it from contemporary artistic phenomena. Furthermore, Czartoryska participated in the process of overcoming the isolation of the photographic circles in Poland from other artistic circles. Her texts published in *Fotografia* also greatly contributed to a change of the character of that specialist periodical, this particularly clear in the 1960s. Beginning with the latter half of the decade *Fotografia* was one of the few titles among artistic magazines in Poland, and actually within the whole Soviet block, in which quite systematically, but first of all, competently, contemporary art from Poland and abroad was presented.

The effects of Czartoryska's two-track interest in artistic questions: photography in the context of contemporary art and new in-between-genre phenomena in art yielded two books. The first of them: Fine Arts' Adventures of Photography,³ published in 1965, was one of the first attempts in world literature on photography to show mutual relations between photography and art, both in slightly distanced times, but first of all in the Author's contemporary times. The book is based on a series of thematic papers published mainly in the Fotografia monthly. 4 As a whole, in our scarce writing dedicated to photography, it constitutes an interesting and novel example of looking at photography and art in a manner that integrates the artistic issues of both. Importantly, Fine Arts' Adventures of Photography was one of three books tackling the mutual relations between art and photography released in the 1960s. In 1963, André Vigneau published in Paris Une brève histoire de l'Art de Niepce à nos jours describing cases of the use of photography in the output of 19th- and 20th-century painters, talking of the similarity of form visible mainly in the classical trends in photography and painting. Five years later, Aaron Scharf published Art and Photography in London in which he extended the description of those phenomena to the inter-war Avant-garde and the post-WWII neo-Avant-garde.

The second of the two books by Czartoryska from that period: From Pop-art to Conceptual Art, published in 1973, was also an attempt at presenting a broader look at contemporary art, based on her critical texts published earlier Both books are interesting for one more reason, since they describe issues on the examples of both international and Polish art, pointing in domestic art to the connections with the phenomena in the world art, such connections being really challenging under Communism.

Czartoryska's professional domains extended in 1977 by one when in November she began work as the Head and Curator of the newly-established Department of Photography and Visual Techniques at the Museum of Art in Lodz run as of 1966 by her husband Ryszard Stanisławski. Working at this department until the end of her career she headed the creation of Poland's only international collection of media art (photography, film, video, multimedia installations). Her previous interests of a critic in the phenomena transcending traditional disciplines of fine arts were reflected in the shape of the Department's collection which, forming part of the Museum's collections of modern art, is composed mainly of the works created in a direct relation to the main trends in modern art of the 20th century.

Czartoryska's main concern was also the building of a historical segment of the photography collection. The second at the time after the Department of Photography of the National Museum in Wrocław, the Lodz Department boasts an artistic museum collection of photography; it also has a representative set of works belonging to the traditional forms of photographic art, beginning with the Polish authors of the pictorial trend from the 1920s and 30s, up to the concluding years of the 20th century. The Department's collection is completed with a small set of 19th-century studio photography.

A creation of a collection of modern or contemporary art has a lot in common with criticism: it requires similar competences and makes one face similar choices as in artistic criticism. The function of a museum collection of modern art as a tool of criticism is not always identified and raised; although evaluatively co-shaping the image of art, it also has an impact on the shape of the current artistic stage. In Urszula Czartoryska these two competences: of a critic and a museum curator, continued to integrate along her work at the Museum. It was connected to the same degree with the work on the Department's collection and involvement in the operation of the whole Museum: in its display and publishing activity.

The work at the Museum brought Czartoryska closer to the writing of a research character concentrated mainly on the problems of multi-motif, inter- or multidisciplinary art, such as the oeuvre of Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, Alexander Rodchenko, Franciszka and Stefan Themerson, or the Czech inter-war Avant-garde. Not only did this approach reflect in her papers, but also in the curatorial decisions defining the directions in building the Department's collection and in the exhibitions mounted either by herself or the Department.

The implementation of the concept of a separate multimedia department as a part of a collection of modern art was at the time one of the first such projects. There actually existed from 1940 the Department of Photography at New York's Museum of Modern Art (created in 1929), but for the subsequent post-WWII decades, until the 1970s, it remained exceptional in artistic museology. ¹³ Interestingly, MoMa also relatively early featured other separate media collections: of film and video. ¹⁴

The establishment of the Department of Photography and Visual Techniques in 1977, apart from the implementation of the concept of building a multimedia collection of modern art worked out together by Ryszard Stanisławski and Urszula Czartotyska was one of the symptoms of the dynamic development of photography collections in the museum world as well; it also signalled a broader phenomenon defined as the 'photo boom' and observed in the 1970s and early 1980s.¹⁵

At this point let us take a closer look at the causes of both phenomena: of the creation of museum photography collections and of the photo boom. Chronologically, the first was the creation and development of the very museum collections of modern art, a process which began gaining momentum while also acquiring more extensive qualitative and geographical reach as of the mid-1940s. One of its sources was the increasing position of neo-Avant-garde art on the artistic arena at the time. The second phenomenon was the increasing presence of media praxis in the neo-Avant-garde beginning with the 1950s, and climaxing in the 1970s.

From the very beginning of their formation, museum collections of modern art encountered museological challenges. Modern art representing the Avant-garde and neo-Avant-garde aroused doubts as for the chronological distance with which museum collections, historical in their essence, should be created, whether current artistic practices could be the subject of their interest, and how much time should elapse for them to be able to become such collections.

The historical distance was not the only problem related to collecting modern art. Additionally, there was the need to decide what actually resulted from the change in character of the works created within the Avant-garde and Neo-Avant-garde circle, particularly those forms which exceeded the till-then traditional artistic disciplines, whose questioning was one of the programmatic goals of the Avant-garde and Neo-Avant-garde. The phenomena of multi- and intermedia character, intensified as of the 1950s and climaxed, as said above, in the 1970s, in the last phase of the evolution of Neo-Avant-garde art. Widely present and permanently rooted, the works from that decade created with the use of the lens-based media intensified museological challenges.

The multimedia-character of Neo-Avant-garde art was not only the general feature of the whole formation, but also appeared within individual oeuvres. This brough about dilemmas for museums how to maintain a relatively representative picture of such oeuvre, and whether it should at all be aspired to. A bigger challenge still, next to the multimedia character of an individual artistic output were its effects: of multimedia or inter-and transmedia character for which, if only for organizational and formal reasons, place should be found within the structure of the museum collection reflecting the divisions into traditional areas of creativity: painting, sculpture, drawing, or prints.

The collections aspiring to be modern or contemporary had to meet those challenges of contemporaneity, while also tackling the issue of what media praxes had imported into modern art earlier. At the point: in the 1960s and 70s, three attitudes towards the lens-based media were formed. The first was to ignore the phenomenon totally (refraining from collecting its pieces) or to incidentally incorporate them into the already existing collections of paintings, drawings, prints, or sculpture. The second attitude was revealed in creating separate collections/departments maintaining the division into respective media factually supervised by employees of specialized departments: of photography, film, or video.

The third solution to the media question in collections of modern art was to create 'multimedia' departments, namely of the type that the Department of Photography and Visual Techniques created at the Museum of Art in Lodz in 1977 was. Let us, however, promptly add that the latter was the least applied solution. In the case of the Museum of Art it resulted from two factors. The Museum used to be and continues a smallish institution in which separate media sections can hardly be isolated. The other reason was of a personal character. As a critic and art historian, Urszula Czartoryska represented an attitude open to all the media, and such was the Department's factual concept: it was to form a collection of works based on photography, film, and video.

Together with the above-mentioned photo boom, also connected with the 'boom' in Neo-Avant-garde film and video output, various types of museum collections of



Urszula Czartoryska and Prof. Mieczysław Porębski, 1974, a gallery of the Museum of Art in Lodz



2. Urszula Czartoryska and Fritz Bless, opening of the *Jerzy Kosiński*. The Face and the Mask Exhibition. 1992. Museum of Art in Lodz

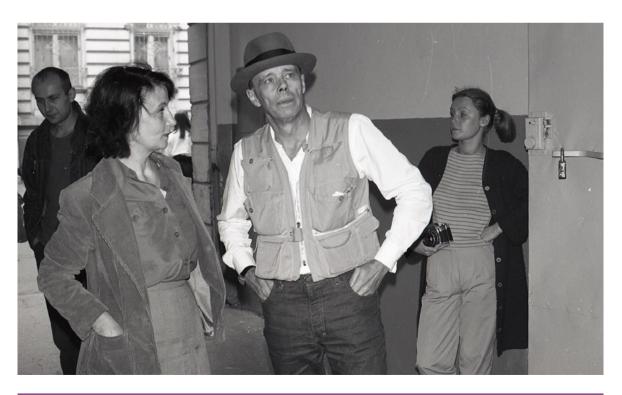
photography and media were created. In the United States, there emerged independently operating collections dedicated exclusively to photography, which although bearing different names, have a form of photography museums: New York's International Center of Photography (1974, boasting 200.000 objects), ¹⁶ Tucson's Center for Creative Photography (1975, currently 111.000 exhibits), ¹⁷ Museum of Contemporary Photography at Columbia College Chicago (1976, over 6.000 exhibits), ¹⁸ and the Museum of Photographic Arts in San Diego (since 1983). ¹⁹

In Europe, the situation was similar, although the chronology and scale of the phenomena varied in different countries. In 1977, the Museum Ludwig (founded in 1976) created a separate media section dealing with photography and video. The photography collection began there with the purchase of the collection of Fritz Gruber, from 1950 the initiator and organizer of the Photokina multimedia fair. Having moved to a new home in 1986, the Ludwig shared it with the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (boasting a small photography too) until 1994, as well as with the Agfa Foto-Historama which was also moved there, and which, however, remained a separate institution until 2005. ²⁰ At present, the joined photography collection of the Museum Ludwig boasts under 70.000 exhibits, including also photographic equipment; the

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3. Urszula Czartoryska opens the *Denise René's Gallery. Concrete Art*, 1997, Museum of Art in Lodz



4. Urszula Czartoryska and Joseph Beuys in the foreground during the *Polentransport 1981 action*, 1981, Museum of Art in Lodz



5. Urszula Czartoryska, opening of the *Henryk Stażewski. Compositions from* 1967–1969 Exhibition. 1969. Museum of Art in Lodz

same applies to the George Eastman Museum in Rochester and the National Science and Media Museum in Bradford.²¹

In 1978, the Museum Folkwang in Essen had another photography department established; that one was based on the collection of Otton Steinert which the Museum took over.²² Founded in 1959, the Steinert collection was created as a teaching collection for Steinert's students of the Folkwangschule für Gestaltung in Essen. Similar were the beginnings of the Museum of Contemporary Photography in Chicago (since 1976 at Columbia College), whose collection has always played the role of a teaching collection.²³ The photography collection of the Museum Folkwang currently boasts 65.000 exhibits.²⁴

In France, the largest media collection in a museum collection of modern art can be found at the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris. The first media collection there was that of films created as of 1976 when the Museum was transferred to the Centre Pompidou. Currently, it has 1.400 films.²⁵ At the same time a collection of new media: *nouveaux médias*, currently boasting 2.600 objects created in 1963, has been amassed.²⁶ In 1981, a collection of photography was started there as well: it now has 40.000 prints and 60.000 negatives.²⁷

In the second Paris collection of modern art: at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (founded in 1961), ²⁸ since 2019 the Musée d'Art Moderne de Paris, a photography collection now amounting to over 7.000 objects has been created. The Museum also boasts a small collection of films and new media, mainly videos, in their majority connected with the oeuvre of the artists whose non-media works can be found in the Museum's collection.²⁹

The founding of the Department of Photography and Visual Techniques in 1977 coincided with a major event in art, particularly in neo-Avant-garde art, namely documenta 6 in Kassel (26 June–2 October 1977). From the historical perspective of the time, but also as seen from today's one, that edition of documenta was a peculiar summing up of the phenomena in art in the 1970s. Titled *Art in the Media World – Media in Art*, ³⁰ that attempt at summing up demonstrated that one of the strongest trends in the era of neo-Avant-garde art slowly coming to a close was media art. For the first time in the history of the documenta, documenta

6 presented photography, film, and video as independent sections, in this way integrating them with the remaining artistic media. Introducing photography to that exhibition was a breakthrough moment for the institutionalization of photography. The photography part of documenta 6 is regarded today as a milestone in the history of photography display praxis, and is often regarded as a starting point [...] to the culmination of photography and display praxes in the 1970s.³¹

Thus, the founding of the Department of Photography and Visual Techniques was directly related to the generally described contemporary situation in art and museology. In Poland, these phenomena also occurred, and were connected with the art from the neo-Avant-garde circle in which media creativity was very strong in the 1970s. Consistently extending its international collection of modern art as of the mid-1960s, the Museum of Art also faced the above-described challenges. Similarly as in other museums of modern art, media works: mainly photography, began inflowing into the collection starting with the early 1970s; they found their place in the collections of the Department of Modern Painting and Sculpture and of the Department of Modern Graphics and Drawing. Thus the boosted position and importance of media praxes within the neo-Avant-garde circle finally contributed to the formation of Museum's third department of modern art, namely the Department of Photography and Visual Techniques.

The Department's collection joined the International Collection of Modern Art created as of 1929 (and opened to the public in 1931). When looking at the history of that Collection it can be said that combining it with the media art finally satisfied the Avant-garde's aspiration.

This very placing of the Department directed its development and its work, focusing them on photography and the media forming part of the Avant-garde and Neo-Avant-garde's praxes. The Department's collection's development direction made it a home to media works representative of modernity in the art of both the first and the latter half of the 20th century.

On the decision of Jarosław Suchan, the then Director of the Museum of Art, the Department of Photography and Visual Techniques was closed down in 2008, although the Museum's multimedia collection and its fragmentary display have been continued.

The importance of the Department and the position of Urszula Czartoryska resulted not only from the impact on the future shaping of the collection and the Museum's display and publishing activity, but also from the Department's integrational function: it was around it that the majority of the media circles focused. This culture-creative aspect of the existence of the Department was also revealed through the activity of its employees: Grzegorz Musiał, Lech Lechowicz, Krzysztof Jurecki, Ewa Gałązka, both at the Museum and outside it, in their research activity, in their writing output, and institutional initiatives of the national reach.

When working at the Museum of Art, Urszula Czartoryska did not interrupt her career as a critic. Apart from *Fotografia*, she also cooperated with a number of artistic journals (*Projekt, Miesięcznik Literacki, Dialog, Poezja*), tackling the issues combining various areas of creativity, not only artistic or visual.³²

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6. From the right: Urszula Czartoryska (standing), Lech Lechowicz (seated), Marek Grygiel, Waldemar Gorlewski, *The Passenger*, debate accompanying the Weegee 1899–1968. Manhattan Was my Territory... Exhibition, 1996, Museum of Art in Lodz

All photos from the Archives of the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź, courtesy of the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź

Apart from writing and being a museum curator, in 1978–1993, Urszula Czartoryska also worked as a lecturer at the Institute of Theory of Literature, Theatre, and Film of the University of Lodz (1978–1986), at the Warsaw School of Photography (1985–1993), and at the State College of Fine Arts (today University of Fine Arts) in Poznan (1989–1993).

She also actively participated in the life of her environments, both artistic and academic: in numerous sessions, conferences, and symposia. Furthermore, she was a member of many organisations connected with photography and art, e.g.: the Association of Polish Art Historians (SHS)

or AICA Poland (Association internationale des critiques d'art); furthermore, she was an Honorary Member of FIAP (Fédération internationale de l'art photographique).

Urszula Czartoryska represented the type of a critic, a museologist, and a researcher open to the multiple relations occurring in contemporary art and inspired by many methods of their analysis and description, without absolutizing any of them. Both features, so characteristic of her creative activity, were not common in criticism, humanities, or curatorial activity when she developed them in a multithreaded approach; neither are they present today.

Abstract: In the first period of her career Urszula Czartoryska (1934–1998) dealt mainly with criticism. She predominantly focused on photography and its relations with other artistic phenomena, particularly from the borderline territory where artistic genres meet, covering also film and video. Two books summed up that stage in her writing career: *Przygody plastyczne fotografii* (1965) and *Od pop-artu do sztuki konceptualnej* (1973). Czartoryska's professional domains extended in 1977 when she began work as the Head and Curator of the newly-established Department of Photography and Visual Techniques at the Museum of Art in Lodz, one of the first multimedia departments in world museology (photography, film, video, multimedia installations), forming part of the International Collection of Modern Art (opened to the

public in 1931). The work for that institution did not imply only building the Department's collection, but also involvement in the operations of the whole Museum, its display and publishing activity. It also impacted her writing activity in the sense that it extended to include research studies mainly on multi-motif inter- or multidisciplinary art. Apart from her work as a writer and museum curator, in 1978–1993, Czartoryska also lectured: at the University of Lodz (1978–1986), Warsaw School of Photography (1985–1993), and at the State College of Fine Arts (today University of Fine Arts) in Poznan (1989–1993). Urszula Czartoryska represented the type of critic, museologist, and researcher opened to multiplicity of relations present in contemporary art, and drawing from numerous methods of its analysis and description.

Keywords: photography, film, video, artistic criticism, modern art, multimedia, intermedia.

Endnotes

- ¹ Born on 27 July 1934 in Konarzewo n. Poznan, she died in Warsaw on 7 August 1998.
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- ³ Eadem, *Przygody plastyczne fotografii*, Warszawa 1965.
- ⁴ Among others, a series of papers titled 'Spotkania fotografii z plastyką', published in *Fotografia* in 1960.
- ⁵ U. Czartoryska, *Od pop-artu do sztuki konceptualnej*, Warszawa 1973.
- ⁶ Eadem, 'Sztuka Fotografia Rzeczywistość', Fotografia, 7 (1961); eadem, 'Fotografia natchnieniem malarzy', Fotografia, 9 (1966); eadem, 'Próby zintegrowania fotografii z plastyką', Fotografia, 4 (1971); eadem, 'Myśląca kamera fetysz czy ogniwo badania świata?', Fotografia, 9 (1971).
- This important aspect was pointed to by Ryszard Stanisławski, and it affected, among others, the overall concept of building the collection of the Museum of Art in Lodz, and the activity of factual employees of the departments of modern art. R. Stanisławski, 'Muzeum jako instrument krytyczny' [typescript ca 1992], in: Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi. Monografia, vol. 1, Łódź 2015, pp. 482-491.
- 8 U. Czartoryska, 'Witkacy w zwierciadle fotografii', Fotografia, 5 (1972); eadem, 'Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz. Dissent Emotionality, Painful Image', Camera Austria, 35 (1990), pp. 22, 28-29.
- ⁹ Eadem, 'Rodczenko fotografia i ideologia', in: W kręgu zagadnień awangardy, Łódź 1982 (Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Scientiarum Artium et Librorum, 3), pp. 217-237.
- 10 Eadem, 'Plastyka, film i pisarstwo Stefana Themersona imperatyw widzenia, imperatyw, przyzwoitości', Oko i Ucho, 1 (1989), pp. 2-7.
- 11 Eadem, 'Jindrich Styrsky', Fotografia, 11 (1969); eadem, 'Czeski konstruktywizm i surrealizm próba uchylenia sprzeczności', in: Wybory i ryzyka awangardy. Studia z teorii awangardy, ed. by U. Czartoryska, R.W. Kluszczyński, Warszawa-Łódź 1985, pp. 107-125; U. Czartoryska, 'Praga skłócona', in: Sztuka lat trzydziestych. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki Niedzica, kwiecień 1988, Warszawa 1991, pp. 41-53.
- 12 The most important exhibitions mounted by Urszula Czartoryska: Suveremena poljska fotografija, CEFFT centar za fotografiju film i televiziju, Zagreb 1977; Arta fotografică din R.P. Polonă, Asociația Artiștilar Fotografi din R.S. România, București 1979; Stefan and Franciszka Themerson. Visual Search, Museum of Art in Lodz, 1981; Douglas Davis (USA). Video Objects Graphics, Museum of Art in Lodz, 1982; Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (Photographs), Institut Polonais Paris, 1993; Eva Rubinstein (Polska-USA). Photography, Museum of Art in Lodz, 1984; From Painting to Photography. Experience of Soviet Avant-garde of the 1920s. Photography, Slides, Film, Museum of Art in Lodz, 1987 (co-curated by Lech Lechowicz); Memory and Intuition, Contemporary Lithuanian Photography, Museum of Art in Lodz, 1990 (co-curated by Gintautas Trimakas); Les chefs-d'oeuvre de la photographie polonaise 1912-1948 de la collection du Muzeum Sztuki de Łódź, Institut Polonais Paris, 1992; Andrzej Strumiłło. City, Museum of Art in Lodz, 1993; Douglas Davis (USA). Redness/Czerwień, Museum of Art in Lodz, 1995; Galerie Denis René (France). Concrete Art, Museum of Art in Lodz, 1997.
- ¹³ K. Bussard, 'Museums. United States', in: Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century Photography, ed. by L. Warren, vol. 2, New York 2005, p. 1138. Chronology of the Department of Photography, s. 1, https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/3415/releases/MOMA_1964_Reopening 0041 1964-05.pdf [Accessed: 15 June 2021].
- The first media department at MoMA was the Department of Film existing from 1935, at first called The Film Library; in 1966, it was transformed into the Department of Film. In 1994, the Department of Film and Video was formed. In 206, the name of that multimedia department collecting the works of the time-based art was changed to the Department of Media and Performance. Department of Film, incorporating the Film Library, https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/3664/releases/MOMA_1966_lan-June_0098_49.pdf [Accessed: 15 June 2021]; The Museum of Modern Art renames Department of Film to Department of Film and Video, pp. 1-2, https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/7209/releases/MOMA_1993_0116_74.pdf [Accessed: 15 June 2021]; MoMA receives grant to expand Video Program, 1, https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/5920/releases/MOMA_1981_0051_52.pdf [Accessed: 15 June 2021]; Media and Performance, https://www.moma.org/collection/about/curatorial-departments/media-performance [Accessed: 15 June 2021].
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- ¹⁶ Collections, https://www.icp.org/collections [Accessed: 15 June 2021].
- ¹⁷ K. Bussard, op. cit., p. 1137; About CCP, https://ccp.arizona.edu/about/about-ccp [Accessed: 15 June 2021].
- ¹⁸ K. Bussard, op. cit., p. 1138.
- 19 Ibidem.
- ²⁰ Sammlung Fotografie, https://www.museum-ludwig.de/de/museum/sammlung/sammlung-fotografie.html [Accessed: 15 June 2021].
- ²¹ Ibidem.
- ²² Fotografische Sammlung, https://www.museum-folkwang.de/de/ueber-uns/sammlung/fotografische-sammlung.html [Accessed: 15 June 2021].
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- ²⁵ Films and Nouveaux médias, https://www.centrepompidou.fr/fr/collections/films-et-nouveaux-medias [Accessed: 15 June 2021].
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- ²⁷ Photographies, https://www.centrepompidou.fr/fr/collections/photographies [Accessed: 15 June 2021].
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- ³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 449.
- 32 See e.g.: U. Czartoryska, 'Konstelacja Marcela Duchampa', Projekt, 1 (1971); eadem, 'Alternatywy sztuki konceptualnej', Miesięcznik Literacki, 9 (1971).

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