



WARMIO, QUO VADIS?

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The publication released within the project „Warmio, quo vadis?” realised by Centrum Spotkań Europejskich “Światowid” w Elblągu. The endowment from the of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage as well as the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship.

Ministerstwo
Kultury
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Narodowego



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Publisher: Centrum Spotkań Europejskich “Światowid” w Elblągu
ISBN 978-83-947998-0-9
Copyright by Centrum Spotkań Europejskich “Światowid” w Elblągu

Cover design: Krzysztof Prochera
Layout: Jolanta Olszewska
Print: Reproskan Sp. z o. o.

1st Edition
Elbląg 2017

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Gustaw Marek Brzezina
The Marshal of the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship

The modern Warmia is a historic land with unique landscape, but what differentiates Warmia, is its past. Although today, there are almost no native residents, taking care of material and immaterial heritage remains our duty. Thanks to such publications, we contribute to expanding the knowledge about Warmia and the Warmian identity, but above all, we show the present residents the culturally, historically and nature rich place they live in.

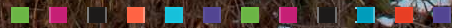


Antoni Czyżyk
The Director of The Centrum Spotkań Europejskich "Światowid" w Elblągu

We give you a unique publication, another one after the book "W cieniu domów. Opowieści o żuławskich domach podcieniowych ", aimed at protecting the cultural heritage of the region in which we live. Now is the moment when we can boast about what we do for our small homeland. From Żuławy, we moved on to Warmia. Why is it so inimitable and where is it going? These are the questions that the authors of this book are asking themselves. This book will help you find answers to them.



Różynki, a road chapel, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.





Introduction

In the globalisation era, when the question where we come from seems so irrelevant, looking for roots is less and less popular. In the world, where everything is within reach, the effort that we have to put in finding forgotten traditions, customs and history seem like a waste of time. Meanwhile, some people spend their entire life doing this. Thanks to that, they build their own identity, but also they help others realise that there is something else besides Polishness and Europeanness. These are the small motherlands, from which we come from and which are in us, but to find them, we need to get to know ourselves and our roots well. Edward Cyfus and Izabela Lewandowska undertook such activities – he is a native Warmian, she is a regionalist from the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn – in March 2016, they managed to get Warmian dialect on the national list of intangible cultural heritage. This is a list of the most precious treasures of intangible culture, which are supposed to be particularly taken care of and with attention passed along to next generations. It is hugely valuable initiative. Similar roots had the project “Warmio, quo vadis?”, which was created from many needs. The need to care for the region, the need to talk about places, which surround us, and the need to pay attention to what surrounds us. While it lasted, during ethnographic studies, we diagnosed the state of preservation of Warmian intangible culture, we assessed the state of preservation of traditional buildings and chose monuments for digitisation. We digitalised shrines, dwelling houses, outbuildings and sacral architecture to eventually prepare this publication, which is supposed to be the contribution to a discussion about Warmia. These discussions are still ahead of us...

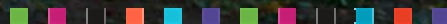
In this book, there are texts written by experts and simultaneously by people full of passion and investment, who love their job, and above all, this place. So, there is scientific content, but also practical guides for teachers. Prof. Janusz Hochleitner – historian and anthropologist of culture, who every day deals with, among others, cultural heritage of the region, writes about the intangible cultural heritage in Warmia. The author reaches back to the roots of Warmia; there are descriptions of the widely celebrated holidays, customs connected with the liturgical calendar, and the one which results from the rhythm of nature, there are also examples of Warmian dialect. The art historian, Dr Iwona Liżewska, who is the leader of the Local Office of the National Heritage Board in Olsztyn, writes about the settlement and sacral landscape in Warmia. How did it look like in the past, how is it changing in front of our eyes, and in the and she asks (rhetorically), how will Warmia present in few years? On the other hand, Marzena Zwierowicz – the landscaper, responsible in our voivodeship for the historic greenery from the Voivodeship Office of the Monuments’ Protection in Olsztyn, writes about the green cultural heritage. Finally, Aleksandra Paprot-Wielopolska, the postgraduate student in the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology in Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, the leader of the ethnographic studies carried out within the project “Warmio, quo vadis”, she summarised and presented the results. What is particularly interesting, they include proposals for selected elements of heritage to a regional or national inventory of intangible cultural heritage.

The ready-made educational solutions for teachers of various types of schools contain proposals of educational activities. Karolina Manikowska from the Elbląg delegacy of the Voivodeship Office of the Monuments’ Protection in Olsztyn prepared suggestions of lessons for elementary and secondary schools concerning regional identity and cultural landscape. Lessons about sacral architecture can be carried out based on the materials by Wiesława Rynkiewicz-Domino from the Museum of History and Architecture in Elbląg. On the other hand, Weronika Wojnowska, from the Nicolaus Copernicus Museum in Frombork, prepared suggestions for secondary schools – they can be a base to carry out lessons about the Warmian masonry heaters and stained glass windows, the unappreciated and remarkable material heritage of this area.

We have managed to convince a wide circle of experts to cooperate on this publication. We hope that, by combining their experience and knowledge, we have created a proposal that will encourage extending knowledge about Warmia, getting to know its cultural landscape, history and tradition, and that it will become a contribution to wider research on the cultural heritage of this region. Because, as Janusz Hochleitner writes in his text: "Each of us - inhabitants of this land - is obliged to cultivate regional tradition".



Regions Bażyny, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.



Intangible cultural heritage in Warmia based on selected examples

The "Warmia" term has survived to this day, although the political history of this region of Poland was under numerous changes and transformations. It is visible that for some time, the local awareness of the residents increases, which contributes to a continuation of not only "Warmia" term, but also of searching, reminding and cultivating the culture of this region. That is why today there is not only Wamińsko-Mazurskie voivodeship, but also more and more bottom-up initiatives, which intentionally reach the past of Warmia, searching foundations of the local identity for the current residents.

Within the meaning of the UNESCO Convention from 2003, immaterial heritages are traditions, verbal messages, knowledge and skills and, connected with them, subjects and cultural space, which are considered by particular communities, groups or individuals as a part of personal heritage. This kind of heritage is passed down from generation to generation and is perpetually recreated by particular social groups in relation with their environment and material heritage. Each of us, more or less consciously, participates in this process. For each community, a heritage is a source of sense of identity, it contributes to the positive individual sense of belonging to a particular society. Despite the fact that people were not thinking about immaterial heritage of Warmia over decades, its numerous displays were preserved and cherished in some way. Gradually, along with the socially-political changes begun in 1989, but also in the atmosphere of a popular then search for a calm place to live in the Warmia's village, customs forgotten by time were revealed, people were reminding folk rites, transcribing legends, gathering information about "the past times", which could be acquired from the people directly remembering a period before 1945. During the last twenty years, this heritage conveyed by our ancestors, enhanced by precious scientific researches (often as documentations in the form of collected monuments, souvenirs or interviews saved on different devices), was popularized so much that people started to search for different ways to protect it. Nowadays, a lot of private individuals, non-governmental organizations, self-government institutions and scientific centers take initiatives to protect these cultural goods from oblivion. In 2016, Warmia's dialect was taken under official protection as the first element of this sphere. It seems that performing similar activities to the other goods of immaterial Warmia's heritage, seems to be only a matter of time. Majority of these goods will still function in our lives; however, many of us will not be fully aware of how important traditions can we unconsciously solidify and pass to the environment.

"Holy Warmia"

The Warmia's past had an influence on the creation of strong religious identification of people of Warmia. This region, unlike neighboring areas, remained Catholic after the secularization of the Teutonic Order in 1525. Residents of Warmia had a different culture, which was strongly connected to traditions and full of memories about the fair bishops' reigns. Neighboring communities were functioning in a quite different religious atmosphere (Protestant), which was only strengthening the original culture of Warmia over centuries.

On the map of Jan Fryderyk Endersch (printed in 1755) there are precisely marked borders between Warmia and Prussia. For example, there is an accurately shown settlement network, separating towns, villages and mills (in total 576 localities, 40 names of lakes, rivers and hills). The history of this area started in 1243, when borders of three dioceses, including Warmińska, were set. A third of this diocese was a property of a bishop, who along with the Warmia's chapter house, which consisted of canons with an office in Frombork, managed Warmia. It was so until 1772, the First Partition of Poland, during which this area was taken by the Prussian State. The administrative and political changes did not cause a change of the cultural of residents of Catholic Warmia. Even strong Germanization activities did not manage to change the main values of the authentic Warmia's culture. To the present day, we can observe numerous manifestations of this original and unique culture, which are gradually adapted by new residents of these areas. The residents who still explore Warmia's qualities and decide to live here permanently.

Landscape richness of the region was strongly determining Warmia's culture through the whole history. A lot of tales and legends are connected with characteristic elements of landscape, which tells us about e.g. the meaning of forests, lakes or beautiful hills and valleys. In the preserved folklore texts, village people were perpetuating their own spiritual lives. From these texts we can learn about the residents' ethic, morality or ideas. They also included society concepts, group dreams or individual desires and also, in some way they perpetuated particular historical events. In this way, at the beginning of the 20th century, there were a legend, popular on Warmia, about three crosses near Olsztyn, which were supposed to symbolize the victory of Władysław Jagiełło over the Teutonic Order. The subject of many stories is basing on activities connected with water. Warmia's settlements were very often located by lakes or rivers. Such localization somehow imposed on residents to enter into fishing activity. Folklore messages confirm the popularity of this profession on Warmia.

In awareness of people of Warmia, forests had as important cultural meaning as lakes. In everyday life they were repositories for firewood, basic building products and also places for grazing pigs and cattle. Over 300 years ago, law restrictions referring to hunts, cattle grazing and flaking bark off young trees to get sap were gradually introduced. The Grabowski Bishop in 1755 issued an edict against illegal logging and then he dealt with forestry policy. This ecological activity of Warmia's bishops was the effect of the more and more visible lack of wood. That is why officials were told to promote using of peat and a complete prohibition of wood export was introduced.

The basic factor, which binds the ground into the ethnographic completeness is ethnic lamination. The community of south Warmia was molding over few centuries and was under particular development factors. The dynamics of colonization of these areas – very badly populated until the end of the Middle Ages – was setting basic elements of culture of Warmia's people. Next colonists' groups, settling on this ground, carried with them a system of values and numerous spiritual goods, which in touch with the previous regional culture were a subject of changes, letting Warmia to keep a coherent social image of Warmia, which survived to this day. In the discussed process of colonization we can distinguish few stages. The first one was definitely appearance of Christianity on these grounds. The monotheistic religious system was accepted by residents of this ground as an overlapping of supersystem on the currently existing systems of pagan beliefs. This process consisted of a relentless adaptation of foreign contents to their own culture, elimination of some familiar contents, modification of elements of the remaining ones, and also creating syncretic contents, specifying a mix of different values. This complex phenomenon was present over centuries. Its effect was forming a new, or – what seems to reflect the reality better – a transformation of the old culture. As a result of the centuries-old process, there was a growth of similarities between representatives of local, social groups.

Łosiery and kiermasy

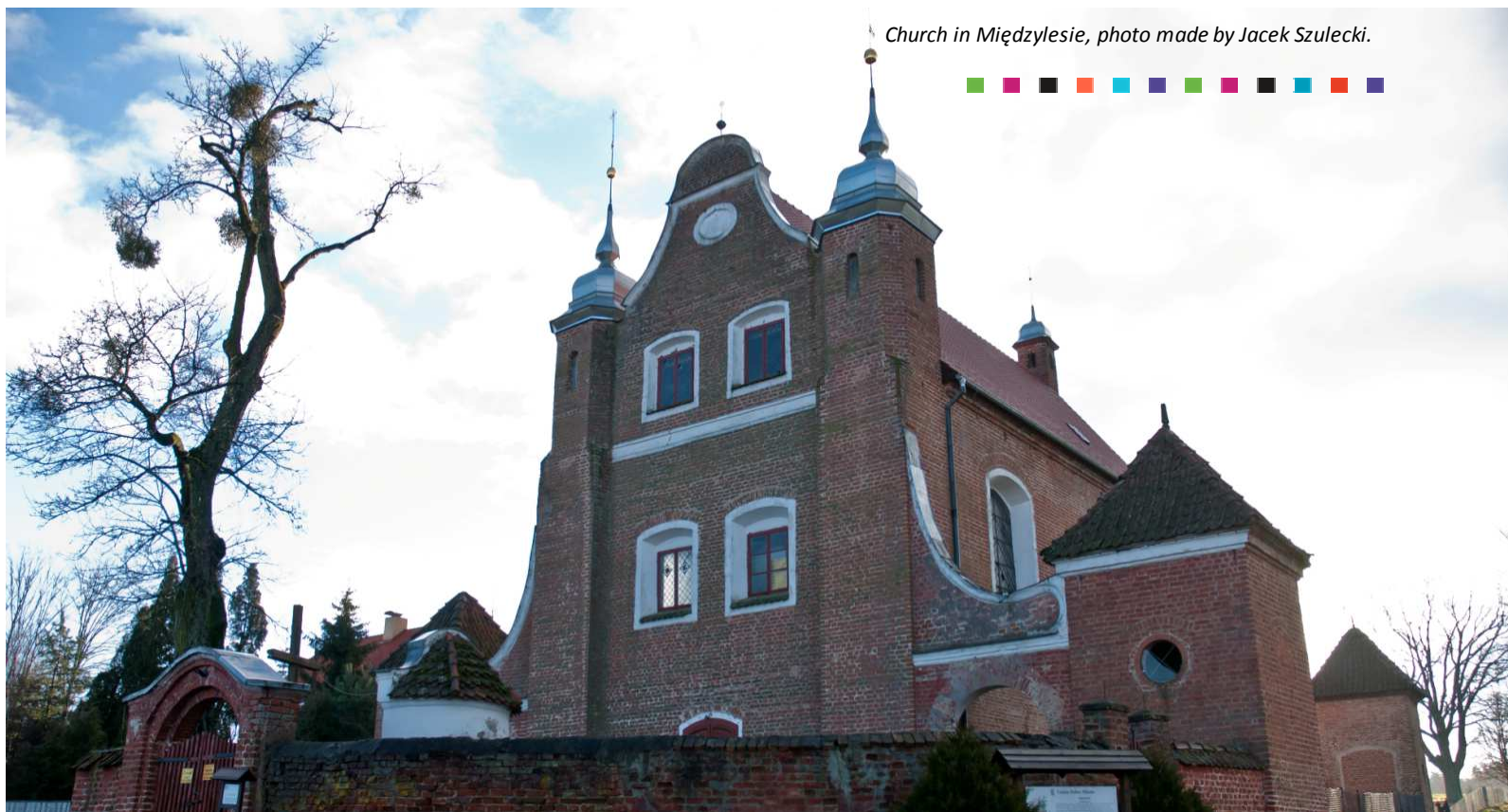
In systems of closed societies, behaviors, which create a sense of belonging to particular organization, mainly concentrated around the cult places (church, chapel or road cross), are easier to strengthen. It can be illustrated by a characteristic form of folk religion in Warmia, the so-called łosiery (previously called sacrifices or kompanje), which in the last two decades start to reborn. Above all, they were fulfillments of vows publically professed in church by the whole parish community. Such attitude was present in the residents of Rybacka St. in Reszel, who after the fire in 1641 were wandering to Święta Lipka, fulfilling the vow professed as a thanksgiving for the protection from the plague. To this sanctuary, from similar reasons, pilgrims were travelling from Wozławki and Głotów, Ryn Reszelski (request to God and deflection of a plague), Klewno's residents

(saving from the fire), Sątopy and Mnichówek (deflection of a poor harvest plague). From 1654 the parish łośiera from Lidzbark Warmiński to Stoczek Warmiński was begun. Its aim was to stop the rampant plague and to protect from the war with Sweden. In 1728 the date of łośiera was moved. These vows were fulfilled by the next generations for whole decades or even centuries.

Łosiery, which were to the closest parish churches were called kiermasy. From the Dąbrówka village, belonging to the Sętal parish, people were travelling every year with łośiera to e.g. Międzylesie, Barczewko, Głotowo and also to Dywity, during the Feast of the Assumption of the Mother of God, to Jonkowo on 16 August for an indulgence dedicated to St. Roch and to Gietrzwałd for an indulgence on 8 September.

On the territory of historical Warmia, until the end of the 18th century, there were approx. 100 000 residents, who were massively participating in begging or penitential pilgrimages to near sanctuaries. In their stories, bishops were informing Holy See about these practices, emphasizing large commitment of the believers and showing it as a manifestation of supernatural events, which were registered and described in many places. The bishop, Szymon Rudnicki was the first one who paid attention to them. From his coverage from 1610, we can learn about three pilgrimage places, connected with numerous miracles: Głotowie (Głotowie) near to Dobrze Miasto, Bisztynek and Święta

Church in Międzylesie, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.



Lipka. The bishop, Mikołaj Szyszkowski in 1640 wrote that after the war with Sweden, whole villages and towns were undertaking votive pilgrimages to Święta Lipka and Stoczek. Next bishops of Warmia – Teodor Andrzej Potocki and Krzysztof Andrzej Jan Szembek were also mentioning intensified pilgrimage movements.

The moment of beginning of łosiera was indicated by the sound of a bell from a church's tower or from a chapel with a little bell (a signature). In Próle, at first people were singing "Powiedz Jezuu me kochanie (Say, Jesus, my dear)", and after that people were shortly praying and in Brąswałd, firstly people were repeatedly praying for themselves and for those who stayed in houses. To this day, only few copies of handwritten songbooks, belonging to the organizers of such local pilgrimages, are preserved. Warmia's pilgrims were carrying candles and banners, and numerous adolescents were dressed festively, especially the ones who were holding religious symbols. Very often, the wandering pilgrims had a company of an organist and a local band. When the pilgrimages were passing temples



Church in Jonkowo, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.

– people were greeting to the Most Blessed Sacrament, near to the road crosses and chapels they were shortly praying. During organization of pilgrimages of few parishes, the schedule was arranged in the way, which allowed them to meet in one place, at the prearranged time. That is why for the ceremony of the Transfiguration of Jesus in Purda, believers from Gietrzwałd were embarking at 5 a.m. and from Sząbruk and Gryźliny at 7 a.m. These companies were merging in Bartąg at approx. 11 a.m. and were moving on together.

When pilgrims saw their destination, they started singing religious songs and church bells were answering to them. The group was welcomed by sanctuary's hosts. In 1698, to Święta Lipka arrived 46 such pilgrimages, called then processions, because to this day they are similar to annual church processions. When people were spending night in Święta Lipka, a part of pilgrimages was worshipping the Most Blessed Sacrament, another part was searching for a place to sleep, the others could camp in the area, e.g. by the lakes, where they could prepare food, they could sing and share their impressions with the others. During these conversations they could learn about the stories of other people of Warmia, and even share different information with Evangelic pilgrims or meet Catholic from more distant grounds of Kurpiowszczyzna, Ziemia Lubawska and Sztumska. All these communities had similar dialects, which grew from the Old-Polish. Their way back home was often easier because from surrounding villages, people were coming in wagons for their families and friends. After the homecoming, people were praying in thanksgiving for fortunate trip and they were recalling their experiences for a long time.

Polish-German cultural border

In the beginnings of the 14th century, on this ground arrived approx. 25 thousand settlers from German countries. They were coming from different parts of the world: Bremen, Lubeka, Miśnia, Mecklenburg, Silesia and Western Pomerania. The name Barczewo (Wartenburg) was supposed to be transferred to Warmia along with Saxon colonists. It is said that they named this city in memory of a locality by the Łaba river, near to Wittenberg, from where they were coming. Liturgical books can say a lot about the origin of a local dergy. On the basis of researches it was possible to reproduce this migration. It is estimated that at the beginning of the 15th century, there were 130 thousand Germans, which was almost half of the Prussian community (48%). The met conditions were hard to accept for colonists not used to the colder climate. Migrants from the western part of Reich were warming their homes for four months, on these grounds they had to extend it by three months.

The discussed society was a standalone group as evidenced by emotional sense of closure towards its members, who belong to the common culture. The matter of a language of this community had a

secondary significance over the centuries. Finally, a division of this community into two groups: Polish-speakers and German-speakers was formed. As a result of settling processes begun in the Middle ages, it also divided Warmia into two regional parts – north and south. It is worth noticing that the reach of the Old-Polish, being simultaneously the dialect of Warmia, was setting the dynamic group of the Polish settlement quite well. While the matters of language were making Polish-speakers in Warmia similar to each other, the differences in religion and administration, from the 16th century, were dividing these communities, diversifying these dialects, and also they had influence on customs of families and households.

The Polish-German border in the first half of the 19th century was dividing Warmia much more clearly than in the past. People usually use terms like: German and Polish Warmia, because this division was characterizing particular villages of this region well. Truthfully, this division was much deeper, because it was touching whole richness of the spiritual culture. The area of southern Warmia (Polish) in the awareness of people from Warmia was understood quite well. In memories of Franciszek Lieder from the first half of the 19th century we can find information about a few-years-long visit of his parents in the Kłębowo village (near to Lidzbark Warmiński). The author knew, that back then they were not living in the southern Warmia. Only their move to Biesow near to Biskupiec allowed him to write – "to the Polish Warmia they have moved". Southern Warmia over centuries was outstanding with its specific cultural values. In memories of a man from Warmia, written in the middle of the 19th century, we can read, what was commonly understood at the end of the 18th century: "Warmia is divided into two parts: Polish and German. Polish Warmia is smaller than the German one by two thirds and has only three towns: Biskupiec (Bischofsburg) on the main high road from Warszawa (Warsaw) to Królewiec; Olsztyn (Allenstein) and Wartenburg". In the 19th century this area was called "Polish Warmia" because local people were using a dialect. In the oldest descriptions we can see better description of the borders of this land. The priest Romuald Frydrychowicz wrote: "The natural borders of Polish Warmia are from west the Pasarga river along with the Płużeńskie lake, from south-eastern the Pasymskie and Sirwińskie lakes, from east marshes of lakes connected to each other by rivers, like Dadalskie and Łowtrowskie, from north there is a straight line from the Błonkowskie lake to the Morąskie lake".

The area of Polish-speaking settlement was movable. And so, until the half of the 18th century, this tendency was targeted towards north. When we analyze proportions of sermons in Barczewko, we may think that at the end of the 16th century, there was equality of Polish-speaking and German speaking people in the village. In the second half of the next century the Polish-speakers were dominant in the parish. Until the 18th century, the ethnic border of the Polish part of Warmia – in comparison with its reach at the end of the 16th century – was moved a bit towards north. The discussed phenomenon was involving mainly village people, but in towns of southern Warmia there

were similar tendencies. These people were using the Warmia's dialect, which is an example of the Mazowiecki's dialect. Traditionally, this dialect is considered to be a part of the Wielkopolski's dialect and is generally different from the neighboring Mazurski's dialect (which is characterized by a thing, which is stranger on Warmia, the so-called mazurzenie). Until the beginning of the 19th century, this dialect was under the influence of literary Polish language. In that time people could communicate with each other using this dialect, mainly in villages, where almost no one knew German language. The stronger and stronger Germanization activities started to systematically remove this dialect from the regional life. At the beginning of the 20th century, the dialect of Warmia was used by 42,7% of the southern Warmia's people. Even during the period of PRL, this dialect was used relatively often in many localities around Olsztyn. Today, this knowledge is rarely encountered and more often it is a part of folklore activities than everyday practice.

Table. A dictionary of the Warmia's dialect.

No.	Dialect term	Meaning	No.	Dialect term	Meaning
1	ambrótt	supper	14	Kaduk	devil, dickens
2	bagno	pond	15	Kadyk	juniper
3	bank	bench	16	Kafyja	cafe
4	bankiet	christening	17	luterak	Evangelist
5	Barbeczka	Barbara	18	łozies	oat
6	bryka	bridge	19	mniajso	meat
7	bryle	glasses	20	Óma	grandmother
8	dyle	planks, floor	21	Ónkel	uncle
9	dyśło	drawbar	22	Ópa	grandfather
10	dwasta	two hundred	23	Tanta	aunt
11	dźwyrze	door	24	wódka	holy water
12	falorz	priest	25	zaboczyć	to forget
13	gajś	goose	26	Żark	coffin

The local terminology is an evidence for strong German influences on Warmia, which began in the Middle Ages and were strengthened from the 19th century. A lot of names were taken directly from this language: Barczewko (Alt Wartenburg) is a connection of German words: *alt*, *warten* and *berg*, later – *burg*; Czerwonka (Rothfliess) – *roth* and *flies*; Klebark Wielki (Gross Kleeberg) – *klee* and *berg*; Radostowo (Freudenberg) – *freude* and *berg*; Sętal (Süssenthal) – *süss* and *thal*; Sząbruk (Schönbrück) – *schöne*, *brücke*; Wrzesina (Alt Schöneberg) – *alt*, *schöne* and *berg*. Much oftener, there are suffixes

added only to Prussian names *-dorf*, *-wald*, e.g. Gotkendorf – Gutkowo, Klaukendorf – Klewki, Bartoldsdorf with later development with word *Gross* – Bartoły Wielkie or Ditherichswalde – Gietrzwałd.

In the diocese's life there was a Polish-German custom, which demanded greeting new bishop by a canon in Polish and by a representative of local nobility in German. That custom was present until 1772. The ethnical character of southern Warmia, in the 16th century, enforced introducing of vows in Polish. In those vows people swore to be "obedient, truehearted and surrendered to the Ermland Church". That traditions were reached by local activists, who were organizing the so-called Kiermas Warmiński in recent years. Traditionally, during the next editions of this event, there were memorial boulders exposed. They were dedicated to Warmia's ordinaries and situated alongside the former Bishop's Route.

Heritage of Prussian tribes

About the reach of the pagan Prussia we are informed by a precious cartographic monument of Casper Henneberger, from 1584, and preserved teutonic chronides. In the 16th century, colonists from Mazowieckie were co-existing with representatives of Prussian tribes on the area of southern Warmia. The Prussian people, however, were gradually losing their primal identity. It is hard to estimate what had the biggest influence on this disintegration. This process was not probably revved up by the legal relationship, introduced by the Teutonic Order, which guaranteed personal freedom and allowed to buy, sell and inherit lands in both lines, which is from sides of sons and daughters. In the second half of the 16th century, the Warmian bishop, Marcin Kromer, wrote about "the complete right of former Prussia to secede". In the next century, on southern Warmia, last groups of this community finally lost their bond with their culture, especially in the matter of using Prussian language.

Pre-Christian beliefs in the late medieval were not rooted out, only hidden. The process of standardizing the faith showed problems with adapting the Christianity, piling up from the missionary period. The Christianity in the folk culture, gained native features, which can be observed on the example of the folk art and religious rites. The Christianity, for instance, adapted a gesture of unveiling and bowing head before God from Slavic People.

The Prussian culture turned out to be too weak to face the civilization of invaders from Western Europe. Prussian people did not have temples, they usually were gathering in holy groves. In their saint places it was forbidden to chop or plow. The most often Prussian people had twofold belief.

Commonly people declared Christianity, and daily cultivated rituals of ancestors. In the first half of the 15th century in the national legislation of the Warmian bishop, Francis Kuhschmalz, from 1427, few points were dedicated only to Prussian people. There were regulations saying that people maintaining Prussian service should care about their involvement in Christian cult; it was forbidden to hold the post of the village leader and to run inns in villages settled by German people; the Prussian householders were obliged to acquire special permission to hire Prussian farmhands, and a beer consumption at Prussian funeral services was limited to one barrel. Presence of those rules was a proof for existence of numerous Prussian element. One century later, in the national legislation of the bishop – Lucas Watzenrode from 1505, there was not any point dedicated to those people, which evidences that their culture was noticeably disappearing in the everyday life of the region.

The adaptation of Christianity introduced Prussian people to another world of religious beliefs and values. Those ideas, however, arrived on the Prussian lands before the arrival of Teutonic Order. The missionary activity performed from the 12th century led to – in the period of over 200 years – abandonment of rituals descended from the pre-Christianity times. The effectiveness of missionaries was lying in sanctifying places of the Prussian cult. It is not an accident that later Warmian sanctuaries were constructed in places, which earlier had been used by Prussian people. A parish village in Brąswałd was arisen in a place of a former Prussian gord, Frankowo and Janoty were arisen in places of former Prussian settlements and Dywity has its name from the Prussian word *deywis* – God. A genesis of the Catholic cult was very often based on things or places important in the former Prussian culture (lime, granite boulders or rivers and fields), e.g. the name of the Ramsowo village comes from the name of the Prussian lake or forest, Rasząg – from the lake, Węgój – from the river *Wangoien*, Stawiguda – from the Prussian *stabis* (stone), and Olsztyn – from German *stein* (stone).

Trees, stones, springs, astral bodies, atmospheric phenomena, and sometimes animals were subjects of Prussian worshipping at the end of the early Middle Ages. People paid tribute to them on outdoors – in holy groves, fields and near the waters. These places were exempted from tree chopping, sowing and fishing. Stone statues, the so-called baby pruskie (former symbols of prosperity and abundance) are material evidences of those beliefs.

Citizens of villages were the people who were defending from assimilation with new settlers for the longest period of time. They were mainly forming ethnically homogenous parishes. On Warmia, in the middle ages people had a rule that parish villages were populated by German colonists and surrounding non-parish villages were supposed to be Prussian. Łukasz Dawid coming from Olsztyn, in his chronicle written in the 16th century, included information about numerous groups of Prussian people near to Olsztyn. The chronicler met even Prus, a priest from Klebark Wielki, who was giving

sermons in Old-Prussian language. In the next century it was impossible to meet citizens of the region who knew Prussian language.

The Church wanted favor of the local people, residents of the region. And so, canons in Frombork were obliged to guarantee education to at least one Prussian boy and to provide for him. Such a boy was expected to become a priest. In Lidzbark Warmiński there was even a school in the bishop's castle, meant only to educate Prussian youth. Similar purposes were set by canons of the Collegiate church in Dobrze Miasto. The diocese clergies were obliged to perform their duties in Prussian language, in accordance with the oldest diocese's synods. Especially it was about the basic prayers. Parsons of multilingual parishes were obliged to know languages of believers. However, not always this effect was achieved. In the second half of the 16th century, diocese's management was blaming insufficient pastoral care for numerous cases of witchcraft and superstitious practices.

Prussian culture in a way was preserved by new residents of these lands. The best proofs for its presence are proper names. Their richness evidences that the Prussian culture had a strong influence on colonists. In location documents there were a lot of Prussian surnames as servants, village leaders or worthies, who received lands from a bishop and chapter house. Until 1400, the big property was 80% in hands of migrants, 20% was for original Prussians. This relation looks different, when we compare villages leaderships – 40% of this group had Prussian names. On southern Warmia there were significantly more village leaders. At the end of the 20th century, nomenclature in southern Warmia was a proof for Prussian traditions – they were still 58% of names of independent villages and approx. 11% of names of dependent villages.

Some elements of Prussian spiritual culture were preserved also in beliefs and customs. The world of folk beliefs of Warmian people in some way could gain its inspiration from stories told by former Prussians, assigning particular attributes to certain places and characteristic fragments of natural landscape. Folk beliefs of Warmia relied on relicts of former beliefs in demons, e.g. *topnik*, *kłobuk*, *żytnia baba*. The term of food and drink after a funeral was called *cerm* (Prussian) and entered the dialect of southern Warmia.

In stories of Warmian people, there were elements of memorizing Prussian beliefs. One of legends from the area of the Rogóż village, near to Lidzbark Warmiński, tells about a sacred oak, which was replaced with a chapel (in the Christianity times) and later – a church. In this place, a Prussian priest supposedly saved life of a Christian girl. This legend is a proof for the adaptation of Prussian beliefs by Christian residents. The cult of sacred trees among Prussians is evidenced by many records in chronicles from the times of Teutonic Knights. Trees, especially those with original shapes, were considered to be quarters of dead souls: women were residing in limes, men in oaks. A lime from

Święta Lipka, was considered in pre-Christianity times as a place of cult, which was taken over by Christianity by placing on the tree a miraculous figure of the Mother of God. In the 17th century, a lot of trees like that were adored by local communities.

Martin Luther in "Table Talk" was repeating the things, in which he was believing from the childhood that Prussia is full of devils. Maybe these stereotype repeated in Germany was coming from German colonists' concerns about a wilderness, which was present in a big part of discussed territory of Warmia until the 16th century. The Luther's statement indicates that in the 16th century, this land was considered to be still pagan.

The colonization involved Prussian settlement units, called fields: *terra Gudikus* – on north-west of Olsztyn, *terra Bertingen* – on south-east of Olsztyn. It is worth mentioning, that these settlement units were functioning also in later period. For instance *terra Bertingen* at the beginning of the 14th century was almost fully covered with a territory of the Bartąska parish, the Prussian *Tlocovia* was covered with Jeziorańskie district, *Barcja* – with Reszelskie, and *Galauken* – with Barczewski. First bestowals on the discussed area of southern Warmia, refer to Bartązek (1335) and Ruszajny (1336). The oldest town in this part of Warmia – Barczewko – also occurs in that time. Later, next Prussian villages arise: Jaroty, Stękińy, Stare Włóki, Nagłady, Jonkowo, Mątki, Warkały, Kieźliny, Dorotowo, Naterki and others.

Language of settlers from Mazowsze, who massively started to colonize today's south Warmia area, was taken by peasants speaking both Prussian and German. Mainly Prussian people were surrendering to this process of Polonization. A manifestation of this phenomenon is influence of the Polish language visible in their terminology. In Prussian e.g. *nadele* meant Sunday, *maddla* – prayer, *signat* – to make the sign of the cross. Polish names of villages (coming from the 16th century): Stanclewo, Marcinkowo, Przykop, Południca, Miodówko, Siła. This process involves also Polonization of proper names and common use of this language by lower sections of society until the 20th century. A wider process of acquiring customs, rituals and beliefs was probably similar.

Beliefs of new colonists of Warmia were mixed with Prussian beliefs. A survival of pagan beliefs mainly resulted from low religious knowledge of residents. Village people were often not aware of a fact that believing in demons and magical practices were forbidden by Church.

Intercession of saints

Allocation of important events in a church calendar of meteorological forecasts was a common occurrence for a folk culture. In short, lapidary sentences, based on a church calendar, economic activities were defined. Annually repeated festivals were benchmarks in social lives. From the day of St. Maciej (24 February) people were waiting for spring. The first plowings were started in the day of St. Joseph (19 March), even if there was snow (they had to plow at least one furrow), or at latest in the day of the Mother of God (25 March). The Warmian proverb said: "On the St. Joseph day – there is a stork on a bark, churl, search for a wooden plough and go plow the field". In the day of St. Adalbert (23 April) people could shepherd the cattle. A period near to the memorial of St. John was considered to be the best time to cart hay. The best time for mowing the lawn was from the day of St. Lawrence (10 August) to the day of St. Bartłomiej (24 August). Cereal was collected with cyclical intervals, which were defined by the day of St. John, St. Margaret (19 July), St. Jacob (25 July) and St. Dominic (5 August). The end of plowing was intimated by the day of St. Lawrence (10 August). The day of St. Bartłomiej (24 August) was a sign of the beginning of autumn, and St. Martin's day (11 November) – the beginning of winter. In the folk calendar, St. Michael's day (29 September) had also a very important role. In this day, numerous agricultural activities (connected with dosing a summer cycle of works in fields, gardens and farms) were finished.

After the end of the church period of the Christmas, there were memorials of saints who were patrons of everyday worries. 3 February was the day of St. Błażej – the patron of throat ache. In these time, priests blessed apples, which were considered to be medicines. On Warmia, in this day, people probably blessed "błazejki" – little candles. In times of pain – a throat of a sick man was surrounded with them. 5 February was a day of St. Veronica, when people blessed bread and water as remedies against the danger of fire.

On 16 August there was an important ceremony for many residents of Warmian villages – the memorial of St. Roch. On this day a new fire made by rubbing two pieces of wood was inflamed. This fire was supposed to warm the household for whole winter and its smoke to save from bad air. Using this fire people were chasing away cattle to save it from diseases. Holy water, blesses on that day was supposed to be the protection from epidemic.

The memorial of St. Martin (11 November) was a festival of poor plebs. *Marcinki* was a day of retinue and servants working in households. Main meal during this day was *czarnina* (soup) made from dense duck's blood (*bruntopf* – *bandziurka*). At the end of the 19th century, roast goose was a very important regional meal. From the color of its ridge bone people were prefiguring the next winter: if

it's going to be snowy, frosty or variable. In the folk culture there were songs connected with this day. Some of them were registered in the first half of the 20th century, e.g. "Żale służącej (The servant's sorrow)" or "Ze służbeczki na służbeczka (From servant to servant)".

Customs of fortunetelling during the day of St. Catherine (25 November) were less common. According to the folk saying: "Saint Catherine begins Advent". The St. Andrew's day (30 November) was not always in the time of Advent. The genesis of this rite probably comes from old, pre-Christian All Souls' Day customs. They are probably connected with beliefs in the presence of ghosts of the dead among the living beings. This meandering ghosts could lend their power to mortal ones, to let them know the future.

At the beginning of December there was a shepherds' festival – St. Nicolas day (6 December), when people prayed for protection from wild animals, especially wolves. Shepherds in the evening of that day had a strict fast. They believed that in this day all the wolves gather in one place and share their future prey.

For 12 days before the Christmas, liturgical calendar reminds about St. Lucia (13 December). In the folk tradition, many superstitions were practiced during this day. People were fortunetelling – from observation of weather – future aura. Preventively, home leavings (especially after dark) were restricted to minimum. People cared particularly about little children, not to get them transformed by witches. Blessed herbs were paneled in stables and barns to protect animals.

During the day of the first martyr – St. Stephen (26 December) a blessing of oat was made. In this day people should bestrew the priest (doing the ceremony) with oat. It was a magical mean to make harvests richer. Sometimes, farmers were using blessed oat for spring sowing. The day of St. John Evangelist (27 December) was connected with blessing of wine or other drinks. Wine was considered to be a medicine for a pain of throat and teeth. In this day people were bringing juniper beer – "the drink of St. John". After return, with this beer people were sprinkling walls of their homes and barns. This drink was also added to traditional meal cooked from 25 December to new year – breja (slush) – and a ritual cake called nowolatek (newyear). Eating breja was a characteristic Warmian custom. The meal was made from cereal flour with hot water and greaves of pork fat. Using cereal in this meal was supposed to provide a better harvest.

Warmian Celebrations

The tradition of celebration was not strange for Prussian tribes. They knew a term, which was used to describe a festival day, as a time of great feasts and banquets. According to a pre-Christian tradition, holiday services were begun in an evening and lasted whole night, until dawn. Christianity introduced some changes, forbidding night celebrations and some kinds of celebrating. In accordance with Warmian folk images, on the moon we can find working people. In this way, they had to repent their punishment (by plowing fields, gathering brushwood or baking breads), because when they were alive, they were working during festive days.

Numerous feasts were made between the Epiphany and the Ash Wednesday. This time was called carnival or Shrovetide. Shrovetide genesis is in pre-Christian All Souls' Day, which is evidenced by numerous prohibitions: making noises with dishes, eating peas and precepts: organizing food for souls and a custom of the so-called *suche dziady* (dry grandfathers). In ethnographic forms, there is a memory of collecting contributions for Shrovetide feasts in Monday. The participation of married women in these plays was common. Their task was to do a proper ritual dance for linen and hemp. A basic motion element of this dance was a symbolic presentation of desirable growth of linen and hemp. The moment of culmination of this period was a feast at night between Tuesday and Ash Wednesday, with loud music, singing and laughter. People were then eating better food than every day. Some ludic practiced elements were a continuation of Christmas rituals, e.g. groups of people in costumes, wandering around a village.

The vigil of the memorial of St. John (23 June) – "sobótki" – was considered to be a special event. Bonfires were burning all night long. A local community was meeting near to them. They were singing and having fun. Noise had apotropaic function: if it was loud enough, people could free themselves from evil powers. Bonfires then made were supposed to be a protection from witches. Midnight was a special time, when people had to e.g. collect ferns or make wreaths. They had to do this silently, to give these activities a healing power. A St. John's day custom of throwing wreaths into water by unmarried girls survived on Warmia long enough. A symbol of water indicates on former beliefs connected with living in the world of dead souls. They were associated with waters and the moon.

Catholic year of traditional customs

An analysis of Catholic customs should start from the beginning of a liturgical year, Advent, which traditionally belonged to the fasting time. In this time, people were wearing costumes referring to goat, bear, stork, horse, grandmother and grandfather, and then they organized Advent processions. Walking with a goat has a pre-Christian genesis. This custom was about a group of dressed people wandering around a village. A man with goat costume was a part of a team with a stork and "szemel". During their performance, a goat was jumping in a room, showing pantomime in a rhythm of music. After receiving donations, the procession went to the next house. Very often mascarons were ringing next to trees and around houses, calling to pray. Advent processions were aimed at conjuring the next year's harvests and probably were relicts of former, pre-Christian rituals, which were supposed to assure rich yields. Characteristic characters for these rituals were women collecting donations to baskets and a musician.

On Warmia there was no Christmas Eve. From this reason probably, in opposition to the other regions in Poland, there was no fast in this day and no one shared a special wafer when exchanging Christmas greetings. An important moment – beginning Christmas was a morning Eucharist in the first day of Christmas, at 5 or 6 a.m. In that day children were receiving gifts "from God". People believed that eating peas in the first Christmas' day can assure rich harvests and fortune in New Year. In Woryty near Gietrzwałd people said that in New Year there will be as many good things as peas. On Warmia they believed, that in this day souls of dead ancestors come to visit us. It is the reason why no one cleaned food from table or why stoves were burning at night. A custom of putting a sheaf in a corner of a room also originates from pre-Christian tradition. On Warmia, people put a sheaf of grain (or even sheaves of four kinds of grain) or hanged pine branches.

The period between Christmas and the Epiphany was called dwunastki (twelves) on Warmia. A ritual activity in this time was removing ashes from ovens. Then it was used to exterminate vermin from cattle, caterpillars from cabbages and trees. In that time there was a ban on some works, like: laundering, threshing and chopping trees.

Christianity did not weed out old beliefs linked with neighboring caroling. Groups of people in costumes, wandering around Warmian villages were met also between the New Year and the Epiphany. At that time, usually participants of these processions were wearing long doaks, masks on their faces and crowns. That folk custom had a role of self-controlling of a village bunch. Members of

a group could in more or less open way criticize character features of hosts and by a sequence of their wandering they showed their sympathy towards particular citizens. Giving gifts to carolers was a common custom. These practices are remains of the old cult of the dead. Its purpose was to give fortune and rich harvests to participants. Caroling on Warmia was beginning in the Christmas Eve and lasted to New Year. From the Epiphany, groups called "three kings" were wandering around villages in companion of a bear, a stork or a horse, singing Christmas carols.

Scenes performed by carolers and rolling around in animals' costumes were considered as taking over vitality and reproductive strength from the Mother Nature. Wandering of carolers was supposed to support the Earth vitally. Carolers, called on Warmia "rogale", could put on stage animals' diseases, removing spells from them and their recovery through proper behaviors and gestures made by actors of these folk performances.

On the last day of a calendar year (called zilija – vigil), which was celebrated on Warmia as ceremoniously as the first day of the New Year, there was the so-called "psotowanie (pranking)". This magic was supposed to bring a fortune. In that day people also were fortunetelling, believing that arriving souls of the dead would bring a success. A folk saying shows a prognostic character of that day: "When there is a good weather on a New Year, a lot of harvests in fields are near".

During the feast of the Epiphany (6 January) in churches of Warmia, gold, incense and myrrh were blessed. All possessions were incensed by the devoted incense.

Time of Christmas was closed by the festival of Purifying the Blessed Virgin Mary (2 February). Celebrations in that day were connected with traditional blessing of candles. In accordance with customs, a blessed candle should be carefully moved from a church to house, trying to keep a fire alive. Then, a host was walking around his house, making a sign of cross with the candle's flame. He was doing similar thing at the entrances to outhouses. This sign was not done at houses' windows and people were avoiding breathing smoke in, to save themselves from a throat ache. Beliefs connected with protection of properties from incoming storm remained until today. People were doing a cross' sign with a candle's fire. During thunder, they were throwing blessed herbs to bonfires, especially a wormwood.

Lent begins on Ash Wednesday, which is called Dry Wednesday on Warmia. In accordance with tradition, people were gathering a lot of herrings, which were eaten on Fridays, and dry fruits. Folk customs of spilling mixed ground and ash (in order to protect cabbages from worms) were popular. The penitential period in lives of Warmian parishes was full of devotions. In the Agenda (a collection of prayers for priests on Warmia's areas, made by a bishop), made by bishop Rudnicki in 1616, we

can find information about penitential processions on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, which priests had to perform in parish churches during the whole period of Lent. On Fridays (during this period), at 3 PM, church bells of Warmia were ringing as a memorial of the Christ's death. The bells' sound was a sign calling each and every Warmian man for praying.

Palm Sunday (in old Polish *Kwietna* or *Wierzbna*) was a very important day in the time of Lent. A blessed palm was supposed to have miraculous healing and magical attributes. People believed that palms were protecting fields from hails and pests. Until the beginning of the 20th century, a tradition of clogging a branch, made of palm (in order to protect from hails, storms and thunderbolts), survived. Additionally people were eating catkins, as a medicine for a throat ache. On Warmia you should eat five catkins, because Jesus suffered on the cross from five wounds.

Good Friday in the folk culture had a memory of former magical rituals. E.g. you should wash yourself in running water. It was supposed to save you from skin diseases, such as ulcers. From fifteenth-century old sources we know about the ban on washing heads and on having baths after the evening of Maundy Thursday. Ethnographic messages preserved information about a typical Warmian custom of blessing water and fire during Maundy Thursday. On Warmia, no meals were eaten on that day. During Good Friday you could not begin any physical work.

Easter Saturday Liturgy was connected with blessing the bonfire, from which people were taking not ignited sloe branches to their houses. Such branches were arranged into symbolic crosses, which were clogged in corners of stables. They were supposed to protect from rodents. According to past Warmian customs, a procession around baptismal font was made on Holy Saturday. Warmian people took blessed water to their houses in order to consecrate rooms.

Traditionally, the Easter holidays were begun by the mass of resurrection. People were waking other residents up at dawn. These customs were accompanied by religious songs, loud music and noise. First day of the Easter holidays is connected with ritual of washing in water. This process (made usually in flowing water, preferably from east) was supposed to provide health and beauty in the next year. Water gathered before dawn was considered to have a power to heal eyes with afflictions. After returning to home, sleeping residents (and then cows and horses) were bespattered with water.

These holidays were also connected with painting eggs brown and green in leaves of onion and grass. This custom is probably directly connected with former spring rituals. Painted eggs were necessary attributes of customary walking after lash, called also walking after alleluia. This custom was cultivated in the afternoon of first day of Easter but mostly in the next day. Participants of this custom were called *wykupnicy*. Except for eggs, people were preparing willow branches (less often

birch branches), which were kept in water for few days. These branches were used to lash girls. The birch and willow in the folk culture were often used in the spring magic. They were used to make palms for Kwietna Niedziela, and also to hit cattle in order to pass a vital power of green osiers. Such branches were often used to decorate houses. When the ritual of lashing was realized by older boys, a juniper (on Warmia called by its Prussian name kadyk) was used.

On Polish lands, during Corpus Christi, there is a tradition of collecting branches from shrines. These branches were supposed to protect residents of houses from disasters. This process has a character of a former shepherd custom. Such branches were clogged in corners of fields in order to protect them (fields) from thunderbolts. When it started to bellow, people were throwing these branches into fire. A smoke, according to beliefs, was diffusing storm clouds. On Warmia, for "majenie" people were using mainly branches of limes and maples.

Experiencing of seasons

In traditional communities, everyday life was almost identical over centuries. Technological changes were implemented slowly and new managing solution were arriving along with next groups of population. This long, almost static lasting of the folk culture was dependent on the process of adaptation of patterns and rules, given by older generations to a new one. A whole year was separated into two seasons: cold and warm. The first one was including the most important church festivals, good for contemplation and prayers. In that time, most activities were focused on a family, village. On the other hand there was a warm season, when people were concentrated on farmyard works. During the winter time, more time was dedicated to entertain and have fun. A period of village feasting was beginning from the New Year or the Epiphany and was lasting until Lent. Economic life (not only of Warmian people) was strongly dependent on seasons.

Everyday life of Warmian peasants was not original or specific. In agrarian societies, time was described mainly by a rhythm of nature. It was showing not only human's dependence on environment and seasons but also was expressing a specific structure of peasants' awareness. Observers of the nature were recognizing mostly repeating cydes. A pagan calendar, which was reflecting them, was adapted to the needs of Christian liturgy. Productive and nature cycles were merging into one with the cycle of religious rituals, ceremonies and festivals. In former pre-Christian beliefs, elements of environment could support people that is why people should influence on nature activities through performing particular activities. Beginnings of the most important production processes were supported by prayers and parareligious practices and a finishing of farmyard cycle – feasts and celebrations.

Particular local communities, except for their territory affiliation, were groups linked by common existence and internal relationships. In villages' areas there were links on several levels. Among them, neighbor values (based on some types of services, solidarity and helpfulness) seemed to be the most essential. Tłok – a form of village help was its important manifestation. It was accompanied by traditional rituality. In that way, during works on farms, people often invited their neighbors to help. It was not a right thing to refuse. The neighbors in return received ample repast, which was another opportunity to spend time together in good atmosphere. Usually, such a neighbor help was planned in advance, so people in a village could help each other. That help could occur even in holidays, if the aura could endanger a good harvest. Neighbor relationships were forming attitudes, individual views and patterns of behavior of residents. Those bonds were strongly integrating individuals with a local community. Basing on those bonds, a wider local connection was created. That connection was constituting power and character of regional culture. Modern culture is very poor in this regard and it is hard for us to fully understand the meaning of those social relationships, which were building trust and understanding of neighbors.

Every community of people residing in particular area has to adapt to present nature conditions. Those conditions turned out to be too hard for German settlement in the Middle Ages. Arriving residents of Mazowsze were acclimated to similar conditions and they were the ones who were forming material and immaterial culture of these lands over centuries. A good opportunity know more about next aspects of immaterial culture of Warmia is analyzing their annual customs in the perspective of seasons.

SPRING

In the folk tradition, spring was announced by singing birds. Over the centuries people were imagining that swallows were spending winters in the bottom of water. Their birdsongs were announcements of snowmelts. Weather was forecasted from e.g. the look of arriving storks. If they were dirty, the following year would be wet, if clean – dry. In the folk calendar, an arrival of spring was announced by church memorial of St. Joseph (19 March). Peasants were then going with ploughs to fields and (despite the snow) they plowed at least one furrow. An important church festival was the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (25 March) – opening spring, ground and life. Village residents were looking for storks on that day. Their arrival exactly on that day was announcing a successful year.

Agrarian communities in order to receive good harvests, tried to beg souls of the dead. There were ritual Spring All Souls' Days. On fourth Sunday of Lent, there was a ritual of drowning a symbol of death, identified with winter in water or mud.

A genesis of a pagan spring ritual of igniting "a new fire" to boost vegetation and multiply breeding stocks is very interesting. "Holy" or "Godly" fire during the ceremony had to be ignited on wood with a fire drill or by "sawing". Those processes can be connected also with pagan cult of fertility, when "live fire" was ignited on spring. Fire on Holy Saturday was ignited by striking sparks. On Warmia, people were very often taking burnt branches from Holy Saturday's bonfires. They were used to heal horses and other animals. Those sticks were also used to make pits against worms in the ground.

23 April, when Church memorizes St. George and St. Adalbert, there was a ritual of preparing pastures, caring for fields and livestock. Numerous customs of Prussian community show that they are remains of the past beliefs of All Souls' Day. From the Middle Ages people knew magical practices. They tried to achieve success in breeding by chasing cattle through the fire, twirling bullocks' horns with hops or preparing ritual food for animals, including seeds from Easter sheaf, shells of Easter eggs or palms' elements. From Warmian sayings we can learn, which period was the best for peas seeding: "Who seeds in March, will boil it in a pot. Who seeds in Marek (25 April) boils it in a pot and who seeds in May, boils it in an egg". On 14 May people were forecasting, when it would get warmer: "St. Matthias loses winter or enriches it" and also "On St. Matthias' day, geese have their first eggs". In the time of upcoming Pentecost people were seeding seedlings of cabbages and madders. A folk superstition said that people should seed seedlings at New Moon, which was supposed to guarantee an intense green color of cabbages.

SUMMER

In the folk culture people were paying special attention to the day of the "Jagodna (Berry)" Mother of God (2 July). From that day it was available to eat berries without any health damages. Over the centuries, also on Warmia, people were collecting seeds of some species of self-grown plants for flour or grits. In the second half of July there was a time to sum up the work of a farmer – harvests. Practically, they were separated in to groups: big and small. The big ones were called winter crops equipment, and the small ones – vegetables which grow later. Elementary conditions of existing were determined by harvests. The best moments to start harvests were on Wednesday or Saturday – days dedicated to the Mother of God. Works should be begun by an elder farmer or a rich and respectable man. These rituals were supposed to bless the works and bring as rich



Field in the village of Różyńki, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.



harvests as possible. The first swath was in the field owner's hands. Using strangers in the works was a symbol of disrespect for seeds, from which a bread was supposed to be baked, and had bad influence on the following works.

In the first half of August, a time of harvests forced people to spend a lot of hours on gathering grains. There was not enough time for celebrating or having fun. An exception was the Feast of Our Lady of Herbs – Assumption of the Mother of God (15 August), when herbs and grains were blessed in churches. Mainly bouquets made of cereals. They were very rich because they included all the cereals, vegetables, herbs and flowers. Blessed bouquets were used in rituals in order to bring health and fertility.

Giving a wreath to an owner was the moment of culmination of the last day of harvests. During tying the last sheaf on a field, people started dancing (e.g. around the sheaf they were dancing "kosejder". During returning from field they were singing joyful songs, dancing polonaise. Those songs were wishing plenteousness, informing about finished works and calling to the celebration.

Dożynki (Dozhinki) were usually organized in the day of mowing last grains. In that time, people were doing bouquets from last ears of grains and using them to decorate their rooms. There were also games of girls, who did not want to tie the last sheaf, called navel. In accordance with customs, people should prepare "baba (hen, old woman)" made of few sheaves tied together with cords. For that purpose, they were also using leaves, branches and flowers. "Baba" was transported to the place of common fun and ritually doused with water. This process was supposed to assure rich harvest in the following year. Threshed seeds from the last sheaf was mixed with sowing seeds in order to keep continuity of vegetation and to guarantee good harvests in the following year. Whole celebration was finished with grand feast and revelry until dawn. It was a form of thanking for help, work and also a form of "remuneration" and crowning of that important event.

AUTUMN

After hard work in the summer, there was a time of growing of fruits and seeds. In Warmian church ceremonies people were even predicting formulas of fruits' devotion. In "Ritual" (a collection of church rites) by a bishop of Warmia – Karol Hohenzollem, published in 1800, there was a blessing of orchards with a request for saturation with rain. "Ritual" had also special blessings for fields and orchards endangered by pests. In this time of the year, people were harvesting mushrooms, which were later salted for winter, and in October they were drying turnips and carrots, pickled cabbages in logs or

special pits. In such pits, cabbages remained until spring. Taste of such cabbages was slightly worse than those pickled in barrels. However, according to the folk tradition they had special healthful and nutrient properties.

All Souls' customs in former pre-Christian culture were probably in the middle of October. In the Middle Ages a custom of igniting bonfires in order to warm ancestors up was probably cultivated also on Warmia. Usually on crossroads. A special custom (known in all of Poland) of feeding beggars in front of a church, with specially baked breads, comes probably from the Middle Ages. This custom is a relic of a former practice of carrying food on graves and a display of huge respect of the Warmian people towards dead men.

The day of St. Martin (11 November) was an important caesura for the Warmian community. In that day, for example, payments for peasants were paid. In the time of late autumn and winter, people of Warmia had more time for their social lives, they were tearing feathers together, spinning flax and wool. The last activity was called "przędki (spinners)". At the end of the 19th century, those meetings were colorfully described by Father Romuald Frydrychowicz: "Neighbors are coming with their help with flax gathering and rubbing, then they have feast together. In winter evenings they usually spin by the light of a fire torch." Then interesting stories, legends and gossips were told. Those meetings were an important element of communicating a local tradition; they were some kind of lessons from the past and regional identity made by elder people for the youth.

A time of late autumn was good for farmers and householders to work inside of buildings. They were careful because they did not want to break the ban on works created by immaterial culture – this prohibition was a relic of different folk bans on works – not only in a field but also during the time of Advent. Contravention of a prohibition could lead to poor harvests. Warmian people begun more important activities in the time when the moon was "getting bigger". When it was "getting smaller" people should undertake activities connected with reducing or disappearing of something, e.g. curing cattle.

In folk tradition, states of the weather during Advent were an announcement for the weather during each quarter of the next year. In folk sayings there were forecasts of the weather, harvest, success and calamities. An example of such saying: "When in Advent there is a hoarfrost on trees, a rich year it will be".

A joint work on flax processing or spinning was respected among Warmian people. Everyone was working then – adults and children. Warmian women were making clothes and home decorations of flax. On Warmia, there was also a practice of numerous meetings in one room. The tradition of such meetings has a very distant provenance. This work was accompanied by stories and songs. When the night fell, people were gathering in particular households to tell unthinkable stories, to listen stories of elder men about the old times and to sing religious songs until midnight.

In the time between the Christmas' Eve to the Epiphany (the so-called duodenum) a folk custom of foreseeing the future in divinations was present. People were then abiding numerous prohibitions connected with doing particular works. According to old beliefs, in those days witches and evil ghosts were wandering. Their spells were prevented by placing an axe in a threshold of a room. It was forbidden to spin in this day. Another social standard was not to argue, borrow, fight or curse. The Church from the times of St. Augustine was dispraising a popular in Europe, pre-Christian custom, which forbad giving fire from home to anyone.

In the folk culture, a very important day was the Purifying of the Mother of God (2 February). That day became also a very benchmark in prognostics: "When there is a water on Gromniczna – winter will come later", "When it thaws on Gromniczna – harvests will be poor". On southern Warmia there was a saying: "When in Gromnica the sun is shining, at least as long as a man gets on a horse, flax will be rich, when it is cloudy, it will not" (because there will be a heat which will burn it). The day of St. Paul the Hermit (15 January) was considered to be the middle of winter. People said: "half of the winter, so half of the bread from sheds is eaten".

Instead of summary

Immaterial heritage in accordance with UNESCO Convention covers above all traditions and verbal transmissions, including language as a medium of intangible cultural heritage but also customs, rituals and ceremonies, also knowledge and practices referring to nature and universe or skills connected with traditional craft and also performing arts. Immaterial heritage of former people of Warmia is only delicately outlined in the text above. A big change of population, which was after 1945, reduced forms of continuing this culture nowadays, however, its attractive and interesting formula gets adapted again by current residents of this land. It happens so thanks to the passion of people who get their knowledge about past Warmia from special literature. Such interests cause us to search people who know more about former local customs and rituals. It happens that we meet direct inheritors of Warmian culture, thanks to whom we can learn about unknown fragments of Warmian heritage.

Nowadays, cultural landscape of Warmia is being created by politicians and officials. For a long time social ideas were implemented. These lands were vulnerable for changes because they were mostly inhabited by new settlers who do not understand a difficult history of the region. Mixing of different ethnical groups as a result of resettlement efforts and internal migration of population led to total disappearance of cultural bonds and a lack of a sense of identity with a new place of residence. Current regional identity of Warmia should be perceived positively. The historical Warmia was dismembered into five counties and administrative borders of its communes do not overlap with the borders of former Warmia, however, we can understand and emphasize cultural differences between Warmia and other traditional societies.

Without activating local communities, the efficient revitalization of village area cannot be imagined. Very often there are quasi participative programs of rebuilding of particular villages, which in reality are only forms of gathering resources by government and non-government activists and which in longer perspective will not have any influence on residents' lives. However, we can still find authentic activities, which are going to discover and spread former values of the local culture. Each of us – residents of this land – is obliged to cultivate the regional tradition. In cultural offer of our region we can meet events, which are similar or even try to cultivate former folk practices. Each of our, even passive, participation is a sign that this culture is still alive.

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Frombork, Archcathedral Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Andrew, the main church of the diocese of Warmia since the Middle Ages, photo made by Iwona Liżewska.



Warmian faces. The settlement and sacral landscape

Settlement landscape

Warmia, otherwise known as the Warmian dominium, is a history land with clearly defined borders, separated by a title of bishop's emolument and given for his secular possession during the conquest of those lands by the Teutonic Order. Warmia's borders were having different shapes over a long time. The first stage was in 1254 during division of conquered territory for two parts: episcopal and order, final solidification of outside borders was in 1375. A territory of Warmia had 4249,09 km² and it endured in that shape and size until the annexation by Prussia in 1772. In 1260, bishop Anselm constituted cathedral chapter of Warmia, giving it a third part of his territory as an endowment. Setting a border of chapter's domain was not immediately possible due to inception of Prussian tribes. The first division for episcopal and chapter parts was made in 1288 by the bishop, Henry Fleming. The final determination of internal borders was approx. in the middle of the 14th century. Warmia was divided into ten districts, each of them had its own urban facility, which was also an administrative-economic center. Three districts were in possession of the chapter and seven were episcopal. And so, in the chapter's part were Frombork, Pieniężno and Olsztyn, and in the bishops' part – Barczewo, Braniewo, Dobre Miasto, Jeziorany, Lidzbark Warmiński, Orneta and Reszel. Numerous chivalry goods, villages and parishes started to rise at the end of the 13th century.

There were two administrators on Warmia, a bishop and a chapter, who dealt with settlement of dominium's areas, founding towns and villages and establishing parishes. Each of them was working on his land independently, they were working together only on lands not divided into episcopal and chapter parts. Regardless of how did they work, they had

similar methods. What is more, settlement action led by bishops and the chapter was very similar to colonization simultaneously led by the Teutonic Order. The bishop and the chapter were importing settlers from different parts of the Reich, very often from areas of their own origins. Significantly, they were also using the Prussian element, which is stressed in the work of Marzena Pollakówna. In the times of tribes, Prussians were divided into two parts: wealthy, the so-called *nobiles*, outstanding with their position, possession and the commonality, who had same rights as *nobiles* but definitely lower social status. In the episcopal principality *nobiles* were blended into feudal societies, who had big estates and judicial privileges, the commonality transformed into free peasants (the so-called *equites*), farming on small areas. After the Second Peace of Thorn (1466) a new wave of settlers from Mazowsze arrived, which coincided with total disappearance of Prussian identity.

The colonization activity fully began after the fall of the second Prussian uprising (1260-1274). In its first stage it was including the northern part of the dominium, which is Braniewo and its vicinity. Along with conquest of new areas, the border was moving towards south. Restocking of new areas was mainly on the area of Prussian settlement fields (lat. *campus, prus, lauks*). On the territory of Warmia, there was approx. 190 Prussian settlement facilities. In the 13th and 14th centuries only 20 Warmian villages were founded from the scratch, the rest – on Prussian fields. Various endowments were given in the first stage of colonization. First villages with Prussian laws were founded by new liege lords, on territories just given to them. Most villages, which were destroyed during Lithuanian's invasions or new wars, were depopulated and completely disappeared or became settled again. If there was a new location, from the beginning of the 14th century, Culm (Chełmińskie) law was a base for its regulations, not Prussian.

Energetic settlement activity was led by bishop Henry Fleming (1279-1300). From his times there are 37 location documents preserved, one of them applies to Braniewo and rest to the great land property. Receivers of privileges were mainly people migrating from Lubeka, hometown of the bishop, including members of his family. And so, chivalry goods in Ełdyty Wielkie (Iłdzbarskie district) were given in 1289 to a sister of bishop and her husband Konrad

Wendepfaffe. Ełdyty as a noble property survived until 1945. They were a property of the Von Hatten family. Until 1400 on Warmia there were approx. 120 such properties, which was similar to the number of noble families in later times. Their sizes were rather 40-60 łans (1 łan = approx. 17 hectare), in special cases more. This fairly large, for Warmia, grants could not be equal to lands of Prussian or Polish gentry. Some of those properties were also given to Prussian *nobiles*. A fact that the bishop of Warmia, Nicolas Tüngen (1470-1489) descended from Tungen family, which progenitor was Prussian Kurthye, is a proof for their quick assimilation and a position which they were achieving. Nicolas Tungen received a property where the river Drwęca connects with Pasłęka. It was called Tungen (today Bogatyńskie) from the name of his son.



Village Tłokowiec/german: Tolksdorf, the first Warmian village founded on the Culm law, on the regular oval plan with the church in the middle of the square and residential and commercial buildings on both roadsides, the German topographic map from 1867, Urmesttischblatt, Blatt 470, cartographic collection Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz/bildarchiv bpk/RE&W.

In the times of tribes, multi-manor settlements (villages made of a few households, not connected to each other, randomly scattered) were forms of development of *lauks* (Prussian settlement units). Fields were farmed in the form of the archaic three-field system on a confused, disordered checkerboard of fields. In the principality of the bishop of Warmia, and even wider, in the whole country of the Teutonic Order, a location of particular towns and settlements was held in accordance with strictly defined rules. Villages on Warmia were located mainly on the Culm or Prussian law, but the second option did not stand for the system accepted by Prussia, it was rather about them. This law respected previous state of ownerships (grants took place on previously resided and developed) and a social status (personal freedom) of Prussians, it also allowed for inheriting by male descendants. In return, they were obliged to hold one equestrian service and to file a symbolic certificate in favor of a superior master, which was a proof for recognizing his superior authority, the so-called *rekognicyjny* (recognition) rent. On Warmia, it was one pound of was and six Culm denarii.

Nevertheless, the most common form of a system of villages on Warmia was the Culm law. The oldest grant on the Culm law was in 1300 and was about the Tolksdorf (Tolkowiec) village in the district of Pieniężno. A village was given to Henry, the son of Bernard, in 1300 by the Warmian chapter. A Henry's duty was to find settlers and organize a village community on terms defined in the location document. Bravery and resourcefulness of a locator was awarded with assets and a privileged position. A locator of the village, Henry, received 60 łans of land in perpetual ownership of his and his successors. Six of those łans were excluded. Four of them were dedicated for the parish, one for a bell-ringer and one for the village community (for buildings and pasturages). The locator received six free łans, a right to perform minor judgments, half of incomes from major judgments, a permission for running a tavern and mill (from the last one, the locator was obliged to pay annual rent equal to the rent of one łans). The rest of that land was free from liabilities for nine years, later, the locator had to hold one armed service and in the day of St. Martin (11 November)

to pay the rent equal to half of the fine for a łans. The location act of Tolkowiec can be recognized as a typical for grants on Warmia and can be referred to other grants on the Culm law on Warmia.



The Prussian village Kloppchen (pol. Chłopki) currently does not exist, with visible, unstructured buildings from the mid-nineteenth century, the German topographic map from 1867, Urmestischblatt, Blatt 399, cartographic collection Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz/bildarchiv bpk/RE&W.


Villages founded on the Prussian law were rather small and contained from 2 to 4 łans. Villages founded on the Culm law were much bigger, they reached similar sizes to properties of chivalry (40-60 łans) but there were exceptions as a village called Henrykowo in the district of Pieniężno. How new economic system reflected on the cultural landscape of Warmia? It was outlined very significantly, transforming current, chaotic landscape from the times of tribes into a regular settlement system of the Warmian bishopric, which survived in its unchanged form until the half of the 19th century, but is also very clear in the space of the region. Spatial systems of villages founded on the Prussian law, held by a bishop or sectioned

from court lands created loosely located homesteads, which was a continuation of multi-manor settlements occurring in the times of tribes. It was so in e.g. villages near to Braniewo, settled at the end of the 18th century. Among the examples are: in the district of Braniewo Chłopki (German Kloppchen), settled in 1290 on the Prussian field Clopien and Trąbki (German Klein Tromp), settled in 1284 on the Prussian field Baldingis. In the district of Pieniężno Kłusity Małe (German Clausitten) settled in 1287 on the Prussian field Grunden and Kiersiny (German Kirschinen) and Posady (German Palten) both settled in 1284, on the Prussian field Possedeat Suriti.



Villages founded on the Culm law had regular system, the most often owalnica (oval), sometimes ulicówki (linear). Owalnica is a village in which buildings were concentrated around roads enlacing an extended oval place which was a center of a village, used jointly by a whole village. Usually on place there was a watercourse or a water tank, people were building on it the most important buildings in a village, a church, a tavern, it was also serving as a shelter and place of moisture for cattle. The roads enlacing the place were connecting to each other on the edges of a village, where they were closed by gates. Widlica is considered to be a modified owalnica system. Widlica is a system with a place and buildings concentrated around roads enlacing this place. Such roads go out of one edge, split with an acute angle and at the end of





 Two villages near Barniewo – Zakrzewiec (german Vogelsang) and Marcinkowo (german Martinsdorf) – the first on the plan of the owalnica (oval), the second on the plan of ulicówka (linear); the German topographic map from 1867, Urmesttischblatt, Blatt 399, cartographic collection Staatsbibliothekzu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz/bildarchiv bpk/RE&W.

the second edge do not meet but are connected with a transverse road. The linear settlement mentioned above was appearing during the next colonization stages, especially after the Second Peace of Thorn. It was a system, in which buildings were concentrated on the both sides of village's road, or only one, if it was a village by the lake. [the map with the owalnica system – from Ur-Messtischblat, e.g. Vogelsank (Zakrzewiec)]. with the Linear Settlement System – from Ur-Messtischblat]

In both types of villages – on the Prussian and on the Culm rights, there was a regular division of lands and system of homesteads. Habitat lands for all settlers were similar, they had a shape of an extended rectangle, in front of which there was a residence, situated with peak towards the road, walls of courtyard were closed by outbuildings in numbers from one to three. Fields were divided into narrow and long areas. In Henrykowo they had up to 5 kilometers of length with 10-15 meters of width. For the needs of three-field farming system, arable lands were divided into three parts. One of them was made for spring farming, a second one for winter farming and a third one was left as a fallow, on which cattle and horses were grazed. Forests, meadows and pastures were a property of a community. There is not much to tell about buildings of those times, except for the fact that they were wooden. The description of a village form 16th century, which is present in the work on Polish history by Martin Kromer – the bishop of Warmia, tells also about Prussian lands: "almost every village is situated at a lake, river, stream (...) houses in them are made of wood or clay, they are pitiful, low, covered by straw, sometimes wood (...) peasants during the winter after igniting fire in their houses, live with swine, cattle and other animals and domestic fowls among contagious smell and smoke. (...) Peasants' ovens were often smoky and without fireplaces, without heating of residences, for boiling meals and baking breads, their houses full of geese, ducks, chickens with nestlings, sheep, goats, fawns and piglets for protection from freezing cold".

A basic type of farming on Warmia was done by peasants. Assets of nobles and folwarks of church were addition to that. On Warmia there was no large chivalry estates as on the other areas of the Teutonic Order. In the beginning, a size of assets was averagely 40-60 łans, from which very often a village was separated as an individual farming unit. In 1290 Szyleny in Braniewo district were settled on 60 łans. An owner founded a village on 40 łans and on the rest (20 łans) his own property, which over time took a name Bemowizna. Summer residences of Warmian bishops with a folwark and bestiary in Smolajny and a folwark, bestiary and stud in Samulewo. The most known – Smolajny – were settled in 1290 by the Warmian bishop – Henry Fleming on 32 łans as a folwark of bishop, and from 1350 they had a status of a summer residence of Warmian bishops. During the reign of Adam Stanisław Grabowski a baroque palace was built in Smolajny. Its building was finished in 1761. In 1765 on the eastern side of the palace, a gate tower, which separated the representative part from the farming one. The meaning and a high significance was given to the residence by a transformation of baroque gardens into a vast landscape setting. It happened from an inspiration of the bishop Ignacy Krasicki. Bishop's folwark in Samulewo and, from the 17th century also summer residence of Warmian bishops, had a similar function and not much smaller significance. The first mentions about this residence are about modrzewiowy dwór (larch court) built by a Warmian bishop – Wacław Leszczyński. Stone palace with timbered publishing houses was built in 1723 by a bishop Teodor Potocki. There were baroque gardens around the residence, later – similarly to Smolajny – transformed into a landscape park.



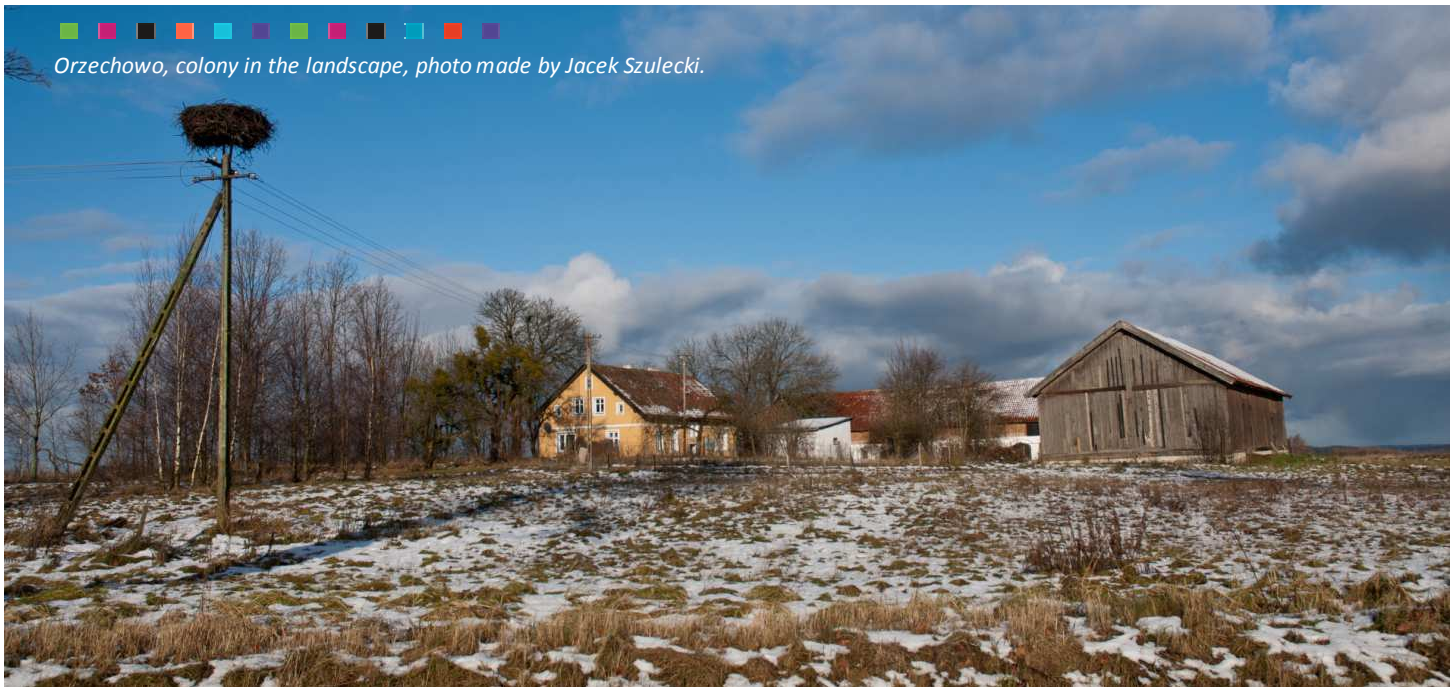
Smolajny, bishop's palace, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.

Except for the mentioned residences there were also bishop's folwarks given in ancestral lease. Among them there were e.g. two from near Reszel – Ramty and Robawy. A folwark in Robawy was built on the ground part of the Robawy village at the end of the 16th century. Settled on 16 łans, given in ancestral lease to a noble Markuszewski family. The family members were renting it until the first partition of Poland (1772). It was given to the national treasure and leased to other owners after confiscating church goods by Prussia. There is also an interesting story, which is connected with Robawy. The story is about a chapel founded by Walenty Markuszewki, the tenant of the folwark. After death of his wife, he founded a small chapel in 1614 by the road to Święta Lipka. In that chapel in 1618 a votive picture (showing The Crucified One and saints: Walenty and Anna kneeling at his feet) was placed. The chapel became a very important place for pilgrims coming to Reszel and Święta Lipka. After collapse of the building, in 1733 from the donations of pilgrims a new chapel was build and expanded in 1929.

On Warmia there were also noble assets. As it is mentioned above, they were not as big or significant as Prussian estates. In the 18th century on Warmia there was approximately 120 noble families and probably the same number of residences. The most outstanding were baroque residents with regular gardens in Lipowina, Mołdyty, Bażyny, Bogatyńskie. They were built very often using the walls of former quarters. They were also examples of a successful reception of the most recent, European trends. In the 19th century, gardens were transformed into naturalistic

parks with a loose composition and visual links with a vast landscape. Four mentioned places do not have such features today. The quarters are ruins (Lipowina), totally distorted (Mołdyty), or their surroundings are degraded (Bażyny, Bogatyńskie). Except for big mansions there was also a number of smaller estate-park places, today this group is dominated by objects from the 19th century in eclectic forms.

The settlement landscape of Warmia formed in the Middle Ages survived in its primal form until the 19th century. In the second half of that century there were significant changes. We can find the causes for this in agrarian reforms, new methods of farming and in communication changes. The biggest influence on the economic situation had: the enfranchisement of peasants (1810) and separation and komasacja (merging) of grounds (1840-1860). The enfranchisement, which was connected with necessity of purchasing grounds, was attractive and possible for a group of wealthy landlords. Acquisition of full rights – individual freedoms and property rights allowed people to be independent from their superior masters and to establish their own positions, assets and free trades of grounds. It led to slight division of village people into two groups: wealthy and economically strong landlords, the so-called Warmian gbury and significantly poorer social layer of owners of small farms, poor people and workers. The second reform, separunek – as it was called by Warmian people, liquidated system of komasacja and separation of fields into smaller areas. In that way, new, compact areas appeared in the neighborhood of villages, very often with a steading located outside of a village, the so-called colony. That new division of grounds led to



Orzechowo, colony in the landscape, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.

slight changes in an open landscape, appearance of numerous individual, attractively located dwellings around a village. In truth, individual dwellings located near to villages were present on maps from between the 18th and 19th centuries, however, they became common from the middle of the 19th century. They were usually founded on a squared plan with a loose arrangement of buildings, with big orchards and pastures directly in the neighbor of a house and big outhouses. It is worth mentioning that they were usually households of rich farmers, which was reflected in a scale and form of buildings.

Next changes in open landscape took place in the first half of the 20th century. New systems and architectonic forms appeared referring to numerous subdivisions of properties, which took part at the end of the 19th century or at the beginning of the 20th century (many landlords continued a traditional model of life and almost feudal economy, they could not adapt themselves to reality of capitalism. Around villages there were settlements of regularly arranged houses with similar forms of building. Usually, they were houses built on plans of an extended rectangle, containing in one building residential and service part (which was often shingled with planks). In those buildings, flat roofs were introduced, which destroyed a traditional order. In that way, a new spatial system of a settlement, homestead and new architectonic form appeared. There are not many examples of it on Warmia but some of them are: estates from the 30's of the 20th century around Leginy in the Reszel municipality and Grądek in the Dywity municipality. In 20's and 30's of the 20th century in towns and villages there were the so-called Siedlungi – little estates of small houses, always creating a regular spatial system. It could be a small estate for workers near to a brickyard, sawmill or other production building, located in open space (Parleza Wielka, Mnichowo) or extension of an existing rural system of an expanding village. Those houses, dedicated for workers of village production buildings (a brickyard, a sawmill), farmers or – after the first world war – veterans or war widows. They were modest in form and scale, and also based on categorized projects.

Little changes in village's arrangement, were evolutionary and did not change it revolutionary. Dirt roads built in the 19th century in Prussia were often regulated and their courses were corrected. In villages with the owałnica system, very often from two roads surrounding interior place, one became more significant and the other became an interior road. Gates closing an entrance and exit of villages disappeared. Those places were often emphasized by sections of roads planted with precious species of trees, very often they were chestnuts, but not only. A spatial system of a village did not change significantly. A regular arrangement of parcels and an arrangement of an estate with a house in front and buildings around a yard remained unchanged. A place in the middle of a village had still an important role but it was not a property of a community anymore.



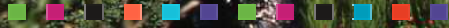
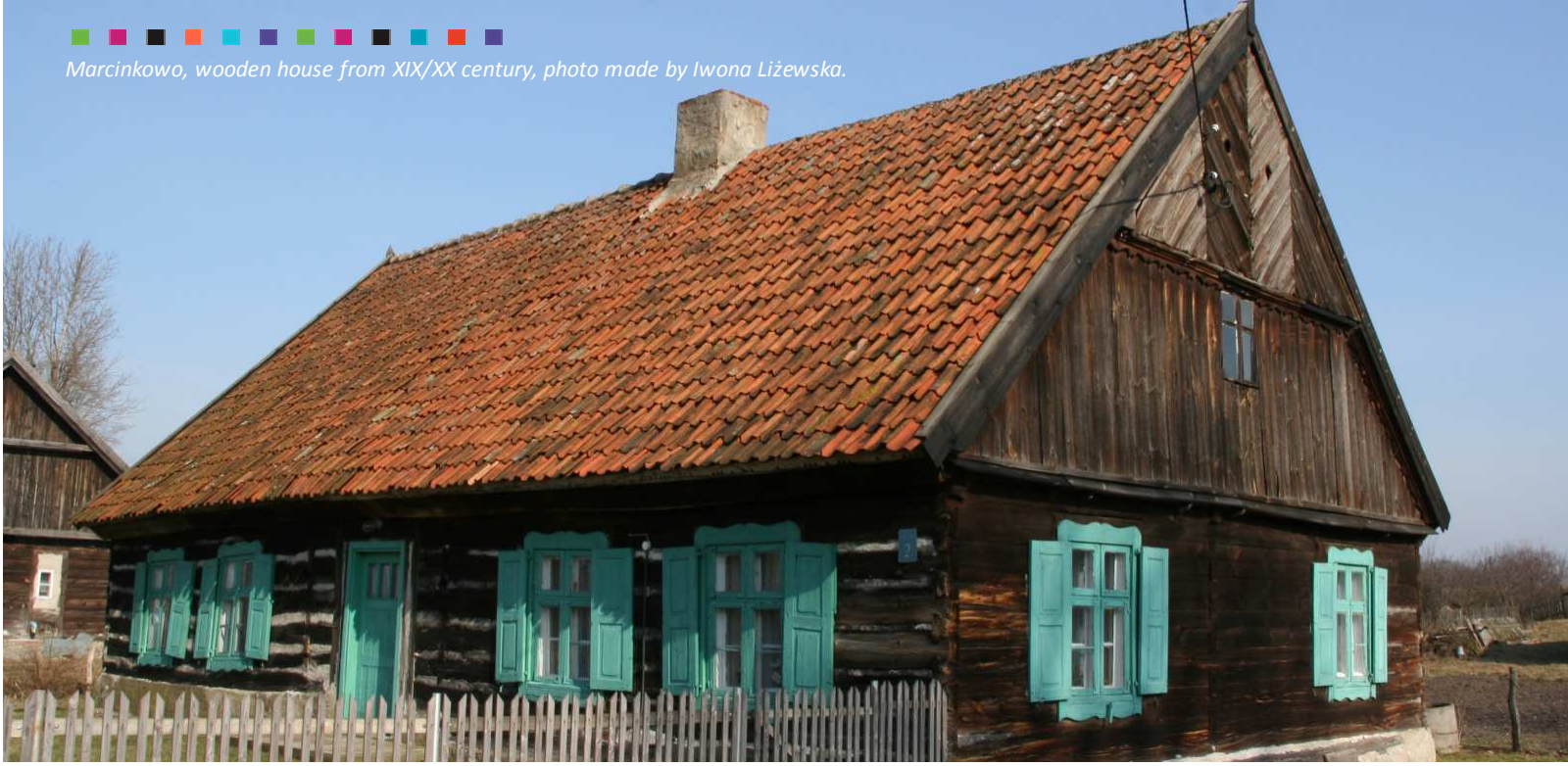
Parleża Wielka, workers' housing estate from the 1930s built on an owalnica (oval) plan, with a square

It could lead to transformations of its interior, new ownership division and implementing of a new type of buildings. A community character was emphasized by a common spaces used by a whole village, marked in cadastral maps. Former fields were preserved as narrow parcels in the back of a homestead, as grounds exploited for the needs of a house, meadows or pastures.

Significant changes were in village's building. Until the middle of the 19th century a wooden construction was popular. Timber buildings with gable roofs, covered with thatch or cane were constructed. A black kitchen with an open hearth was a central point. Other rooms were concentrated around it. Fire regulations introduced in the 19th century by the Prussian State banned building of houses and covering their roofs with flammable materials. Wooden houses were built until the beginning of the 20th century (on Warmia – especially in its southern part), in the second half of the 19th century, brick construction replaced wooden construction. New buildings were raised from ceramic bricks or plastered. They were strongly differentiated in their cubage and decorations. A basic type was a single-story house, made from red bricks or plastered, usually with a usable attic, built on a plan of an extended rectangle, covered with a gable roof. In a basic variation forms were simple and repetitive, with not many details. A main entrance was in a longitudinal wall, it could be introduced by a porch or stairs. In this composition there was a rule



Marcinkowo, wooden house from XIX/XX century, photo made by Iwona Liżewska.



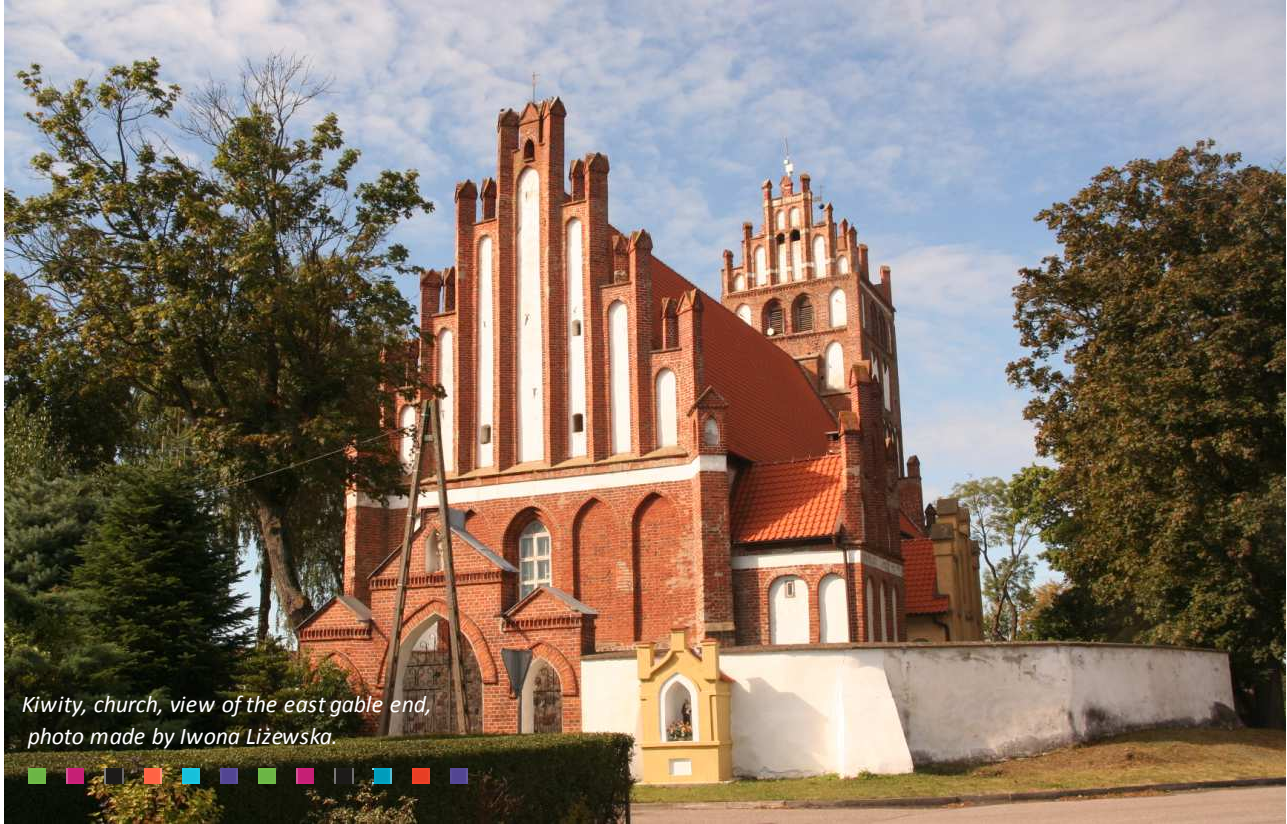
Gietrzwałd, a typical house made of red facing brick, view from the garden, photo made by Iwona Liżewska.

of axes, usually in a front elevation there were two windows on both sides of a door (main axis of a building). That basic type could undergo many modifications. Different materials were mixed (e.g. bricks with plaster, bricks with normal sinter with strongly burnt burrs, arranged in different patterns). A lump of a house was enriched in risalits, extensions, bay windows or porches. It is worth mentioning that outhouses very often had decorative forms. Roofs covering also changed, from thatch to ceramic roof tiles, usually S-shaped. There appeared new buildings, or those new only in forms, continuing traditional functions, or those with completely new functions, e.g. village schools, posts, fire stations, forges, taverns. Red roofs and red or bright grey walls started to dominate in the panorama.



A church village – Kiwity in the Lidzbarski district can be an example used to describe considerations above. Its history, spatial system and building can be recognized as a

representative for Warmia. In 1308, Gerard von der Mul received from the hands of the Warmian bishop Eberhard from Nysa, a privilege to found a tavern and run a mill on a Prussian settlement field called Kibiten. 21 December 1319, the very same bishop from Nysa issued a location act on the Culm law for the Kiwity village. Gerkode Kiwitten, the son of Gerard mentioned above, was the locator of that land. The locator received 6 units free from charges, had personal freedom and a right to inherit. 1 village unit was sectioned off for the common needs of a municipality, for 23 settlement units there were two years of wolnizna (rent free period), and after that a rent, which was gradually increasing until the half of a fine annually. In 1361, Jan Styprock, the bishop, certified giving 10 units of a forest (annual rent – half of a fine for each unit) to a village. Also in 1319, the parish in Kiwity was mentioned for the first time, because it received 4 łans of a land. A parson received a tithe – a korzec (a volume unit) of rye and a korzec of oat from each plough. 2 January 1682, the bishop Michał Radziejowski gave a privilege to a second tavern (at least until the half of the 20th century in the village there were two taverns, localized probably in a place of historic taverns). In 20's of the 14th century there was a church, probably wooden. The current, Gothic building, built as a typical Warmian temple, was founded in the third quarter of the 14th century, the tower – a little bit later. [photo 12] The village was destroyed many times by Lithuanian raids (until the Treaty of Krewo, 1386), by Polish-Teuronic wars (until the Treaty of Kraków, 1525), by Swedish army in the second half of the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th centuries, finally during the Napoleonic wars by the tsar's army. At the end of the 17th century, the village was having 45 łans, including: 7 municipal łans, 4 church łans, 1 ½ gracjalne łans, 31 ½ rental łans and 1 village łan. At the beginning of the 19th century it was inhabited by 278 people and had 43 houses. In the 19th century after land reforms, a new network of big farms (with loose building, new roads and infrastructure elements) was built around the locality. In 1873 in Kiwity post agency was founded, and one year later municipal office. In 1885 a telegraph was set in the village. In 1905 Cooperative Dairy of Lidzbark in Kiwity and a dairy in which tyłżycki cheese was produced (its reputation was far beyond Warmia's borders) were founded. In the very same year a railroad Orneta-Kętrzyn was launched. The railway station was built on grounds of the Rokitnik village because farmers did not give their permission for its building on the fields of Kiwity. Before 1945, the Kiwity village was electrified, there was a church, school, nursing home, post, telegraph, saving bank, fire department, gendarmerie station, dairy, mill, two guesthouses, textile and food shops. In 1936 it was inhabited by 483 residents, including 10 landlords called the bauers, several dozen farmers, the significant number of rentiers. There was also a big amount of people dealing with services and crafting, among them a teacher, nurse, two smiths, three tailors for men and two tailors for women, butcher, wheelwright, shoemaker, teacher, one electrician and one electricity mechanic, lineman.



The Kiwity village was founded on a plan of *owalnica*, with a wide place inside and compact residential and economic building around it. In the western part of the village's place there was a brick, Gothic church, in the middle part – a village pond and tavern. Roads surrounding the place were connected at the end of a western and eastern side of the village. After agrarian reforms in the 19th century, the arrangement of *owalnica* and building focused around, was preserved. The village road leading from Lidzbark Warmiński to Wozławki and farther to Bisztynk, was located at the northern part of *owalnica*. After the hardening it became the main tract leading through the village, so the road around the southern part of *owalnica* was marginalized. In that way, the plan of the *owalnica* was slightly erased. At the entrance and exit there were crossroads toward Lidzbark Warmiński and Stoczek on the western edge and Wozławki, the Mirosław property, village Połapin and Bartniki. To the north of the village, there was a railway (railway Orneta – Sątopy – Samulewo launched in 1905) with the railway station in the neighboring village – Rokitnik.

A parish graveyard was established by the road leading to Lidzbark Warmiński. The graveyard was moved from churchyard in the second half of the 19th century. Building plots were big, mostly with areas comparable to residence buildings from the side of the place and big usable gardens in the back; on parcels in the southern part of the village, behind gardens there were meadows bordering with a river. In the western part of the village there was a plebeian homestead with a big yard and a garden. There was a few colony steadings; however, the spatial development of the village was set by buildings along the roads leading towards the south and north, on the east side of Kiwity. There were rather small settlement parcels, probably for farmers and crafters living in the village. In the southern part of the village there was a watermill over the river (which later became a steam mill), an impressive residence and a new school.



Tłokowo, gothic parish church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, view of the east gable end, photo made by Iwona Liżewska.

In a compact buildings of the village there were two kinds of homesteads. The first one was a steadings with a spacious yard, residence, usable garden and big outhouses (livestock buildings and warehouses). The second kind is a homestead on smaller parcels, with a residence, garden and a small subsidiary building. Presbyteries near to the church had different and individual character. They consisted of: representative-residential part with a presbytery, curate's lodging, ramp and spacious usable-decorative garden and an economic part with a big yard surrounded by outhouses. In colonies there were two kinds of homesteads. The first one – big steadings built on a square-like plan, with a house and a garden adjacent to it from the outside and three or more outhouses creating walls of a yard with additional buildings situated in the area of the yard or outside of the buildings. The second type – not big homesteads founded on a plan of an extended rectangle, with a house, not big garden and one or two economic buildings.

We can mention the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, when it comes to the village's buildings. This state survived until the 70's and 80's of the 20th century and was documented on address cards located in the Department of Monument Protection in Olsztyn. Basing on this we can deduct that it was a building mostly constructed from stone, plastered in some part mixed or wooden (the last thing regards only economic buildings), buildings were founded on a plan of an extended rectangle, covered with gable roofs with ceramic roof tiles. The dominating type was a one-story building with an elbow wall, sometimes with decorations and architectonic details on elevations. Moreover, there was also a big group of houses with a smaller cubature, lower, only with a ground floor without any details. There were also multi-family buildings (with a usable attic, two-story) untypical for village architecture. The presbytery, mill and, naturally, the Gothic church with its surrounding had individual solutions.

A big part of historic values of the village has survived until today. From all access roads, a panorama of the locality is well visible. In a silhouette of the village there is a dominating massive lump of the church with a big tower, visible from distant places, from the closer perspective it is exhibited surrounded by a homogenous village development. A historical owałnica spatial arrangement of access roads and roads inside of the village, arrangement of extended settlement parcels adjacent to owałnica's roads, line of buildings, historical system of small steadings located along the southern road of owałnica and in the eastern part of the village has been preserved until today. In the western part of village, there is a spacious system of a presbytery with a presbytery, former curate's lodging, park and yard with outhouses, which have been maintained until today. Arrangement and system of colony steadings is well preserved. The historical buildings of the village were transformed more or less. A big part of buildings' lumps and roofs' silhouettes is

preserved and some residents were expanded. There are also original roof covers from ceramic tiles and some roofs covered with steel tiles or eternit (fibre cement). In many residences there are big defects in decorations and architectonic details. Replacing windows and doors with their modern versions and warming houses with the foamed polystyrene are also very popular things. In outhouses, the materials and details are almost fully maintained.

There were new geodesy divisions of parcels in the southern part of the village, changing their shapes and sizes. Another thing which was transformed is a spatial arrangement of big steadings in the northern part of the village. A group of the mill and the miller's house is barely readable. A historical division occurs on the area of the new estate by the road to Bartnik; nowadays, a big part of the central place has been developed, liquidating former passages, open spaces and a pond, and implementing new buildings in that place. An alley of trees along the road was saved only out of the village. The rest (inside of the village) was destroyed.

Sacral Landscape

Gothic churches are a part of the landscape of Catholic Warmia. Their silhouettes seen from distant places were and still are significantly dominative in the village's panorama. They were built from red outer bricks, oriented (presbytery on the east side), single-spatial, with straightly finished presbytery and a tower added from the west side. The Gothic structure and details were co-existing with a baroque interior arrangement. At the beginning of the 19th century (1811) on Warmia there were probably 63 temples. Most of them were from the Middle Ages. Good examples of them are parish churches in: Kiwity, Nowy Kawków, Sątopy, Tłokowo, Unikowo, Wozławki, Wrzesina. In their durable Gothic structure they have survived until today. [photo 14] In the 19th century there was a second wave of churches' building. Usually, they were constructions with neo-Gothic forms, which was not only visually attractive but also it was a reflection of commonly applied then architectonic trend and also aware appeal to the Warmian sacral architecture. The best examples of such buildings are churches in Biesowo, Dywity, Klebark Wielki and Kobyły. The second characteristic occurrence in the sacral architecture of the 19th century was expansion or even rebuilding of Warmian churches. The simplest expansion was to add a semicircular or multilateral presbytery from the east side, which was enlarging the interior of a church significantly. It also happened, that builders were interfering the structure of a building much deeper. Naves was widened, transverse arms were infixed, lumps were changed through more complex systems. The examples of such expansions are parish churches in: Kolno, Purda,

Rogiedle. The architect from Królewiec – Fritz Heitmann – was the master in this area. He connected and transformed traditional solutions with his own ideas in a very skillful way. Realizations in Jonkowo and Sząbruk are one of the most surprising but successful projects.

Pilgrim sanctuaries and chapels are trademarks of Warmia. The most important pilgrim churches on Warmia are: nine groups of modern churches (Bisztynek, Braniewo – Holy Cross, Chwałęcín, Glotowo, Krosno, Międzylesie Lidzbarskie, Stoczek Klasztorny, Święta Lipka, Tłokowo – Św. Roch) and one from the 19th century (Gietrzwałd). They are proofs for devotion of Warmian people, for intensified pilgrimage movement and also outstanding pieces of architecture and art. Usually they were places of cult back in the Middle Ages. They were constructed as acts of compensation for disrespecting the Host or crucifix (Międzylesie), in places of miracles or apparitions (Braniewo, Biszynek, Gietrzwałd, Glotowo, Krosno, Święta Lipka), begging or thanksgiving acts (Stoczek Klasztorny, Tłokowo). They were concentrated in the middle part of Warmia, near to Dobre Miasto, Lidzbark Warmiński, Orneta and Reszel. However, small area of Warmia and the number of sanctuaries allowed practically every Warmian resident to participate in pilgrimages and important festivals, travelling only short distances.

The biggest, the most famous, and in the same time one of the most beautiful Marian sanctuary in Poland is Święta Lipka. The cult of the Mother of God was present there long before founding of the sanctuary. In accordance with the tradition, it began from the 13th century, confirmed for the first time in 1473. The cult was connected with a miraculous figure of the Mother of God, sculpted by a prisoner, whose faults were forgiven after making the sculpture. According to tradition, the figure placed by him on a tree by the way Kętrzyn – Reszel, was famous for numerous miracles and started to gather crowds of pilgrims. Albrecht von Hohenzollern – the last great master of the Teutonic Order was also travelling to Święta Lipka in 1519 in the company of the bishop of Sambia – Jerzy Polentz. The very same person – Albrecht von Hohenzollern, later, as a secular prince banned the cult in Święta Lipka, ordered to destroy the chapel and, to scare the pilgrims away, ordered to build gallows. It does not stop the pilgrimage movement; however, the movement was probably slowed down. The official restitution of this cult, along with building of another chapel, was at the beginning of the 17th century, when Stefan Sadorski, the secretary of the king Zygmunt III Waza and the owner of few properties on the Prussian lands, was buying grounds (piece after piece) in Święta Lipka from Otto von der Groeben in 1617-1619. Having the support of the Polish king and the pope, he founded a new chapel, consecrated in 1621. Care for it was entrusted to the Jesuits. Święta Lipka, which was growing on popularity, became a place of pilgrimages, not only



*Święta Lipka, the biggest and most famous of the Marian sanctuary of Warmia,
photo made by Iwona Liżewska.*



from Warmia and not only Catholics. Pilgrimages from Poland but also Protestants from towns and villages in the area were travelling to Święta Lipka. On the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, a baroque sanctuary made of a basilica church was made (1687-1693; finishing of the façade – 1725, copulas of towers 1725-1729), quadrangle of the arcade, open galleries with chapels in the corners (1694-1708) and a religious house (1695-1698), folwark and baroque gardens. The author of the project is unknown. Jerzy Ertla from Tyrol, mentioned in previous coverages, was a builder of the temple until 1692, when he broke the contract with the Jesuits for unknown reasons. Illusionistic polychrome was made by one of the most outstanding Warmian painters – Jan Maciej Meyer from Lidzbark Warmiński. Homogenous equipment of the interior is a work of two men from Królewiec – firstly it was made by Jan Krzysztof Döbel, later by Krzysztof Peucker. The main altar was made in his workshop. This piece of art, the most beautiful Marian sanctuary on Warmia became a model for other churches and pilgrimage assumptions. Spatial type of a church surrounded with arcade galleries, with squared chapels in the corners was realized in few



Krosno, a baroque pilgrimage church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, photo made by Iwona Liżewska.

pilgrimage sanctuaries on Warmia. Three-story setting, which was made in the workshop of Krzysztof Peucker, was a starting point for development of altar forms on Warmia.

Under the significant influence of Święta Lipka, a Marian Sanctuary in Krosno near to Orneta was constructed. Similarities are so visible that Krosno is very often called "Small Święta Lipka". The Marian cult connected with finding a Marian figure in the grace-working river was present in Krosno from the end of the 16th century. The first wooden chapel was built in 1593 by the owner of the village – Jakub Barcz from Braniewo. The baroque church, which was built under the strong influence of Święta Lipka, was erected in years 1715-1720 from the initiative of Kacper Simonis, the archpriest from Orneta. Jan Krzysztof Reimers, a convert from Westphalia, who realized anonymous project from Warsaw, was the builder of the church. A façade of the church was finished in 1760. It had a volute top and two towers on sides. Although it is more stocky than climbing to the top, the facade is a direct appeal to the façade in Święta Lipka. In the 20's of the 18th century, on the northern side of the church there was a three-wing house for retired priests

and beautiful bypass with corner chapels. In that way, a spatial program, which was a result of Święta Lipka's impact was realized. Interior with homogenous character, with the equipment coming from the workshop of Krzysztof Peucker, is also a continuation of the work which was begun in Święta Lipka.

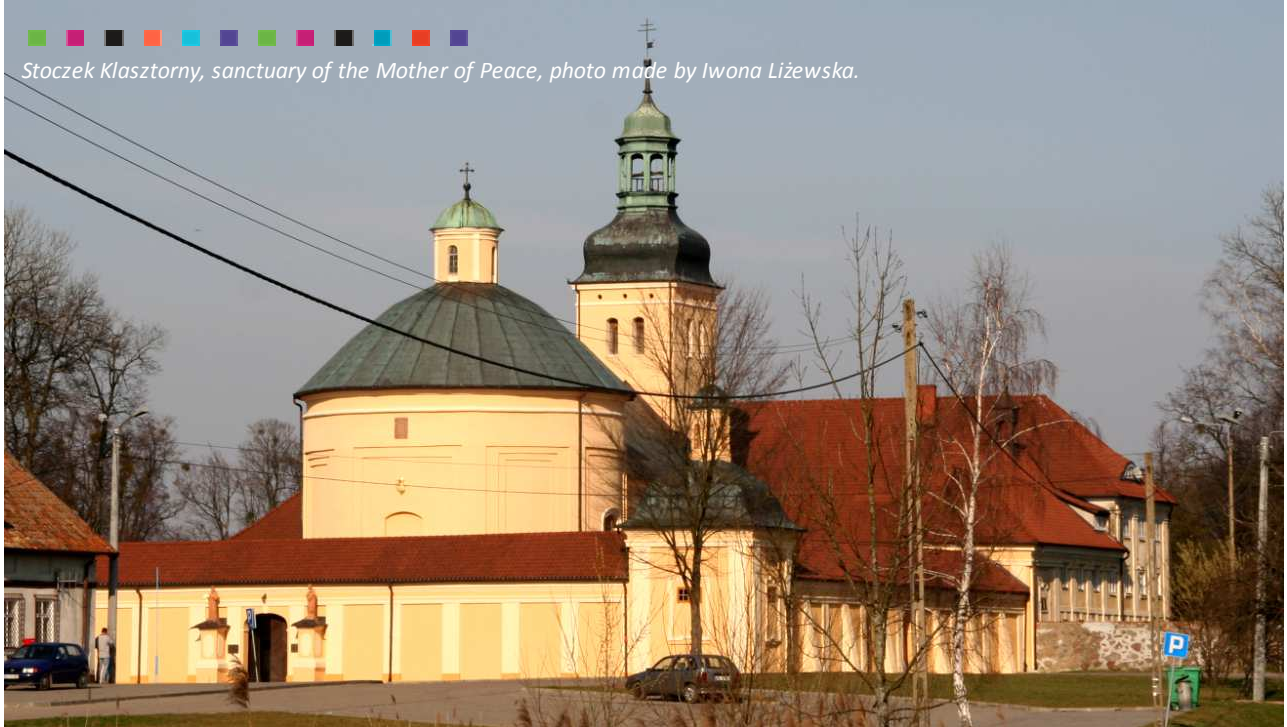
Another sanctuaries in which we can find strong influence of Święta Lipka are Międzylesie and Chwałęcín. In Międzylesie Lidzbarskie, a church was built as a compensation for disrespecting of crucifix, which was in 1713. The first chapel was built in 1722-1723 from the foundation of the bishop Teodor Potocki. The current building was erected in years 1752-1753. A bypass, which was reduced to corner chapels connected with a wall, is presented by a simplified variation of Święta Lipka. In Chwałęcín, from the 16th century (at least) a black crucifix, which was pulled out of the Wąsza river, had a status of cult. In the beginning it was placed in the chapel (the second half of the 16th century), in the 17th century another chapel was built and in the years 1718-1725 the current church of the Ascension was raised. Probably according to projects by Jan Krzysztof Reimers. Inside, there is a hall covered with an apparent groin vault with sectors and a late-baroque, illusionistic polychrome (1748-1749) with the scenes from the legend about the Holy Cross, made by Jan Lossau from Braniewo. Decorations built in the 19th century (1820-1836) are the most recent reception of the Święta Lipka's pattern. This reception; however, is a proof for its durability.

The sanctuary of the Mother of Peace in Stoczek Klasztorny is very special. Early-baroque rotunda was erected from foundation of the Warmian bishop, Mikołaj Szyszkowski, in years 1639-1641 as a thanksgiving vote for ending wars with Sweden. In the main altar, there is a picture of the Mother of God brought in 1643 by the bishop Mikołaj Szyszkowski. This picture is a copy of the well-known image "Salus Populi Romani" from the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Near to the church, there were monks from the Bernardine Order, brought from Barczewo, who were using the monastery and were taking care of the sanctuary until the annihilation of the religious order in Prussia (1818). In years 1708-1714, the church was expanded by adding three-bay presbytery, in accordance with the pattern of very popular Święta Lipka it was surrounded with galleries with chapels on their corners. The sanctuary of the Mother of Peace in Stoczek Klasztorny had one more important episode in the history. In years 1953-1954 it was a place of prisoning the cardinal Stefan Wyszyński.

An interesting example is the church of St. Roch placed lonely in the field between Tłokowo and Kramarzewo. On the place of the chapel mentioned before, a new church was built in the middle



Stoczek Klasztorny, sanctuary of the Mother of Peace, photo made by Iwona Liżewska.



of the 18th century, and extended in the second half of the 19th century. In fact, the chapel, which was standing on the place of the current church, was referring to the cult of the Blessed Sacrament.

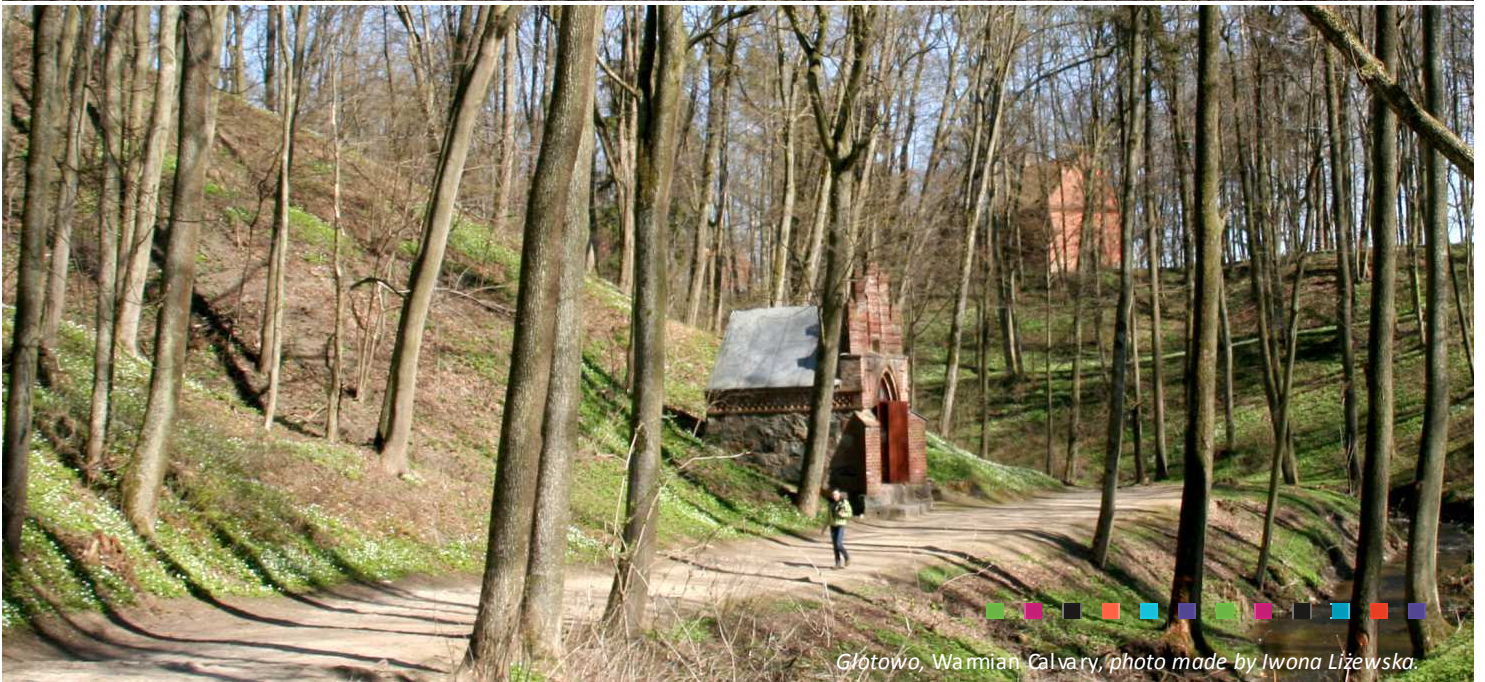
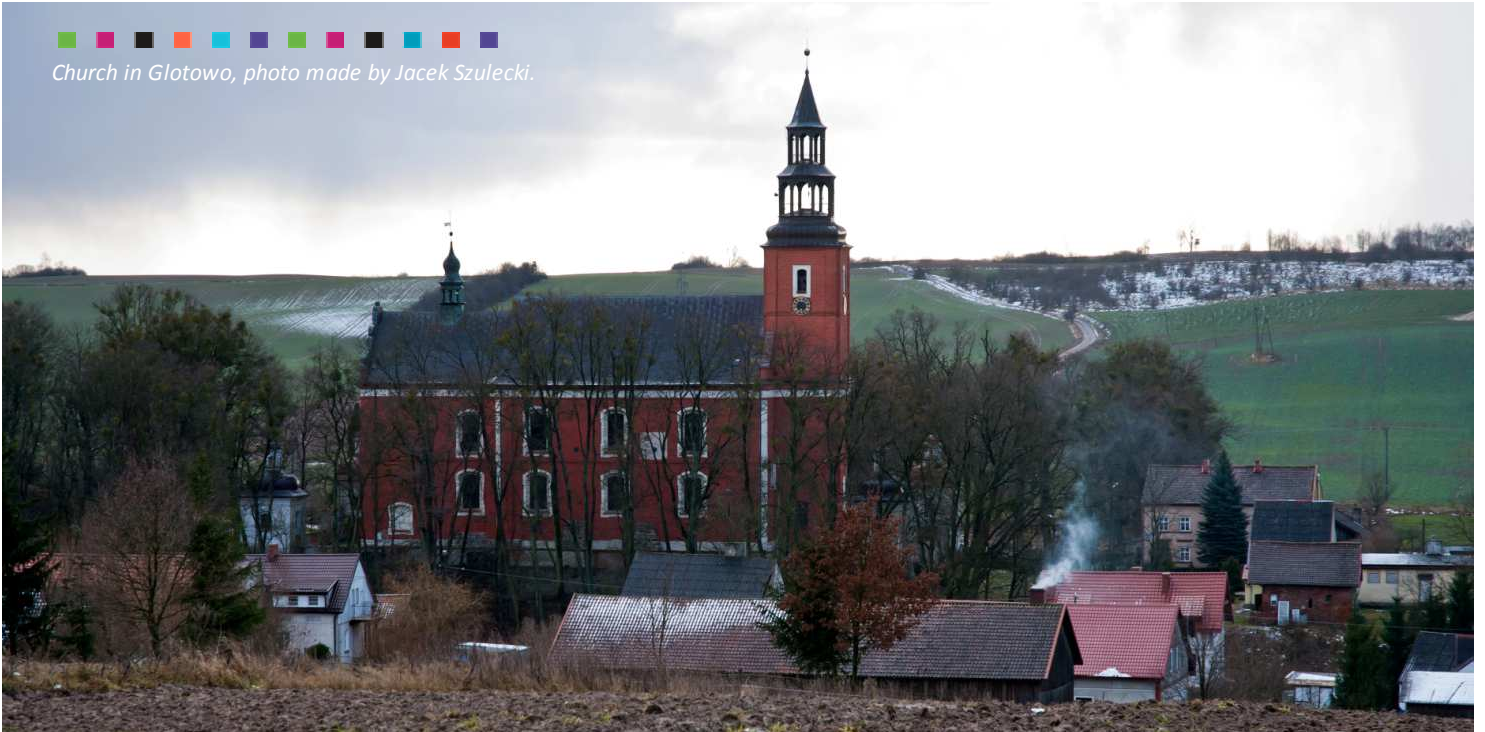
Pilgrims visited it since the 16th century. Along with the beginning of the 18th century, especially during the great plague (1709-1710) this cult started to change into begging and thanksgiving acts directed to the patron of infected – St. Roch. In that way, the one of a kind Warmian pilgrimage place appeared. It was unique thanks to its localization and patron.

The Marian Sanctuary in Gietrzwałd, which was built due to the Marian apparitions in 1877, is a special location. It is the only recognized place of apparitions in Poland and it deserves much more attention than it already has. In the 19th and 20th centuries people were travelling to Gietrzwałd not only from Warmia but from whole Poland. A need of expansion of the small parish church (built at the end of the 16th century) appeared due to the increased pilgrimage movement. According to projects by Arnold Guldenpfennig from Padeborn, a deep presbytery and nave (built in transept) were added to the church. In that way, a monumental building on a plan of Latin cross with a presbytery closed by three apses. The group consists of: the church, a religious house, a

manse and an extensive area involving a miraculous spring, stations of the Cross and a parish graveyard. Not each of these buildings is historical.



Church in Glotowo, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.



Glótwo, Wamian Calvary, photo made by Iwona Liżewska.

The sanctuary of the Blessed Sacrament in Glotowo was built in the place, which was a target of pilgrimages from the Middle Ages. The Host, which according to the tradition was supposed to be found by local ploughmen, had a cult status. To celebrate this unusual fact, people built the church dedicated to Corpus Christi. The pilgrimage movement was so big, that in years 1722-1726 the temple was built and surrounded by chapels in the corners (similarly to the one in Święta Lipka). The thing which makes Glotowo unique is the Warmian Calvary, built in years 1878-1894 from the initiative of Jan Merten, the resident of Glowo. After his returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1860, Merten tried to transfer at least a part of his experiences in Jerusalem to local grounds. He bought from his neighbors 7 hectares of grounds, which he donated to the Church. The purpose of these grounds was to recreate the Christ's Passion scenery. In a partly artificially formed ravine, along a scribed, twisting road there were 14 chapels of the Christ's passion. The chapels, which were made from face bricks had different forms and details, but similar stylistics, referring to the Gothic tradition of sacral buildings. In recesses or interiors of chapels, there were figural presentations, consisting of characters and/or sculptural groups, which were provided by a facility of the sacral art of Franz Mayer from Munich. The Calvary became an important element of religious experiences of Warmian people, and an important part of pilgrimage roads on Warmia. It was a very interesting architectonic, sculpture and engineering work, but also a great spatial composition with naturalistically shaped interiors and a lump which was a part of the Warmian landscape.

Chapels became a characteristic of the sacral landscape of Warmia. They can be met almost everywhere. Near to roads, crossroads, gardens, yards, in forests and fields. They were built by roads as a sign of the God's presence, setting the pilgrimages' routes. When they were built near to crossroads or borders of Warmia, they were symbols of protection from evil powers. When they were in the center of a village, on the main place or crossroad, sometimes neighboring with a church or in areas of private properties, they were one of the most important elements of spatial arrangement of a village. It was planted with high trees or shrubs, they had important function in an open landscape. Their numbers were differentiated. The most often it was from 1 to 5, but also frequently from 6 to 10 (e.g. Brąswałd, Barczewko, Dywity, Jonkowo, Lechowo, Nowe Włóki, Osetnik, Paluzy, Sętań, Wegajty, Wilczkowo, Woryty, Wozławki), and sometimes even more than ten (e.g. Bażyny, Franknowo). By the chapels, there were May and June devotions, people sometimes stopped near to them for a prayer during łosiera, in October they were praying the Rosary. During the Corpus Christi they were festively decorated and had function of altars during the procession. It concerned not only the ones in the area of churchyard (Grzęda, Kwiecewo, Krekole, Sętań) but also the ones situated in a village or its surroundings (for instance Dywity or

Stoczek, where this tradition survived the second world war). Many chapels were raised with a request or as a thanksgiving vote. By founding a chapel, people were begging for removal of cataclysms, epidemics and disasters. Chapels were dedicated to St. Roch – the patron protecting from plagues. People used a traditional supplication: "From air, hunger, fire and war – save us, our Lord", they also thanked for saving from misery and entrusted themselves to the care of the Mother of God or gave their concerns to other saints. Chapels on Warmia were also an element of organization of religious life and they were used to inform about special events. In many localities, chapels equipped with little bells (signatures) were hung in the upper story. That bell set times of the day, called for a prayer, called for a joint marching off for a Sunday devotion, sounded an alarm in case of a fire or other disasters, also informed about death of a member of a village community.





The Warmian tradition of chapel building reaches probably the beginning of the 17th century (the oldest objects come from the beginning of this century), many of them appeared in the 18th century; however, a common custom of chapel building, also within peasants' homesteads, falls on the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century (more than 80% of objects come from that time). There were few sources of chapels' popularity growth. In the second half of the 19th century on Warmia, you could observe a significant growth of Marian devotions. It happened so, because of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception announced in 1854 by the pope Pius IX. Another reasons for its popularity were Marian apparitions (especially the one in Gietrzwałd) in 1877. An effect of it was popularization of May devotions, customs of praying at chapels (Rosary and the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary), development of sober brotherhoods dedicated to the Mother of God. Intensified religiousness was supported by Catholic press, e.g. very popular on the southern part of Warmia "Gazeta Olsztyńska (Olsztyn Daily)". Economic factors also fostered building of chapels. The agrarian reforms in the second half of the

19th century, the grounds separation and the enfranchisement of peasants, overall good economic situation of provinces in the last quarter of the 19th century, had influence on growth of wealth of a Warmian village, and thereby growth of numbers of religious foundations.

Warmian chapels are made of bricks, so they are sustainable, built from face bricks or plastered, mostly with architectonic forms, repetitive in the area of the whole region and thoroughly prepared. Warmian chapels were always surrounded by trees, bushes and flowers. Warmian chapels had social or cult functions, and (along with their surroundings) very important spatial functions. They were key elements of a spatial system of a village.

Four chapels with very frugal forms, almost without any architectonic detail are considered to be the oldest Warmian chapels. Three of them have pennants from the beginning of the 17th century. The oldest chapel is from Dobrąg. It is built on a square plan, covered with a tent-like roof. It has two stories. A streamer with the date 1601, placed on the rooftop of the chapel, was the proof for its old age. Currently it is not preserved or confirmed in any documentation; however, it is mentioned in literature. There is also a photography with the date 1602 carved on one of the steps but the way, in which it is arranged, shows that it was derivative. We cannot be sure that this chapel is the oldest one on Warmia because its architectonic form meets also the stylistic criteria of the following century. Similar doubts are in cases of three remaining objects: a massive two-story chapel from Barczewo with a significant cornice (date on the streamer: 1607), a high and complex chapel from Sambork (date on the streamer: 1608) and a slim and tall chapel in form of a column from Krzywiec (date on the streamer: 1611). Frugal architecture makes it harder to estimate dates of the chapels' building and streamers are insufficient proofs. Streamers were very often put derivatively or transferred from earlier constructions.

Despite the fact that a form of a column is one of the oldest forms of chapels (present at the beginning of the 17th century, e.g. the chapel from Krzywiec from 1611), such chapels occur rarely on Warmia. They are characteristic for the 18th century and the beginnings of the 19th century. They appear in two variants. More often – on a square plan – in Biedkowo, Frombork from 1823, Gietrzwałd, Konradowo, Somalny, more rarely on a spherical plan – Dąbrówka, Jankowo, Trękus from 1792.



Dąbrówka in an agricultural landscape with the visible silhouette of the village and a roadside alley, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.



There are two individual examples of monumental chapels from the middle of the 18th century – one in Orneta and one in Dobre Miasto. They are raised from red bricks and not plastered. Composition of their frontal elevations and way of their development refer to Warmian sacral architecture from that time, the so-called brick baroque (a church of the Holly Cross in Braniewo, Glotowo, Międzyzlesie, Ramsowo). Chapel in Brąswałd from 1796 has a form which is individual but at the same time typical for other regions of Poland. It was founded on a square plan with four-pitched roof, supported in the corners by wooden poles.

A clear group but small in comparison with the whole resources (approx. 10 %), is made by chapels from the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. Not many of them can be classified to stylistic categories typical for the history of architecture. Very important and precious is group of objects raised in the second half of the 18th century with features typical for classicist or mature baroque. Chapels with fully developed baroque features: two chapels from Reszel, four chapels by the roads leading to the sanctuary in Stoczek Klasztorny, a group of fifteen chapels of Mysteries of Rosary by the road Reszel – Święta Lipka and single chapels in Grzęda, Międzyzlesie, Rogóż, Zawidy. They are distinguished by an axial composition, a regular structure and architectonic divisions (a low pedestal, a high story supported by two pillars and a crowning top), theatricalization of the ways of expression (chiaroscuro fragmented cornice's division, multiplied pilasters), a baroque detail (pilasters in the Corinthian style, arches wavelly curved, semicircular or

triangular toppings with pediments with volutes). To the group of chapels with features of classicist baroque, composed in the form of aedicule with pilasters or corner pillars and triangular tympanum belong objects in: Braniewo, Krekole, Nowa Pasłęka and also chapels in Bisztynek and Mawry. A chapel in Kominki from 1868 is a late continuation of this pattern, indirectly being a proof for long lasting of the tradition. Chapels founded on a semi-circular or semi-elliptic plan referred to the baroque form. They have lower apses covered with roofs (Biała Wola, Kłębowo, Wapnik, Wilczkowo). The other group are chapels, in which (by using semi-columns, pilasters, entablature, volute tops with simple, heavy or even clumsy forms) we can find an echo of a baroque stylistic used without any understanding of its architectonic logic (Franknowo, Jeziorany, Kłębowo, Tłokowo). Buildings with a homogenous, barely fragmented lump on a squared plan, often covered with a gable roof with a single niche in a corpus and eventually second, smaller niche on top, very often separated by a characteristic, wavy curved cornice, are very numerous. The representative of this group is the chapel in Knopin from 1745, but also chapels (partly dated) in Derc, Knipy, Kochanówka, Lekity from 1800, Najdymowo from 1848, Nowe Włóki, Stare Włóki, Świątki, Wilkiejmy from 1810. There was some kind of modification of the type from between of the 18th and 19th centuries, obtained by extension of a structure. Such a building had much more fragmented, two-story lump with stories separated by cornices or with different sizes. We should mention here chapels in Barczewo, Butryny from 1808, Frączki from 1818. Another type of buildings reaching to the 18th century (the oldest objects are from the first half of this century) is a chapel founded on a square plan with one or two niches, covered by a roof in a ridge system, with two asymmetric surfaces, a frontal surface is strongly reduced. Good examples of this type are chapels in Lutry from 1722 and two, currently remodeled in Glotowo from 1743 and 1767.

Unusual growth of number of objects (approx. 90% of preserved resources) and new forms were introduced by the 19th century, more precisely, its second half. The most characteristic chapel, identified with Warmian landscape, appeared in that time. It was made of red facing bricks. This type of building, which is known from the 18th century, is still continued (very often with a new elevation material – red facing bricks), it had a frugal detail and a weakly fragmented lump. It undergoes different mutations and modifications, sometimes it departs from the original pattern, for instance by enriching side elevations with shallow niches or blends or putting a multi-pitched roof in place of a gable roof. However, basic elements and structure remain the same.

There is a group of buildings with neo-Gothic features, at the beginning with frugal, later with extensive and differentiated forms. They can be plastered, made of red bricks or they can mix these two materials. The oldest preserved building with a neo-Gothic detail – a niche closed by a

closed sharp arch – is the chapel in Kikity from 1852. A little but quite characteristic group are neo-Gothic chapels (plastered or raised from facing bricks and plaster) with decorative forms, referring more to the French Gothic than to (popular on Warmia) brick Gothic. Examples of them are: thoroughly developed chapels in Frombork or Baranówka, scenic but made by local builders chapels in Barczewo, Franknowo, Orzechowo. There is a bigger and more differentiated group of chapels with complex, very often varied architectonic forms, more or less abundantly using neo-Gothic detail, usually raised from red bricks. They are both one-story, horizontally built, architectonic chapels with one dominant niche and also two or three-story slim buildings with few niches and a clearance in a top story. They are also slim buildings built on a high pedestal, single-story finished with pinnacles or more complex, two-story chapels with slopes and pinnacles, fragmented by niches and blends with different patterns (sharp, full or vault arch).

From the times of secularization of Teutonic Order's lands on Warmia, a chapel was a visible symbol of religious identity of Catholic enclave surrounded by Protestant Prussia. Chapels were signs of devotion and material culture of Warmia. Today, they are very often abandoned and stripped of their primal function, they become a very important cultural occurrence, a particular sign of the region's identity.

Quo vadis, Warmia?

Warmia, a former principality of a Warmian bishop was and still is an attractive region. Characteristic, charming shaping of the area with hillocks, forests, fields and lakes, vivid panoramas of localities with dominative silhouette of churches' roofs and towers, compact wall of buildings and gable roofs covered with ceramic tiles, alleys of trees providing shadow for roads, historical spatial arrangements of villages and buildings preserved in a large extent, Gothic and neo-Gothic temples and modern pilgrimage sanctuaries and ubiquitous chapels – these are only some elements of this scenic landscape. This is a landscape that we have inherited. What have we done and what will we do with this heritage? Can we read it? Understand it? Respect it? It is almost the only link, which connects us with the past in such a clear way.

Do we like this landscape? Probably yes. It allows us to admire nature and culture at the same time, it gives us a sense of harmony, it fulfills our need of beauty and spatial order.

Are we aware that it is not just a combination of events, but the effect of conscious and rational management of a man? Do we realize that our ignorance and carelessness can cause us to lose this goods? Can we read our landscape well and manage it properly? Probably not. Instead of order, harmony and beauty we meet chaos and spatial disorder. Red tiles are replaced by still tiles, wooden, original windows are replaced by modern ones from PCV, without any division, warmed elevations lose not only their meaning but also a frugal, charming detail. Finally, in place of simple wooden fences, there are modern, very often concrete fences. An what about new buildings, expansively entering areas around bigger towns or attractive tourist areas? Unfortunately, it is even worse. Ranging from composition and modern technology to weak architectonic forms. Talking about mcdonaldization of the modern landscape is not exaggeration. Probably on Warmia, excluding areas around big cities, it is not as dramatic as in other historical regions of Poland (e.g. Podhale) but there are processes of space degradation on Warmia as well. The worst situation is around big cities, for instance in the suburbs of Olsztyn. Villages with traditional buildings and regular spatial systems lose their current character. In bigger, normally community localities, changes are both inside and outside, in the area around them (Dywity, Jonkowo, Stawiguda). In smaller ones, regularly there are no dramatic changes in villages. New residential areas without any internal structure and interesting buildings appear in their surroundings (Ługwałd, Różnowo, Warkały, Giedajty). The arrangement of such estates is chaotic, new houses very often exceed current buildings, catalogue projects of ready houses can be met in whole Poland. In this way, places with characteristic image are transformed into spaces without attributes.



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Landscape in the vicinity of Lubomino - a natural landscape transformed for centuries into undulating fields and meadows, with waterholes and clumps of mid-field and riverside greenery, surrounded by forests, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.



Warmia – its green cultural landscape yesterday and today

Cultural landscape is a commonly used and trendy term. What does it mean? According to the definition in "the Act on the Protection and Care of Monuments" it is a "space perceived by people, including natural elements and creations of civilizations, historically shaped as a result of natural factors and human activities". It is a very official term, which hides a richness of forms.

What was the cultural landscape of Warmia like?

A starting point for a description of a cultural landscape is a natural landscape defined in the definition above as "natural elements".

Warmia is without any doubts one of the most attractive Polish regions, but is not as appreciated and famous as Mazury with its lakes and forests. The natural shape of the space is an effect of accumulative and erosive processes, which are effects of the last glaciation and many more complex processes, which occurred after this glaciation. We can meet here huge diversification of forms – from flat areas to areas with a significant difference of heights – reaching 100 m. A vivid moraine landscape with wide stripes of numerous inclines extending from southern-west to northern-east, additionally cut by several valleys and ravines, is the effect of the time of standstill and glacier's melting. The glacier brought also clays and diverse stones – from sands and grits to huge erratic boulders. They would be important building materials in the following ages. Also, richness of grounds would have a natural significance for its economic growth.

Cultural landscape near to Lubomin – a ridged area with fields, meadows, waterholes and clomps of field or river greenery. Moraine hills are an aquatic area, dividing rivers and streams into two groups: flowing north – rapidly and strongly meandering and those flowing south – with smooth current and poured in a wide waterlogged valley. As Mieczysław Orłowicz says in his guide over Warmia: "valleys of Wałsza and upper Łyna are the pearls of the Warmian landscape". This valued land historian and popularizer of tourism forgot about Pasłęka – a river meandering along almost whole west border of Warmia. Numerous lakes

are not as big as the ones on Mazury, but their differentiation – from big, long ribbon lakes to smaller, round post-glacial lakes and small waterholes – vividly fit in Warmian valleys. A raw and variable climate did not impede a development of great plants in wide forests (mainly deciduous) – natural oak and beech forests. Variability of seasons causes flora to present new colors, characteristic for thriving spring, green summer, colorful autumn and white winter. Big differences in areas' heights allow to admire extensive views in their full glory.

"Products of civilization shaped by humans' activity", a world created by people, are composed into this picturesque land. Rural space is not a creation made by an accident, but it is organized according to certain rules developed over centuries.

The beginnings of shaping a cultural landscape were in the Middle Ages, when secular and church power was held by Warmian bishops and canons from the Warmian chapter house. It was a time of development of a regular settlement network. 12 Warmian cities were founded in that time. They were located (from tactical reasons) every 20-30 km – the oldest one – Braniewo (1254) and from the 14th century: Barczewo, Biskupiec, Bisztynek, Dobrze Miasto, Frombork, Jeziorany, Olsztyn, Orneta, Pieniężno, Reszel and, naturally, Lidzbark Warmiński – a capitol of the area. At the same time bishop's folwarks and numerous peasant's villages managed and coordinated by administrators under a Prince Bishop supported by the Warmian chapter house, appeared. Such a situation was present until the end of the 18th century, the partitions of Poland. There significant changes in between of the 18th and 19th centuries and in the 19th century. Goods of Warmian bishops and the chapter house became properties of a king of Prussia, which was surrounding Warmia from all directions. Reforms in the name of the new ruler: the enfranchisement of peasants and agrarian reforms changed the old cultural landscape. The development of civilization – expanding settlement structure, railway and traffic infrastructures, meliorations on a big scale – found their reflection in a landscape. In the Prussian state there was a whole system of injunctions and bans referring to the public space, concerning localizations and shapes of localities, guiding and managing road networks, kinds of buildings. There were building regulations (1886) forbidding using straw for roofs coverings. As a result of these regulations, currently there are brick buildings, covered with ceramic tiles. In a spatial image on Warmia, it was very important to use natural sources from native grounds – stone, clay and wood.



Glotowo, Dobre Miasto community – a panorama of the village with a baroque church and Warmian Calvary, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.

On the area of Warmia there was not any larger property, as on the areas colonized by the Teutonic Order, later in the possession of the Prussian state. There were big Junker properties, managed from centers of power located at impressive residences, such as: Kamieniec, Gładysze, Słobity (west from Warmia) or Drogosze, Sztynort, Galiny (east from Warmia). On Warmia there was not many folwarks of knights given by bishops or the Warmian chapter house. There were bishop's folwarks with much more frugal spatial form in comparison with the palace-folwark groups mentioned before. Their localizations and numbers were changing over centuries. At the beginning of the 18th century there were 15 folwarks: Klonowo, Karbowo, Folwark Mały, Smolajny, Gronowo, Kwiecewo, Żardeniki, Wójtowo, Jedzbark, Kronowo, Sątopy, Ramoty, Robawy. The most representative character was present in summer residences of bishops (except for castles connected with towns) – Wielochowo, Smolajny, Samulewo. Silhouettes of estates were very easy to read from the landscape because of the way in which the area is arranged – courts surrounded by green parks, with access valleys and big folwark buildings, surrounded with vast fields with outlines subdued to the original shape of the area. After the partitions, at the end of the 18th century, the power over Warmia was taken away from bishops and their assets were secularized and

then they were functioning as royal or private. Amount and size of land estates also increased.

Majority of the area, which remained under ruling of the Warmian dominium, is a rural settlement network – settlements, farms and rental villages managed by peasants under ruling of a bishop or a chapter house. Big peasant villages with characteristic spatial systems are things, which in some way distinguish this region. From the order of bishops or a chapter house, they were founded in places with access to water – a small river, stream or lake. They were organized in a particular spatial form with precisely set shape of roads and homesteads and way of managing fields, meadows and forests. The most often they were complex spatial systems on an oval plan (owalnica). It means that homesteads were situated around an oval road, an interior was a common pasture with access to water and entrances to such a village were closed by gates.

For instance, arranged in that way were: localities near to Lidzbark Warmiński: Kiwity, Runowo, Łaniewo, Gronowo, Sarnowo, localities near to Dobre miasto: Barcikowo, Cerkiewnik, Kolkiejmy or Wrzesina, Jonkowo, Nowe Kawkowo – near to Olsztyn. A different and less popular form was a pitchfork plan (widlica), where organization of a village was focused around two roads diverging in a shape of the letter: V or U. Good examples of this form are in e.g. villages near to Frombork – Jędrychowo, Wielkie Wierzno, Stare Siedlisko, or villages near to Lidzbark – Kierwiny, Knipy. Over time such villages were transforming into multi-roads (wielodrożnica) with a complex road system and a bigger number of homesteads. Villages were founded as linear settlements (ulicówka) less frequently. Examples of such villages are: Piotraszewo and Rogiedle near to Lidzbark. There were also linear settlements by lakes, e.g. Wołowno and Woryty near to Olsztyn, where buildings were focused along the single road. Fields around a locality were cropped in a three-field system, alluvial arrangement – with division into long, thin stripes of ground, belonging to each farmer in a village.



A rural arrangement of Jonkowo with complex buildings in the oval type and colony buildings among fields. In the area of the medieval oval plan we can see a church and compact buildings of homesteads along a common place, the so-called nawsia. Changes introduced in the 19th century were colony buildings around a village, a graveyard on village's edges, a railway with a station and numerous wayside alleys, including the oldest village entrance sections, an alley leading to a railway station and an alley between a church and graveyard (the German topographic map from the beginning of the 20th century; elaborated made by Marzena Zwierowicz).

This way of managing areas, which appeared in the Middle Ages, was significantly transformed in the 19th century. The cultural landscape, still readable today, was shaped as a result of huge agrarian reforms, e.g. grounds separation. An alluvial arrangement was liquidated, grounds were merged and new divisions were introduced. Forms of compact villages survived but with a little bit smaller density of homesteads, because a group of owners moved out. New, very often bigger homesteads were built on bigger blocked parcels. They were called colonies, builds or zidlungs. Shape of homesteads out of a village was also changed. It usually was an outline on a square plan bigger than square or rectangular homesteads in area of an old, compact settlement. Farming lands were changed into chessboards of fields with different spatial qualities, surrounded by forests, meadows and mid-field greenery. It was relatively small division in comparison with much bigger areas of court farming lands. All these forms of management were connected with a dense road network and, from the second half of the 19th century, also with a systematically expanding rail network with characteristic brick stations.



Kiwity, Kiwity municipality – colony steadings out of compact buildings of the village. Clearly visible domps of greenery and buildings with characteristic red roofs, photo made by Marzena Zwierowicz.



A big Warmian village, practically until the half of the 20th century, was self-sufficient. It was organized in a way satisfying needs of residents. Spiritual needs were fulfilled by a church, built not only in parish villages. The most often it was built in a village center, in the so-called nawsie, next to it there was a presbytery. In villages without a church, needs of praying were fulfilled by numerous chapels, including bell chapels, which had a significant role in a village's life. They were calling for a prayer but except for that, they were informing about birth or death of residents. Dead men were often buried in graveyards in parish villages. In the beginning, they were graveyards next to churches. In the 19th century, the following order was to liquidate them and new necropolises were created on villages' edges. Material needs, which were not fulfilled by a personal homestead, were met by a group of residents engaged in trading, construction or services. So smaller and bigger shops, bakeries, slaughterhouses, meat processing plants, shoe makers or tailors were functioning. Those plants were usually

located in residences' rooms, specially adopted for that purpose. However, places like schools, kindergartens, taverns with big coach houses and stables, forges, depots, the railway watchman's houses by the roads and railways. Out of a village, among the fields, windmills were built on hills, by the rivers there were watermills with high chimneys, founded on clayish areas for needs of houses made of bricks.

Traditional greenery of a Warmian village

All of village objects mentioned above, which create together the so-called rural spatial arrangement, were companioned by greenery consciously planted, from the 18th century and throughout the whole 19th and 20th centuries. That greenery was planted in very differentiated ways – from alleys, lanes, decorative gardens and usable greenstones to groups or individual trees. It is undoubtedly a natural connector between a land of nature and cultural heritage of this region. It was composed greenery, which had many functions: usable, esthetic, protective and also symbolic. It was an integral part of a village. It still is an important element of a harmonic cultural landscape of Warmia, a testament of the material culture of past generations of this land's residents.



A rural arrangement of the Lamkowo village was in oval type, later transformed into a multi-road arrangement. A dominant object in the village was a church with a graveyard surrounded by a lane of trees and a lime alley. Buildings were accompanied by decorative-usable gardens – the biggest one was near to the presbytery, the smaller ones near to steadings, a tavern and a school. All roads leading to the locality were surrounded by wayside alleys. (German topographic map from the beginning of the 20th century; elaborated made by Marzena Zwierowicz).

From the centuries, trees were linked with sacral objects. They were near to churches, which were very often Gothic – built from bricks and stones – they were also dominant in a silhouette of the village, sometimes to emphasize an importance of a place they were surrounded by a decorative fence and a row of deciduous trees, usually on a circular plan.

The most often used species of trees were maples and limes. Later (mainly in the after-war period) people were planting thuyas, less often spruces in order to stress the church's main entrance or an accompanying chapel. Graveyards founded out of villages had their own greenery, which was a sign of respect for the dead. A necropolis area usually was surrounded on its edges by a row of trees and cut by alleys planted on a plan of a cross, along the main and side axles. On the crossroads of alleys very often there were chapels. From the main village road or church there were an alley leading to a graveyard, e.g. in Lamkowo or Jonkowo. On Catholic graveyards people were planting deciduous species – limes, maples, less often ashes. Sometimes in quarters set by alleys, at some graves there were green thuyas planted by grave caretakers to make the place more beautiful.



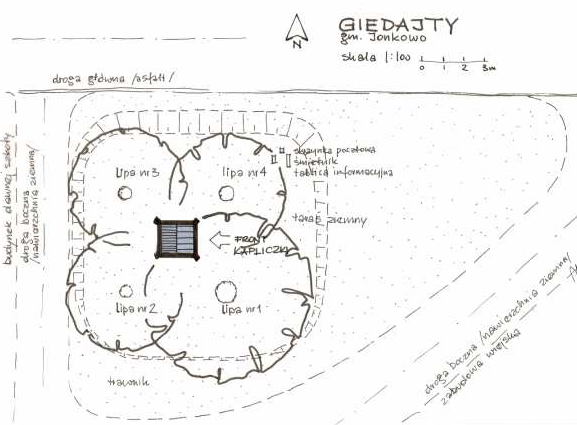
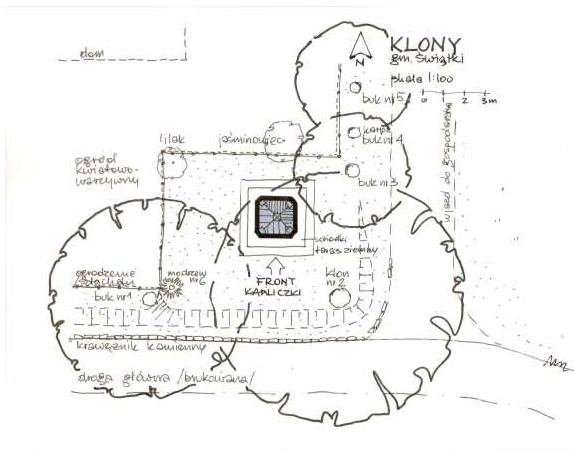
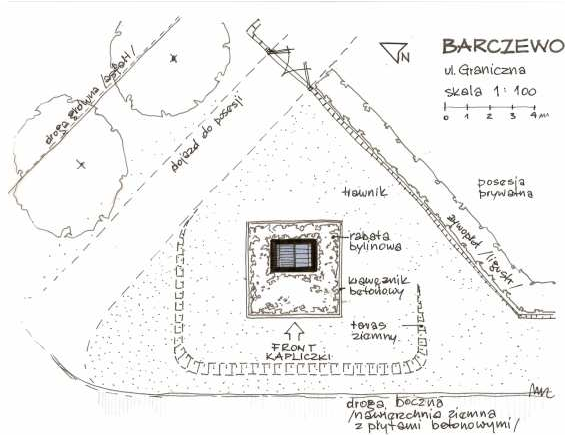
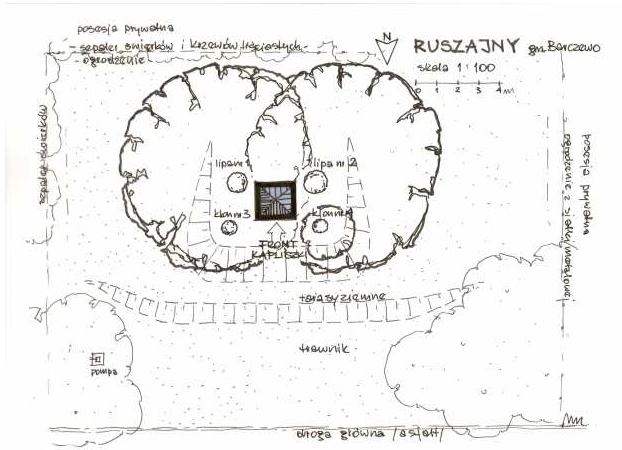
Brąswald, Dywity Municipality – a main lime alley on the parish graveyard. There is a visible row of trees on the edges of the graveyard, photo made by Marzena Zwierowicz.

Currently chapels and crosses, in awareness of people interested in the local history, are one of the most characteristic for Warmia things. According to the publication of Stanisław Kuprjaniuk and Iwona Liżewska "Warmińskie kapliczki" (The Warmian chapels), there are 1333 of them. Probably there are still some unidentified, and surely there were even more of them – approx. more than 1600. A lot of them disappeared from the landscape from different reasons – as a result of construction processes, of roads expanding or simply of abandonment – departure of indigenous people, especially from colony steadings. The

oldest known chapels are from the 17th century. They are frugal and plastered building in Dobrąg (1602), Barczewo (1607), Sambork (1608) and Krzywiec (1611). A rather small group consists of chapels from the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. The majority of them was founded in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. They, with their characteristic forms, built from red bricks and covered with tiles, can be associated with the Warmian landscape. They were built in important public places and in intimate, private places, both in space of sacrum – near to churches, places of miracles and apparitions or at graveyards, and in space of profanum – at villages' entrances and centers, at forks of roads and very often directly at houses, as signs of thanksgivings or requests. To emphasize importance of a place people were not only building a chapel and adjust a figure of a saint. A very important thing was selection of a location, because a chapel had to be visible from a place of perceiving it, respectively exhibited and its surroundings had to be in order. They were situated at crossroads, turns, at residences' entrances, on slopes. Sometimes an area was intentionally modelled in a form of regular ground terraces, on a plan of a square or a rectangle (e.g. chapels in Barczewo – Graniczna Street, in Ruszajny, Barczewo municipality, in Nowy Marcinków, Biskupiec municipality, in Giedajty and Nowy Kawków, Jonkowo municipality, in Tarminy, Kolno municipality).



Giedajty, Jonkowo Municipality – a village chapel with bell, surrounded by four limes. Located at the middle of the village without church. It had sacral and informative functions, photo made by Marzena Zwierowicz.



Inventory schemes of the chapels in Barczewo, Ruszajny, Nowy Kawków, Klony (elaborated by Marzena Zwierowicz).



Tarniny, Kolno municipality – a road chapel built on an upheaval, at the curve of a road, photo made by Marzena Zwierowicz.

To make a chapel visible from afar, trees were planted next to it. The most often they were four trees planted on a square plan in its corners, or two trees (on sides, on back). Shrubs were planted in the same system. Commonly used species of trees were limes. Less often other species like – maples, chestnuts, or among shrubs – lilacs, rosehips, hawthorns, and in surroundings of later, rich chapels also thuyas. The closest surroundings around or in front of a chapel was enriched. There were planted flowers, which were popular in village's gardens: violets, snowdrops, lilies, marigolds, phloxes, sunflowers, peonies, delphiniums, asters etc. Sometimes, depending on a shape of an area, small stone retaining walls were built, stone or

concrete stairs to a chapel, it was surrounded with a fencing made of straight rails or forged metal with decorative forms.

After the First World War in most of villages, usually near to a church, there were monuments dedicated to important events connected with a locality. They are very often stone obelisks made of boulders or hewn. On them there are carved names of parish's residents died during the First World War. Naturally, they are in company of trees. The most often they are oaks, which symbolize courage, very often in form of pyramid. Another marks of the First World War are also numerous war graveyards of German and Russian soldiers. Those graveyards had their caretaker, who cared for graves covered with ivies, and for rows of spruces and thuyas surrounding them.

Presbyteries placed near to churches were always emphasized in a village's silhouette, they could be recognized by representative character of buildings and also by a particularly big clump of greenery. They were surrounded by decorative gardens or small parks with rich selection of noble trees, bushes or flowers. There were chapels but also gazebos and benches for rest. Terraces and stairs were emphasizing views and surrounding landscapes. Big service yards were connected with presence of orchards and vegetable gardens.

A church, a presbytery and a graveyard are very important places in villages. Naturally, they need appropriate arrangement of surroundings with proper composition of greenery. Other important public places, such as: schools, local governments, and the private ones e.g. taverns were also surrounded by gardens or greenstones. Their function was to emphasize a representative character, to decorate and to improve relaxation. People were planting noble species of trees, flowers and lawns. There were also cut shrubs and trees at offices. At schools, rows of deciduous trees surrounding the whole building, next to a usable garden for teacher there were playgrounds for pupils. At taverns there were also gardens and in the shadows of their trees there were tables with benches and places for local orchestras.

Integral parts of village steadings were usable gardens – orchards and vegetable gardens. They were founded on the back of a steading or along the side borders of a settlement. On fields there were legumes (pea, fava, lentil, bean), cabbages, pumpkins, turnips, poppies, preserving/flavoring plants – garlics, dills, different herbs. Dominant plants in orchards were apple trees, cherry trees, also there were plum trees and pear trees, and in sunny places –

grapevines. In orchards very often there were beehives. Firstly bees were using fruit trees, later lime-tree flowers etc.



Traditional garden in a village steading, recreated in open-air museum in Olsztynek, photo made by Marżena Zwierowicz.

The front part of a parcel was destined for a decorative garden, usually in form of a narrow so-called front-garden (przedogródek) (decorative space between village road and a residential house). It took not much space and was surrounded by a wooden braided fence or fence made of rails or metal grid in wooden frames. Only at houses of very rich residents (the so-called gbury), there were bigger gardens, similar to manor parks with noble trees, bushes, perennials, lawns, surrounded by a richer fence with a decorative gate. Traditionally, a garden in front of a house was filled with flowers and healing herbs. Among the multicolored flowers with different heights there were mallows, asters, delphiniums, phloxes, peonies, lilies, marigolds, sweet peas. Farmed herbs were: lovages, mints, salvias, lemon balms and many others. Such flowerbeds sometimes were accompanied by single or several thriving and smelling bushes – lilacs, dogwoods, roses, snowball trees or fruit shrubs

– currants and gooseberries. A house entrance was stressed by singular trees – limes, maples, oaks, chestnuts, ashes. Those trees were supposed to protect from evil powers and lightning.

Another occurrences, which make the region's landscape unique are wayside alleys, common on the whole areas of former Prussia and Warmia. They were multifunctional: they were leading to localities, they were setting a main road of a village, emphasizing its significance and the movement direction, they were leading to important places in village's structure: a railway station or a graveyard. They were introduced in a national order (18th century). Firstly, they were planted along the main communicational routes, later along local roads. Long-living species of trees, resistant for severe climatic conditions of this region, were planted. The most usual alleys are made of limes and maples (mainly Norway maple, sometimes acer pseudoplatanus), less often they are made of oaks, ashes, hornbeams, sometimes they are made of chestnuts, birches or fruit trees. Oak or chestnut alleys, due to their attractiveness, were often planted to emphasize importance of a tract, e.g. alleys leading to estates or graveyards. Less important roads were planted with willows, which were fast growing. Depending on the density of locality's buildings they were finished at the end of a village or they were cutting a village along the main road. From safety or representative reasons, fragments of a locality's entrance (kilometer or few-hundred meter long) were planted with the most noble species – oaks, chestnuts and limes. The way of planting trees was also information about dangers on a road. Usually they were planted every 6-8 meters. Near to steep slopes or at shores of rivers, their density was increased to 3 m and rows of cut stone poles were raised. Those poles were supposed to protect trees from users of a road. At a fork of the roads there was only one tree planted. It was localized in fragments of a road without alleys, e.g. on an area of a village with dense buildings, to make communication easier, especially in the times of harsh Warmian winters. Such trees – limes, oaks or chestnuts were often in company of high cut stones and signposts.

A cultural landscape shaped by so varied activities was inspiring because of its look and order.



How do we perceive the Warmian landscape?

After so idyllic description of the harmonious historical cultural landscape, there is a problem with adaptation of the things that we can see today when we drive across this land. For an average receiver, resident or tourist, they are still very attractive and picturesque sceneries. Nature, which stands for itself, has significant meaning. It still has its own laws, tones everything and brings some kind of harmony. However, after a deeper analysis we can claim that the things made by human in the last fifty years, are not something that we should be proud of. Naturally, the world goes on, landscapes along with civilization development, political, cultural and social changes are transforming all the time. Even when we recognize the laws of the civilization development, there still is a problem of these changes – are they consistent with a harmonically shaped landscape, or maybe they cause chaos, disharmony and destruction. Attitude towards the existing or inherited heritage is very important. A

natural development was stopped in the middle of the 20th century in a very sharp and tragic way. Political changes, cultural-social changes, destruction and trauma connected with the World War II, abandoned houses, departure of former residents, settling of people from culturally different areas are commonly known. Interior resistance to existing German heritage, in some way understandable, had its impact on the whole image of the cultural landscape.

The inevitable changes in a cultural landscape of Warmia can be examined within aspects – natural and cultural.

Natural aspects can be surprising. Paradoxically, in some small extent (comparing to the whole region), transformations which occurred are beneficial for environment or increase its landscape attractiveness. Warmia still is an agricultural region with a huge area of farming grounds, fields, meadows and pasturages. However, the forests' areas changed. From the analysis of the archival maps we can learn that currently we have more forests in comparison with the first half of the 20th century. Then, a rural economy was aimed at maximal usage of natural resources. In the second half of the 20th century many areas, especially infertile or sandy, were converted into forests. Trees were also planted on fields abandoned by pre-war residents. Changes were also visible in a network of waterways and it is not about the degree of water cleanliness. In the 19th and 20th centuries, big waterlogged areas were drained or some shallow lakes were dried. It was done to gain some more meadows for breeding. A lack of possibilities or skills of caring about land improvement devices led to independent recreation of some dried lakes. Examples of such lakes are: Trackie in Olsztyn or Łabędź on the area of the Jonkowo municipality. A marsh created from flooded meadows in Kwiecewo near to Dobre Miasto was recognized as an ecological ground – one of the forms of protection of natural environment. All this improves attractiveness of the Warmian landscape.

Cultural aspects are significantly more complicated and adverse. The migration of population, expanding of towns, changes in villages' structure, transformations of a communication system, caused important, very often permanent changes and the loss of cultural values.

The most visible, very significant changes in the landscape appeared in surroundings of cities. Their residents are increasingly more eager to move out to a village. It means

managing, very often in a random way, big areas, which change into estates – satellites with numerous geodetic divisions into small plots, not connected with historical spatial arrangements. Olsztyn is the best example of it. It is connected with neighboring municipalities by a network of bigger and smaller "bedrooms". New settlements with modern spatial arrangements and catalogue architecture, homogenous in the scale of Poland, absorbed former villages. Borders start to disappear because the villages' interiors adapt a new type of buildings or reconstructions. Thrilled by modernity, people merge former historical spaces with new surroundings. The effect of such activities is loss of specific cultural values of the region.

The landscape is definitively more attractive far from town centers which does not mean that it was not transformed or destructed. When we analyze a historical settlement network, presented on the archival maps, and compare it to the present state – the difference is clear. The development around the towns expands and absorbs next villages, but the open landscape sometimes seems to be empty.

Rare former demesnes, especially the smaller ones, often disappear. In groups of buildings existing to this day in places like: Urbanowo and Wróblík between Lidzbark Warmiński and Dobre Miasto, Bartązek, Trekusek and Szatanki near to Olsztyn or Leginy near to Reszel (with beautiful folwark buildings and a colony of post-parcel steadings) it is hard to find former estate-park assumptions with folwark courtyards. They were, usually long time ago, overtaken by State Collective Farms (PGR) or divided into small private steadings. After the liquidation of PGRs in 90's of the 20th century, folwarks were ruined or divided for many users. Sometimes, big fields typical for demesnes, remind us about a form of farming, existing there before. A lot of smaller demesnes disappeared from the landscape. The only things reminding us about them, are German names, such as Sonnenburg and Sunkau near to Frombork or Jutrkowo near to Reszel. It does not mean that such a form of farming rural areas does not exist at all.

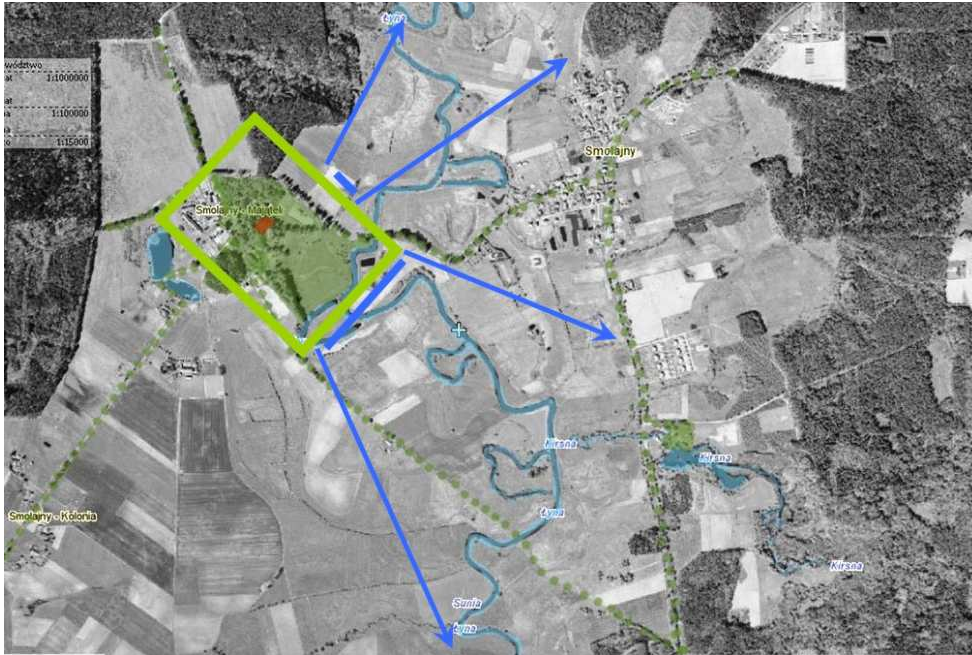
Many estate-folwark groups, which expanded into residential assumptions in the 19th century, are preserved to this day. They survived in different technical states and spatial arrangements, but they still are an evidence of the region's history. A bishop's folwark in Pilnik, near to Lidzbark Warmiński still exists in its 19th century form. It has big folwark courtyard and frugal estate-park representative part. Although its technical state is not the best, its full spatial arrangement of a manor, folwark courtyard and residential building for

folwark workers is still readable. An example of a well preserved property, its spatial arrangement and composition, is Łężany near to Reszel. A big property with a beautiful palace in an extensive park, numerous folwark buildings with interesting architecture (not all managed to fully survive though), frugal quadruples and decorative houses of officials, is still a decoration of the region. Especially, because it is situated at a lake, in a very vivid place with miraculous views and – what is important from the perspective of preservation of the historical cultural landscape – with preserved character of managing rural grounds, typical for large-area properties with big croplands. An example of a smaller but preserved and revalorized property (with a manor surrounded by a park, with a folwark, historical outhouses and a little graveyard on slope) is Tejstymy near to Bisztynek. Another, unfortunately sad, example is a great palace-park assumption with a folwark in Bęsia between Biskupies and Reszel. A great baroque palace located at the beautiful park (projected from the second half of the 19th century by an outstanding planner – Johann Larass) with a big, axially composed folwark and one of few preserved windmills is deteriorating. More than 20 years ago, a private owner has overtaken the property in a good technical state but he failed to care about it properly. He led this great assumption to ruin.

An important thing from the perspective of the region – summer residences of Warmian bishops – lost their representative meaning long time ago. There is no trace after baroque property in Wielochowo. In Samulewo, the only things which remained after folwark buildings are fundamentals. Manor and neglected park fall into ruins. Only Smolajny reminds of its past magnificence. A palace and a unique entrance gate are used by a complex of vocational schools. Folwark, which is not a property of the school, is preserved only partly and is barely readable in its form and a park around the place was significantly transformed. Huge historical and landscape values are preserved in a park-landscape composition assigned to the bishop Ignacy Krasicki. When you travel on the road from Dobre Miasto to Lidzbark Warmiński, you can still admire this composition with a palace of a summer residence of Warmian bishops dominating over the Łyna valley. When you go towards south, from grabowa alley, you can watch the Łyna valley and Dobre Miasto with a dominant lump of a collegiate church of Dobre Miasto.



Smolajny, Dobrze Miasto municipality – a former summer residence of Wamian bishops, at the forefront – a gate building, behind trees there is a palace; currently it is a complex of agricultural schools, photo made by Marzena Zwierowicz.



Range of the landscape composition (blue lines), of a summer residence of Warmian bishops in Smolajny (green lines) (satellite map www.geoportal.pl; elaborated made by Marzena Zwierowicz).

The whole network of peasant villages also changed. Colony steadings, so characteristic for the image of east-Prussia disappear quickly from the landscape. Their silhouettes with big, red roofs, bathed in green, are the quintessence of the open landscape of Warmia. Tens of homesteads, loosely scattered among the villages, were giving particular picturesqueness to the landscape. There are many reasons for that. After leaving the area by the Warmian people after the Second World War, not one but few families with different agriculture, were settled there. Such families were exploiting a steading until its technical death. They were saying: "if it breaks, the municipality will give us the next one". A change of the character of the rural economy, residents getting older and young men moving out to towns are another reasons of leaving such homesteads. What is interesting, currently they are saved by "townies", who turn these places into summer houses.



A characteristic, lonely silhouette of a colony steading with big red roofs, surrounded by trees becomes increasingly rare view, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.



Compact villages are also undergoing the process of changes. They deal with the whole spatial arrangement of a locality with a road network, homesteads' plans and also consistent transformation, modernization or even destruction of particular houses and outhouses. And again, paradoxically, improvement of the technical condition of road infrastructure and the development of motorization caused elimination of numerous roads inside of a village and between particular localities. An example of it is modernization of main village road, what in case of an oval plan, leads to cover only one spur of an oval road with asphalt. As a result, historical communicational systems become unreadable. Numerous narrow earthen roads, between villages or leading to particular colony steadings, disappear because there are more comfortable ways, made of the asphalt main road. Rarely you can meet old surfaces of roads, which were adapted to completely different kind of transport and its frequency. Their construction was special. There were two roads functioning: the winter road and the summer road – the first one – wider, gravel, paved and the second one – narrower with a soft, earth surface. Lots of them are still preserved beneath the asphalt surface.



Nowica, Wilczęta municipality – a view of the compact village with a baroque church and disappearing typical residential-farming buildings made from red bricks and covered with pantiles. There is also a visible fragment of a wayside alley, formerly located along the road through all the village, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.

Significant changes were in the condition of rural buildings. Rarely it was wooden. At the beginning of the 20th century, M. Orłowicz said in his guide about Warmia and Mazury that "rural huts were occurring in two types on Warmia: the so-called Slavic, fully wooden and the so-called German from the Prussian brickwork, both with porches, decorative tops and covered with straws". Half-timbered building, commonly called "the Prussian brickwork" disappeared a long time ago. It was the attribute of the neighboring Oberland (Powiśle), but also it occurred on Warmia, especially in its northern part. Today, we can still meet half-timbered outhouses, but often in bad technical condition, meant for demolition. After years

of negligence, improvement of the standards of living caused huge changes, especially in the look of residential houses. New technologies, understandable drive towards modernity, led to unification of the buildings character. Original Warmian building disappears, and remodeled or newly built houses are the same near Olsztyn, near Kraków – with the same roofs, windows and smooth plasterworks. In contrast, a trend for a rustic style caused huge demand for building materials. There are companies specialized in getting them, dealing with dismantling of old buildings. Very often wooden stables covered with ceramic tiles or whole steadings (especially the ones in colonies) were destroyed. There is a problem with roofs, because they are extremely important for perception of the cultural landscape. In the scale of whole landscapes (in this case Warmian) roofs are things which give this specific character. Big roofs, covered with oxidized ceramic tiles are visible from afar on the background of greenery in summer and even more clearly visible in winter. However, it concerns only roofs of outhouses – barns and stables. These buildings are quickly disappearing from the landscape. They are expensive to maintain and increasingly less needed, because they do not have any function in a modern farmstead, so they are just dismantled. It is an irreparable loss for the Warmian landscape.

Until recently, school buildings were the best preserved in their historical form. They were properly constructed, in accordance with national patterns, and were performing their function for many years. However, other public or industrial buildings definitely disappear. There are no village taverns anymore, which were "institutions" of the village life. Today, buildings of this type (usage and economic-industrial) are just touristic attractions. There are high, red chimneys preserved in the second half of the 20th century, apparently thanks to their new function – approximate point for the army. They are remains after brickyards. Windmills (which can be seen in the open-air museum in Olsztynek) were replaced by masts of a cellular network. Single little folwarks existing in their original places – e.g. the folwark in Bęsia and the village folwark in Lepno – go into decline. Few people know how many mills there were along the shores of Łyna, Pasłęka, Wałsza and their influents. In Żelazowice or Wapnik, there are readable stone fundaments and cobbled accesses to them.

And finally, the next element of the rural space – greenery. There are two contrary phenomena. The first one – improvement of surroundings of houses, steadings and offices. It concerns newly founded or expanded home gardens and squares in front of buildings of public usability. They are compositions of new types, in which evergreen coniferous plants are dominant, very often in the undersized form. Today, home gardens are replaced by

comfortable collections of coniferous plants, which (with all their beauty) do not have as much charm and joy as Warmian gardens full of colorful flowerbeds. Spaces around steadings are closed by dense rows of spruces and thuyas. It is a comfortable and useful solution, but not always beautiful and consistent with a character of the cultural landscape. The second occurrence was bad condition and elimination of historical, composed stands of trees from the cultural landscape. Very often they are old trees, which can cause troubles, good examples of it are old representative trees planted more than 100 years ago before a home entrance or too close to a building (after such a long time, oversized branches of a tree and its roots can destroy a house), or provide too much shade. Cutting of a tree sometimes can be justified. However, lack of proper care, logging or pollarding beautiful rows of trees around churches, big trees on crossroads or alleys of old graveyards "because you have to rake the fallen leaves", is an activity which is unworthy of a civilized human. It is barbarism. Another problems are the so-called plant-care procedures. Along with the increase of availability of chainsaws, condition of trees becomes worse. When they are excessively mutilated and pollarded they lose not only their health and esthetic values, but also their role in the natural environment, about which we should also remember.

For years, there is a fight for protection of wayside alleys. Lots of them still survived at provincial roads but they practically disappeared from local and municipality's roads. On county roads, they are so mutilated that their health condition causes concerns. Modern requirements on motor traffic led to intense cutting and the so-called plant-care procedures. After such activities, which are obvious devastation of the cultural landscape, trees scare users of roads, they do not have their protective, informative, natural, landscape and esthetic functions anymore. Such works are undoubtedly necessary but not in this extent and not in this way. Problems of ownership of lands of wayside alleys should have been solved a long time ago. Plant-care works should have been performed regularly, understandably and by special groups. EU funds helped to build and modernize lots of roads. Unfortunately, misinterpretations of new regulations caused that modernization of only few provincial roads resulted in cutting over 9 thousand trees. Numerous protests and social activities led to cutting "only" 3 thousand.

Most of preserved single or composed groups of old trees are also monuments under protection on basis of the Act on the protection and care of monuments and the Law on the protection of nature. They are evidences of the material culture of former generations of this lands' residents, their conscious or intuitive care about natural environment, esthetic

needs and practical approach. Until recently, destruction of these trees was punishable, and eventual cuttings were allowed only in justified cases, with a permission of proper administrative organs. The most important reasons for cuttings were the degree of risk and safety of people and assets. Other aspects were analyzed to eliminate cases involving lack of knowledge, ignorance, myopia, particular interests etc. Changes in the Law on the protection of nature, implemented in 2016, worsened the condition of greenery in cities, villages, open landscapes, as predicted by conservators, ecologists etc. New clauses about giving permissions for cutting trees liquidated requirement of permission for cutting "trees or bushes, which are on properties of natural persons and are removed for aims not connected with running commercial activities" and "trees or bushes removed in order to bring not used ground back to the agricultural use". As it is estimated by ecological organizations, the effect of such destructive activities is logging of more than 1 million of trees during two months. Trees were cut not only from forest areas but also from squares, gardens, streets. Healthy trees with monumental sizes were also cut.

The description presented above sounds quite catastrophic, and we still admire Warmia, which is interesting and picturesque land. Naturally, a big part of the admired landscape is nature, which richness is a great value but we should emphasize that despite damages Warmia is still very fascinating. The historical landscape is still readable in different forms. Elements which can be defined in space are the easiest to recognize. For instance, there are red lumps of Gothic and Baroque churches dominating over villages, preserved palaces and parks, decorative, plastered houses of rich Warmian peasants and poorer, made of red bricks, houses of crofters. Today we know that old schools built from red bricks, founded in almost every village are also monuments. Another monuments are old graveyards from the 19th century.

There are also elements of the cultural landscape, which are not as obvious as the ones mentioned above. Usually, they are preserved but hardly noticeable in public reception, so we are not fully aware of their presence and value. There is a preserved settlement network from the Middle Ages, readable medieval spatial arrangements and outlines of villages. It means that from over 600 years we have been living in the same villages and travel through the same roads. On modern maps with geodetic plots, there are still cadastral divisions from the 19th century or even older. Historical divisions of settlement development (divisions for homesteads and their plots) implemented as a result of agrarian reforms in the 20's of the 19th century still function in the areas from Frombork to Reszel. Similarly in the Mazury

region. From the perspective of cultural landscape protection, historical, scholarly or artistic values are essential. They can lead to improvement of the touristic product, which is so important in this region.

State of awareness

It is undeniable that protection of the cultural landscape is necessary. Conservationists of monuments, planners, some self-governances and enthusiasts of the beautiful landscape know about that. However, there is a lack of solutions of protection and shaping of the rural landscape, including greenery. It pertains to not only conservatory protection, study-project stage but also executive phase and supervision. Protection of monuments of a rural landscape was developing in the last fifty years gradually, from protection of churches, palaces and wooden huts, through protection of estate-park and palace-park assumptions (from the 70's of the 20th century), to protection of whole estate-folwark complexes and unique groups of rural wooden buildings. Protection of spatial arrangements and cultural landscapes, as an activity established in law, appeared in the 90's of the 20th century, when degradation of this landscape was far advanced and still has not received proper implementing regulations. The problem of protection and shaping of a rural landscape should be included in planning works – in conditions of development, municipalities' development directions and in the strategy of development of a municipality. Not in form of monumental objects entered into the registry of monuments, but referring to all elements of the cultural heritage: rural arrangements with a detailed plan of residential houses and outhouses, roads homesteads, and also greenery, fields and widely understood views and expositions. The purpose of such an elaboration should be formulating of detailed conservation guidelines in area of protection of objects and areas, which should be used in planning documents. First of all, it needs to have a direct bearing on local spatial arrangement plans, which should guarantee realization of proper spatial solutions. Furthermore, through realization of proper spatial and constructing projects, they should be supervised by special services which purpose is to preserve a harmonious local landscape.

To strengthen protection of a landscape, new regulations were introduced in 2015, commonly called the Landscape Law. More precisely, the Law from 24 April 2015, has introduced changes in 10 other laws, the most essential concern the Planning and Developments Act and the Nature Conservation Act. The new law imposes on voivodeship government organs, an obligation of creating landscape audits (not less often than once for

20 years), which purpose is to provide proper protection of landscapes, possibility to shape them and preservation of the landscape which is a source of Polish cultural identity. A landscape is supposed to be justified from the perspective of its natural and cultural meaning, its prevalence in an area of the land and conservation status.

These tasks are supposed to be realized by:

- identification, characterization and valorization of kinds of landscapes occurring on a particular area;
- indication of particularly precious landscapes, called the prioritized landscapes;
- the analysis of threats to recognized prioritized landscapes, recommendations and conclusions regarding their protection;

By "the prioritized landscape", we understand a landscape particularly precious for a community on account of its natural, cultural, architectonic, urban, rural, esthetical-viewing values, a landscape requiring preservation or definition of rules and conditions of its shaping. A very important problem is also creation of groups of interdisciplinary specialists. What will be the effects of this law?

It is still unknown and it will take much time to find it out. Such activities should be supported by a proper tax policy and educational projects on each level of self-governments and through activities of non-governmental organizations within local associations or support groups.

In the 80's and 90's of the 20th century from numerous discussions we could deduct that lots of migrant inhabitants did not know that they live on Warmia. Original Warmian people did not admit to their identity. The name Warmia and Mazury comes down only to Mazury because of the lakes. This indicated huge negligence in the field of regional education. After many years of forgetfulness and conducting policy of blearing traces of Germanness, and at the same time, Warminness, the situation changed drastically. Now Warmian awareness has become a some kind of product. It is promoted not only by self-government authorities but also by residents, associations etc.

The District Governor's Office in Olsztyn works for recreating the Warmian identity, which visibly recreates in generations of residents born here. For over a decade the "Warmian House" program has been realized. Information about this initiative can be found on

www.domwarmiński.pl. The "Dom Warmiński" Association has been functioning from 2006 – It is a Polish organization, which main purpose is to recreate and popularize local identity of Warmia and promotion of tourism, as a source of economic development of the region. The association has its headquarters in a historic capital of Warmia – Lidzbark Warmiński. It is an initiative of counties on the territory of historic Warmia: Olsztyński, Lidzbarski and Braniewski. At the moment it consociates natural and legal persons (including self-governments and institutions), which activity is connected with tourism on the area of Warmia. The association realizes authorial projects and organizes a number of events promoting the region.

From 2003 there is a program "We save Warmian chapels". It is realized by the District Governor's Office in Olsztyn with financial support provided by the German Foundation of Federal Environment Protection (Deutsche Bundesstiftung Umwelt Osnabrück). Also, an interdisciplinary group of specialists – historians, conservators, technologists, landscape architects – was founded. Their task was to comprehensively elaborate the problem. There were also prepared historical studies of chapels, precise researches and programs of conservator works, researches of buildings' surroundings and projects of managing them. The program has reached several dozen chapels to this day. It is just a drop in the ocean of needs but we should hope for an effective continuation.

An activity, which is a result of residents' needs, has significant meaning in discovering and promoting Warmia. During the last three decades, lots of local associations, which statutes included education (local education too), environment protection, shaping of a landscape. Later, their activities were focused on spreading knowledge about the past of the region and developing initiatives, attitudes and activities fostering residents' integration, and also protection and shaping of the cultural landscape. Among these organizations there is a number of smaller local associations, e.g. in Olsztyn, Dobre Miasto, Stawigud, Jeziorany,



Godki , Jonkowo municipality – an example of the local community's activity. In the center of the village, on the area of former village squares, people made (with their own resources) a village garden with a pond, playground, fireplace, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.



Village flowers are still an important element surrounding village homesteads,
Samborek, Lubomino municipality, photo made by Marzena Zwierowicz.



Frączki, Pupki and many other localities. They work at different levels, with different effects. "Borussia" Cultural Community Association from Olsztyn maintains educational activity targeting teenagers and teachers, organizes conferences dedicated to protection of monuments, cultural landscapes and regional education, it publishes a journal and numerous publications on history, culture and the Warmia and Mazury landscape. By protecting a wayside alley, one of the most characteristic thing on Warmia, the Woryty Association led to creating first and the only in Warmińsko-Mazurskie, Cultural Park of the Warmian Landscape Road Gietrzwałd – Woryty. On the other hand, a group of artists (having their spiritual origin in cultural revolution of the late 60's) living on Warmia, creates the Artistic-Ecological Hand Craft Association. Members of the association want to be helpful in building the cultural identity on Warmia. They promote modern folk art and handcrafts, but also, along with the "Green Municipality" Association they fight for wayside alleys. They have managed to cause the Road Service to permit for recreation of a historical alley at the road Jonkowo – Stare Kawkowo. This part of the alley is very short, but little by little does the trick.



Map of Jonkowo Municipality with the most beautiful wayside alley – the map was used in an action of wayside alleys protection (elaborated made by Marzena Zwierowicz).

A cultural landscape of a village can be evaluated in different categories: natural, historical, esthetical, and also financial benefits – depending on sensitivity and the circle of interests of a landscape receiver. We need to emphasize that protection and shaping of a cultural landscape does not consist of creating open-air museums but harmonious development of modern functions with full respect to the existing cultural heritage, which comprise not only architectural and art masterpieces but also our everyday surroundings. Protection of the cultural heritage should be the obligation of everyone.

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Orzechowo, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.



The current intangible cultural heritage of Warmia – remained, preserved or created? Report from the field study in Lidzbark County

Research assumptions

To evaluate the conservation status of the Warmian culture and manifestations of the regional culture on Warmia in the days 2-11 September 2016 there were ethnological field studies in Lidzbarski County in Wamińsko-Mazurskie voivodeship. 10 researchers participated in the studies from universities in: Gdańsk, Poznań, Lublin, Warszawa, Wrocław. Among them there were ethnologists, specialists in cultural studies, a sociologist, a philologist and a musicologist. Diversification of perspectives of researchers allowed them to have a different view on the region. A group of researchers was coordinated by an ethnologist and specialist in cultural studies – Aleksandra Paprot (UAM, Poznań) and Agnieszka Jarzębska (European Meetings Center "Światowid", Elbląg).

The purpose of the researches was a documentation of the intangible cultural heritage of the Warmia residents in accordance with assumptions of the UNSECO convention from 2003. This region is a unique case on a map of Polish cultures because of interruption of its continuity after the end of the Second World War. Then, lots of residents of Warmia (mainly with German origin), and whole Eastern Prussia, were forced to leave their houses and were sent to the west part of Europe. They were replaced by settlers from the central and south-eastern parts of Poland, from neighboring regions, from former Kresy Wschodnie and returnees and re-emigrants from different parts of eastern and western Europe.

The Warmian culture, which included cultural and social goods of different nations and beliefs, was confronted with different culture of regional groups settling there (e.g. from Podlasie, Kurpie, Mazowsze, Lubelszczyzna) or different nationalities (e.g. Ukrainians transferred in 1947 within the action "Wisła"). That is why the social-cultural situation on Warmia is a huge challenge for researchers and specialists in the field of immaterial cultural heritage, which continuance (in accordance with the UNESCO Convention) depends on the cultural, intergenerational message, and thanks to that "(...) it is still reproduced by communities and groups in relation with their surroundings, impact of nature and their history, and it also gives them a feeling of identity and continuity, contributing to growth of respect for cultural differences and people's creativity.

Lidzbarski County was admitted as representative for this region, and researches conducted there as pilot, which allowed to initially evaluate the preservation status of native traditions and cultural phenomena consisting of transforming, recreating or partly cultivating regional customs among the modern Warmia residents – those whose ascendants were from Warmia and those who are descendants of people coming here after the Second World War.

Furthermore, researchers were eager to verify Warmian traditions, which were described by an ethnographer – Anna Szyfer in a publication "Zwyczaje, obrzędy i wierzenia Mazurówi Warmiaków" published by the Research Institute of W. Kętrzyński in Olsztyn (1975). They were researches conducted in years 1963-1965 along with students from the University of Warsaw on the historical area of Warmia and Mazury inhabited by Polish people – in fourteen counties of former Olsztyńskie and Białostockie voivodeships. The researches did not include Lidzbarski County of that time. What is more, as indicated by Anna Szyfer, they included only Polish people. Results of researches regarding Warmia (Olsztyński and Biskupski Counties) allowed us only to suppose that in neighboring Warmian counties, similar cultural phenomena could occur.

Researches, which were conducted in September 2016, were focused on verification of traditions occurring in the 60's of the 20th century on the area of Warmia and of memory of them along modern residents. That is why researchers asked about a custom of processions

of servants with a white horse at the Christmas Eve, eating breja (soup) and baking a ceremonial cake nowolatek (new year) for a New Year, a custom of carolers travelling from house to house. The researchers also asked about knowledge about demonic characters: kłobuk/lataniec, topnik/mara/zmora, południca/air vortexes etc.

Fieldwork methods and specification of interlocutors

For 10 days researchers, who were divided into groups, conducted 117 interviews in the form of ethnographic questionnaires in four municipalities of Lidzbarski County: Kiwity, Lubomino, Lidzbark Warmiński and Orneta. In each of municipalities researches were conducted in at least few localities, to find similarities and differences in attitude of residents towards intangible cultural heritage and organizing regional culture within social initiatives in their localities, e.g. to estimate the state of preservation, disappearing, processing, reinterpreting and creating traditions considered to be Warmian. Researchers conducted also some observations during local events taking place at the time of researches on the area of Lidzbarski County, e.g. during Dożynki in Lubomin and in Bażdyny and during the II Festival of Religious Songs in Henrykowo. Additionally, researchers made notes in a researcher's log. There were comments and remarks on observation and conversations of residents of Warmia.

Ethnographic documentation of manifestations of the intangible cultural heritage consisted of gathering data in areas of eight thematic blocks, including:

- annual customs and rites (e.g. connected with Christmas or Easter);
- family customs and rites (e.g. connected with a period of pregnancy and birthday, marriage, funeral);

- traditional religiousness (e.g. connected with small sacral architecture, tradition of pilgrimages);
- secular, local celebrations (e.g. connected with Dożynki, local festivals);
- culinary traditions;
- handicraft traditions;
- folklore of music and creators of words;
- legends, stories and beliefs, folk medicine and superstitions, e.g. connected with the weather, animals and plants.

In the group of people, with whom researches were talking, there were:

- the oldest residents of Warmia – autochthons and after-war settlers;
- depositaries of the intangible cultural heritage (known among the Warmia residents as people cultivating regional cultural customs);
- folk artists and craftspeople;
- leaders and local activists, including: representatives of a non-governmental sector, institutions of culture and any organizations dealing with promoting traditional culture – activists standing out of the rest of local society because of their work for the sake of intangible cultural heritage (e.g. associations, village housewives' associations, voluntary fire brigades, village leaders etc.).

On the area of Lidzbarski County there were 104 interviews with 113 interlocutors, which became a base to analyze the preservation state of the immaterial cultural heritage. During some interviews with residents of Warmia, there were present other people (family members, neighbors, friends) who were joining the discussion, filling it with information about customs presently occurring on Warmia. Most of interviewed people were women –

82, and men – only 31. Women were more eager than men to talk about traditions and customs. Men say that such issues are women's things and they (women) are usually responsible for cultivation of traditions and passing traditions on to following generations.

Number of interviews conducted in particular localities and municipalities of Lidzbarski County.

no.	Kiwity Municipality		Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality		Lubomino Municipality		Orneta Municipality	
	locality	number of interviews (interlocutor)	locality	number of interviews (interlocutors)	locality	number of interviews (interlocutors)	locality	number of interviews (interlocutors)
1	Bartniki	3	Blanki	2	Bieniewo	1 (3)	Bażyny	4
2	Kiersnowo	2	Ignalin	4	Eldyty Wielkie	1	Bogatyńskie	1 (2)
3	Kiwity	12	Pilnik	1	Lubomino	8 (10)	Chwałęcín	1
4	Kobiela	1	Lidzbark Warmiński	17 (18)	Rogiedle	3	Drwęcno	2
5	Stoczek Klasztorny	3	Łaniewo	3	Wapnik	1	Henrykowo	1
6	TOTAL	21 (22)	Miłogórze	1	Wilczkowo	1	Karbowo	2
7			Runowo	4	Wolnica	4	Karkajmy	1
8			Workiejmy	2	Wójtowo	1	Mingajny	2
9			TOTAL	34 (35)	TOTAL	20 (24)	Opin	1
10							Orneta	16 (17)
							TOTAL	31 (33)
ŁĄCZNIE								104 (113)

Source: own elaboration

The most of interviewed women were 70-79 years old (17 women), then 50-59 years (15 women), 60-69 (13 women), 80-89 (11 women), 40-49 (6 women) and 30-39 (2 women). Lots of women were representing a generation of people, who could estimate lasting and transformation of cultural customs occurring on Warmia historically and now. Two oldest interlocutors are 91 years old. One of them lives in Kiwity and comes from Podkarpacie, and the second one lives in Orneta and comes from Wileńszczyzna. The youngest, 31-old woman comes from Wolnica (Lubomino Municipality). There were also 17 interviews with women, whose age was not revealed.

Group of men was significantly smaller because they were usually absent in their homes because their works were out of their living place. Additionally, the researches were conducted in the late summer. In this time village residents work on fields and prepare them for autumn crops. Intensity of works often made it impossible to talk with farmers. That is why the biggest group were men who were 60-69 years old (10 men), and the smallest 30-39, 40-49 and 80-89 (2 men in each of these groups). In the age bracket 50-59 there were only 3 men. The oldest man is 91 years old and lives in Bażyny/Orneta Municipality, comes from Wileńszczyzna and the youngest is 36 years old and comes from Lidzbark Warmiński. Six men did not reveal their age.

Interlocutors are mainly people representing the first generation of people resettled on Warmia after 1945. Among them there are people from the central and south-eastern parts of Poland (including Kujawy, Mazowsze, Podlasie, Kurpie, Lubelszczyzna, Kielecczyzna, Rzeszowskie) and from Kresy Wschodnie (including Wileńszczyzna – the most of them from Grodzieńszczyzna and Wołyńia). They are also interlocutors belonging to the Ukrainian minority, transferred from Podkarpacie. Among the audited people there were only five people who called themselves original Warmian people, autochthons. Two of them are people born in 30's of the 20th century (from Łaniewo, Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality and from Lidzbark Warmiński) and three born after the second world war (from Lubomino, Kiwity and Lidzbark Warmiński). One woman was an after-war returnee from France.

We should emphasize that big social mobility and labor migration caused that it was hard to interview only people living in Lidzbarski County since they were born. That is why in the interview there were also people from neighboring municipalities, counties or regions, who settled in Lidzbarski County in last decades and work in structures of a culture institution, having an influence on the way of organizing and managing regional culture.

Customs and annual rites

The ceremonial calendar includes customs and rites which are connected with religious and secular festivals. They are celebrated in the annual cycle in tightly determined and repetitive days. The annual cycle of ceremonies is determined not only by the generally accepted calendar but also cultural influences, standards and values of many ethnic, national or religious groups. The ceremonial year is also connected with a rhythm of four seasons (in order: winter, spring, summer, autumn). Works in fields and farms are determined by these seasons.

First festival mentioned by residents of Warmia was St. Andrew's celebrated at St. Andrew's Eve, in the night of 29 to 30 November. They emphasized that in the past, this festival was celebrated more often. A custom of fortunetelling is connected with St. Andrew's. The most popular augury was pouring wax to water through a hole in a key. A shade of a form created in that way was shown on a wall: "And there, its shape was interpreted, how one would be successful" (Kiwity/Kiwity Municipality/M/63). They also mentioned a custom of placing cards with names under a pillow. A first card which was reached, forejudged the name of a chosen one. Another custom: people were placing shoes in single file, the one who crossed the threshold would find the happiness of love; there were also paper hearts with names of men and women, pierced with a needle. Older interlocutors remember also different

Bronisława Bekiszczuk, Kiwity



Zofia Czuk, Wolnica



Zofia Ochab, Kiwity



Respondents of ethnographic research, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.

Daniel Grucajtis, Lubomino



auguries: "Grains were given to a rooster. The first miss who caught him was the first miss who married" (Stoczek Klasztorny/gm. Kiwity/K/66). Nowadays, St. Andrew's is celebrated in schools among kids and teenagers. Adults spend this day on village parties in dayrooms or privately, e.g. celebrating name days of people with a name – Andrew.

Advent was and still is the beginning of the time of waiting for Christmas. Lots of people in that time fast on Fridays, give themselves an atonement and go to church for Advent dawn mass with lamps. Participation in holly masses for four Advent Sundays is essential. Some of interlocutors, in that time, make Advent wreaths, with special ribbons and candles, which are hung on doors or put in houses. Respondents say that for a dozen of years there is a tradition of preparing wreaths for this time in churches of Lidzbark. There are also four candles. In each Sunday of Advent – one more is ignited.

Advent traditions are particularly important for the German minority: "Germans were preparing for Christmas for a long time. Advent was strongly celebrated by them. They were doing decorations back then" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). Lots of members of the "Warmia" Association of the German Minority prepare Advent Wreaths because – as they say – it is a symbol of their culture. One of the members says: "I started to do the Advent wreath since I joined the association because it was remarkably German. I say: no one said that it was a Warmian thing. Everyone said it was German" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/59).

Another event which deserves attention is the Advent's Eve "the Bethlehem of Nations" organized by the German minority in Lidzbark Warmiński. During Advent, there are also workshops for teenagers consisting of making Christmas decorations. There is also a concert of Polish, German and Ukrainian carols. "There is a performance, the so-called jasełka (...). Naturally, there is also a Christmas tree, Santa Claus, there are carols sung together. We sing carols in Polish, German, Ukrainian, (...), so this is called the Bethlehem of Nations and it is a beautiful festival, which shows what we managed to create in Lidzbark, the atmosphere of community" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/59). One of the interlocutors indicated that in some churches there were stairs or ladders (with a number of steps equal to the number of Advent days) leading to the cradle of the Child. (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66).

During the time of advent there is also 6 December – a day of St. Nicolas – mikołajki. The oldest residents of the county mentioned, that in the past there was no festival like that and it became popular few decades ago: "It is practiced, but my children for their children, I did not learn it in my house" (Kiwity/Kiwity Municipality/M/63). Currently, at night before this day, there is a custom of putting little gifts into cleaned boots of children and other residents.

In the day of the Christmas Eve, or for few days before that, a Christmas tree is decorated. It is usually done by youngest family members with grandparents or parents. As it is emphasized by residents, a Christmas tree "has to be natural, because of its smell" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/56), but more and more people say that having an artificial one is more practical. In the past, it was decorated with paper decorations, e.g. chains or small baskets, and also nuts, apples and candles (Kiersnowo/Kiwity Municipality/K/bd). "Chains and other toys were made, candies, gingerbreads and apples were hung (...). A Christmas tree had to have a star on its top, candles had to be real, not artificial. (...) Here, in Lidzbark, we had small candelabrams and candles were attached to them (...). We were also decorating Christmas tree with cottons because it is like snow" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/76). Today's decorations are: small baubles, colorful chains and little lamps. A Christmas tree is "kept until the Epiphany, if you want to, you can keep it longer..." (Kiwity/K/54). Other people say that it is kept until a priest will come with a carol. However, the most often it is kept until 2 February - the Our Lady of Candles Day.

The Christmas Eve starts when first star appears on the sky. During the Eve, Warmia residents were sharing Christmas wafer. It is usually begun by the owner of a house. Sharing and wishing is preceded by a joint prayer. Some of them mention their dead family members or friends (Lubomino/K/66). On the other hand, in Ukrainian families people share prosphoron: "People were wishing everything good to each other, but before that, such a bread or pun was consecrated and called – prosphoron (...). It was divided into parts and eaten" (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/77). After-war settlers from Kresy Wschodnie noticed some

differences in the custom of sharing a Christmas wafer: "it was variously, for example, a custom of sharing the wafer and wishing came from Kurpia. From Wilno, a custom that grandfather at the beginning of the Christmas Eve was taking the wafer, and adding a part of it to each meal. Then he was going to a barn to throw a part of it to hay" (Orneta/ /M/63).

Many respondents say that in the past, people shared the wafer also with animals, but according to interlocutors, it has been a tradition imported there by after-war settlers: "My father brought this tradition from Wileńszczyzna. We had the custom of wafer before. Everyone was surprised here." (Kiwity/K/67). Wafers given to animals were green, blue or pink (Lubomino/Lubomino Municipality/K/66). Some people were emphasizing that wafers had been given only to cattle or horses (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/56), because if you had not done this, you would have died (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/62). Sharing wafers with animals was supposed to bring a luck (Workiejny/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/K/54). Currently, not many people continue this custom. Some say that they share the wafer with pets e.g. dogs (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/88), but others criticize it: "Sharing a wafer still exists, but not sharing with animals, maybe it is because nowadays there are not many farmers. They do not breed many animals and people will not share with a dog or cat" (Rogiedle/Lubomino Municipality/K/32).

Gifts are given by someone wearing the costume of Santa Claus: "There was Santa Claus when kids were younger. There was always someone who could wear his costume or we hired someone. Here, in Lidzbark, we have a man, who does it, we can say, professionally. Sometimes we hired him. He came and children were happy" (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/bd). Warmian residents, belonging to the German Minority, mentioned that gifts in Evangelic families were given on 25 December (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/59).

On the day of the Christmas Eve, most of Warmian people fast, but more and more families during the evening meal eat also dishes with meat, e.g. bigos. According to popular belief, on the Christmas table there should be 12 dishes. Among them, we can find lots of dishes characteristic for origin places of after-war settlers. "For instance, on the Christmas Eve, my mom did noodles herself, so it was important from Belarus for sure" (Lubomino/K/66).

Characteristic dishes for people from the East were e.g. jelly dessert and dish consisting of boiled grain (kisiel and kutia) (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/76, Orneta/M/88). "Kutia was made of shelled wheat. It was done with honey and poppy seeds. We were starting the Christmas Eve eating kutia. Others were eating kutia at the end. There was also a custom of throwing a spoon of kutia at a ceiling. Then people were counting how many stacks of wheat they would have in the following year. Similarly with poppy seeds" (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/77).

To today noodles and dumplings with poppy seeds (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/62), poppy-seed cakes and poppy desserts with dried tropical fruits – the so-called makiełki: "you cook milk, put in poppy-seeds, (...) sweeten, put in different dried fruits, e.g. raisins, figs and you do something like a soup. Some time ago you baked a cake with it. We called it makiełki" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/76). Some of respondents say "(...) fritters, crumpets with poppy seeds, noodles, baked dumplings made of mashed potatoes, eggs, and flour and pretzels with poppy seeds were flooded with sweet poppy seeds" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/82). Moreover, people very often bake gingerbreads and cheesecakes (even 2-3 weeks before) for the Christmas Eve.

Lots of people eat dishes with a cabbage during the Christmas Eve, e.g. "there is a cabbage with peas and cabbage with mushrooms" (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/62). Others prepare dumplings with a cabbage and mushrooms, mushroom soup, beetroot soup with little dumplings with mushroom filling: "Fried dumplings in the soup are filled with cabbages, peas and beans" (Kiwity/K/56). Majority of interlocutors say that there are many fish dishes, e.g. carps, zanders or herrings. Autochthons were eating also cold fish soups with potatoes: "it was called 'a cold soup', because it was made of a herring. With dried mushrooms and potatoes added. Such a herring should be salty, with a little bit of oil. Later, we were eating potatoes with herrings, later fishes and all the rest" (Kiwity/K/67). Some time ago, people were drinking "podpiwek" (beer with small amount of alcohol), currently they drink compote made of dried fruits (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/60 i K/57; Stoczek Klasztorny/gm. Kiwity/K/bd).

In Greek-Catholic families, members eat gołąbki with filling of smashed potatoes and kasha (Miłogórze/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/K/68). On the other hand, in Evangelic families during the Christmas Eve, a baked goose was eaten (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/59), there were plates with sweets for children, the so-called Bunter Teller (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/65). After the Eve, residents usually go to church for the shepherdess.

Numerous customs, beliefs and superstitions mentioned by residents of Lidzbarski County are connected with the Christmas Eve. There is a superstition: if the first human who enters your house in the day of the Christmas Eve is a man, the next year will be successful, and if it is a woman, it will be unsuccessful (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/59, Lubomino/Lubomino Municipality/K/50): "it is a sign if cows will calve well, if harvests will be rich, usually it is about it" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/56).

Among the other customs, there is a custom of putting hay under the tablecloth. Some people were adding money to it: "Because it will be a rich year, and money should be in small values, scattered" (Orneta/K/60). A woman living in Kiwity arrived from Bieszczady in 1947 and mentioned that: "There was so much hay in home, that we, children, were tipping over. We were taking care of cows, so father told us to collect all spoons, and forks after the eve and tie them using straws on the floor, to keep cows together" (Kiwity/K/73).

People believe that at the noon, animals talk in the language of humans (Łaniewo/gm. Lidzbark Warmiński/M/74): "Animals talk but no one have heard it." (Lubomino/gm. Lubomino/K/72). As a man from Ełdyty Wielkie noticed: "When animals are close to me, they don't want to speak. Maybe they are afraid that they would end up in a pot" (Ełdyty Wielkie/Lubomino Municipality/M/71). Remains of some dishes were also given to chickens.

People coming from south-eastern Poland were talking about the custom of hugging the trees or wooden poles of fences. As it is mentioned by an interlocutor from Orneta: "We were running barefoot on snow and then hugging such a fence. The more you hug, the longer you live or the longer it will take for you to get married (Orneta/K/77). In the

Christmas Eve, young ladies swept the floor, then they ran out of their houses, threw the garbage outside and listened from which side, the dog would bark. They believed that this was the side from which their bridegroom would arrive (Stoczek Klasztorny/Kiwity Municipality/K/66). In the past, people cleaned the Christmas Eve's table on the following day. They believed that souls of the dead would arrive at night to eat the dishes (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66).

Not many people mentioned the custom of putting a carp's scale into a wallet: "mother in law puts carp's scales into our wallets. She says that we will have money then" (Opin, Orneta Municipality/K/44). To date, people observe weather from Christmas Eve to Epiphany. There is a belief, that each of these days tells us about the weather in the next months of the following year.

The respondents spend the first and the second days of Christmas in company of their family. This is the time of visiting the closest family. People eat meat meals, e.g. bigos, gołąbki or cured meat. On the second day of Christmas – the day of the St. Stephen – people in churches were throwing peas or oats from a choir: "They were beating each other with these oats. It happened that they filled the whole church and outside (...). In the past, there was such a custom and it was telling something, but not today" (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/76). Today, this custom disappears (Wilczkowo/Lubomino Municipality/K/61).

In the time of Christmas, people were beginning caroling. Some of the county's residents mentioned that carolers were wandering on 25 and 26 December and on 6 January. Usually it was a group of children and teenagers wearing costumes and playing instruments, e.g. the violin (Kiwity/K/58) or accordion (Lubomino/K/83). Children sewed pouches for the gifts from householders by themselves (Kiwity/K/91).

Such a caroling group involves: turon (Christmas caroller dressed as horned animal) with a star, devil, death (personified as a hooded skeleton with scythe), the Mother of God and Herod (Stoczek Klasztorny/Kiwity Municipality/K/bd). "Carolers wandered around the village. Usually, they were older. They wanted to earn some money or vodka. They wore costumes

of turon, angel or Jew. Sometimes, the carolers are children. 10-12 years old. They are there because they want to or they are mobilized by a priest" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/57). Costumes were prepared by carolers, additionally, they painted their own faces: "We made it with our own hands, from different clothes and sheets. There was a death, cow, billy-goat, devil" (Pilnik/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/M/54). For singing carols, people were getting fruits, sweets and small change (money). "They wandered from house to house. When they were just under the window, they asked if they could make the home happier. Then, they sang carols and wishes for a housewife, for girls and boys – for everyone" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/82). One of autochthons mentioned that before the war, carolers were carrying a crib made with their own hands (Łaniewo/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/82).

However, most of interlocutors noticed that it is a custom that slowly disappears because young people go abroad and children do not want to be involved in caroling. As it is noticed by a woman from Orneta: "There was no caroling in this year. There are children wearing costumes of the Three Kings, devil, angel, with painted faces. They sing few carols but it is not as good as it used to be. Back in the days we wandered and collected so much money! (...) But we sang beautifully, with different costumes (...). In villages it was different. We travelled few kilometers, singing. We wanted to do that. We travelled through snow and snowdrifts. Nothing could stop us" (Orneta/K/bd).

Another important events in the winter time are the New Year's Eve and the New Year's Day. On the last day of a year, Warmian residents meet with the family or friends at New Year parties in halls or houses. Ukrainians, but also other residents of the county, very eagerly participate in the Ukrainian New Year's parties – the so-called mańanki. "Mańanka is a Ukrainian New Year's party. It is a little bit later than our New Year and it is a great fun. I do not feel annoyed by the fact that it is mixed and there are lots of Poles" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd).

Many interlocutors mentioned that in the past, New Year's tricks were very popular, e.g. disassembling a neighbor's gate and hiding it in a hardly accessible place, collecting different things and throwing them into a chimney (Kiwity/K/bd); leading the carts off and taking

them to pieces or painting windows white: "Young bachelors painted bachelorettes' windows" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/54); covering chimneys: "Once we put a glass on a chimney and stopped the smoke" (Pilnik/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/M/54). Others say: "We dragged carts on roofs because they were thatched. It is easy to drag a cart on a thatched roof. Nobody was offended. They were not many cases like that – one cart for a village was enough..." (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/77). Currently, New Year's tricks are not too popular.

6 January, on the Epiphany, people go to churches to attend the Mass. On this day, a priest blesses pieces of chalk, which are used to write initials of names: Kacper, Melchior, Baltazar, and an actual year (Lubomino/K/80, K/83, Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/82). "On the day of Epiphany there was necessary blessing of chalk: such chalk along with holy water, were carried home. These 2 things needed to be present on the day of caroling" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/76). On the Epiphany day, there is also caroling and Byzantine Catholics and Eastern Orthodox Church have their Christmas Eve.

Many interlocutors mentioned that 2 February was an important day – Candlemas. In that day people participate in a holy mass and take bigcandles to churches – the so-called gromnica – in order to devote them. According to residents of the county, gromnicas are still ignited in the times of storms: "When there is a storm or rain, we put gromnica on a window, next to the cross and we pray" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/82). Gromnica had significant meaning in the folk tradition and the tradition of the Church. It was supposed to protect house and its surroundings from elements and disasters: "On candlemas, people who were not in the church, had their hair burnt. A little bit, so they would not be afraid of storms and lightning. And at four corners we were making a cross, then we went to the barn and on the barn's door" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66). Gromnica was given to hands of a dying man: "When one is dying, we give him gromnica. It has always been so, and still is" (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/62).

In the time of carnival, there are the so-called basket games in village clubrooms or banquet rooms(Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/32). Respondents were mostly talking about the last week of carnival, the Fat Thursday when people bake donuts: "On Fat Thursday, people bake donuts, cook rich suppers, invite other people and buy vodka" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66). One of autochthons mentioned that "At the beginning, housewives were doing dumplings, later also donuts. Those donuts were tasty, now no one wants to make them. People just want to buy" (Łaniewo/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/M/82). The other one emphasizes the fact, that back in the days, people were putting money inside of donuts: "Mom made dough for donuts the day before. Later, money was put inside of donuts. Then there was a contest between children to find the money. There was rivalry between them" (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/65). The others say that people do angel wings, „(...) different kinds of cookies, cakes, everything that is sweet" (Rogiedle/Lubomino Municipality/K/62) or the so-called oponki – dough creased with white cheese (Drwęczno/Orneta Municipality/K/56). The carnival's last day is called śledzik (herring) (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/76), zapusty (Shrovetide) (Kobiela/Kiwity Municipality/K/83) or the most often ostatki (Shrove Thursday) (Kiwity/K/67, Henrykowo/Orneta Municipality/K/74). The party referring to this day is usually at the weekend before the Ash Wednesday.

At Ash Wednesday – beginning the time of Lent – county's residents abide a strict fast and usually go to Church for a mass, to sprinkle their heads with ash. That is why it is called Ash Wednesday (Wapnik/Lubomino Municipality/K/77). After the war, settlers from the east brought a new tradition, which consisted in sprinkling a bread with ash "and we had to eat some of this bread" (Kobiela/Kiwity Municipality/K/83). If someone cannot participate in the mass on that day, family members bring ash for him in a book for prayers: "We were going to church, if one could not, we were bringing ash for him in the book for prayers" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66).

Fasting time is a time of thoughtfulness and spiritual preparations to the Easter. In this time, people fast on every Friday. They usually eat fishes, dairy products and vegetables: "When children were younger, for breakfast we were eating potatoes, drinking milk with water (50%) (...) and there was also sauerkraut. For dinner there was always a soup. Potato soup or

noodles in soup (...). Later, for supper, again cooked potatoes. There was a soup, potatoes, bean, or kasha with sauerkraut, or cabbage soup. In the morning potatoes and in the evening potatoes again" (Karbowo/Orneta Municipality/K/78). During this time, some people have their resolutions, mainly consisting in not eating sweets, not drinking alcohol or not smoking (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/62).

In the time of fasting – 21 March – people welcome spring. This custom refers to past customs of spring summoning, which consisting in burning or drowning woman's effigy – Marzanna, which was a symbol of winter and bad things. Currently, burning of Marzanna in Lidzbarski County is organized mainly in schools: "We were participating, there was a procession, whole school, naturally. Now they also burn, but there was drowning and then we organized a fireplace (...). It was supposed to be an effigy, to have tassels, old clothes, there was arbitrariness" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). The transformation or disappearing of this custom is caused by a ban on drowning Marzanna in rivers and other water reservoirs: "I remember, when I was going to school, we had Marzanna, now there is not anything like that. A teacher helped us to do an effigy, and later we were throwing it into a river" (Workiejmy/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/K/54).

Another important festival is Palm Sunday, for which many people prepare Eastern palms by themselves. Usually, palms are made of branches of willows, birches and forsythias, branches which are collected earlier and put into a vase, to make them thrive. Palms are decorated with boxwoods, colorful ribbons and flowers (live and made of tissue paper): "The simplest way: a juniper, a boxwood and a myrtle, or anything to decorate, ribbons, and of course there has to be a willow with catkins. (...) Sometimes, when people were walking out of a church, they hit with such a palm, because it was 7 days till Easter" (Henrykowo/Orneta Municipality/K/74). It is confirmed also by a woman from Drwęczno, whose mother said: "Palm hits, it won't kill, six nights till Easter" (Drwęczno/Orneta Municipality/K/56). In other houses it was: "Palm hits, it won't kill, huge day next week, the palm goes from side to side, every year" (Orneta/K/79) or "I don't hit, willow hits, seven days and seven nights till Easter" (Kiwity/K/77).

After the blessing, palm is put into a vase or behind a sacred picture. You cannot throw it away, you can only burn it: "After the blessing (...) we hanged it behind the picture. Later, we carried it to church and it was burnt by a priest. Later, he was using the ash, on Ash Wednesday. Yes, this ash was from palms" (Orneta/K/79). Back in the day, people were using devoted palms to expel cattle from a barn (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/82). They also ate catkins to prevent throat diseases (Rogiedle/Lubomino Municipality/K/bd; Orneta/K/70). Some of them practice it to date. In Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality, there is also a contest for the best, self-prepared palm – "The Most Beautiful Traditional Easter Palm". It is organized by The Commune Cultural and Sport Centre in Pilnik.

Easter is preceded by Holy Week. Very significant days are Holy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday, which are called Triduum Paschalne. In this time people clean their houses, steadings and go on various devotions or celebrations. According to Warmian people, these are the days in which you have to participate in masses and live silently. Holy Thursday is "a festival of priests, so we were wishing them the best" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd).

On Good Friday there is Lent: "Meatless thins were eaten. Jacket potatoes and onions fried on oil" (Kiwity/K/67). On this day, there is a solemn Way of the Cross and adoration of the Christ's Grave. In Lidzbark Warmiński for few years "There is a Way of the Cross through the estate, (...) but it looks really beautiful. It is in the evening, with torches" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/59). There is also a tradition of guarding the Christ's Grave by firefighters (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/57, Pilnik/Lidzbark Warmiński/M/54), less often by scouts (Lubomino/K/80, K/83). "There was an adoration in church for the whole night and firefighters also adore" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/60). In some localities, families guard the Grave: "There is a grave of Jesus Christ, we have our hours and each family watches over the grave (...). Families switch after each hour" (Wapnik/Lubomino Municipality/K/77).

On Holy Saturday meals carried to churches or chapels in little baskets are blessed by a priest: "On this moment, a priest arrives (...) to this chapel. I come (...) and decorate this chapel for Easter (...). Half of the village comes here with baskets" (Drwęczno/Orneta Municipality/K/bd). The most often, baskets are carried by children with their parents or grandparents. They have to include eggs, smoked meat, salt, pepper or kielbasa. The oldest interlocutors mentioned that in the past, each meal was blessed, now only chosen meals in small amounts (Kiersnowo/Kiwity Municipality/K/bd). Basket is wadded with a white mat and decorated with e.g. a boxwood: "I place a mat (...) and a lamb made of chocolate or sugar on it, (...) a poppy-seed cake to be blessed, eggs, kielbasa, bacon, salt and pepper. (...). I don't give a horseradish, (...) I don't like when it is bought. With boxwoods on the outside, inside or even on the mat there is a boxwood and asparagus" (Chwałęcín/Orneta Municipality/K/53).

Lots of people described in detail way of painting eggs. The most popular method is painting it in onion skins, some respondents mentioned also coloring eggs in young rye or red beets: "Mom was always cooking in onion skins and eventually in rye. They gave them green color. An onion was very popular. The longer you cook, the darker it gets" (Orneta/K/80). In other houses eggs were decorated using wax, e.g. people were painting eggs in it and then put them into a dye, sometimes they were scratching patterns (Kiwity/K/58). "Such a spade is very thin and egg is cooked, then treated with wax. Waxed egg does not take a paint. Then, beautiful eggs appear" (Orneta/K/79). Others emphasized that lots of people today buy dyes or sticks for eggs in shops. As it is mentioned by county's residents: "There always had to be one peeled egg in święconka (a custom of blessing food in a small basket)" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). It is explained that an egg cannot be truly blessed through its shell. Householders share such an egg during Easter breakfast (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd).

Greek Catholics claimed that yeast dough was blessed on Easter (Kiwity/K/73). On the other hand, residents who are Roman Catholics bring gromnica to church on Holy Saturday. On this day, priest blesses water and burns fire outside of a church. In this fire, palms from the previous year are burnt and used as a material for incenses (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/62).

On Easter people go on resurrection – a morning, grand mass. In the past there was a conviction that a housekeeper, who was first at home after the resurrection would have rich harvests on that year (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). "Our village men, householders were not waiting or talking, they were going straight home. They were travelling by cars or on feet. They were even running" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66).

After the mass, householders share blessed eggs and wish all the best to each other (but not in every house) and then they eat Easter breakfast. Guests who came for breakfast always said: "Jesus Christ rose from the dead" (Kiersnowo/Kiwity Municipality/K/bd). Rarely, respondents mention that some settlers, who came after 1945 from the areas of eastern Poland and Eastern borderlands, were travelling from house to house and singing Easter songs and "hallelujah". They were receiving eggs (Wapnik/Lubomino Municipality/78). "And when these carolers were travelling, it was Easter. We were giving them red eggs. They were going with a basket and collected lots of eggs. (...) They were singing, wishing all the best. I knew such a line: little children were collecting flowers, kneeling and welcoming Jesus Christ..." (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/82).

During Easter breakfast people share święconka among all the householders and usually eat sour rye soup with cooked eggs and horseradish (Kiwity/K/91). People bake various pies and meats for this day. "Sour rye soup, white kielbasa, eggs in mayonnaise, whole eggs, because they also have to be there, except for that – baked chickens, cooked meats and baked meats" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/57). Others eat white borscht rather than a sour rye soup (Rogiedle/Lubomino Municipality/32). On tables there are different kinds of ham and a Russian salad. The most popular cakes for this day are poppy seed cakes, mazurek cakes, fruitcakes and yeasty babka (Workiejmy/Lubomino Municipality/K/54).

After the Easter breakfast there are plays with eggs. One of them consists in hitting eggs – the winner is a person, whose egg shell will remain unbroken. Some residents mentioned also the play consisting in rolling eggs: "They were letting eggs go off a little hill and a person whose egg would break was a loser in that game" (Orneta/K/75). On this day, some county's

residents give gifts to each other, within the so-called bunny (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/85).

The Easter Monday is called Wet Monday. On this day, there is a popular custom of dousing people with water. In the past, young single women were doused because it was supposed to guarantee them a lot of chance to get married. "This is a tradition which is still practiced. We douse very intensely, if there is a good weather, we begin in the morning, we take a duvet off a sleeping person and boom! It is started by the first person who remembers about it" (Lidzbark Warmiński/bd). In the past people were using buckets, now they use water from bottles, plastic pistols or other toys. Even firefighters were dousing in the morning (Ignalin/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/K/bd). Today priests also douse people in church with water or they do it symbolically with an aspergillum.

Lots of people emphasized that in the last years Easters were cold and it is the reason why people do not do this so eagerly anymore (Drwęczno/Orneta Municipality/K/56). Few residents say that some people even called the police in order to punish the ones who doused too richly. In some localities people were using perfumes (not much) instead of water. For this activity they received small amounts of money. Some respondents mentioned that there was also a custom of disguisers wandering around a town on the Easter Monday. They were singing: "We are wandering on Wet Monday, open your door. Host, bring us the bottle of vodka. A man was disguised as a woman and they were wandering like that – for fun" (Kiwity/M/63).

Lots of Warmia residents still continue the tradition of decorating houses on Pentecost Sunday. Usually they cut young birch and locate it in front of a house: "Usually before the threshold we situate little birches. It is for religion. We feel festivals then" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/57). Sometimes they set acorus gramineus out on the ground, which is mentioned by one of the autochthons: "When my parents were alive, we always cut little birches. They were situated in front of the house and in front of it – a little carpet made of acorus gramineus. Today I try to place a birch, but this custom is not popular in the village anymore (Łaniewo/Lidzbark Municipality/M/74). Birches or branches of birches were put

also in houses behind holy pictures, or they were decorating home and barn entrances. For farmers it was important to decorate farm buildings. Some of them were later putting them into a field, in order to collect a rich harvest (Kobiela/Kiwity Municipality/K/83).

Few respondents mentioned that curtilages were also decorated with limes and routes were gritted. Older residents emphasize that the custom of putting young birches in front of houses (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/85) is still alive, but continued by less and less people and sometimes it is limited to just putting a branch of birch in a vase, on a windowsill.

The next festival in a calendar of customs is Corpus Christi. The day before, four little altars are prepared and decorated with young trees, usually birches, their branches or with flowers. Such altars are decorated by set families. If several villages belong to one parish – a particular village is responsible for a particular altar. On the procession route people decorate their houses, e.g. people exhibit holy pictures in their windows. During the procession, kids drop flowers: "There is a procession with folk costumes, boys and girls are in their First Communion costumes, they drop flowers. Elder women wear folk costumes and carry a wreath or picture. They are Warmian folk costumes, red vests, white blouses, red necklaces, shirts with trimmings. It looks very pretty. There are banners, little girls carrying ribbons. On banners, usually there are pictures of the Mother of God" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/57). One woman mentioned that in the past, elder women were going in the procession with bare feet and later, before the church, they put their shoes on (Kiersnowo/Kiwity Municipality/K/bd).

After the liturgy many people take branches from the altar. According to the residents of Warmia, they are burnt during storms. It was supposed to protect houses from lightning strikes (Kiwity/K/73). Other people put them behind a holy picture in order to be successful (Pilnik/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/M/54). It is said that such a branch protects a house from evil powers and vermin on fields, that is why they are put also in fields' corners (Orneta/K74). "People take them because it brings happiness: in home, in garden, everywhere. I collect them myself and put among the flowers or into a vase, behind a

picture, to make it dry. Then I take the leaves and go through each room in the house, it has to be like that" (Lubomino/K/72).

For the octave of Corpus Christi women prepare bouquets or little wreaths of herbs and flowers to bless, e.g. from chamomile, loggerheads, stonecrops, clovers: „in that time it is said to make twelve such wreaths, (...). We do as many as we can. From white clovers, red clovers, from different herbs, thymes, stonecrops. At the end they are blessed" (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/85).

St. John's Eve is at night from 23 to 24 June. Interlocutors called that event St. John's Night or Kupala Night. "St. John's night is a festival of John, we were putting wreaths on water for him. You had to place your wreath on water, make a triangle out of it and place a candle on it. Usually it was a low light. The farther it travelled, (...) the better life you would have" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/57). After the war only few people on Warmia attempted to continue that tradition. In many cases it was stopped because of lack of access to a river or lake in a particular locality. In the last years however, the tradition of St. John's Night comes back: "In this year we have made a celebration. There wasn't any earlier. We had a meeting, party and common searching for a fern flower" (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/62). For several years, St. John's Night is organized also in Lidzbark Warmiński and Orneta.

There are few superstitions connected with the day of St. John. Just after the 24 June you could swim in a lake or river, because before that day "the water was not sacred" (Kobiela/Kiwity Municipality/K/83) or "baptized" (Kiwity/K/73, Lidzbark Warmiński/M/77), "because you could drown" (Lubomino/K/72). "The first apple from your garden you could eat after the St. John's day, (...). On the St. John's day we had to go to forest and collect berries" (Drwęczno/Orneta Municipality/K/56).

Another important festival for Warmian people is 15 August – the Mother of God of Herbs day. For this day, people prepare bouquets or wreaths made of herbs, field or garden flowers and also vegetables and take them to church in order to bless them. "We bless flowers, cereals, vegetables and apples and chamomiles, mints, yarrows, marigolds. They are very useful herbs (...) which are helpful in health matters. (...) Such a bouquet was later dried

on a window. (...) Then I crush everything and hide into a jar. (...) And then I drink herbal teas" (Drwęczno/Orneta Municipality/K/bd). There is a conviction that there should be 12 devoted wreaths: "(...) we made small, not too big. There were 12 of them because mother said so. (...) They were tied by a little string, made from road flowers" (Orneta/K/79).

Other county residents say that they add branches of a lime, clovers, chamomiles, cornflowers, different cereals, red beets, dills and carrots. One of respondents states that eating blessed apple helps to cure throat diseases (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/76). Blessed wreaths and bouquets are used when someone is ill or captivated. Then they are burnt and an ill or captivated person is incensed with the smoke (Rogiedle/Lubomino Municipality/32). Furthermore people believe that on that day they can pray to the Mother of God for specific grace for themselves and their families (Orneta/K/74).

8 September – on the day of Our Lady of Sowing people go to church to bless cereal grains. This custom is still practiced among farmers on Warmia. They carry grains in pouches or tissues and then they mix it with grains which are going to be sown in fields (Kobiela/Kiwity Municipality/K/83). "When we sow, we add these grains to the rest in order to have richer harvests. That is why we bless them" (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/76).

The last festival in annual cycle mentioned by respondents is 1 November – All Saints' Day . Few days before people clean graves of their families and friends, decorate them with flowers and wreaths made from flowers and spruce branches. Back in the days, residents of Warmia were preparing flowers of tissue paper for that day (Kiwity/K/84). On the 1 November they visit graves of the dead and put lights on them. Lots of people participate also in processions along a graveyard. On All Souls' Day graves are also visited. Among some people there is a conviction that on those days, souls of the dead arrive: "On that day, souls visit us. Our grandmother told as so many stories that we were scared to stick our hands out of the rooms. They told us that it is the day, when souls come and watch us, Zaduszki" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). On the other hand, Greek Catholics memorize their dead friends and visit their graveyards on the day of St. Martyr Demetrios (8 November) and in the time of Easter (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/77).

Respondents state also that among children and teenagers there is a very popular word – Halloween. However, they have not got positive attitude towards it: "It is strange for me. Sometimes they do these devil things out of a pumpkin, they put candles" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/57). Despite that reluctance, they buy sweets and give them to children when they visit their houses in costumes (Rogiedle/Lubomino Municipality/32).

Customs and family rites

Next to the annual rites there also family rites, which are customs connected with, e.g. the period of pregnancy, birthdays, days of baptisms, marriages and funerals. Lots of them survived to date and show the way in which family rites have changed.

Warmia residents tell about regulations obtaining a pregnant woman. When she wanted to have a boy, she had to have a hung axe above her bed (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/88). A pregnant woman should not raise her hands, hang net curtains, go under ladders, wires or ropes because it could cause wrapping the baby with an umbilical cord (Kiwity/K/73, Miłogórze/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/K/68; Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/53). "If a pregnant woman entered a room through a window, her child would be hunchbacked" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66). Other people say that "(...) you couldn't hang net curtains but it is probably connected with miscarrying of a child" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). "You couldn't jump over the water, because then the child twirls and is born with legs in front" (Bogatyńskie/Orneta Municipality/K/79).

A woman which is after a childbirth or pregnant woman could not work with meat processing. She also could not have done any fruit or vegetable preserves (Stoczek Klasztorny/Kiwity Municipality/K/56). "She couldn't look at anything ugly, any disability" (Kiwity/K/78). "You had to be calm, otherwise, the child was spiteful" (Kiwity/K/56). A pregnant woman "(...) could participate in a funeral but couldn't look at a deceased. When there was an open coffin, she should have stayed at home" (Bażyny/Orneta

Municipality/K/66). "She couldn't watch through a keyhole because then a child would be crosseyed" (Runowo/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/K/59). You could not refuse to a pregnant woman because then you would have mice in your house (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). A pregnant woman could not also hold children in a baptism ceremony.

Back in the days, a woman after a childbirth until the disquisition in church, could not leave her house. People believed that until then she was still defiled and dirty. This custom is mentioned by some residents of the county: "When I gave birth to my daughter, there was a disquisition. Now I see: a week after a childbirth and a woman can enter a church. We couldn't. Six weeks, similarly to the Our Lady of Candles. Then we went to a disquisition. (...) I had to go to church with a gromnica. A priest led me to an altar. We were wandering around the altar few times, priest was saying some prayers silently, then I blew out the candle, left it and then I could sit on a church bench. It was called a disquisition. (...) I think that it was after six weeks" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/66). There was a conviction that woman should not use a well before the disquisition because then vermin would breed in that well (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66).

There are also superstitions pertaining to a children, e.g. when it is born on Sunday, it will be lazy (Kiwity/K/84). Lots of people from Kiwity Municipality say that if your child cried a lot, you had to wipe its face with a nappy, previously pissed by this child. It was supposed to help a child (Kiwity/K/58). They mention also other methods of calming your children down: "I heard that if your child cries at night, you should pour wax through a key" (Bogatyński/Orneta Municipality/K/45). "It can be a small plate, you make a little cross from birch branches. Then you pour water and you put it under a baby pushchair or bed, and then you slowly pour wax (...)" (Ignalin/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/K/60).

Formerly, people believed that a child should not be outside until the baptism ceremony. Before the ceremony you also could not hang its nappies outside. There is a superstition that a child's jacket should be dressed, beginning from the right arm of a child, otherwise it will not be eager to work (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/88) or will be left-handed (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/59). That is why some people put a pen and notebook into a child's pushchair –

then it will be wise (Kiwity/K/84). After the baptism ceremony, a child cannot be placed on a table, because then it will be prankish. You should place it in the bed (Orneta/K/bd).

Two women indicate that it is essential to say "wiara" (faith) during the ceremony, not "mara" (phantasm) because then it would behave like a phantasm: "If you make a slip of a tongue, your child will be nasty. (...) If you did this, it would wander around the house at night, maybe it would try to go out through a window..." (Bogatyńskie/Orneta Municipality/K/45; K/79). Almost every respondent mention the necessity of attaching red ribbon to a bed or pushchair because it is supposed to remove spells "I believe because there are people with evil eyes. (...) Red ribbon on a lug, pushchair, maybe a red children's clothes. It is usually made by everyone, not only elder people. It protects from spells. If someone has an evil eye, looks unkindly. People are not aware of such abilities and then child suffers" (Kiwity/K/56).

Another important events were an engagement, a marriage and a wedding party. As it is mentioned by the oldest interlocutors: when a man tried to get a woman, he had to ask her parents for permission first. It was important for him to have a good social-economic position and to keep off addictions (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/88). A resident of Mingajny tells about his engagement: "When I was arranging the engagement, I took flowers for my mother-in-law and for my future wife and then I gave her a ring. Later there was *zmówiny* (a matchmaking). Then parents were meeting and talking about sharing marriage expenses" (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/M/bd). Some people use a term "*zrękowiny*" (Ełdyty Wielkie/Lubomino Municipality/M/71).

Currently engagement are without asking for parents permissions. However, it is essential for both families to meet before wedding (Drwęczno/Orneta Municipality/k/56). "Marriage brokers were on a matchmaking. There were also parents from both sides. They were meeting and talking about the wedding and guests" (Wapnik/Lubomino Municipality/K/76). Until recently a groom had to provide orchestra and alcohol and a bride had to provide food and cakes.

A stag party and hen party, according to interlocutors, are organized from ten or fifteen years, though "Back in the day, mom told me, that there were different meeting for men and women before the marriage" (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/65). For such a party invited were: male friends of a groom and female friends of a bride. They drink alcohol together and there are various plays organized. "When my niece was on her friend's hen party, she bought her underclothes made of sweets" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/60). Only two people mentioned the custom of knapping glass before the wedding (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd, Lubomino/M/37).

Before the wedding, in the house of a future bride there is a blessing of the young couple: "Before they will be married there is a blessing, their parents bless them. (...) A young couple kisses a cross, parents wish them all the best. It is a very touching moment for both parents and children. Later [in the wedding house – A.P.-W.] there is welcoming with a bread and salt. A young couple drinks [vodka – A.P.-W.] and then throw glasses behind them. If they [glasses] break, there will be happiness, if not, there won't" (Chwałęcín/Orneta Municipality/K/53).

After a wedding, a young couple is showered with rice or peas and the more and more often with flowers' flakes (usually artificial). Throwing rice slowly disappears, because parish priests complain that no one cleans it afterwards (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/53). A young couple collects money – money in their home will be kept by a person who gathers more (Lubomino/K/50). Sometimes two white doves are let go in front of a church. In a Russian Orthodox church, interlocutors say that "Right before the wedding, the young couple stands in front of the entrance to church and there is engagement. In Orthodox church, a priest puts rings on hands of the couple, there are prayers, a choir sings, engagement is conducted in front of God, before the altar. After that priest leads them to altar, where is an icon of a patron. There are crowns held above the couple because they are the smallest unit, which is the family. Later, hands of the couple are tied with a towel and newlyweds go around the table three times. Then they pray in front of an altar" (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/60).

On the way from church to the wedding house, there are “gates” – blocking the way of wedding guests and the couple. Usually, these gates are made of strings decorated with colorful ribbons and balloons. The couple has to buy the way. If a gate is made by adults – they give them vodka, if by children – sweets (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/65). “You have to buy always. It’s not a groom who has baskets with vodka and sweets but best man and bridesmaid. They give as much as they estimate the gate. If it is good they give two liters of vodka, if it is bad just a half of the liter” (Kiwity/M/bd). Some people emphasize that during the welcoming of the couple there is a question for a bride: “What do you choose: a bread, salt or groom? Then she responds: I choose a bread and salt and a groom to work on it” (Kiwity/K/58).

Currently, the young couple receives money in envelopes as gifts. Instead of flowers they usually prefer e.g. wine, lottery vouchers or toys. “Now we give usually money instead of flowers because you do not buy it anymore. (...) Rather than flowers (...) they choose mascots, which are later given to an orphanage or hospital” (Workiejmy/ Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/K/62).

During a wedding there are lots of plays, e.g. with switching chairs or taking shoes of a young couple. Usually they are arranged by members of a playing orchestra. “During weddings there were always musicians (...), they were singing differently, first for the young couple. The couple had to dance, drink a glass of champagne. It was so then and still is continued. Later they were singing and playing differently for everyone. (...) Now there are not such songs. When my grandmother sat, she was singing the whole wedding” (Lubomino/K/72).

An important moment during a wedding is a ceremony of different plays. As it is mentioned by one of interlocutors: “There was a ceremony. They placed me there (...) and then (...) I took off a veil, and threw it behind me, to young women. Later, a groom threw his tie or butterfly tie to young men. Then they put a scarf and apron on me saying that I am a hostess from today. On my sisters’ weddings it was similarly” (Karbowo/Orneta Municipality/M/66).

There is a popular play consisting in buying a dance with a bride or groom: “(...) a couple collects money for a cradle or pushchair for a baby. Then guests dance: women with a groom

and men with a bride and for each dance they pay some money. A best man puts all the money into a basket or other container" (Lubomino/K/50).

In the past, after the ceremony of play, a bride was changing dress – it was a symbol of change of status from miss to married (Kobiela/Kiwity Municipality/K/83), now it is not as popular. From few years, during wedding parties, young couples introduce a custom of parents thanking. Very often they give them gifts, which are alcohol or money.

The day after a wedding is called "poprawiny". It is usually in afternoon hours and has less formal form than a wedding: "Later there was poprawiny, on the second day. People then drink and eat things remained after the second day (...)" (Lubomino/K/50).

Lots of customs concern also funerals. To date, there are many superstitions and beliefs referring to dead men. Some people claim that howling of a dog proclaims dead: "It is true that when a dog howls, someone dies. It howls then like a wolf. Incredible sound" (Ełdyty Wielkie/Lubomino Municipality/M/71). A dying person received a gromnica. Then you had to make sure that the gromnica will be symbolically overturned, because if it was, a deceased would take someone with him (Kiersnowo/Kiwity Municipality/K/bd). When someone died, windows and mirrors were covered and clocks were stopped.

Many county's residents mentioned a custom of the empty night – the last night before a funeral. On that day family, friends and neighbors of a deceased gathered in his home in order to pray for him and sing religious songs. Some of them were using a term "empty nights", which in their understanding meant all nights between death and a funeral. A woman from Lidzbark Warmiński says: "Now there are two [empty nights – A.P.-W.], there is no third night but the last night is all night long, at least in my family. During these funerals there is a whole night long watching, the closest ones, family, we are near to the coffin, in the morning almost everyone is asleep (...)" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd).

Other woman claims that in empty nights participate even neighbors and friends who obtained food and drink: "In villages we still keep coffins in our houses. You go to welcome a deceased, pray for him. Family stays with the deceased and I, if I am stranger, go out. I will

come on the next evening to sit there for about hour, to pray. There is an empty night. On this night we go for longer. Family makes refreshments, when people sit there longer, a cake, tea, they pray, sing, so a throat can dry. In the second room they make refreshments. It was so back then, and still is. I don't know why, this is a custom: my grandmother, mother and I introduce it. Maybe to not see a ghost in the mirror, maybe this is the reason" (Barniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/58).

Many interlocutors emphasize that the tradition of an empty night was stopped because of introducing of new funeral customs, such as transporting a deceased to a charnel house and organizing the funeral by funerary companies. One respondent mentions that: "(...) funerary company brought my husband home. All the family and neighbors gather. We pray, sing" (Rogiedle/Lubomino Municipality/M/77). Others emphasized that there are no longer empty nights, there are just "empty evenings": "Now we also go but only to 10 p.m. We sing less because no one wants to. We pray the rosary, we talk, because a deceased person also wants to hear something" (Kiwity/K/67).

Greek Catholics living on Warmia also have funeral customs consisting in praying and singing religious songs together: "On the last night, in our houses or in a chapel, we pray parastas or panachyda. Priest arrives and sings mourning songs. It is something like a briefing. People then pray and mourn. Everyone could participate in that" (Miłogórze/Lidzbark Warmiński/K/68).

In the past people cared for a deceased to lay in coffin for three days and three nights. After that time, a funeral should have been performed because earlier a deceased could wake up (Kiwity/K/58). "Sometimes people say that if you leave the deceased with a tissue and a glass of water, the tissue will be wet and there will be less water in the glass, which mean that the deceased washed himself at night" (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/88). A deceased person should wear new shoes (Stoczek Klasztorny/K/66). You could not cry for the deceased because then it was harder for him to travel on the other side (Kiwity/K/73).

Few people mention that you should put favorite things of a deceased or things referring to his profession into his coffin: "my husband was a farmer (...), so they put (...) a wreath of

cereals into his coffin. He smoked – so friends put cigarettes and a lighter into his pocket. I gave him 10 złotych because he liked money. (...) A holy picture of patron" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66). Others say that you should necessary put money into the coffin: if a deceased is a man you put it into his jacket, if it is a woman, you put it into her hands, "When he will participate in the divine judgment, he will have enough money to pay the ransom" (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/76). If you fail to give money to deceased, he can come back and cause diseases, e.g. pestilence of a livestock and equipment of a person who forgot to give the money or skimped.

If a deceased is a farmer, during carrying his coffin out of his house, doors of outhouses should be opened (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/85). "When it is a funeral day, they carry the body out, priest comes and when last guests leave the house, they overturn chairs, (...) benches on which we were sitting near to the coffin, to make the soul go away" (Kiwity/M/bd). During carrying the coffin out, it should be raised at every door, and delicately hit three time in a door frame in a sing of a cross. Then it should be patted with a hand. The process should be repeated at the exit from a yard (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/85). Coffin with a deceased should be carried out with feet to front, to stop a deceased from coming back (Pilnik/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/M/bd).

Many interlocutors emphasize that in the past coffin was carried to the first chapel in a village. If a deceased was a firefighter – his mates were carrying his coffin. Currently, funeral conducts are not so popular anymore: "When I came here, there were conducts, we were going on feet to a church, from a church to a graveyard. Now nobody wants to walk. Just get to a car, from a car and that's all" (Lubomino/M/68).



Sanctuary of the Mother of God in Gietrzwałd, photo made by Iwona Liżewska.



Traditional religiousness

Among the interlocutors, traditions of pilgrimages are still alive. Surely, the very important fact is that in Lidzbarski County there are few sacral objects, e.g. Sanctuary of the Holy Cross Elevation in Chwałęcín and Sanctuary of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary and St. Joseph in Krosno, Orneta Municipality: "Krosno is beautiful. There is a Marian Sanctuary, which was modelled on the one in Święta Lipka (...). An interesting fact is that they moved a channel of a river to place an altar in a place, in which little girls found a figure of the Mother of God, (...) because they found it in a river (...)" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd).

An important place of the Marian Cult is a Sanctuary of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Stoczek Klasztorny, Kiwity Municipality: "In our county people the most often travel to Stoczek Klasztorny, because it was a prison of a cardinal Stefan Wyszyński and it also is a place of Marian Cult, there is a picture crowned by our pope – John Paul II. It is a basilica (...)" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). In the county there are also walking pilgrimages to Stoczek Klasztorny, in which participate residents and local governments.

Except for that people travel to sanctuaries in the whole Warmińskie-Mazurskie, e.g. the Sanctuary of the Mother of God in Gietrzwałd, near to Olsztyn. As it is emphasized by one of respondents, people drive to Gietrzwałd, to the holy spring: "It is the southern Warmia, Gietrzwałd, it is a special place. (...) There is a holy spring, from which people take water because they believe that it has a healing power. My daughter-in-law drank it (...)" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). Residents know also story relating to apparitions in Gietrzwałd: "The Mother of God revealed herself to some girls (...) on a tree and people have built a great church there, and a spring of water gushed forth and they say that water from this spring is [good – A.P.-W.] for a throat" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/69).



There are also pilgrimages to the Marian Sanctuary in Święta Lipka near to Reszel or to Głotowo near to Dobre Miast, where is the so-called Warmian Jerusalem, at the parish dedicated to the Holiest Savior. "When I was a kid, we were going on a great festival in Głotowo behind Dobre Miasto. There were Stations of the Cross. A builder of the road was in Rome [Jerusalem – A.P.-W.] and after each station he took one stone. He built a Calvary in Głotowo similar to the one in Rome [Jerusalem – A.P.-W.]" (Lidzbark Warmiński/65). In

Ełdyty Wielkie there is the oldest church on Warmia (Ełdyty Wielkie/Lubomino Municipality/M/71).

County's residents participate also in parish festivals. However, they are not as popular as they were before: "There were festivals of St. John, e.g. a patron of a church, St. John or St. Stanley or St. Michael. There were festivals. Former festivals were thunderous (...) but not anymore. It just disappears (...), back in the days it was really thunderous, it was cheerful, lots of people, booths. Plays for half of a day (...)" (Wapnik/Lubomino Municipality/K/77). During festivals you could buy dolls, sweets, little colorful pinwheels.

Many people mention that an important festival is the one dedicated to St. Roch. It is held in e.g. the chapel in Lubomino (Orneta/M/63) and Bażyny (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66). However, the most popular is participating in festivals which take place in local sanctuaries and churches: "Now there are not any booths, because less people celebrate (...) Chwałęcín, Bażyny and Osetnik. In Osetnik, the festival is celebrated on debris" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66).

In many localities of Lidzbarski County there are even several crosses and chapels. Some of respondents mention that they take care of chapels near to their houses or in their villages: "(...) these chapels, they start to care about them, (...), because they were beautiful (...). Maybe because of the communism period (...) they were afraid of it, nobody was independent. Now they start to care, I see that chapels are renovated, trim" (Rogiedle/Lubomino Municipality/K/bd).

Others say that there are situations that chapels are mindlessly devastated by treasure hunters: "We have here chapels which are devoted, well-maintained. There is a chapel on the village's edges, but it is a little demolished by treasure hunters. People search for treasures and destroy chapels. (...) They are old chapels, built before the war. Here autochthons were placing them, they are surely older than me" (Ełdyty Wielkie/M/71). There are also cases of chapels built by new settlers after their arrival to Warmia, after 1945: "The chapel in the garden was built by my husband. He told me that when I was asleep, he

saw a light in the window, and then the Mother of God appeared on our closet, in thriving trees" (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/88).

The need of caring about a small local sacral architecture is emphasized by realization of a project "Chapels and road crosses in Orneta Municipality, as an element of a Warmian cultural landscape", which was implemented by the Orneta Association Agrorelaks. "The project consisted in cataloguing and collecting information about a common cultural heritage, presenting these works to the local community and tourists, managing free time of residents, developing their interests and passions, encouraging to common work for the sake of protection of the cultural landscape, with which undoubtedly Warmian chapels and road crosses in Orneta Municipality are connected". Currently at chapels in villages there are very often located altars for the time of the Corpus Christi procession. There are also May devotions conducted at them (Chwałęcín/Orneta Municipality/K/53).

Secular celebrations, local festivals and cuisine

Among the local festivals we should mention dożynki – a festival of harvest. In Lidzbarski County they are usually organized on the turn of July and August. We can distinguish parish, village, municipality and county dożynki (two last are organized in a different locality each year).

Dożynki begins with a thanksgiving mass, during which priest blesses wreaths prepared for this festival and district heads give gifts, e.g. loafs of bread and fruits. "Later they baked bread and carried it on a tray. In the beginning, it [wreath – A.P.-W.] had to be large enough to put a bread inside of it. (...) One for each village. It was a tradition, to bless it from our harvests and we carried it to a church for dożynki. (...) Dożynki were made by a village, county" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66).

Dożynki wreaths are usually made by Village Housewives' Associations or dożynki heads. They consist of few species of cereals, flowers, poppies, herbs (Karbowo/Orneta Municipality/K/66). "The most important thing is cereal, flax. It has to be harvested in the

proper time. It is hard to get some from farmers, you have to harvest it by yourself. A farmer had mercy and gave us few sheaves. We make such a wreath two weeks" (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/62). Wreaths have different forms and shapes: "It depends on what subject are they supposed to be. (...) I saw a picture that some time ago (...) they did a well, wreath as a well (...). This year, they have made a fish, also a wreath, they are very beautiful. (...) It is at will" (Bogatyńskie/Orneta Municipality/K/45).

After a mass each participant of dożynki goes in a procession to a place in which the festival takes place. During dożynki there are speeches of government representatives and shows of folk bands. Heads of dożynki welcome residents and local governments with a bread and salt. A function of heads of dożynki is according to respondents ennobling: "It is a function distinguishing good householders. (...) Because they usually take the best householder but now it slowly disappears. The best? If you want, you can be. Not everyone wants" (Lubomino/K/60). Others emphasize that usually sołtys is the one who chooses the host of dożynki (Wapnik/Lubomino Municipality/K/77).

During this festival people decorate and clean villages. Residents often arrange sheaves of grain into different spatial forms, e.g. a man, woman, farm animals (pigs, cows), farming machines (tractors, trailers, harvesters), which sometimes are labeled with tags on farming subject.

During the dożynki party there is a competition for the best wreaths, which are judged by local governments and leaders. Usually, sołtys (village leader) or village receives a prize or money token (Kiwity/K/84). Then there are competitions for residents or representatives of particular villages, e.g. tug of war. Many interlocutors emphasize that when elections are close, local governments give political speeches during dożynki.



Handicraft presented during the harvest festival in Lubomino, photo made by Aleksandra Paprot-Wielopolska

An important point of dożynki is organization of stands with food prepared by Village Housewives' Associations. "Each sołectwo has its own products (...). Not bought, but home-made cakes, hams, liqueurs, the so-called swojak, (...), home-made breads. From these products the meals are made" (Lubomino/K/50). Among the most often prepared dishes we can distinguish: dumplings, kaszanka, potato kiszka, pâtés, different kinds of hams and meats, bread with lard and cucumbers, cakes and home-made liqueurs, wines or

moonshines (Orneta/M/63). During some dożynki there are culinary contests, e.g. in Orneta Municipality there is a contest called "Warmińskie Smaki (the Tastes of Warmia)".

In some localities in Lidzbarski County during a year there are also days of localities, days of municipalities and local festivals. On these days there are different concerts, shows, dishes tastings etc. Among events we can distinguish Days of Lidzbark Warmiński: "Days of Lidzbark are always in August, on the anniversary of the town existence (...). When Lidzbark received town privileges. It was the most important town on Warmia, a bishop's headquarter was there. Olsztyn was a parochial town. They have even smaller castle than ours" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/77). On the other hand, days of Orneta are in June. On those days many processions take place. Residents are dressed up in different costumes and prepare a figure of the dragon, which is in the town's crest: "Sometimes they organize processions, (...) back in the days they tried really hard and glued the dragon from paper, he was brown (...) it was nice to see it" (Orneta/K/77).

In other localities there are numerous festivals and annual events connected with a village location, e.g. "The Festival of the Warmian Village in Wolnica" in Lubomino Municipality or culinary festivals, e.g. "Summer Family Day of the Dumpling" in Lubomino or Festival of the Baked Potato in Łaniewo, Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality, Feast of Honey in Orneta, Festival of St. Jacob in Opino, Orneta Municipality. Residents indicate that there are also days dedicated to representatives of different professions: "In Lidzbark there is Day of the Beekeeper, later there will be Day of Fish, then Day of Hunters, Day of the Firefighter. Many people participate in such festivals. There are fairs from which people buy eagerly. There are cured meats, pastry products, jams, honeys, and other home-made products" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/58).

In Lidzbark Warmiński there is also a festival called "Kaziuki-Wilniuki", during which there is a mass, different shows of artistic bands and a fair of handicrafts. On the fair you can buy Wileńskie palms, Kaziukowe hearts, Easter decorations, sculptures, meals of Wilno and also publications and Wilno-themed records. As it is mentioned by organizers: "Our first meetings were in 1985, approximately on 4 March, close to the name day of Kazimierz. We started to



Harvest festival in Lubomino. Stand from Wołnica, photo made by Aleksandra Paprot-Wielopolska.

memorize Wileńszczyzna, they were club meetings. (...) Each year we were adding new elements, e.g. we created a room, similar to a room from Wilno, with Wilno dishes, cakes, dumplings. (...) Each year more people started to arrive and the room was full. There were shows, degustation of Wilno dishes and kvass (...). People knew the taste of Wilno" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd).

In Lidzbark Warmiński there are meetings dedicated to Taras Shevchenko: "Ukrainian evening connected with celebration and a patriotic festival because there is a folk poet – Taras Shevchenko, whose art is cultivated by the Ukrainian minority. (...) It is a festival, there are also concerts dedicated to the memory of Taras Shevchenko" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd).

Events mentioned above show that culinary traditions become more and more popular for residents of Lidzbarski County. Although the statements of respondents referring to recipes for different dishes were not too extensive, elder people often mentioned dishes which were eaten by them in their family houses, before the resettlement on Warmia after 1945. From obtained information we can deduct that a part of culinary traditions was continued after settling in Lidzbarski County: "(...) I am from Kresy. Things which I cook were also cooked by my grandmother and mother" (Kiwity/K/81).

Interlocutors are aware of the fact that after war different culinary traditions of various nations and local groups mixed: "When we arrived here, there was a mix of different people. People from the central Poland were called us bliniarze (blin – Russian Pancake), people from Lwów – kluskarze, because they had kluski (noodles) in their dishes. Later, it all mixed and kluskarze ate bliny and cooked dumplings" (Hentrykowo/Orneta Municipality/K/74). "Later, after few years they started to marry and cuisine and customs commingled" (Kiwity/K/77).

At the same time, county's residents when asked about Warmian dishes, could not show what characterizes them: "Warmian dishes? I do, what everyone does at home, so there aren't any typical Warmian dishes" (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/54). "I don't know which dishes are typically Warmian. We don't think whether they are Warmian or not" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/56).

Among dishes eaten in everyday life, respondents distinguish dumplings (baked and cooked): Russian dumplings, with meat, with cabbage and mushrooms. Some of them mentioned dzyndzałki Warmińskie or bishop's wędzałki – a regional dish, which has similar shape to a dumpling: "They are dumplings stuffed with meat, with different shape, because they are spherical, they do not necessary have shape of a typical dumpling. (...) And this meat is chopped, not ground. Cooked (...)" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). "Dzydzałki Warmińskie – they are dumplings with meat, back in the days they were doused with suet, naturally, we do not use that (...)" (Opin/Orneta Municipality/K/60).

Others say that they prepare dishes brought by settlers from the east, e.g. potato bliny: "Mom took a little bit of sourdough, the bread one, added there some mashed potatoes and also rye flour. Blins were a little bit thicker and to that there was maczanka dip" (Lubomino/K/66). There was also podpiwek made from coffee, yeasts and sugar. Those components had to lay together for a while, until the decoction would be carbonated. (Lubomino/K/66). They emphasize that in the beginning people ate potato or flour-based meals: "When we cooked potatoes, (...) we mashed them and added pork fat with onion. They did it differently, they mashed, mashed, mashed it until it would be mush. To those potatoes they added fat, poured some milk and all the components were strongly whipped up" (Warmink/Lubomino Municipality/K/77).

Some residents prepare gołąbki (cabbage filled with meat) with potatoes: "Potato gołąbki: potatoes, on a frying pan, mushrooms and various spices, some meat and bacon and I fry it all, then I curl leaves of cabbage around it all. (...) Potatoes have to be grated on normal holes, later I put some in a colander, to pour off the water, to make them a little bit drier and then I fry it in oil or lard, then I stuff the cabbage with the components" (Orneta/K/bd).

An autochthon mentions sour meatballs of Królewiec: "Our cuisine was different. Meatballs from ground meat in sour sauce based on cream and dill. I remember that named as Königsberger Sauer Klopse, a sour meatball from Królewiec. (...) My mother made dumplings. Not normal dumplings but made of potatoes. (...) She mashed raw potatoes, added flour and eggs and she cooked small noodles or poured it with milk. We didn't have such holiday meals. But we ate lots of yeast cake" (Kiwity/K/67).

In the past, many people baked breads. The base was made from flour, water and yeasts: "I kneaded it for a night and it grew under a comforter (...) and I made loaf" (Lubomino/K/83). Older interlocutors mentioned that in the past people very often had their own smokehouses (Orneta/K/91).

Residents of the county mention that everyday meals are: bigos, soups (pea soup, vegetable soup, beet soup, soup made from fermented rye flour, fruit soup, sorrel soup), gołąbki, pork chops, potato cakes, bliny and baked goose. Many people very often bake yeast cakes. One of autochthons mentioned baking sponge-cakes for layer cakes: "My mom was doing layer cakes on sponge-cakes. She was doing a mass on base of eggs, butter and she mashed it up, then added soft butter. It was a true layer cake. It was hard to do but she did it often because she liked to bake and give those products to friends" (Kiwity/K/67). County's residents very often prepare preserves made of fruits, e.g. pears and plums in vinegar, raspberry juices and jams and also alcohols, e.g. infusions made of cherries and lemons, wine and Village Housewives' Associations eagerly participate in culinary contests.

Handcrafted and musical traditions

Among respondents we can indicate few people who deal with traditional handcrafting or are inspired by it and creators of a word. In Lidzbark Warmiński lives Krystyna Tarnacka who deals with coif embroidery characteristic for the Warmian region. The author in the 80's of the 20th century accidentally hit upon elements of Warmian coifs, which inspired her to reconstruct them and resurrect regional traditions:

"I had a workshop of artistic embroidery and (...) maybe thanks to that I found out what coif embroidery is. That was because I made a lot for churches and I had to restore some liturgical robes and it turned out that I found a chasuble from 19th century, which was made from coif fragments. And I had to broider because someone had made such correction that they were all afraid that if a commission would come, they would lose their jobs. It turned out that the base of few elements of embroidery is different. I began (...) to rearrange them and they proved to be fragments of coifs. If there wasn't any successor – a coif was in church or it was in grave along with its owner. These which remained in churches were used as bases for next works because embroidery was very precious. Later, I have officially founded a workshop" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/71).

Coifs embroidery on the Warmian coifs made by Krystyna Tamacka, photo made by Aleksandra Paprot-Wielopolska



Krystyna Tamacka, except for making Warmińskie coifs, deals with painting on a glass, oil and watercolor painting, making products of bulrushes and straws. She makes also Venetian laces. She transports motifs of coif embroidery to other usable forms and paints it on a glass, baubles and eggs. She has a certificate of the local product, e.g. on warmyszy (mice sewn from linen, inspired by Warmia) or warminki (painted wooden dolls with coif embroidery patterns). Krystyna Tarnacka also makes and paints angels and flowers of blotting paper. She prepares infusions from herbs and jams. She received many awards. Krystyna Tarnacka participates in many fairs and carnival, during which she presents and sells her products. Currently she does not have her workshop anymore. All the works she does at home.

In Karkajmy, Orneta Municipality, Marian Kowalski deals with root visual art – making sculptures and decorations using roots of trees. His sculptures are created in his workshop in Karkajmy. He claims that he is inspired to make a particular sculpture by shape of a root: "I find roots. You have to make it properly, for instance – I make an animal's head and put it onto a stick – and you have an animal. I depends on perspective. (...) We are on a beach, [I see a root – A.P.-W.] and say: look, isn't it a deer?" (Karkajmy/Orneta Municipality/M/65). Among his works we can distinguish, e.g. those with religious themes, for example triptych: "it is open-able: angels trumpet about the Christ's birth and there is Nazareth and



Bethlehem. (...) Here the Three Magi and here Escape to Egypt, whole set. It was bought by a priest and was sent to Lithuania".

In the past he made sculptures of oaks and beeches, currently he does not limit himself only to these kinds of trees. Sculptures and bas-reliefs are at the end solidified with a varnish and waxed: "It looks like that: wax, lightning oil, hot petrol and I rub it". He adds: "Although I am not a folk artist, I feel like I was the one. Why? Folk artist will make something only for the first time, he won't repeat it. Eventually he will create it larger, smaller. For instance, there are sculptors who make their sculptures in series. For me they are not artists but craftsmen". Marian Kowalski presents and sells his work on farmers' markets and fairs on Warmia and beyond the region.

In Bartniki, Kiwity Municipality, there is Edward Białkowski, who deals with wood sculpting, glass painting, poetry and writing texts with philosophical nature. He is a self-taught man.

His sculptures are usually made of lime trees, from which he cuts fragments using a knife with broken edges. He tried to use a chisel but as he says: "my equipment is a pen and a knife" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/M/69).

In Kiwity lives Aleksander Olechnowicz, who deals with pyrography – artistic burning patterns in wood, painting baubles and ostriches' eggs: "My first sculpture was the Mother of God with the child (...). Also bas-reliefs. I started to sculpt during my postgraduate IT studies in Toruń. Portraits on baubles, pictures on ostrich's eggs: wet Monday. Four girls and two boys pour water on each other (...). I also paint eggs with wax. When elder lady showed me, I was bitten by painting bug. There are blown eggs, painted with few layers, colors, so I dip them in paints. White, green and orange. Then I scratch off" (Kiwity/M/63).

Except for that, many people hobby make cross-stitches, works using crocheting needle, works from felt, paper wickerwork, flowers from blotting paper or decorations using decoupage technique. In Orneta there were workshops of writing icons and that is why many people can do them. In the Municipal Culture Hall in Orneta there are also handicraft workshops for seniors.

Many respondents mention that they know residents who write poems or prose. Among them we can distinguish Jarosław Kogut from Orneta, who writes poems dedicated to, among other things, his family: "I refer, firstly, to my mother, because (...) she dedicated her life to us, she gave us a lot of love, she taught us (...) to believe, love, respect other people, that's why I dedicated her the first part of my poetry. The second part of poetry is connected with my origins, my life, and third is about nature and everything which is around us, I refer to a human and family" (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/56).

In recent years we can observe that in Lidzbarski County, traditions connected with a musical folklore are resurrecting. An example of that is Festival of Culture and Warmian Tradition in Rogóż, which is being organized from several years. It happens thanks to initiative of Association of Development of Rogóż Village under the auspices of Starost's Office of the Poviast in Lidzbark Warmiński. During the festival there are several bands, described by organizers as folk. Among them we can mention: the Kalina band and Rogóźanie from Rogóż,



*The Orneccians during the 2nd Festival of Religious Song in Henryków,
photo made by Aleksandra Paprot-Wielopolska.*

Kiwitzanki from Kiwity, Orneccianie from Ornetka, the "Ignalin" Song and Dance Band, Czesław Band from Runowo and Sąsiedzi from Pilnik.

"Kiwitzanki", the folklore band, was founded in 1985 from initiative of Zofia Ochab, who was in charge of a local Village Housewives' Association and at first was called "Wesołe Babuszki" (Cheerful Grannies). Their repertoire includes dances, songs, instrumentals, ceremonial spectacles. Due to the fact that band's members come from other sides of Poland, their repertoire is very differentiated. We can distinguish Polish and Ukrainian songs, mazurek, oberek and festive songs. Band members wear folksy costumes and play the accordion, the diabelskie skrzypce (the devil violin – a regional instrument) and the violin.

In Ornetka in 1981 the Club of Seniors "Znicz" was founded. In 2005 it was renamed to "Orneccianie" and in 2009 Association of Development of Town and Municipality "Orneccianie" was founded. The activity of the club and association is connected with the activity of a club with the same name. It includes mostly seniors who create a vocal and musical section. "Orneccianie" members perform traditional songs of Warmia and Kresy and

Members of Orneccianie band, photo made by Aleksandra Paprot-Wielopolska.



also Ukrainian and festive songs. From 1995 the band have folk Warmian costumes. In 2013 "Orneccianie" along with bands "Smokowyje" and "The Night" participated in a project called "Warmia Folk". They also released a CD with the same name. The project consisted in modern arrangement of folk songs: "We reached to old Warmian songs. (...) When we found them, kids had to learn their lyrics, they were very hard. And kids learned [Warmian dialect – A.P.-W.] (...)" (Orneta/K/44).

From 2008 in Lidzbark Warmiński there is the Folk Dance Troupe "The Pearl of Warmia", which has sections for kids, teenagers and adults. The Troupe has also a folk band. A band's repertoire consists of folk dances from Warmia and other parts of Poland and national dances: Polonez, Krakowiak, Kujawiak, Oberek, Mazur. As it is mentioned by a person related to the band: "(...) no one could have done this for years, but suddenly we managed, and it is a

beautiful band, praised and shown everywhere and it is also original because usually young people are not eager to dance folk dances and here (...) we have not only young people. (...) We have also folk costumes, from different regions, not only Warmia, naturally, Warmia is fundamental" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd).

Residents of Lidzbark Warmiński mention also "Kapela znad Łyny" which does not exist anymore: "(...) for several decades (...), the band was making practically all town's and village's events. Members travelled also abroad as representatives of Lidzbark and they sang Warmian songs, folk songs, they were playing instruments, a typical band: with a drum, a staff with a tambourine, a violin, an accordion and of course double bass. A typical folk band" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd).

At the City Social Welfare Centre in Lidzbark Warmiński, from 2006 there is a folk band called "Muzykanty", which associate invalids. All members have costumes characteristic for the region of Warmia. An important achievement of a group was preparing "the Warmian wedding": "We invited students of the secondary schools and we danced with them. And we still function like that" (Lidzbark Warmiński/36). In Lidzbarski County there is also the Bum Cyk Band: "There is a band called Bum Cyk. They also sing Warmian songs but they are elder men, (...) they performed at the last dożynki" (Lubomino/K/50).

In Lidzbark Warmiński, within the Association of the German Minority there is a Band of Singers "Warmia", which is financially supported by the Ministry of Interior and Administration: "For 20 years we have the Band of German Minority's Singers. We have released three CDs. We have performed a lot recently, (...) we travel to Germany" (Lidzbark Warmiński/M/65). The band performs in Warmia and Mazury.

In the past, music making on Warmia was more spontaneous. There were lots of self-taught "musicians" and "players" who played the drums, the violin, the "harmony" accordion. Some respondents mention that they were taught Warmian songs in their schools (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/59).

Legends, superstitions, beliefs and folklore medicine

During conversations with Lidzbarski County's residents, we could hear about local legends and stories referring to past events. Among them there were haunted places. Respondents say that in Kiwity, at a road cross there is a black dog with chain. It can be connected with the fact that in the 70's of the 20th century local children were scared of "the black hand" with not identified powers (Kiwity/K/60). Another haunted places are: railway between Kiwity and Połapin, in a certain house and in a church tower (the white lady) in Orneta (Orneta/K/77), and also in Biała Wola near to Lubomino, where palace owners were supposedly dealing with black magic and made a deal with the devil (Lubomino/K/50). Residents tell also stories referring to the building of a monastery and a basilica in Stoczek Klasztorny, which was supposed to be built on haunted swamps. Others mention crimes after which blood cannot be cleaned from a stone: "In the Miss X's possession, on the stone someone was killed and the blood couldn't be washed, it always came back" (Kiwity/K/84).

Residents of Kiwity to this day tell a legend referring to a figure of the death with a scythe in hand. The figure is located at the eastern gate in the Kiwity's church. As widely available sources say: The death was placed there in 1311 to memorize the destruction of the village by Lithuanians. Residents of Kiwity say that Kiwity's death: "is from year 13xx, when cholera attacked and later, after that disease, it was set there as discouragement. It is a memento of the disease. There is also that mountain. There was a river and a little bit further there is an uphill. (...) This uphill is from a Lithuanian's invasion. Residents escaped there to defend themselves because it was easier together. It even has its German name (...) the uphill of getaway, the uphill of refugees" (Kiwity/K/67). "It was something like a Catholic crest of Kiwity, because Kiwity was poor, diseases decimated people. (...) As a memory of the last Lithuanian aggression in 1311, a skeleton was placed in the corner of wall surrounding the church. The skeleton was 65cm tall and held a scythe in hand. It looks eastward with its



Kivity, a figure of the death, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.

look like the death from Kiwity". Under the skeleton there was a writing in German: "you will be, who you are". A mindless person destroyed the skeleton in the 60's of the 20th century. From the parson's initiative, a sculptor from Lidzbark (...) reconstructed the figure of the skeleton (...). Many tourists when arrive to Kiwity ask where is that death (...)" (Kiwity/M/bd).

Residents of Kiwity Municipality mentioned few times crime which happened in Kierwiny. Young student helped a German lady to put the chain on her bicycle, when she was cycling through the village: "It was seen by one of German farmers and they accused him of harassment. In Kierwiny they gathered whole the village and hanged him. They told him to dig his own grave. Then they put him on a car's roof, hanged him and buried him. She, the German, was unclothed, smeared with tar and feathers and dragged behind a car, probably to Lidzbark, saying that she shouldn't have anything in common with a Pole. A priest from Stoczek wants to honor this student with a statue" (Kiwity/M/BD).

The figure of German is supposed to scare away hunters from areas of a pulpit in Mingajny Kolonia, Orneta Municipality: "they said that it was so. Many people were running to their homes with weapons. They probably saw war which went through that area. (...) And the man in helmet appears. It is German or not German, and he goes through the forest, creaks. Some people ran away from there" (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/85).

There are also popular stories about miraculous events, e.g. saving a wooden cross with Christ during the fire in Opin (Opin/Orneta Municipality/K/60), existence of abnormal beings, e.g. a dragon from Orneta: "There was a dragon who ate people. (...) When the dragon was prowling, we weren't born yet!" (Orneta/K/83), existence of underground tunnels, e.g. under a church and a chapel in Lubomino and under the castle in Lidzbark Warmiński. Some people added that the amber chamber could be located somewhere near to Lidzbark Warmiński – near to Lubomin or Orneta.

Some interlocutors mention also demonic characters which were supposedly haunting residents. Among them we can distinguish "dytko on straw legs", which was used to scare children (Kiersnowo/Kiwity Municipality/K/bd), a night demon or bane, who muddled

horses' manes and then choked horses (Kiwity/M/70; Wapnik/Lubomino Municipality/K/77). The bane was said to choke a man at night (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). Some people mention also południca, Borucie and Rokicie devils, kłobuks and topielecs (Rogiedle/Lubomino Municipality/K/32).

We can indicate many superstitions and beliefs who are still practiced in everyday lives of county's residents. Among them there are those concerning animals or folk meteorology. There are beliefs that you cannot kill a spider because it brings bad luck. Bad luck is also brought by black cats because "they have something devilish in them". If a black cat crosses the road in front of you, it will bring bad luck to you. People also believed that black roosters and cats are used for black magic. Their owners were women who put spells on others.

Other superstitions are related to animals' behavior, e.g. if an owl raves in forest, it will foretell somebody's death. If any bird flies into a house, it will mean that a dead man visits the house (Kiwity/K/77). It is also confirmed by another interlocutor: "My mom believes in «arriving». I think that I also believe that when someone close passes away, he gives a sign. (...) There are various situations which we realize later. (...) My mom also experienced them few times, e.g. a bird knocking at the window" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd).

Some superstitions are concerning storks. A flying stork means luck and successfulness, but when it stands it tells that nothing good will come. If a stork sits on a roof, in the house under that roof, a woman will get pregnant soon.

When you observe animals' behavior, you can foretell the weather: "Animals also feel the weather. If a rooster crows abnormally, there is also a change" (Kiwity/M/70). Warmian residents observe nature around them to know what weather will be in the following days: "Usually when it is dry in the evening and dew in the morning, the day will be warm. If there is no dew, expect rain. When stars on sky are blue, it means that it will be a good weather, if yellow, it means that it will be rainy" (Kiwity/K/57). In the evening, when sky gets red, the next day will be rainy. When swallows fly low, they mean rain. If smoke from a chimney flies straightly – there will be a good weather, if not, there will be rain. Some people claim that if their once broken leg or hand hurts, it means that it will rain.



The couch grass sprouts are used therapeutically by the Warmia inhabitants, photo made by Aleksandra Paprot-Wielopolska.

Another observed things are the phases of the moon: "(...) when the moon is full and the sky is clear it means that at least half of the day will be better but if it is at least partly covered, then not too much. If the moon isn't clear, it will rain. I don't know if they are superstitions or for real" (Kiwity/K/77). Phases of the moon, especially fullness are supposed to have influence on mushrooms harvest in a forest.

There is a superstition that cucumbers should be sown on Monday (Kiwity/K/77). People believe that limes and birches are good trees for humans and yew-trees bad. If you lie under a lime, the tree will dry. Smudging a house with salvia smoke is supposed to clean it (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd).

Respondents distinguish also superstitions referring to daily life, e.g. if you go outside and forget something, but you go back, you should sit down and count to ten, otherwise something bad will happen. You cannot take anything for free from anyone. You have to pay for it, even a symbolic 1 grosz (Kiwity/K/60). You cannot welcome or see off anyone through a threshold. In barns people hanged horseshoes, to protect cattle from spells. In a threshold of a house people buried nails to protect house residents from spells.

County's residents tell about women who wove spells on others or had a ability to heal ill people. They were called witches, *zielarki* or *szeptuchy*. Some people mention that they grandmothers dealt with healing people with prayers and herbs. It was said that such witches "bespoke sicknesses and fears", e.g. when a children woke up at night scared, people were praying for him next to a sugar cube, which children had to eat later (Stoczek Klasztorny/Kiwity Municipality/K/66).

Some interviewed people deal with curing the so-called "róża (rose)". As they say: "My mom healed neighbors from róża, on legs (...) or on a face. She needed pure linen, such a fiber, hair, from them she made threads (...). Then she took a piece of that and made small balls. Three groups consisting of three balls (...). She put a white linen canvas on a sick fragment of skin, then the first group (...) and then she burned it and spread it, praying in the meantime. And when it was tearing to the ceiling, it meant that it is that sickness and it let go. She told a patient to come the day after, repeated the process and the sickness was done. My father could bespeak braces in nails (...). You make the sign of the cross, hold a finger like that, say prayers and the brace is done. I can do this as well" (Ormeta/K/75).

Others say that such skills are passed over generations: "the oldest daughter knows how to do this. She wouldn't talk about this because then she would lose her gift. She used water to heal, water and bread. She told to drink water and to slush [ill fragments – A.P.-W.] with water" (Bartniki/Kiwity Municipality/K/57).

Some people admit that they used help of local healers. A woman from Runowo bespeaks róża on rye flour, from which she does crumpets and applies to a body. If they dry in place, where is a change of skin, it means that it is róża. Later, crumpets should be burnt because

you cannot throw them out. She prays next to such a crumpet and tells words which she received from her mother. Róża should be bespoken in the evening from 4 p.m. or before the morning.

People whose róża is bespoken cannot eat anything spicy or have any contact with water because "róża has to be dried and róża likes water. (...) Some people do not believe, you have to believe and then it will help" (Runowo/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/K/bd). A woman indicate that you cannot take any money or gifts for such healings. Among the people who bespoke róża there are also people who healed the so-called przełamania (breakings) (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd) or warts and different kinds of papillae (Bażyny/Orneta Municipality/K/66; Lidzbark Warmiński/K/bd). It is worth mentioning that people who deal with a profession of this type very often come from families who arrived on Warmia from the eastern Poland and former Kresy Wschodnie.

Spells were vowed by the so-called bad eyes – a look of a person, which was supposed to cause bad luck. People said that horses suddenly stopped, started to sweat and their mouths were foaming up because someone vowed a spell on them (Kiwity/K/77). Interlocutors also mentioned that there were women who just entered a pigsty or a barn and livestock immediately sickened: "It was enough that she just went somewhere, talked for a while, looked and accidentally a cow sickened or something bad happened, people considered her to have bad eyes. You had to be afraid of her and you couldn't invite her to you house because with her bad look she could make children to fall ill or cause other bad luck" (Lidzbark Warmiński/K/69). Few people mention that if a spell was vowed on your children, you had to lick its forehead three times. Such a charmed person should have a bitter forehead, which you could feel on your tongue (Mingajny/Orneta Municipality/K/85).

In the recent years in Lidzbarski County herbalism has become very popular. Residents have huge knowledge about properties of herbs which you can collect on Warmia. Many people prepare infusions and brews for their own use: "I deal with herbalism. I collect chamomiles, mints, nettles – they have positive influence on hair, nails and kidneys. Syrups from dandelions – coughing, young sprouts of pine trees and propolis are good for skin

efflorescence" (Wolnica/Lubomino Municipality/K/62). Women collect also white clovers because: "They help for inflammation, especially woman's. It is the best medicine" (Orneta/K/64). People use also rub-on made of burdock's roots and olive oils to strengthen hair (Orneta/K/70), cornelians help to block bleeding in an injured fragment of skin (Henrykowo/Orneta Municipality/K/74), and St John's wort supports stomach (Orneta/K/79).

In this context, an activity of the Association of "Herbal Grandmother" in Blanki, Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality, deserves special attention. Members of the association grow herbs and collect wildy growing plants with healing attributes. Herbalists prepare from them healing products, including liqueurs. They make it from e.g. elderberries, pine trees, dandelions, nettles, birches, chokeberries, quinces, briar roses, raspberries, wild strawberries, roots of angelica. Many of these products are inspired by the region of Warmia: "In many products we refer to Warmia, e.g. we make liquor called Lipiak Warmiński. It is based on a found recipe. We make it from a lime, honey, spirits and other ingredients. We make also liquor Jarzębiak Olsztyński basing on an old recipe, according to which we should bake rowanberries. We always search for something relating to our village, to Warmia" (Blanki/Lidzbark Warmiński Municipality/K/bd).

Conclusions and recommendations

During researches in Lidzbarski County there is collected huge material concerning annual and family customs, customs related to celebrations, pilgrimages, herbalism, folk medicine. Interlocutors did not know customs described by Anna Szyfer, including: processions of servants with slam on Christmas Eve, eating breja, baking ceremonial cake – nowolatek – for a New Year or a custom of travelling of carolers - maskary, who were called rogale. Maybe those traditions were not known on that area and were exclusive for the southern Warmia. People who remembered those customs could also not pass knowledge about traditions to next generations. Knowledge about demonic characters: kłobuk, topielec, zmora and południca survived or was "brought" here by settlers.

Surveys conducted in September 2016 in the county's area show that intangible cultural heritage of the region is very significant for the residents. The analysis of the collected material shows that herbalism and folk medicine play an important role on Warmia. It shows that closeness of the human and nature has significant meaning. Additionally, superstitions connected with family customs, animals' behavior and faith in "vowing spells" are still alive. From that, we can draw a conclusion that a certain view of the world is still passed between generations.

It is hard to speak about authenticity of customs characteristic for Warmia. Mostly they are taken over and transformed by next generations of after-war settlers, who feel needs of identifying with the region of living.

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Pieniężno, photo made by Jacek Szulecki.



Suggestions for educational lessons

Karolina Manikowska

My Warmian small homeland

Educational lessons suggestions at the primary school level

Keywords:

the cultural landscape of villages and cities, regional identity.

Expected achievements of the participant:

- understands the notion of cultural landscape
- is oriented in the territory of their locality and its surroundings, he can recognise the components of the cultural landscape and distinguish the historical and modern elements as well as the harmonising and blemishing elements.

Cross-curricular skills:

- the participant works individually and in a team
- engages and trains his visual and spatial memory
- can give his perception a graphic, pictorial form, and he trains his spatial memory and manual skills
- recognises and builds a regional identity and the awareness of the peculiar character of their own place.

Work method and lessons form:

work beside lessons – individual work by observing the territory, work with the Internet, group work, brainstorm

Graphic training aids and research tools:

a clear town or village map (it can be a printout of a satellite map from a website); a graphic portrayal of a church, an orthodox church, a castle, a palace, a sanctuary, houses, public buildings: a town hall, a school, a bureau, chapels, petrol stations, a playground, monuments, fountains, water towers, cemeteries, etc.; scissors, felt-tip pens, coloured pencils, a glue, drawing pins; big sheets of clean paper, coloured paper, a string, tissue paper, modelling clay, matches or blunt toothpick.

For the instructor:

recommended reading material ,e.g.,: „Kaźde miejsce opowiada swoj histori, czyli rzecz o dziedzictwie wiejskim” edited by Marek Konopka, in collaboration with Ewa Pustoa-Kozowska i Dorota Matyaszczyk and „Rzecz o dziedzictwie wsi. Rady, przykady, informacje” edited by Justyna Duriasz-Buhak, Krystian Poomski, Anna Potok – publication in PDF format, available on a website fundacjawspomaganiawsi.pl, materials from the “Warmio, quo vadis?” project and form 3D digitalisation available on websites: eSwiatowid.pl, cyfrowewm.pl, swiatowid.elblag.pl.

A cultural landscape is a space, which had been manufactured over the years by human activity; those are the natural components and everything that had been created by people over centuries (it can be explained with an example: “a hill” and “a castle hill”). When we talk about people, we think about different cultural groups, and each of them, in some way, marks their presence in a particular place, making it distinctive and one of a kind. It’s worth remembering and mentioning during the lesson about Warmia in historical context, as an old-time principality that had ecclesiastical character still in Teutonic times, which was ruled

by Warmian bishop. Its inherent element of the cultural landscape are Catholic churches, sanctuaries and numerous shrines and crosses located at the crossroads, by the village exit, private premises, on significant pilgrimage trails leading towards to sanctuaries (e.g., in Krosno, near Orneta). Since forever, the church has been the mode in the space of Warmian villages—it used to be the most important element arranging the surroundings. The Warmian village, which was set up in the Middle Ages, was often a Rundling (a fusiform system, with a central village green – a square, where the church was located, and many times a pond was there), an irregular multistreet village and a regular linear settlement, where buildings were located on both sides of the streets (appropriately: many or one) which determined the system. In cities, we have a structured old-town space with often preserved relics of stockade which used to determine the city area, with a group of fortified towers and old moats, with castles, town halls, churches, monasteries, chapels and crosses – from various historical periods, beginning with the Middle Ages. Foreign and amorphous elements are the main effects of the ill-considered decisions which introduce modern architecture into an old net of the locality, e.g., multi-storey blocks, which replace destroyed during the World War II tenement houses in an old-town neighbourhood, in the surroundings of a historic church or a castle, in the surroundings of a historic church or a castle, typical one- (so-called cube) or multifamily buildings with a low-pitched roof put in the countryside in the vicinity of single-family and semi-detached buildings with a tiled gable roof. In general, the building that visually stand out from the neighbourhood are: too big by the smaller ones, too wide by the narrow ones, flagrantly painted, they overwhelm the space with unfavourably outstanding roof which does hold neither the level, shape nor the type of the roofing as well as the colour scheme of the nearby building. These historical objects are blemished with incompetently made renovations or even by windows exchanges, which differ from each other with shape and division within one object. These are big gaudy signboards, banner advertisement filling in the free spaces, concrete or wiry premises fencing, unnatural elevation's colour scheme, tawdry monuments and even concrete pavement from cobbles in a historical neighbourhood. Also, the wrong choice of home greenery: an exchange of old historical trees for conifer vegetation, or a complete tree felling (e.g., roadside avenue) can disturb the character's place and blemish them permanently.

Regional identity is a sense of connection and affiliation to a particular place and an awareness of its individuality, which is acquired when compared to others. We identify with a particular place by feeling its territorial (our village, our city), natural, historical (Warmia as an ecclesiastical, bishopric principality), cultural, architectural (“our” cathedral, “our” sanctuary, “our” castle) distinctiveness. These are “our” customs, e.g., greetings, local traditions, language (cant, dialect).

The course of the lesson



Step I – preparatory

During the classes preceding the proper activities, the instructor discusses the looks and the geographical position of the locality. Are the children aware what is the tallest building in the village or the city? Is it the oldest building? What is old and what is new and what elements there are more? Where are they? Perhaps there are some other elements characteristic of the village: a big tree, an imposing shrine, an open-air museum of agricultural machinery? Maybe the town is famous for a well-known person that works there, for a popular sportsman that was born there or for a monument which attracts crowds of tourists?

Afterwards, the instructor gives a homework: an observant walk around the village and its closest neighbourhoods, colonies or around town, preferably with parents or adult guardian. He points out so that the children remember as many details as possible about how the locality looks like both natural and in terms of development (the old and the new one). It is worth paying attention to how many houses are in the village or by one particular street, what kind of trees grow there and where are the most of them, to wayside shrines and crosses etc.



Step II – group work

Around 3-4 groups; rural communities, where children come from different villages, can be divided for example according to their residents, in urban groups, it is suggested to split the children according to districts or streets.

In the beginning, a computer with the Internet access can be used to gain basic information about the village (German name, the year or the period of the establishment, important dates and events from the past). The participants can do the table with two columns - in first to write what in their view is important, pretty and interesting in their town/district of cities, in second - what according to them is ugly, irritating, what is blemishing and what according to them is lacking.

Each group makes a selection of graphical representations of objects characteristic for a given city: buildings and other landscape elements. Then, the groups get a sheet of paper and try to create a map of their locality or district by copying the schematic road or street system, by localising the most important points and sticking their graphic representations, drawing or making the image by themselves on the plan. It is also necessary to mark (e.g., to outline with a marker) contemporary elements - buildings, their groups (e.g., a block of flats estate) or infrastructure elements: bridges, viaducts, parking lots, etc. From the instructor - encouraging participants to try to convey the image of the town or district as faithfully as possible. Additional questions can be used - about greenery, landform, the number of roads/streets, the dominant colour of roofs, types of houses (set with wide or narrow "wall" - ridge or peak for road/street, brick, wooden or plastered, etc.).



Step III – group work presentation

Each group talks about what they have found out about their locality from the Internet and also adds its positive and negative features. The instructor presents the real town or village plan and the groups compare their spatial image of the locality with reality.



Step IV- brainstorm

The participants together with the instructor try to evaluate to what extent, modern elements fit into the historical space and whether – and possibly how to change the things which they find inappropriate, wrong. The best, possible postulates and universal remarks should be written in notebooks.

Karolina Manikowska

Our place – a lot in one

Educational lessons suggestions at the secondary school level

Keywords:

ethnography, ethnographic interview, regional identity, cultural diversity.

Expected achievements of the participant:

- understands the idea of the ethnographic survey and ethnographic interview, can use it in practice; understands the idea of regional identity and cultural diversity
- can prepare and carry out activities needed for extracurricular classes
- collects information, can analyse them and draw conclusions

Cross-curricular skills:

- the participant work individually and in a group
- can connect with adult members of their own society
- can conduct an interview with an ethnographic survey character
- builds and braces regional identity, simultaneously understanding the cultural diversity of the place.

Work method and lessons form:

group work, ethnographic interview, individual work

Graphic training aids and research tools:

voice recorder or telephone with a voice recorder, camera, cards with questions for the survey, sheets of paper or board, marker pens.

The course of the lesson



Step I – preparatory

For example, a week before the scheduled lesson, the instructor talks with participants about ethnography. Children find out that ethnography is a field of study which describes and analyses ethnic groups, folk cultures of various societies. An ethnographer studies cultures within a particular region, including Warmia. He works, among others, on description and analysis of regional identity, which is a sense of bond and affiliation to a given place and awareness of its individuality. He is interested, if a given group identifies with the given place, feeling its territorial, natural, historical individuality.

Promptings for the instructor: one of the most popular research methods, which will be used by the participants, is an ethnographic interview – a conversation, during which the researcher gains the information needed for him. The researcher should stay as impartial, objective as possible. He can talk with one person or many – depending on what information he wants to obtain. It is the best to conduct the interview in the informant's home or on neutral ground at a chosen time; if we want to find out about holiday customs, the appropriate time would be before this holiday. The survey should be anonymous to guarantee the interviewee comfort and that he can talk openly. For this reason, an agreement for drawing on the acquired information should be obtained. The language of the researcher's statement should be casual, free from scientific terms and understandable for the interviewee. The researcher can't suggest answers, chime in, interrupt the interviewee or discuss with him. The survey should be recorded with: e.g., a voice recorder/mobile phone – only this guarantees precise recapture and enables an accurate transcript of the informant's statements. The data, acquired during the survey should be only used for

scientific/educational purposes; the interviewee should be assured of that to dissipate his distrust and anxiety about negative consequences of giving information to the researcher.

The survey as a part of present lessons aims to gain information about who creates a community of a given locality, and if it is a homogeneous group that comes from a long line of people living there, what type of family and holiday traditions there are. In case of Warmian locality, the local community is created primarily by post-war settlers and their offspring which has varied traditions that came from different parts of Poland and old Kresy Wschodnie. Perhaps, among the interviewees, a native or their descendant can be found.

Model questions were enclosed the script to make the researchers' work easier (attachment no.1). The sheets with questions should be paginated in order to ease the gathering the results and avoid mistakes later during compiling the information.

In the researched group should be senior citizens who live in a given locality, e.g., grandparents or other relatives, neighbours, acquaintances etc. To set up an interview, the so-called porter can be asked for help. They can help gain access to such a person if the participant doesn't know them personally. If there's any difficulty with finding informants (bigger locality, lack of older relatives), it should be initially reconnoitred where older people gather, e.g., marketplace, churches, health centres. In this case, it would be good, if the research was conducted by two people although, it can be hard to obtain, e.g., photos of objects important to the informant (however, it is non-mandatory).



Step II – after lessons work

The instructor informs the participants that their assignment will consist in conducting a survey, with an ethnographic interview method which is aimed at cultural recognition of the community. He explains the concept of an ethnographic interview, sketches the scheme of this sort of research. The work can be done individually or in max two-person groups (then, at least two people have to be surveyed). All participants receive survey sheets with the same questions. Their task is to induce senior citizens living in the given locality – family

members, neighbours, acquaintances or strangers, to answer the questions from the survey sheet. These answers should be recorded, so later the results of the interview can be analysed. The role of the instructor is to explain to the participant the behaviour principles of a researcher and also to remind them: to introduce themselves, to explain to the informant that he's taking part in a survey, to assure them that it's anonymous and to get the interviewee's permission to record the interview, to take pictures and to use the acquired material to the analysis. Consenting to the survey should also be recorded in order to avoid misunderstandings. The researcher's task is to have a conversation in a way that the informant gives comprehensive answers. During the survey, new threads can occur, then the researcher should let the interviewee talk, even if it isn't connected directly to the subject area of the study. It can turn out to be an interesting addition, and the information can come in useful on another occasion. The results of the survey will be presented in the following lesson.

The more people in the given locality will be interviewed, the better. The survey should be one-off, this means that a given person can be talked to only once.

The participants, within the framework of individual work, should schematise the answers acc. to questions, that is to make a shortened description:

Informant 1

female, age....., came in (year).....from..... . Since forever, in her home for Christmas..... is done, for Easter.....is done. All of the women in the family worked on, e.g., spinning wool (+a picture of a spinning wheel). She lives with her son and daughter-in-law and grandchildren in a post-German house. After the previous house owners, there are furniture and photos (+photos).

Depending on how many people have been surveyed, the next step will take 1 or 2 hours.

ATTENTION: if the participants come from different places, it will be best if they carry out the research in the place, where they are studying in, and with their classmates who live there. If there is a group of a few people from a smaller town, they can do the study in their

town and, according to the scheme, develop a sheet for their locality with a separate numbering.



Step III – presentation of the results of the survey

In the beginning, it should be counted how many people had been surveyed. The participants can tell if they had any difficulties with finding informants and convincing them to take part in the survey, or if anyone refused to answer any of the questions. Then, they present the survey results. They say how many people they managed to interview. The informants/interviewees' answers, especially the more comprehensive ones, can be played or read from a transcribed text, but later it is easier to use shortened description (see: the example below) to organise them according to the scheme (attachment no. 2) and write them down on a board. The participants should think about what the gained results prove.

The role of the instructor is, in case of any difficulty, to ask questions that can help, e.g., what does it mean that Informant 1 comes from, 2 form and 3 form? The answers should be written down on a board, formed in full sentences, e.g., The carried-out survey shows that in our village, there are people, who don't come from here. These informants came from.....,.....,..... . Conclusion: our locality is populated with immigrants and their offspring. The majority came here inand lives in old houses. Thereupon, some people still have souvenirs of the German farm owners. The majority of children of the older people lives with them, some of them went abroad because there's no job on the spot. These conclusions should be written down on a board/sheet of paper and in notebooks.

These lessons should make the participants realise that people, who create their local community, come from different parts of the old Republic. The vast majority of residents of Warmian villages as well as Warmian cities are the displaced people and their offspring, who were bound by new, foreign at the time, place. They brought with each other their own "cultural luggage", traditions, and history. The participants are the generation which grew up in this place therefore, there are outright natives. On the one hand, they inherit their

family's culture, and on the other hand – they can treat the history of the place as a part of their own heritage because they have been co-creating it since the beginning because they have been consecutive residents since birth.

Attachment no. 1

Model question sheet for the survey

LOCALITY	INFORMANT NO.	SEX	F/M	AGE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you agree on taking part in this survey and on recording it? 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you agree on using the obtained information for scientific purposes? 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Were you born here, in? If not, where are you from? 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where are your parents from? 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When did you come here? Or when did your parents come here? 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you have any photos or souvenirs from there? If so, can we make copies of them – take a photo or scan them? 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are in your home, family any family traditions? culinary: holiday dishes (Christmas, Easter), recipes for cakes/pies or other things handcrafts: carving, embroidery, tapestry embroidery, lace knitting occupation inherited from ancestors: handcraft, e.g., carpentry, artistic smithery, agriculture, animal farming, plays and games: 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does your immediate family live here, or have they moved out? (where) 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you live in a new or an old house? If in an old house, do you know, who lived there before? 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you have souvenirs or objects that belonged to previous owners? Can they be photographed? 				

Attachment no.2

Scheme of developing the survey results

We omit the first two questions if everyone has got an appropriate agreement. The results are written down on a board, or on a big sheet of paper. Presented answers are exemplary

QUESTION 3,4,5

Informant 1 born in....came from.....in 19.... .

Informant 2 born in....., parents came from in 19.... . etc.

QUESTION 6

presentation of photographs/copies with a note: a photograph of a church in presented by Informant no. 1, who is standing in front of it. A scan of a repatriation document issued in.... for parents of Informant no.2. A school record of Informant no. 3 from a school in.....

QUESTION 7

Informant no. 1...for holidays bakes "Mazurek" A recipe for Kutia from Informant no.2 In the family of Informant no. 3, a tradition for making Easter eggs is... Informant no.4 inherited a joinery workshop from his father, who got it from the grandfather (presentation of a photo).

QUESTION 8

The children of Informant no.1 have moved to the city.... The grandson of Informant no.2 lives with him, and he will inherit the agriculture.

QUESTION 9

Informant no.1 lives in a multi-family building. Informant no.2 live in a post-German house, after the previous owners, there's a table (presentation of a photo). Informant no.3 lives in a modern single-family house. The previous owners of Informant's no.4 house were millers.

QUESTION 10

Presentation of photos or other artefacts obtained from the informants during the survey. Informant no.1 presented a certificate of First Communion of a previous owner, found under a holy picture. Informant no. 7 borrowed a German book to look through etc.

Wiesława Rynkiewicz-Domino

The saints of Warmian churches.

The heritage of spiritual and artistic culture of Warmia

Educational lessons suggestions at the primary school level

Keywords:

historical Warmia, the cult of the saints, presentations of saints, an attribute, a patron, the heritage of spiritual and artistic culture of Warmia.

Expected achievements of the participant:

understands the keywords, the meaning of presentation of the saints in high places (shrines, chapels), differentiates the notion of sculpture, painting, mural.

Cross-curricular skills of the participant:

- can find a portrayal to indicated issue in the immediate surroundings
- can find the most needed information related to monuments in literature and on the Internet.
- can critically refer to information on the Internet, make a selection
- can recount and match the found information to an object
- can work in a team
- builds demeanour of local identity.

Work method and lessons form:

lecture/ causerie about Warmian history, with particular attention for the reasons of its individuality; assigning tasks: individual search for presentation of a saint in the immediate surroundings in a local or other Warmian church, for example, during a trip combining touring a church, searching information about a given object, presentation of a developed topic.

Graphic training aids:

a DVD player, a computer, a projector, a camera or a mobile phone/smartphone, a printer, Internet access.

Educational comment 1

A part of historical Warmia, before the Teutonic conquest, was inhabited by the Prussian tribe of Warmowie and they are credited for this region's name. It is assumed that their main centre was Orenta (Wormditt). In 1243, the pope Innocent IV established four dioceses on the Prussian territory that was still being conquered. Then, the Bishopric of Culm, the Bishopric of Pomesania, the Bishopric of Warmia and the Bishopric of Samland. 1/3 of the land of every diocese was supposed to belong to the bishop as his dominion. The reach of a diocese, where the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop was exercised, was adequately bigger. The borders of the dominion, of what we call today Warmia, formed itself only in the 14th c. and with minor modifications, survived till the First Partition of Poland in 1772.

The first bishop, Anzelm, divided the Warmian dominion in the following: central – 1/3 of his land intended for the support of cathedral chapter established in 1260 (a cathedral chapter is a group of priests bound to perform liturgy in the in cathedral church). The administration of the domains was entrusted to burgraves/ vogts. Here, administrative centres were founded so-called komornictwo: in Olsztyn, Pieniężno and Frombork. Originally, the chapter had its abode in Braniewo. Because of the disturbance associated with the II Prussian Uprising, it was relocated to Frombork. The residence of Warmian bishops initially was Elbląg (where bishop Anzelm died), then Braniewo, Orneta and since 1350 – Lidzbark Warmiński.

For the needs of the bishop worked the komornictwo in Braniewo, Orneta, Dobre Miasto, Barczewo, Reszel, Jeziorany and Lidzbark Warmiński. It is worth mentioning that in this centres were formed the most impressive churches in the Middle Ages. The first bishop Anzelm, within the State of Teutonic Order, gained significant independence, primarily economic.

After the Second Peace of Thorn (1466), Warmia, as well as Prussia became a part of The Crown of The Kingdom of Poland. It kept its previous autonomy. To the individuality of Warmia in The Crown, later in the Republic, also contributed the privilege of exemption, which exempted the Warmian bishops from metropolitan dependency. Initially, they answered to the archbishop in Riga. Probably, since Nicolaus von Tüngen (ca. 1479) he and his successors directly reported to the Holy See in Rome. In 1929 Warmia was subsumed under Wrocław metropolis, and then it lost its exemption privilege.

Only in 1972, after the normalisation of the Polish-German relations, Pope Paul VI excluded the Warmian diocese from Wrocław and added it to the Warsaw diocese. Whereas, Pope John Paul II upgraded it to the archbishopric.

The Warmian bishop and canons were only secular farmers. The Warmian bishop took part in Senate, and since 1508 as a chairman of Prussian land convened general diets of Royal Prussia, which gave the honour a great political meaning. The individuality of Warmia increased in a particular way during belongingness to the Republic, after the Prussian land, which was surrounding it from everywhere, became Protestant. During that time, Warmia grew to become the bulwark of Catholicism. This was the result of the strong funds in favour of churches, furnishing them and building new ones including mainly, pilgrimage chapels and shrines.

After the First Partition of Poland in 1772, Warmia was incorporated into the Kingdom of Prussia. The main change was its secularisation. The economic management was taken over by all-Prussian counties with an administrative district in Królewiec. However, Warmia kept its religious individuality (Catholic), which differentiated it from the entire Prussian province (East Prussia. In years 1795-1836, after the death of the last Polish bishop Ignacy Krasicki,

the representatives of House of Hohenzollern became the Warmian bishops, who chose Oliwa as their residence, because there were abbots from Oliwa at the same time. In years 1795-1836, the residence of Warmian bishops was located in Frombork. After the II World War – in Olsztyn, thereupon the Saint Jacob's Church in Olsztyn holds the title of co-cathedral.

After 1945, the entire Warmia was incorporated into Poland. Despite the almost complete populace exchange (in some areas, it lasted till the 80. of the 20th c.), the flowing populace, mainly Catholic, managed to preserve the Catholic traditions in Warmia. The old churches, chapels were in a somewhat natural way adapted to the needs of the new people, and they kept the heritage of previous epochs. The historical furnishings of Warmian churches and chapels that come from the 17th and 18th centuries that have been kept, also shows various connections with artistic culture of the old Republic, thanks to bishops and canons of this period, thanks to the fact that most of them have a Polish background.

Educational comment 2

An attribute of a saint or a deific person is their identification mark. The attribute can be an item, animals, plants associated with the saint or an accompanying person that is connected with the life of the saint, their martyrdom or legend.

So the attributes can be individual, but also many are universal. To those belong a halo, a palm leave, or even a palm tree as a symbol of martyrdom. To the universal symbols sometimes belongs cross in the hands of a saint as a sign of emulation of Christ. Some attributes point out features of the saint, e.g., a lily as a symbol of purity; some items point out the profession, death circumstances of their martyr (e.g., St. Barbara with a sword – she was beheaded). An important identification mark is the saint's outfit which indicates, e.g., episcopal title, priesthood and monkhood, state background: a sainted king, a saint virgin, a knight, a soldier etc.

It is worth remembering that sometimes the same attributes characterise different saints. E.g., the presence of a dragon accompanies, very popular in the Middle Ages, Saint George,

but also the archangel Michael, Saint King Olaf, Gregory, Philip and Saint Margaret and Martha.

The portrayals of the saints and their attributes, and also complicated religious compositions especially pictorial is studied by a branch of the art history, called iconography. It has to be remembered that this is only one of the subjects in this field of research. It is an extensive and rather complicated knowledge. Iconography has a tremendous amount of specialist literature, but unfortunately, it is hard to access. For purposes of the classes, it would be enough if the participant can point out at least one attribute of a chosen saint based on the entries found on the Internet.

The attributes of saint first appeared in the 5th century in Christian art. Initially, they were incidental to portrayals of evangelists and apostles. In Middle Ages, when the cult of the saints was significantly expanding, including the number of people considered as saints, their images were also equipped with attributes. The hagiographical literature appeared, which described the life of the saints. In the early modern period, the portrayals of the saints were often equipped with additional attributes which referred to their peculiarities.

The course of the lesson



Step I – preparatory

The instructor shortly discusses the history of historical Warmia, emphasising the part of the history which influenced the religious individuality of Warmia (Catholic Warmia surrounded by the Protestant Duchy of Prussia and later by the Kingdom of Prussia). Presentation of Warmia's reach with a map. Pointing out the big saturation of Warmia with sacred objects and relatively well-kept old church equipment, numerous portrayals of saints: pictorial and sculptural inside the churches that were especially established in Baroque and in the 19th c. It is also worth paying attention to the portrayals which can be found in shrines. Introducing the notion of attribute: based on what we recognise which saints appear in the portrayals. Question for the participants if the contemporarily canonised have attributes, if our knowledge about how they looked like, e.g., based on photos that were kept, enough? The instructor shows different artistic variants of his images based on one example of a saint. These examples don't have to come from Warmia.



Step II – the task for the participant

The choice of the portrayal of a saint from a nearest, local church, shrines or from a locality where there will be, e.g., a trip organised combined with sightseeing of a sacred object. Taking a photo unaided by a participant of a chosen portrayal (with a camera or a mobile phone). The task for the child is to find basic information about the chosen example: who it portrays, whose patron they are, from what period does the building where the portrayal is located come from, when it the presentation dated. Such information can be found in local guidebooks, on websites of parishes. Checking on the Internet or – for more ambitious – in literature, how the iconography of the chosen portrayal formed in history. Does the chosen presentation of the saint from the immediate neighbourhood hold with theory? Filling out

the participant's worksheet (attachment no. 1). Presentation of chosen examples during lessons. Preparing a gallery/an exhibition of the wrought topic.

The project can be made as a multimedia presentation.

Attachment no.1

The student's worksheet

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A PLACE FOR A PHOTO OF THE OBJECT	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• TERM OF THE PORTRAYAL:
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• LOCALISATION:
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A SHORT HISTORY OF THE OBJECT:
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• DESCRIPTION OF THE SAINT'S FIGURE:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• NOTE ABOUT THE CULT OF THE SAINT:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• SOURCES OF INFORMATION:	

Explanations for the participant's worksheet:

- A place for a photo of the object.
- The term of the portrayal: e.g., Saint George – a sculpture, Saint Valentine – a painting.
- Localisation: the Saint Paul's parish Church in Dąbrówka, the sculpture is located in the high altar; the painting hung on the southern wall.
- A Short history of the object: one, two sentences about the church/shrine: gothic church, built in the 1st half of the 14th c., rebuilt in the 19th c. The altar was funded by..../ the alter comes from the beginning of the 18th c.
- Description of the saint's figure: the elements of his outfit, the colour scheme, pointing out items, animals or different figures accompanying or possible inscriptions.
- Note about the cult of the saint: when is the cult dated back, when was it the most popular, whose patron is the saint, has he got any attributes.
- Sources of information: literature, the parish, webography (with the accesses date), others

Wiesława Rynkiewicz-Domino

Historical elements of Warmian churches equipment, in other words how to watch sacred monuments

Educational lessons suggestions at the secondary school level

Keywords:

historical Warmia, the system of sacred objects, equipment of Catholic churches in the early modern period, artworks, works of handicraft, the cult of the saint, liturgy, the spiritual and artistic cultural heritage in Warmia.

Expected achievements of the participant:

- understands the keywords
- understands the meaning of the equipment in high places (shrines, chapels)
- uses the notions in the equipment of historical churches
- notices the difference in the modern equipment of churches
- appreciates the value of spiritual and artistic heritage of Warmia.

Cross-curricular skills of the participant:

- can find examples of particular elements of old equipment of sacred objects in the immediate surrounding
- can find the most necessary information regarding monuments in literature and on the Internet
- can critically refer to the information found online, make a choice

- can match the information to the object and then recount them
- can work in a team
- builds a foundation of a local identity
- notices and appreciates the local heritage of spiritual and artistic culture of Warmia.

Work method and lessons form:

lecture/ causerie about Warmian history with particular attention for the reasons of its individuality; assigning tasks: individual search for an indicated element of equipment in the immediate surroundings, making a photograph on one's own; search for the information about the object, making a presentation.

Graphic training aids:

a DVD player, a computer, a projector, a camera or a mobile phone, a printer, material from the project "Warmio, quo vadis" as well as 3D digitalisation that can be accessed on websites: eSwiatowid.pl, cyfrowewm.pl, swiatowid.elblag.pl.

Educational comment 1

A part of historical Warmia, before the Teutonic conquest, was inhabited by the Prussian tribe of Warmowie and they are credited for this region's name. It is assumed that their main centre was Orenta (Wormditt). In 1243, the pope Innocent IV established four dioceses on the Prussian territory that was still being conquered. Then, the Bishopric of Culm, the Bishopric of Pomesania, the Bishopric of Warmia and the Bishopric of Samland. 1/3 of the land of every diocese was supposed to belong to the bishop as his dominion. The reach of a diocese, where the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop was exercised, was adequately bigger. The borders of the dominion, of what we call today Warmia, formed itself only in the 14th c. and with minor modifications, survived till the First Partition of Poland in 1772.

The first bishop, Anzelm, divided the Warmian dominion in the following: central – 1/3 of his land intended for the support of cathedral chapter established in 1260 (a cathedral chapter is a group of priests bound to perform liturgy in the in cathedral church). The administration of the domains was entrusted to burgraves/ vogts. Here, administrative centres were founded so-called komornictwo: in Olsztyn, Pieniężno and Frombork. Originally, the chapter had its abode in Braniewo. Because of the disturbance associated with the II Prussian Uprising, it was relocated to Frombork. The residence of Warmian bishops initially was Elbląg (where bishop Anzelm died), then Braniewo, Orneta and since 1350 – Lidzbark Warmiński. For the needs of the bishop worked the komornictwo in Braniewo, Orneta, Dobre Miasto, Barczewo, Reszel, Jeziorany and Lidzbark Warmiński. It is worth mentioning that in this centres were formed the most impressive churches in the Middle Ages. The first bishop Anzelm, within the State of Teutonic Order, gained significant independence, primarily economic.

After the Second Peace of Thorn (1466), Warmia, as well as Prussia became a part of The Crown of The Kingdom of Poland. It kept its previous autonomy. To the individuality of Warmia in The Crown, later in the Republic, also contributed the privilege of exemption, which exempted the Warmian bishops from metropolitan dependency. Initially, they answered to the archbishop in Riga. Probably, since Nicolaus von Tüngen (ca. 1479) he and his successors directly reported to the Holy See in Rome. In 1929 Warmia was subsumed under Wrocław metropolis, and then it lost its exemption privilege.

Only in 1972, after the normalisation of the Polish-German relations, Pope Paul VI excluded the Warmian diocese from Wrocław and added it to the Warsaw diocese. Whereas, Pope John Paul II upgraded it to the archbishopric.

The Warmian bishop and canons were only secular farmers. The Warmian bishop took part in Senate, and since 1508 as a chairman of Prussian land convened general diets of Royal Prussia, which gave the honour a great political meaning. The individuality of Warmia increased in a particular way during belongingness to the Republic, after the Prussian land, which was surrounding it from everywhere, became Protestant. During that time, Warmia grew to become the bulwark of Catholicism. This was the result of the strong funds in favour

of churches, furnishing them and building new ones including mainly, pilgrimage chapels and shrines.

After the First Partition of Poland in 1772, Warmia was incorporated into the Kingdom of Prussia. The main change was its secularisation. The economic management was taken over by all-Prussian counties with an administrative district in Królewiec. However, Warmia kept its religious individuality (Catholic), which differentiated it from the entire Prussian province (East Prussia. In years 1795-1836, after the death of the last Polish bishop Ignacy Krasicki, the representatives of House of Hohenzollern became the Warmian bishops, who chose Oliwa as their residence, because there were abbots from Oliwa at the same time. In years 1795-1836, the residence of Warmian bishops was located in Frombork. After the II World War – in Olsztyn, thereupon the Saint Jacob's Church in Olsztyn holds the title of co-cathedral.

After 1945, the entire Warmia was incorporated into Poland. Despite the almost complete populace exchange (in some areas, it lasted till the 80. of the 20th c.), the flowing populace, mainly Catholic, managed to preserve the Catholic traditions in Warmia. The old churches, chapels were in a somewhat natural way adapted to the needs of the new people, and they kept the heritage of previous epochs. The historical furnishings of Warmian churches and chapels that come from the 17th and 18th centuries that have been kept, also shows various connections with artistic culture of the old Republic, thanks to bishops and canons of this period, thanks to the fact that most of them have a Polish background.

Educational comment 2

Individual elements of the antique church's equipment have their own "applied" history, developed by centuries-old tradition – function, form, placement in the interior. The most important element of every sanctuary is an altar located in the presbyterium or – if the church doesn't have such a separated place – by the eastern wall. Some churches have additional altars, also called side altars, so in this case, the altar located by the eastern wall is the main one. Another very liturgically important element is the tabernacle, where the consecrated bread and holy oils were kept. In the old Warmia, tabernacle took the form of a

box set in a niche nearby the main altar, secured with lockup doors. Later, it became popular to put tabernacle in the centre of the altar. The altar space was islanded with rails. In the 18th century, the railing took over the role, as a place to administer the Holy Communion. These communion rails had a sill and a kneeler. In churches with presbyterium, the transition from the sacred area to the area for the faithful was accentuated by a rood arch and fitting below a so-called rood beam. On it, there were usually sculpted portrayals of the Crucified, sometimes in the company of the main witnesses: Mary and Saint John. In churches without the presbyterium, sometimes the crucifix was also hung in front of the main altar. Liturgy of the Word (reading texts from the Bible) and the homily needed an ambo (a pulpit), which usually was located within the nave, on the gospel side, that is the left side. In the baroque period – in the 17th and 18th century, the ambos took lordly, in artistic terms, form.

At the Renaissance, especially in the Baroque, elaborated liturgy and the dramatisation of its form caused that a very important element became the musical frame. The ambition of every high place was to have their organ, or at least the more modest version – positive organs (small mobile organs). At the beginning of the 20th c., in many modest Warmian shrines pump organs (harmonium) appeared. Today, the last one disappeared from churches, replaced by electronic instruments. Big organs took the grand form. The casing with organ pipes called the organ front many times had extremely rich sculpture frame. They were located on a separate matroneum in the western part of the church, often described as a musical choir. Matroneum had a decorative railing.

The altar – the main place of liturgy within the temple. The first altar in Christianity had a form of a table or a sarcophagus/a tomb. After the establishment of the Christianity, the altars started to get a ciborium form. It usually was a type of canopy spread out on four posts. The outer board called the altar stone has a built-in tin of relics. Traditionally, the altar stone is supposed to be made of stone. The frontal side of the altar was shielding the antependium. It took very rich forms. From wooden reliefs to curtains made from gilded or silver sheet metal, cordovan (extruded and stained leather) and embroidered fabrics.

During the Middle Ages, as far back as in the 9th c., the altars have started to be enriched with decorations in forms of reredos (Latin: retabulum) set and strapped to the back part of

the altar stone. Initially, the reredoses were small, in a single-cavity mould or double board (diptych) with paintings or an individual sculpture. In the Gothic period, this form was converted for a kind of closet with folding wings (triptych), and later – especially in the late Gothic – with an additional pair of wings. Often, within the closet and open wings, there were sculptural portrayals, the remaining ones occupy painted sections. In this period, the reredoses were positioned on predella – an additional chest also decorated, sometimes equipped with a small door, where sacraments were kept. Wing altarpieces often had grand, sculptural coping.

In the Renaissance, a new way of designing the reredos appeared, by using architectural elements consistent with current trend styles. The main compositions, in Warmia mainly painterly, were included in pillars, columns, pilasters, positioned on a pedestal, clipped together with ledges. The reredoses of baroque character became more and more developed, both when it came to the number placed within their portrayals and used allegoric and symbolic elements. In the 17th and 18th century, the dramatisation of church interior was progressing, which in cases of pilgrimage churches is visible in orbicular composing of the high altar with the side altars. A particular product of religious art in Warmia is multi-storey reredos with an accumulating architectural structure.

During the time of popularising individual confession (after Council of Trent ended in 1568), confessionals started to appear in churches.

Besides the mentioned main elements of church equipment serving to officiate the liturgy, seating forms should also be noted, which in the modern church place take up a lot of space. Initially, the seats were intended for the people officiating the liturgy that is priests, canons, conventuals. They've taken various forms from simple benches up to expanded choir stalls and sedilia. The privilege of sitting in the sacred space first got church benefactors. In cities, separate benches or choirs had the city council members, rich guilds (benches, advowson stalls). The democratisation of this custom which led to the appearance of benches occupying a large part of ecclesiastical interiors appeared initially in pilgrimage churches, spread in the 19th and 20th centuries, first in Protestant churches (where the liturgy of words and long sermons were particularly important), and following their example, in Catholic

churches. The diversity of benches in terms of their function and order of seating was very high. The order of sitting is not practised today (benches for women, separate for men, special purposes, e.g., for mourners).

In Warmia, a particular meaning was credited to the appropriate lighting of the temple. A huge part of the church expenses was related to the purchase of candles. Till today, many historical candlesticks remained: candle holders, girandoles and hanging candlesticks, which are amazing examples of the works of old craftsmen who worked in metal: goldsmiths, pewterers, braziers. It should be remembered that the lighting of the temple during the services was also associated with the symbolic meaning of light. The ornamentation of the temples with stained-glass windows was very similar to such way of thinking. Colourful light, which thanks to them filled the interior of churches, regardless of the content of the portrayals was another element emphasising the uniqueness and sacredness of the sacred space. The stained-glass windows experienced an unusual renaissance at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Many stained glass windows have been preserved in Warmian churches from this period.

The sacrament of Baptism introduced into the congregation. In the Middle Ages, the baptismal fonts were set at the entrance of the aisle. Today, the vast majority of stony fonts from this period remained in the church porches, and they serve as stoups. Not many fonts remained from later periods. Usually, they were lighter and very often made from wood. Traditionally, the baptism font had a form of a grail shape, sometimes octagonal (which was connected with the imagery of baptism) with a lid. Inside, there was a removable baptismal font made from brass, rarely from silver. In the early modern period, the fonts had been situated inside the church, under matroneum or nearby the altar. In Protestant churches, the font was often surrounded by a high transparent railing, sometimes covered with a structure imitating a roof. In this way, isolated from the interior space developed, which was called baptismal croft. The baptismal crofts were sometimes built in Catholic Warmia. Examples remained in Błudowo, Dobre Miasto and Wozławki; until recently there was a baptismal croft in Sokolica.

Currently, we forget that churches used to be a cemetery in the old ages. The privilege of burial inside a church applied only to ministry and outstanding parishioner. The signs of this old function of churches are the preserved tombstones, epitaphs, sepulchral memorials. In many churches, there are numerous mobile artworks: single paintings and sculptures, usually being the expression of individual religiosity. To this category of items, feretory and khorugv can be included. Among the many small objects that are often overlooked are: the altar lamps, bells, kneeling chairs, bookrests. A separate issue is the often found painting decoration of the walls and ceilings of the Warmian temples, from the Gothic up to the beginning of the 20th c. of different artistic classes: from amazing baroque compositions by Maciej Mayer to naive folk typically decorative designs. In many sacred complexes, there is sacristan furniture remained: wardrobes and dresser for keeping robes and altar vessels.

The course of the lesson



Step I – preparatory

The instructor shortly discusses the history of Warmia, emphasising the part which influenced the religious individuality of Warmia (Catholic Warmia surrounded by the Protestant Duchy of Prussia, and later by The Kingdom of Prussia). Presentation of Warmia's reach with a map. Drawing attention to the big saturation of Warmia with sacred objects and relatively well-kept old furnishing of the churches. The instructor points out how many elements can be used to equip the temple. He encourages the participants to tell what kind of elements they know that can fill admiration, why? Do the known modern churches contain all elements, what form do they take? Choosing a local or other historic church to conduct classes. Option 1: division of the group into working teams. Option 2: each participant receives an individual task.



Step II – the task for the participant or a small team

Choosing an element from the equipment of the nearest local church or from a locality, where for example, a trip combined with visiting a sacral object will be organised or an example indicated by the participant. Taking a photo of a chosen element individually with a camera or a mobile phone. The task of the participant is to find basic data about the chosen example: from which church does it come from, when was the church and its equipment built, when was the chosen element created. Such information can be found in local guidebooks, on parish's website. In cases of remarkable works or very characteristic of the region's art, information should be looked for in specialist literature (for the more ambitious). Much useful information can be found on the Internet. The majority of historical objects has elaborate websites on this topic. On the Internet, examples of similar pieces of equipment from other churches can be found, also from outside the region. Are the examples found from the same period significantly different?



Step III – preparing the presentation by the participant/team and presenting it in front of the group

Weronika Wojnowska

Stained glass – the incredible cultural heritage of Warmia

Educational lessons suggestions at the secondary school level

Keywords:

the cultural heritage of Warmia, sacred stained glass, stained glass making, sacred construction.

Work method and lessons form:

a lecture supported by a presentation of referential websites and films on the Internet, discussion.

Graphic training aids:

a DVD player, Internet, marker pen, paper, pens.

Educational comment:

What is a stained glass?

The Polish name “witraż” comes from a Latin word *virtum* and it means glass. It is a composition which fills out the window openings (often divided with bars for individual areas, so-called panels), consisting of pieces of glass bound with lead mouldings. In this way, multipart figurative or ornamental composition was created, in which lead frames formed an outline of the drawing and its characteristic elements (head, hands, robe’s folds, etc.) were emphasised by stained glass paints. The material of the stained glass consists of coloured glass in liquid form (by way of metallic oxide), or is created by applying glaze paints on the surface (which consist of mineral pigments and glaze), solidified by burning it in a furnace.

Stained glass windows are characteristic mainly for sacred buildings, but they were also introduced to windows in residences - castles, palaces and manor houses, as well as public buildings, i.e. in offices, schools, hospitals, as well as in residential houses - tenement houses or villas. Stained glass windows are exceptional elements of interior design which have a decorative function, and it gives symbolic content and simultaneously has an influence on the human psyche. To work, they need light, which goes through stained glass glazing, depending on the time of year or day, it gives it idiosyncratic character and influences the recipient's emotions.

Stained glass is an area between painting and handicrafts. The process of creating it, as it was in the past and as it is today, is multi-stage. The first step is the design drawing which shows the composition and the colour of the stained glass. The next step is creating a cartoon – a finished design is moved on to the cartoon and enlarged to the planned size of glazing. The last step is cutting the glass according to the shapes drawn on the cartoon and framing them in lead mouldings, as well as binding them into panels, and then they are bedded in the window.

The history of the stained glass windows

Stained glass glazings of the window openings have been known since antiquity. It was used in Egypt, Rome, Byzantium and Syria. Those were window impletions without drawings, composed of colourful glass framed in stucco, plaster or wood. The classical stained glass design developed in Europe in the 9th c., while glazing design of big window openings was developed in France around the 10th century. Then, the stained glass with lead mouldings was created, in the form known till today. The flowering of the stained glass happened in the 12th c. The stained glass windows became an inherent element of Gothic architecture, in which they fulfilled not only the decorative role but also they functioned as *biblia pauperum* (the Bible for the poor), showing the illiterate scenes from the Bible. In Poland, the development of the stained glass art happened only in the 14th c., and its main centres were Toruń and Kraków. After the heyday of the classical stained glass technique in gothic times in the whole Europe, regress happened. In the 17th and 18th century, there was no need of binding of smaller pieces of glass, because the technological progress in the glass production

allowed for glazing big surfaces with one panel, on which paintings were plot out. Then, they were burned, and colourless glazing was impressed. Only in the 19th c., on a wave of interest in old ages' art, especially in architecture and art of the Middle Ages, the art of stained glass revived.

Stained glass windows in Warmia

In Warmia, stained glass windows from the period between the 14th to the 18th century didn't remain. In fact, not many survived in Poland, and today stained-glass windows can be seen in the St. Mary's Church in Krakow, or in the District Museum in Toruń. On the other hand, in Warmia there's a huge number of monuments of stained glass art from the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, to a small extent secular, and above all, sacred. However, when we visit Warmian churches, and we admire the stained glass windows, we won't find broader information about them in guidebooks of the region, on the Internet, or on information boards by the church entrance. In our region, stained glass art isn't properly maintained, and there's still no extensive literature about it. The fortunes of the last war and the historical changes which happened after 1945 caused big loopholes in archive resources, so gathering information about workshops, which were creating the stained glass glazing, is very hard. There's a lack of a full stocktake of existing stained glass resource. Preponderantly, Warmian stained glass windows are works of German workshops only in individual cases these stained glass windows are from Silesia, and from the area of the old East Prussia. Today, regardless of the nationality of the maker, they represent the remarkably important element of the stained glass art heritage in Poland, and particular cultural heritage of the Warmian region, as well as the characteristic, though still undervalued, its hallmark. A short overview of the stained glass factories operating in Warmia in the 19th and 20th centuries will make it possible to become aware of the importance of the workshops, and how interesting, and often outstanding works of stained glass art, remained. Due to the lack of research, a big amount of stained glass windows remains unnamed and are yet to be discovered. Very inconvenient is the fact, that the majority of the stained glass windows doesn't have a workshop signature (a signature of the

manufacturer), and that is why, the ascription of some of the stained glass windows to particular workshops is very difficult, and sometimes even impossible.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, on the premises of Warmia, there were no local stained glass workshops. From the area of the old East Prussia (a part of which was located across the eastern border after the last war), so far we know only one production from Robert Siebert's workshop in Królewiec, the author of the glazing in the Sacred Heart's Church in Olsztyn. It's worth paying attention to the activity of two excellent stained glass workshops in the talked-about region – Adalbert Redner and Adolph Seiler. In particular, the first of them produces a lot of glazing. The stained glass painter came from Pomerania, he was the brother of the bishop in Chełm

The majority of the glazing was made especially by the first of them, a brother of the Bishop of Chełmno from Pomerania, a Wrocław stained glass artist and painter Adalbert Redner. He left his legacy in the form of stained glass windows in many churches among others in the cathedral in Frombork, or in the churches in Giławy and Dywity. On the other hand, Adolph Seiler's The Silesian Stained Glass Institute from Wrocław, so far known from only one production for the cathedral in Frombork. It was the most outstanding, the oldest, largest and operating longest Silesian stained glass workshops and one of the most important in Europe at that time. The studio has made stained glass windows for various European countries as well as for America.

The Warmian stained glass windows come from various parts of Germany, but mainly from workshops in Rhineland. Probably the most stained glass windows in Warmia were made by Heinrich Oidtmann from Linnich near Aachen. It is one of the oldest German stained glass windows workshops, uninterruptedly functioning for 148 years in the place of establishment, and today is run by the fifth generation of this family. The company has numerous stained glass glazing all around the world in their credit, primarily in the European countries, but also in America and Africa. The managing stained glass painters from the Oidtmann family got famous also as authors of the publication about the history of stained glass windows. The biggest, in the region, production of this factory (almost six hundred stained glass panels) was glazing the cathedral in Frombork. Moreover, stained glass

windows made in this workshop were discovered in many other churches – in Bieniewo, Bisztynek, Kwiecewo, Olsztyn, Orzechowo, Świątki, etc. Similarly to Oidtmann's company, until today, there's another excellent Rhenish workshop of Franz Binsfeld from Trier, which glories in 125 years old tradition. The stained glass windows of this company preserved in churches in Jonkowo, Sętal and Sząbruk. Another workshop from Rhineland which functions in our region is a company of Otto Peters from Paderborn. It has existed for 95 years and still exists today, currently is managed by the third generation of the family. Productions of this family are known not only in Germany but also in the whole world. In the Warmian area, glazings of this workshops have been identified so far in churches in Pluty, Lutry and Węgój. It is also worth pointing out the workshop of an excellent stained glass painter Joseph Maria Machhausen from Koblenz. It can be assumed that bringing him over to Warmia was a merit of the Warmian bishop Filip Kremetz, who came from Koblenz. From the documented Machhausen's productions in Warmia, one may mention the glazing of the Frombork cathedral and churches in Płoskinia, Św. Lipka, Bartąg and Ełdyty. The work of another workshop from Klobenz - Wilhelm Mayr is one of the most beautiful stained glass groups in the diocese - in the church in Klebark Wielki near Olsztyn, is interesting because it's almost identical to the glazing of the St. Cecilia church in Bonn. Besides the workshops in Rhineland, many glazings are imports from stained glass workshops from other areas of Germany: Baden, Saxony, or Berlin. For example, the Fritz Geiges's company from Freiburg deserves attention. The company is considered to be one of the most superb German stained glass workshops. Geiges made the glazing for the cathedral in Bonn, and for churches in Berlin, Frankfurt, Magdeburg, Trier. In Warmia, his work includes the glazing in the Saint Peter and Paul Church in Lidzbark Warmiński. A very impressive group of stained glass windows, which was made for the St. Catharine's church in Braniewo, didn't survive the last war. It is also worth mentioning about the productions of stained glass window designs by Mathias and Georg Schneider's excellent company from Regensburg, which are preserved, for example, in the St. Jacob's Cathedral in Olsztyn, or in the churches in Biesów and Barczewko.

It's also worth pointing out the productions from the workshops in Munich, especially, known both in the whole Europe and in America, Franz Meyer's workshop. The Pope Leo XIII gave it a title The Holy Apostolic Throne Institute and king of Bavaria named it The Royal

Court Workshop. At the end of the 19th c., Meyer's company employed around 500 artisans and stained glass painter. It was the biggest stained glass window workshop in Prussia. Mayer's stained glass windows remained in St. Cross's Church in Braniewo, and in the church in Kochanówka. Another worth mentioning company is the workshop in Austrian Innsbruck – Neuhauser & Jele, which made the stained glass windows for the rural church in Tolkowiec. The same company created probably the most popular in Poland Stanisław Wyspiański's stained glass window, which showed the portrayal of God the Creator in Franciscan's church in Krakow.

When coming across stained glass windows, it should be remembered how excellent the workshops in Warmia were, which were not only at the European but also at the global level. So it's worth looking for a signature of the author, which is often situated on the window, in a not very exposed place. All the more that interesting stained glass windows or their entire complexes are waiting for explanation and exploration – so discovery can be made.

A separate topic is, also made by excellent workshops in the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century secular glazings – in palaces, in bureaus, at railway stations, in hospitals, in parsonages, in monasteries, in tenement houses, but also often in country homes (usually as a modes door glazing).

Stained glass windows from the region of Warmia are also gathered by museums: Museum of Warmia and Masuria in Olsztyn, Nicolaus Copernicus's Museum in Frombork, but they can be only seen - on permanent and temporary exposition – in the museum in Frombork (which owns one of few collections of stained glass windows in Poland). You can see here both sacred and secular stained glass windows – from the cathedral in Frombork, from the non-existent church. St. Andrew in Orneta or from the City Hall in Braniewo.

The course of the lesson



Step I – preparatory

The instructor asks the participants about the topic of stained glass, he explains, what stained glass is and how it is made. He presents a short history of stained glass and talks about it as a particular cultural heritage of Warmia by showing chosen stained glass windows made by local workshops. Unfortunately, there are no open websites which deal with Warmian stained glass windows. Stained glass windows in churches which were named in the present script can be pointed out. At the lecture on the history of stained glass, a short film on the subject can be used, e.g., YouTube – “How is it made? Stained glass windows”.



Step II

Making attempt of creating stained glass window after watching the short instructional film: YouTube – “How to make a stained glass window – KursyWitrazowe.pl”.

Comment: This type of lessons can be carried out in Nicolaus Copernicus’s Museum in Frombork, where stained glass windows from Warmia are displayed, both sacred as well as secular.

Weronika Wojnowska

Masonry heaters – underestimated cultural heritage of Warmia

Educational lessons suggestions at the secondary school level

Keywords:

the cultural heritage of Warmia, household effects, old heating technique, ceramic manufacturing, the history of tiles.

Work method and lessons form:

a lecture supported by a presentation of referential websites, discussion.

Graphic training aids:

a DVD player, Internet, marker pen, paper, pens.

Educational comment:

What is a masonry heater?

The Offers of companies that work on the production of stove tiles can be found on global websites dedicated to masonry heaters, are preceded by explanation what a masonry heater is. It may sound strange, but also in our case, especially in larger cities, a new generation is growing up, for which only the heaters and the municipal heating plant are the sources of heat. After all, in the harsh climate of the northern and central Europe, where alternating seasons bring cold months, the masonry heaters have been an element of household effects for 600 years. They have heated both palaces as well as less wealthy habitations. They have not only heated but also adorned. Today, mainly tiled stoves from the 19th and 1st half of the 20th century remained, but there are less and less of them. Fortunately, there are places

where there are many of this type of heating device. In Poland, these regions are Pomerania, Silesia, Warmia and Masuria.

Structure of the masonry heater

Most of the furnaces were set on a rectangular plan, less often a polygon or a circle. Their single- or multi-box lumps had an architectural composition in several horizontal and vertical areas. The horizontal area in all types of a masonry heater is marked by a pedestal (or alloys), cornices which divide the fireboxes and the coping. The vertical areas consist of big tiled elements which form frames of tiled stove's fireboxes and decoration in the form of columns, pilasters (the flat parietal pillar) and pinnacles. The stove is in the lower firebox, to which the entry was on the front or side of the masonry heater, and in some cases from adjoining room. In the upper firebox, an open niche or oven (dochówka) closed with a small door was often located. The material used, for constructing the masonry heater, were tiles: ceramic, enamelled or without enamel, but painted or gilded. The tiles, on the inside usually have a manufacturer's stamp – the factory or tilery, imprinted in ceramic mass. The figure of the masonry heater also consists of cast-iron elements, from which the stoves were made and also their covers in grid form, but also ovens. Because of the localisation of the ceramic stove, they can be divided into corner masonry heater and parietal. A masonry heater isn't only a "coat of tiles", but it's also a complicated technical device with an entire system of inner-channels, which can be very heavy (even over a tonne). The stove tiles and masonry heaters were first manufactured in small workshops, and they were made by using local clay deposit, on a potter's wheel. Later, specialised ceramic works – masonry heater factories and tileries worked on the production, specialised manufacturers, called stove fitters worked on assembling the masonry heater.

The history of masonry heaters and a short review of their sorts

The history of heating devices starts with an open furnace, which was refined by building it around with stones, then closed with an earthen cover and later by building chimneys which discharged the exhaust fumes outside. Over time, various heating systems have developed: hypocaust (heating system with dry, warm air distributed through channels under the floor),

fireplaces, clay furnaces, brick-built furnaces, but the masonry heaters became probably the universal heating device. The Alpine countries especially, Germany, Austria and Switzerland are thought to be the cradle of the masonry heaters – they have been known there since the 11th century. From there, they spread over other regions of Europe, everywhere heating of the inside was a necessity because of the raw climate. In the areas of current Poland, the masonry heaters have been known since the 2nd half of the 13th c., but they started to spread out only in the 14th century on a bigger scale.

Originally, the tiled stoves had a shape of a cylindrical or conical lump with tiles, described as dish-like (bowl-like and pot-like). These tiles were made by local potters on potter's wheels, and as the name suggests, their shape was similar to dishes. They were fitted in a lump of masonry heater with the bottom in the direction of the furnace and with an opening to the outside. The space between them was filled with clay. This type of masonry heater had lasted in practically persistent form from the 14th c. until the 18th c., and even till the 19th century. Initially, they were heating the castle chambers, but over time, superseded by more decorative plate tiles, they became a part of the country household effect.

The masonry heaters out of plate tiles (in the form known till today) came into use in the 15th century consisting of plates and a so-called collar which was used to fit a tile in a wall of the heater. They were formed in a special template (negative film forms), covered with colourful enamel and adorned with various motifs. It was a relief or painted decoration. The use of plate tiles enabled making many identical elements out of one form, which influenced the improvement of the production, and as a result, it caused bigger availability of the masonry heaters. The new kind of tiles forced a different shape of the stove's lump. It usually consists of two (but sometimes more) boxes. The lower box was usually set on a rectangular or square plan, while the lower one was placed on a rectangle, square, circle or polygon. The division of the lump by horizontal and vertical areas was introduced over time with small columns, pillars, half-pillars, ledges etc. The new type of masonry heater had a bigger heating capacity, and it gave a lot of opportunities when it came to the decorative side because the tiles became a perfect medium of various artistic content.

While the lumps of gothic and renaissance masonry heaters from the 15th and 16th centuries referred to the architecture of buildings, Baroque stoves from the 17th and 18th centuries were modelled on interior design elements – the furniture, such as wardrobes and secretary desks. In the 17th and especially in the 18th c.

The baroque masonry heaters from the Pomeranian workshops started to gain popularity in Poland, colloquially called the Gdańsk stoves, though they had been developed in various centres of the Royal Prussia, besides Gdańsk, also in Toruń, Elbląg and Malbork. Already around one hundred years ago, three major types were isolated which depending on the place of the foundation are described as the ones from Gdańsk, Elbląg or Toruń. The characteristic style of ovens produced in these centres was influenced by the settlement of Mennonites - Protestant Dutch settlers, economic and trade relationships with the Netherlands, and the fashion for Dutch ceramics. It was imported to residents all over Poland but also copied in local workshops in different parts of the country.

The tile decoration performed with the help of special templates mainly depicted biblical scenes, genres and landscapes, placed in convex relief or painted frames (or without them). From the Baroque, eighteenth-century stoves derived a very effective, painted folk stoves. Ornamental motifs depicted on the tiles depended on the region and folk design typical of it.

In the 19th century, the production of tiles was taken over by factory production, their prices went down, and they became more available. The development of industry, communication and trade caused that fashion and styles began to spread quickly. The stove manufactory used the same patterns. The large stove factories sold their products in various parts of Europe, that is why, masonry heaters, of similar shape and decoration, heated the interiors in Sweden, Germany, Poland or Hungary. Furnaces from the 19th and 20th centuries are characterised by unusual richness and variety of forms and decorations, on a scale unprecedented in previous centuries. Ovens with white or coloured enamel were fashionable, as well as stoves with white tiles and large tile elements, not glazed, but painted. The furnace decoration reflected all the styles that were fashionable at the time (historicism, Art Nouveau, Art Deco). Models of ovens from previous eras were also copied.

All this created a mosaic that is unusual and difficult to grasp today. It was only after the First World War that the solids and decorations of the furnaces were gradually simplified.

The masonry heaters in Warmia.

Although the masonry heaters in Warmia have accompanied people in their struggles with the cold for six centuries, today, objects from the last one hundred fifty years can be found at homes. A few stoves from the 18th c. can be found only in regional museums – in the Nicolaus Copernicus's Museum in Frombork, and in Museum of Warmia and Masuria in Olsztyn. There are excellent and unique examples of baroque masonry heaters in the style of Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń. On the museum exhibitions, there are also presented tiles from this region descending from earlier stoves – gothic and renaissance. It is similar to the other parts of the country. It is rare to find an entire lump of stoves from the period from the 13th c. to 17thc. The most beautiful example from this period is the biggest antique tiled heating stove (from 1545), it has almost 11 metres, has five tiers, and is composed of 520 tiles, remained in the Artus Court in Gdańsk (currently a branch of Gdańsk History Museum). It's called the "king of the tiled heating stoves".

In Warmian museums, we can find only a few whole masonry heaters from the 19th and 20th centuries. But, a large number of them remained in dwelling houses – urban, and especially rural, as well as in public buildings (palaces, courts, school, bureaus, rectories, monasteries, churches etc.). The stoves found here are most often the work of large German factories, because around the middle of the 19th c. the market in all former East Prussia, and so in Warmia, was dominated by German furnace factories: from Meissen, Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg and Velten near Berlin (as this region, since the First Partition of Poland, was part of Eastern Prussia - the eastern province of the German state). Despite the domination of German factories, there was a large number of local, often excellent, tilery workshops in our region, run by both the Polish and Germans. Some of the local workshops presented European level, for example, the Walter Wendel's factory of masonry stoves in Braniewo. This factory specialised in copies of historical stoves, which were often ordered for palaces and courts, but also museums, not only in Warmia but also in the entire East Prussia, in Pomerania, Silesia and Germany.

The masonry heaters, which were produced in local workshops, no matter the nationality of the producer, are an incredibly important part of the cultural heritage of our region. They are also a part of European heritage, representative of countries of Europe, especially the northern and central and completely unknown in other parts of the world. Unfortunately, there's a lack of awareness that the masonry heaters, though seem to be something common, are such a key element of cultural legacy. The stoves still aren't considered to be full-fledged technical and material cultural monuments. There isn't, not only in our region but also in Poland, any museum facility focused exclusively on collecting masonry heaters and tiles, while in Germany, in Velten near Berlin, such an institution (Ofen- und Keramikmuseum Velten) has existed for 100 years (!).

The historical changes after 1945 caused the Warmian local workshops to disappear without a trace. After the war, a significant number of these workshops was re-launched (based on the surviving equipment), some of them were still active until the 1960s and even 70s of the 20th century. However, comparing to the pre-war period, in production level terms, there was a complete recession. In general, for the needs of the war-damaged country, ordinary, green or brown tiles were mass-produced. Over time, local workshops were closed down, and the market was started to be flooded with simple, light- and dark-brown tiles, often from factories outside the region. Today, the majority of the local workshop doesn't exist anymore. Unfortunately, not many of the buildings after tileries remained, and the buildings which survived have been degraded because they weren't subject to environmental preservation, e.g., the transformed building of tiled heating stoves factory of Walter Wendel in Braniewo. It doesn't happen often that the buildings of the old factories that have remained in such good condition as the masonry heater factory in Biskupiec in Warmia, led to war between the brothers Huhn (now a restaurant called Stara Kafłarnia). Many historical elements had been preserved there, and above all, an inscription with the name of the factory remained at the top of the building, which was very rare.

It is worth paying attention to tiled heating stoves as the valuable material heritage of our region, also because of the old household effects, only the stoves remained. And it has to be remembered that they had a special role. From the reports of old inhabitants of Warmia,

they appear as a memory of a lost homeliness. Paul Brock in his article “Unsere Freunde, die Kachelofen” (Volksunst in Ostpreussen, 1984), emphasising the role of the masonry heaters as a cultural heritage writes: “...those were our tiled heating stoves – the beaming heat friends of our long winters, the gem of the eastern Prussia material culture”.

The course of the lesson



Step I

The instructor asks the participants about their knowledge of old heating devices, especially masonry heaters – if they have one at home, if they know them from immediate surroundings, where they did come across them (museums, publications, Internet) and if they are aware, that tiled heating stoves are unique monuments known only in some parts of the world.



Step II

The instructor talks about the history of the masonry heaters, their structure and their main types. He presents the stoves as a particularly representative cultural heritage of Warmia, pointing out the baroque stoves in Elbląg and Gdańsk style, which are preserved today only in museums of the region. The instructor also shows the copy of the masonry heaters which can be found in dwelling houses and public buildings.

Websites that can be used: zdunskieopowiesci.pl or the website of Frombork Museum: frombork.art.pl, frombork.art.pl/pl/przyjaciele-naszyc-dlugich-zim, and also the website of by-palace manufacture in Nakomiady near Kętrzyn, where masonry heaters are produced, including copies of the historical originals from Warmia: nakomiady.pl



Step III – after lesson work

Finding and describing (drawing a picture, copying, taking a photo, printing) an example of a masonry heater from Warmia (from the nearest surroundings or from the Internet). A helpful website: kominki.org/blogi/piecoblog

Portals where stoves from also our region are offered for sale: olx.pl, allegro.pl

Comment: The Nicolaus Copernicus's Museum in Frombork will accept any form of documentation of these types of stoves. Such lessons can also be conducted in this museum, where historical masonry heaters from the 18th c. are located, and also an exhibition dedicated to masonry heaters called "Friends of our winters" (Przyjaciele naszych zim).

Współorganizatorzy – partnerzy projektu:



Wojewódzki Urząd Ochrony Zabytków w Olsztynie wraz z Delegaturą w Elblągu



Patroni medialni projektu:

