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*The Atlas of Cultural Heritage of the Polish Village (a Project)**

Abstract: The ethnographic atlases hitherto published in Europe have been created to meet the needs of particular countries and nations rather than with any prospect of comparative studies in mind. Thereby, it is difficult to find maps which are comparable when it comes to systematics and chronology. Therefore, we believe it necessary to interpret anew source materials deposited in Cieszyn workshop of the Polish Ethnographic Archives – to deepen the systematics of mapped phenomena along with their chronology and earmark for future development and studies topics that appear in other European atlases. The resultant maps are to compose an innovative edition, tentatively entitled *The Atlas of Cultural Heritage of the Polish Village*. The present article familiarizes readers with the concept of the planned endeavour, including aims, preliminary assumptions of the project, and the methodology of research.

Keywords: The Polish Ethnographic Atlas, ethnographic atlases, ethno-geographic method, methodology of ethnological works, research projects, *The Atlas of Cultural Heritage of the Polish Village*, cultural and religions studies

Słowa kluczowe: Polski Atlas Etnograficzny, atlasy etnograficzne, metoda etnogeograficzna, metodyka prac etnologicznych, projekty badawcze, *Atlas dziedzictwa kulturowego wsi polskiej*, nauki o kulturze i religii

* The article was created as a result of the statutory research (2018).

Drawing conclusions concerning the origins of culture based on the analysis of the geographical location of its components has a long history, yet the birth of ethnographic atlases started not earlier than in the interwar period. Polish and European ethnocartography starts with *Atlas kultury ludowej w Polsce* [The Atlas of Folk Culture in Poland] by Kazimierz Moszyński, Jadwiga Klimaszewska and Maria Bytnarówna.¹ The *Atlas* comprises thirty maps pertaining to spiritual culture, issued in three booklets. This information is mentioned here as some references to the atlas will be made in the planned project.

Since the mid-20th century, the works have been conducted on the implementation of one of the biggest post-war ethnological projects – *Polski Atlas Etnograficzny* [Polish Ethnographic Atlas], later referred to as PEA, initiated and edited by Józef Gajek. What we intend to do, many years after the birth of the PEA, are some modifications of the concepts associated with its further development. Some suggestions and arrangements concerning a project of applying and interpreting the source materials lodged in the Cieszyn PEA section are presented in the subsequent section of the article.

Field studies and their elaboration

The PEA research started in 1947, when the Polish Ethnological Society sent the first questionnaires on the use of wild edible and healing plants.² The following atlas works were coordinated by the Institute of the History of Material Culture (currently the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology) at the Polish Academy of Sciences. In collaboration with Departments of Ethnography in Cracow and Warsaw, Department of Ethnography in Wrocław started years-long field studies, which have paved the way for publication of the next PEA booklets dedicated to the so-called material culture.³

¹ K. MOSZYŃSKI, J. KLIMASZEWSKA: *Atlas kultury ludowej w Polsce*, booklet 1. Kraków 1934; K. MOSZYŃSKI, M. BYTNARÓWNA, J. KLIMASZEWSKA: *Atlas kultury ludowej w Polsce*, booklet 2. Kraków 1935; K. MOSZYŃSKI, J. KLIMASZEWSKA: *Atlas kultury ludowej w Polsce*, booklet 3. Kraków 1936.

² The research campaign resulted in valuable data from nearly 240 villages. They concerned the species of collected plants, their dialectal names, ways of obtaining them and hypothetical use. The collection of questionnaires is available on the platform *Cyfrowe Archiwum Polskiego Atlasu Etnograficznego* [Digital Archives of the Polish Ethnographic Atlas]. More on this: Z. KŁODNICKI, A. PIEŃCZAK, J. KOŹMIŃSKA: *Polski atlas etnograficzny. Historia, osiągnięcia, perspektywy badawcze*. "Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach", No. 3666; "Biblioteka Polskiego Atlasu Etnograficznego", Vol. 1. Katowice 2017, pp. 120–126, 139–141, 333–339 (Annex 3 *Wykaz miejscowości, w których na potrzeby Polskiego atlasu etnograficznego prowadzono badania ankietowe dotyczące zbieractwa roślin dziko rosnących*).

³ What was published from the late 1950s until the early 1980s was the trial booklet and the next six booklets, comprising 372 maps (see: *Polski atlas etnograficzny*. Pilot booklet.

Apart from the aforementioned materials on collecting wild plants used in medicine, folk cosmetics, and especially in nutrition, there are notes in the PEA archives, which were made during field studies and concerned collecting wild mushrooms, hoe-farming and agricultural tools, methods of drying, preserving and processing grains (including stampers, quern-stones and corn mills), ways of preparing food and dishes (both daily and holiday, especially ritual ones), clothes, construction works and interior equipment, rural transport, beliefs and rituals associated with birth, wedding and funeral, collaboration in the country, folk knowledge and demonology. The collection comprises nearly four thousand questionnaires filled by ethnographers at the points of the PEA research network (about 350 villages). The materials on annual rituals were collected through questionnaires and the maps were completed with the data elicited from ethnographical literature.

The obtained documentation became a basis for elaborating over 1000 maps, out of which 770 have been published. Almost 400 have been collated in the last volumes of “Komentarze do Polskiego Atlasu Etnograficznego” [Commentaries to the Polish Ethnographic Atlas]. The subject matter of this series pertains to agriculture and breeding, transport, folk nutrition, folk knowledge and beliefs, social aid and some selected issues of family (wedding, birth and funeral) ritual-ity. Thirteen volumes have been published so far.⁴

Ed. J. GAJEK. Wrocław 1958; *Polski atlas etnograficzny*, booklet 1–6. Ed. J. GAJEK. Warszawa 1964–1981). More on atlas works: for example, J. GAJEK: *Polski atlas etnograficzny. Zeszyt próbny*. Wrocław 1958, see: *Introduction* (pp. 5–6), *The Polish Ethnographic Atlas, Trial Issue* (pp. 16–24); J. GAJEK, Z. KŁODNICKI: *Der Polnische Ethnographische Atlas Forschungsstand*. “Ethnologia Slavica” 1976–1977, Vol. 8–9, pp. 295–301; J. BOHDANOWICZ: *Polish Ethnographic Atlas – Aims and Methodology. Rolnictwo i hodowla – część 1*. In: “Komentarze do Polskiego Atlasu Etnograficznego”, Vol. 1. Ed. J. BOHDANOWICZ. Wrocław 1993, pp. 33–44; А. Пенчак: Картографирование явлений культуры: «Комментарии к польскому этнографическому атласу». “Живая Старина” 2010 (4), pp. 60–63; А. Пенчак: *The Polish Ethnographic Atlas – Research Achievements and Prospects*. “Ethnologia Actualis. The Journal of Ethnographical Research” 2015, Vol. 15 (2), pp. 81–94. Online at <http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/eas.2015.15.issue-2/eas-2015-0018/eas-2015-0018.xml> [accessed: 19.07.2018].

⁴ The works published so far in the series “Komentarze do Polskiego Atlasu Etnograficznego” (initiated and supervised in Wrocław by J. Bohdanowicz): *Rolnictwo i hodowla – część 1*. Vol. 1. Wrocław 1993. The next volumes were edited mostly by Z. Kłodnicki: *Rolnictwo i hodowla – część 2*. Vol. 1. Wrocław 1994; *Budownictwo*. Vol. 2. Wrocław 1995; *Pożywienie*. Vol. 3. Wrocław 1996; *Transport i komunikacja lądowa*. Vol. 4. Wrocław 1997; *Zwyczaje, obrzędy i wierzenia pogrzebowe*. Vol. 5. Wrocław 1999; A. DROŹDŹ: *Pomoc wzajemna. Współdziałanie społeczne i pomoc sąsiedzka*. Vol. 7. Wrocław–Cieszyn 2002; A. LEBEDA [PIEŃCZAK]: *Wiedza i wierzenia ludowe*. Vol. 6. Wrocław–Cieszyn 2002; A. PIEŃCZAK: *Zwyczaje i obrzędy weselne*. Vol. 8. Part 1: *Od załotów do ślubu cywilnego*. Wrocław–Cieszyn 2004; A. PIEŃCZAK: *Zwyczaje i obrzędy weselne*. Vol. 8. Part 2: *Rola i znaczenie swata w kojarzeniu małżeństw*. Cieszyn–Wrocław 2007; A. DROŹDŹ: *Zwyczaje i obrzędy weselne*. Vol. 8. Part 3: *Współdziałanie społeczności wiejskiej podczas obrzędu weselnego (druga połowa XIX wieku i XX wiek)*. Wrocław–Cieszyn 2009; *Zwyczaje, obrzędy i wierzenia rodzinowe*. Vol. 9. Part 1: *Zwyczaje, obrzędy i wierzenia związane z narodzinami i wychowaniem*

In 1998, the PEA archives were moved to the University of Silesia in Katowice, Department of Ethnography in Cieszyn (currently the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology). Several volumes of “Komentarze do Polskiego Atlasu Etnograficznego” have come into being here – all authored by Agnieszka Pieńczak and Anna Drożdż. Under the scientific supervision of Zygmunt Kłodnicki and both these researchers, almost 70 master and bachelor degree theses have been written on the basis of the materials collected in the atlas archives.⁵ The next works on birth and wedding rituality and on folk medicine are planned.

However, we are still hesitant whether to print the unpublished PEA booklets (Nos. VII–IX). They were prepared in the 1980s in the academic centre in Wrocław. The methodological foundations do not differentiate these maps from hundreds of the previous ones, published in booklets I–VI – they take into account the expert literature, archival data and the data from ethnographic museums. With no doubt, it would be valuable to make supplementations with the earlier data, provided they are appropriately marked on the maps.⁶ What seems a drawback is the same symbol in maps both for the lack of data and for negative statements, that is, no occurrence of particular phenomena or artefacts. The verification of these issues would require enormous work.⁷ Therefore, the publication of these several hundred maps is suspended, especially due to some differences which have been found between the legends and the maps.⁸

In January 2018, the first edition of *Polski Atlas Etnograficzny – opracowanie naukowe, elektroniczny katalog danych, publikacja zasobów w sieci Internet* [The Polish Ethnographic Atlas – research study, electronic database, publication of the resources on the Internet], was completed. The grant was funded as part of the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities.⁹ The project aimed to conduct a research study and share the results of selected atlas materials lodged in the Cieszyn section on the Internet.¹⁰ Owing to the web applica-

dziecka. Wrocław–Cieszyn 2010; *Zwyczaje, obrzędy i wierzenia urodzinowe*. Vol. 9. Part 2: *Zwyczaje, obrzędy i wierzenia związane z matką i dzieckiem*. Cieszyn–Wrocław 2013.

⁵ The list of diploma theses, online at: <http://www.archiwumpae.us.edu.pl/exhibits/show/prace-dyplomowe-oparte-na-mate> [accessed: 3.07.2018].

⁶ Mostly those drawn from the 19th century volumes of Oskar Kolberg and from later published materials based on his studies as well as ethnographic journals – “Wisła,” “Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej,” “Materyały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne,” “Ziemia.”

⁷ These serious corrections of maps should be consulted with the authors; some of them have already passed away.

⁸ The list of unpublished maps, see: Z. KŁODNICKI: *Polski atlas etnograficzny – historia, stan obecny i perspektywy*. “Lud” 2001, Vol. 85, pp. 244–254. The access to these maps can be provided in the archives of the PEA Section in Cieszyn, after an earlier appointment with Agnieszka Pieńczak (agnieszka.pienczak@us.edu.pl; tel. 0048 338546176).

⁹ Project coordinator: Ph.D. Agnieszka Pieńczak, registration number: 11H 13 0162 82.

¹⁰ With the view to implement this project in the Faculty of Ethnology and Education at the University of Silesia, in 2015, the Digitalization Section of the Polish Ethnographic Atlas and Agnieszka Pieńczak became its head. What also came *ad hoc* into being was a team of

tion on the digital platform *Cyfrowe Archiwum Polskiego Atlasu Etnograficznego* [Digital Archives of the Polish Ethnographic Atlas] (www.archiwumpae.us.edu.pl), the access has been provided to 12 181 black-and-white photographs (from 1947–1971), 770 published atlas maps (1958–2013) and over 470 questionnaires on collecting wild plants, comprising the earlier mentioned herbaria (from 1947–1953). Our purpose is to create a coherent, synthetic, digital collection of archival sources and their further professional sharing in the public interface. However, due to the size of the PEA collections – this is a long-term activity.¹¹

What has become a measurable effect of the first edition of the project is a large publication entitled *Polski atlas etnograficzny. Historia, osiągnięcia, perspektywy badawcze* [The Polish Ethnographic Atlas. History, achievements, research prospects] (Katowice 2017), which constitutes a recapitulation of the research experiences related to the PEA. The book was prepared by Zygmunt Kłodnicki, Agnieszka Pieńczak and Joanna Koźmińska (content contractors). It starts a publishing series entitled “Biblioteka Polskiego Atlasu Etnograficznego” [The Library of the Polish Ethnographic Atlas], which is aimed to become a platform for further activities concerning the functioning of the research team in Cieszyn. The Editorial Board comprises ethnologists from Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia: Assoc. Prof. Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska; Assoc. Prof. Andrzej Brenz (Adam Mickiewicz University); Assoc. Prof. Anna Drożdż (University of Silesia in Cieszyn); Assoc. Prof. Anna Weronika Brzezińska (Adam Mickiewicz University); Assoc. Prof. Zygmunt Kłodnicki (University of Silesia in Katowice); Assoc. Prof. Agnieszka Pieńczak (University of Silesia in Katowice); Prof. Marian Pokropek, doc. Mgr. Katarína Slobodová Nováková, PhD; Sc.D. em. UŠ prof. Rastislava Stoličná and PhDr. Jiří Woitsch, PhD.

The Atlas of Cultural Heritage of the Polish Village – Aims, assumptions, methodology

The ethnogeographic method, applied to the data from larger areas, allows to conclude about the origins of the examined artefacts and other cultural phenomena. Still, the atlases in Europe were made to fulfil the needs of particular countries or nations, with no regard to the needs and potentialities of com-

ten researchers. For the detailed description of the project, see: Z. KŁODNICKI, A. PIEŃCZAK, J. KOŹMIŃSKA: *Polski atlas etnograficzny*, Chapter: *Dziedzictwo kulturowe na platformie Cyfrowe Archiwum Polskiego Atlasu Etnograficznego. Od pomysłu do realizacji* (pp. 143–154), Chapter: *Antropologia w sieci. Projekty cyfrowe Polskiego Instytutu Antropologii* (pp. 143–164).

¹¹ Currently, another grant is financed – it concerns the digitalization and scientific elaboration of another unique collection of photographs (owned by Zygmunt Kłodnicki) and of 700 questionnaires dedicated to birth and funeral rituals.

parative studies.¹² As a result, it is a difficult task to find maps which would be comparable in terms of systematics¹³ and chronology.¹⁴

The (well-known to us) PEA output and the familiarization with ethnographic maps of the majority of European countries¹⁵ have made us undertake certain plans, which will be presented here in a more detailed way. In our opinion, of importance is the elaboration of a series of ethnographic maps concerning Poland – the maps which would be more appropriate for broader comparative studies than the existing ones. Therefore, the systematics of the mapped phenomena and their chronology should be developed and the issues appearing in other European atlases should be selected for elaboration.¹⁶ The maps will constitute a work, preliminarily entitled *Atlas dziedzictwa kulturowego wsi polskiej* [The Atlas of Cultural Heritage of the Polish Village]. The present article focuses on the familiarization with the concept of the planned undertaking, its goals, preliminary assumptions and research methodology.

The planned research activities will enable to preserve the knowledge pertaining to the cultural heritage of the Polish village.¹⁷ An equally important aim

¹² Only the first volume has been published “*Forschungen zum Ethnologischen Atlas Europas und seiner Nachbarländer*”. *Die Termine der Jahresfeier in Europa. Erläuterungen zur Verbreitungskarte*. Ed. M. ZENDER. Göttingen 1980.

¹³ An attempt at unifying the systematics of flails in Europe was undertaken many years ago by Z. KŁODNICKI, E. KŁOSEK and A. SZYMAŃSKI (1982–1983), who created a classification of these tools (*Zur Systematik der Dreschflügel in Europa*. “*Ethnologia Europaea*”, Vol. 13, booklet 1, pp. 85–96). The researchers mostly followed here G. WIEGELMANN (*Erste Ergebnisse der ADV-Umfragen zur alten bäuerlichen Arbeit*. “*Rheinische Viertelsjahrblätter*” 1969, Vol. 33, pp. 208–262). This systematics was supplemented by M. TROJAN (see: *Dreschflügel in Europa. Methodische Probleme einer Karte*. “*Ethnologia Europaea*” 1983, Vol. 13, pp. 203–226), who made a map comprising the territory from the Bug River to the Rhine.

¹⁴ Recently, Agnieszka Pieńczak has made an attempt at comparing the maps of the PEA and *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde*, which differ in chronology (see: A. PIEŃCZAK: *Obrzędowość narodzinowa na Górnym Śląsku (izolacja położnicy)*. “*Polski atlas etnograficzny*” i “*Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde*” w perspektywie porównawczej. In: “*Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach*”, No. 3543. Katowice 2016).

¹⁵ This output comprises over ten thousand maps, out of which the first 4600 were presented in a large annex (see: Z. KŁODNICKI, A. PIEŃCZAK, J. KOŹMIŃSKA: *Polski atlas etnograficzny*, pp. 155–317, Annex 1, *Wykaz etnograficznych i etnograficzno-językowych map Polski i krajów sąsiednich. Zagadnienia z zakresu tzw. kultury materialnej*).

¹⁶ It is allowed to introduce into comparisons some pieces of information in the situation of the lack of appropriate maps. This suggestion made by Zygmunt Kłodnicki was undertaken by the authors of *Atlas tradičnej kultúry slovenských menšín v strednej a južnej Európe* (2006) by marking as one point the data from Bulgaria.

¹⁷ Over the recent years, some particular attention has been paid in Poland to the exploration, preservation and revitalization of the cultural heritage, mostly the non-material one (more on this in, for example: *Niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe: źródła – wartości – ochrona*. Eds. J. ADAMOWSKI, K. SMYK. Lublin–Warszawa 2013; *Narracja, obyczaj, wiedza.... O zachowaniu niematerialnego dziedzictwa kulturowego*. Ed. A. PRZYBYŁA-DUMIN. Chorzów–Lublin–Warszawa 2016; *Pulteram – żywa tradycja w Wielkopolsce*. Ed. A. JEŁOWICKI. Szreniawa 2017; *Muradyny, Żandary,*

is the dissemination of the PEA output at home and abroad. For the ethnological environment in Poland and abroad, this will involve an in-depth research into methodology, some studies with references to materials and with comprehensive use of the ethnogeographic method.

The choice of the subject matter and systematics of cultural products presented on the maps should allow for, or at least improve the stage of juxtaposing the maps with the cards in atlases of other countries, that is, comparative studies. Apart from the new topics, the planned maps will present some topics which have been already undertaken. Special attention will be paid to unifying the chronological cross-sections by introducing “natural” caesuras (discussed below).

Preliminary assumptions

Research team

In order to elaborate *Atlas dziedzictwa kulturowego wsi polskiej* [The Atlas of Cultural Heritage of the Polish Village], it will be necessary to create a larger research team. At the present moment, its specialist core are the researchers from the University of Silesia who have been dealing with the atlas works for many years – Zygmunt Kłodnicki (the choice of research subject matter and systematics) and Agnieszka Pieńczak (the elaboration of materials in the form of maps and synthetic descriptions). We hope to collaborate with other researchers who know both the specificity of atlas collections and their potentialities for comparative works of interdisciplinary character – especially with Anna Drożdż and Łukasz Łuczaj. We also make efforts to employ a research assistant.¹⁸

What also seems to be useful is the work hitherto conducted by several students of ethnology as part of their didactic classes at the third year (*Atlas dziedzictwa kulturowego wsi polskiej* [The Atlas of Cultural Heritage of the Polish

Siwki – żywa tradycja w Wielkopolsce. Ed. A. JEŁOWICKI. Szreniawa 2018; *Podkoziotek, Bery, Cymper – żywa tradycja w Wielkopolsce*. Ed. A. JEŁOWICKI. Szreniawa 2019). It should be added that the term “cultural heritage” is differently interpreted in the humanities, therefore it is hard to define it unambiguously. In compliance with one of the definitions, it can be treated as: “the goods of culture, inherited from the past and currently functioning, which may have the physical (material) form – such as, for example, monuments, historical objects, works of art, archives, historical parks, gardens, preserved landscapes and archaeological sites – or the spiritual (non-material) one – such as: traditions, rituals, customs, handcraft skills, traditional knowledge (folk medicine, etc.), tales, legends, or the memory of this legacy” (see: B. SKALDAWSKI: *Wstęp: W: Polacy wobec dziedzictwa. Raport z badań społecznych*. Ed. R. LEWANDOWSKA. In: “Dziedzictwo kulturowe w badaniach”, Vol. 1. Warszawa–Kraków 2017, p. 12). The researchers emphasize that there are some problems with defining the notion of “folk culture,” which by changing its scope currently becomes a product which is processed depending on the recipient’s needs (see, e.g.: A.W. BRZEZIŃSKA: *Specjaliści do kultury ludowej?* “Nauka” 2009, Vol. 3, p. 171).

¹⁸ Currently, the PEA Section has no full-time worker.

Village])). They have prepared preparatory maps concerning various issues of traditional culture.¹⁹ Some subjects can be elaborated within the master degree seminar, conducted till the end of 2019 under the supervision of Agnieszka Pieńczak (*W poszukiwaniu dziedzictwa kulturowego* [In Search of Cultural Heritage]). The work on the *Atlas* with students requires constant support of the supervisor in constructing the legend (systematics, chronology) and verifying the quality of work at each stage.²⁰

The maps presented in the *Atlas* will include a short synthetic text in Polish and English. At the bottom of the commentary, there will be references to the relevant literature as well as to other European atlases.²¹ The arrangement of maps is planned to be similar to the one in the first volume of the series “Biblioteka Polskiego Atlasu Etnograficznego” [The Library of the Polish Ethnographic Atlas].²² The work will be published in the form of one or more volumes issued within this series.

Methodology

Choice of problems

The choice of research problems is an important issue. It is assumed that the choice of maps comprised in *Atlas dziedzictwa kulturowego wsi polskiej* [The Atlas of Cultural Heritage of the Polish Village] should be based on several partially overlapping criteria:

1. The issues concerning the cultural elements which seem characteristic of the rural culture in Poland (e.g., beetroot soup, stuffed dumplings, wooden wall structures).
2. The issues which have their counterparts in other European atlases – that is, comparable topics (e.g., wooden plows, reaping grains and drying them in stacks, flails, braided leather shoes, boiled grain stew – *kutia*, etc.).
3. The issues which were originally planned for publication within the suspended project *Etnologiczny atlas Europy* [The Ethnological Atlas of Europe].²³

¹⁹ The classes were conducted by Agnieszka Pieńczak.

²⁰ The map cards created in this way will be provided with appropriate information on co-authorship and scientific supervision.

²¹ The following atlases will become our models: *Suomen kansankulttuurin kartasto – Atlas der finnischen Volkskultur – Atlas of Finnish Folk Culture* (1976) and *Atlas kultury ludowej w Polsce* (1934–1936).

²² See, for example, Z. KŁODNICKI, A. PIĘNCZAK, J. KOŹMIŃSKA: *Polski atlas etnograficzny*, Map 2.2, p. 71 (*Położnica przed wywodem nie mogła przekraczać progu izby, progu domu ani wychodzić poza zagrodę*).

²³ The list of map cards was presented by Matthias Zender still in 1966, four years later – it was corrected and re-introduced in Bonn.

4. If only possible, the preferred issues pertain to spiritual and social culture and are the counterparts of the maps published in other European atlases.

5. The issues still not published (including the maps made by the researchers from Cieszyn).

6. The issues concerning innovations in the PEA materials (e.g., introducing closed stoves – the so called English type – at the beginning of the 20th century).

The size of the volume depends on the obtained funds and research staff. What is assumed is the publication of one or two volumes with 100 maps each.

The suggested list of maps

The list presented here will be still discussed and supplemented:

- fishing (*bones for stinging fish, Fish traps – self-fishing devices*),
- agriculture (*coulters, wooden plows, grain sowing – containers, grain drying – stacks, hay barracks*),
- breeding (*suspender vessels and other barrel stave vessels for carrying water and watering cattle, hay carrying in straw yokes and loops, home animals*),
- food (*kutia – a ritual dish served on Christmas Eve, beetroot soup*),
- construction (*construction and wall materials in cabins, buildings combining residence and farming functions under one roof*),
- transport (*forms of household baskets, sheets for transport by human powers, two- and four-wheel hand carts, paired sleighs or sleighs with a drag, harnessing with a thill and a light bowed shaft, cattle harnessing yokes*), clothing (*braided phloem shoes and braided leather shoes*),
- family rituals (*who brings children, cradles, bans for a birth-giving woman, protecting a child against evil forces, godparents (number of couples)*),
- wedding rituals (*names for people dealing with couple matching, motives for choosing a matchmaker as an intermediary in couple matching, pre-marital contract, names for engagement, a wedding bestman, social collaboration in wedding rituals, symbolic behaviour patterns during the wedding, pouring at the bride or the newlyweds during the wedding, wedding yeast cakes, carrying the bride to the bridegroom's house*),
- funeral rituals (*foretelling the approaching death, the figure of death, the aim and way of equipping the dead person with money, the form of the dead person's soul*),
- annual rituals (*annual fires, Marzanna – a straw figure representing winter, masqueraders, games with Easter eggs, water pouring and twig lashing, May tree rituals, Christmas tree*).

Methodological problems – The process of mapping

Collecting data and their analysis, which results in creating maps is a process with many stages. What should be aimed at is that the reader could control, assess and use it in its whole.

The advancement of information technologies is revolutionizing historical sciences and the humanities, the access to digitalized research materials is becoming the norm. The time becomes quite imminent when a researcher will be able to or even will have to present the whole research process via the Internet – from (stage 1) the demonstration of the data (or at least indicating the access to them) and their evaluation,²⁴ through (stage 2) ordering their systematics and placing them in tables before further cartographic works, to (stage 3) maps or appropriate tables, taking into account all possible aspects of the examined phenomena. These maps and lists can become a basis for (stage 4) creating simpler and more readable maps, for example, illustrations in various time cross-sections or the spatial locations only of some selected aspects of the mapped phenomenon or artefact. If necessary, the readers will be able to create their own maps from the material presented in the tables (stage 2) or directly from the published materials (stage 1). There is no need to print this all, the aim is to provide a reader with the online access to this whole process. In this way, the researcher's work will become verifiable, as it takes place in natural and technical sciences.²⁵

What is written here is surely not innovative – the researcher goes through this whole process to present the final outcome, yet so far the reader has not been able to control this. Some elements of this procedure have appeared earlier. J. Gajek, the editor of the PEA, took care for placing in PEA map legends the questions asked during field studies (parts of stage 1 and 2). This allows for preliminary evaluation of the quality of answers and of data systematics. Zygmunt Kłodnicki and Edyta Diakowska-Kohut (2015) have presented a suggestion for elaborating the systematics of demonic creatures, quoting some selected descriptions (stage 1) and organizing them according to the qualities attributed to these demons (stage 2).²⁶

²⁴ The quality of the obtained materials largely influences the value of the prepared maps. In the foreground, there is the questionnaire with its *implicite* preliminary systematics, then – the choice of an informant (informants). This is complicated, especially in villages that the atlas points with mixed (autochthonous and inflowing) population. There are fairly many villages in which the researchers did not find autochthonous residents. The researchers were usually ethnographers, but they did not always conduct sufficiently good studies. After many years, an accurate assessment of these materials is not always possible – we refrain from depreciating some of them as most of the researchers have already died and cannot defend their rights.

²⁵ The authors are very grateful to Prof. Rastislava Stolična, a co-author of *Etnografický atlas Slovenska*, for the discussion on this topic.

²⁶ Z. KŁODNICKI, E. DIAKOWSKA-KOHUT: *Demonologia ludowa – propozycje do systematyki. Z prac w archiwum Polskiego atlasu etnograficznego w Cieszynie*. "Ethnologia Europae Centralis" 2015, Vol. 12, pp. 96–121.

The maps prepared for *Atlas dziedzictwa kulturowego wsi polskiej* [The Atlas of Cultural Heritage of the Polish Village] should be prepared anew, which means that the following is to be done in the indicated order: examining the research material, revising the systematics or preparing a new one, working out unified (standardized) chronological intervals. This will facilitate comparing hundreds of different maps (especially within the borders of Poland).

A map sample

As an illustration of the specificity of the planned atlas, a map sample prepared by us and entitled *Zanikanie konwi klepkowych i wiader* [Dying out of Stave Water Jugs and Buckets] will be presented here. A brief presentation of the suggested procedure is placed below. Our focus is on chronology. What has emerged out of our discussion is a concept of the shape and type of signs which enable to specify the chronology in the collected research material (see Table 2). It is possible that during the editorial works some minor modifications will be necessary.

The map is based on the PEA materials collected in the 1960s in the form of two PEA questionnaires – Nos. V and VI. In this case, the research network comprises 352 villages (see the Annex).

Questionnaire No. V: *Transport i komunikacja lądowa* [Land transport] (1960)

B. Hand and pedestrian transport. VII. Stave water jugs 1. Have they used cooper-made water jugs? 2. If so – describe and draw (photograph) such jugs with measurements? 3. Provide their name. 4. If used in the past, specify when they went out of use? 5. What is carried in them? How and who used them? 6. The issues of Western Lands (found? transferred). Number of the photo roll and frame²⁷

Questionnaire No. VI: *Ludowa kultura materialna* [Material folk culture] (1964)

II. Cooperage. 63. Have stave vessels existed in the village? a) jugs, b) buckets, [...] The drawings on Card XII correspond to the mentioned names of vessels. [...] Draw with measurements and photograph the encountered stave vessels, [...] precisely specify the former and current functions of such vessels. Examine carefully whether in the past jugs with a handle were used for carrying water (Card XII, illustr. 1, 10) or buckets with a bow handle (as on Card XII, illustr. 14, 15). When did they disappear?²⁸

²⁷ The studies were conducted in 1960–1968 according to J. GAJEK: *Kwestionariusz nr 5. Transport i komunikacja lądowa. Opracował Józef Gajek dla celów Polskiego Atlasu Etnograficznego*. In: "Archiwum Etnograficzne" No. 22. Wrocław 1960, p. 36.

²⁸ The studies were conducted in 1964–1969 according to J. GAJEK: *Kwestionariusz – notatnik dla kartograficznych studiów etnograficznych. Ludowa kultura materialna (zagadnienia wybrane)*. In: "Archiwum Etnograficzne" No. 27. Wrocław 1964, p. 128.

The basic systematics (jugs, buckets) is comprised in the questionnaires, the spontaneously appearing information on their varieties (e.g., jugs with small bow handles) has not been taken into consideration as its image on the map can be questioned.

Some exemplary excerpts from archival materials are presented below:

Questionnaire No 5: "The so called *water jugs* used since about 1930 for carrying water [here: a sketch of a jug with a handle]. Used by women and men. Earlier, "when there was no well, about 1890, mostly men carried it from the Czerniejówka (a small river)." In summer – in (hollow like) *slings*, in winter also on small sleighs. Wooden stave *buckets* – from immemorial times used for drawing water from wells and carrying it, but less frequently than water jugs."²⁹

Questionnaire No 5: 1. No. 2. Illustration from the description [an illustration of a water jug with side handle]. 3. *Kanne*,³⁰ *jug*. 4. [until] about 1940 5. Water by women 6. After arrival, settlers did not use them any longer.³¹

Questionnaire No 6: "*Jugs* for carrying water. *Buckets* for carrying water. They went out of use in the interwar period. Water was carried in wooden *buckets* on *carrying poles* and in hands in *jugs*." Besides this, water was carried in a *barrel* and poured into *jugs* at home. Everything before 1918."³²

Focusing on capturing exact chronology is associated with certain difficulties. Even with the assumption that the informant was selected in the optimal way, the obtained data concerning the appearance or disappearance of the examined phenomenon might have the nature of generalization or may refer to the dates of the appearance of the examined artefact or of the last case of its use. In both cases, the obtained information will be divergent.

What will become an important element of the map are question marks (?) – so far rarely used in atlas works. They will be used in particularly doubtful cases, when the information seems unclear or not reliable.

While creating the presented map and selecting relevant field data, two criteria were taken into account. Firstly, the information confirming the occurrence of wooden vessels was considered (therefore, other – for example tin ones – were omitted); secondly – the use of both the discussed vessels only for transporting water (the data concerning, for example, their secondary use for watering cattle or transporting food for pigs were ignored).

²⁹ Jerzy Grocholski's studies from 1961 [?]. Mętów (county: Lublin county). PEA Archives in Cieszyn, No. inv. 2006, PEA signage 34.28.IX.

³⁰ *Kanne* in Polish dialects used to mean a wooden stave.

³¹ Krzysztof Kwaśniewski's studies from 1962. Marcinków (country: Bystrzyca Kłodzka). PEA Archives in Cieszyn, No. inv. 1361, PEA signage 13.32.XIV. In this village, the studies according to the questionnaire No. 6 were not carried out.















³² Gerhard Kloska's studies from 1965. Mętów (country: Lublin). PEA Archives in Cieszyn, No. inv. 1633, PEA signage 34.28.IX.

Table 1. An exemplary way of preparing materials from field studies for creating a map of stove vessels for carrying water

PEA signage, name of the village (county)	Name of the researcher, No. of the questionnaire, date of studies	Jugs			Buckets		Functions			Remarks	
		with a side handle	with a bow handle	in an unspecified shape	chronology	with a bow handle	Buckets	drawing water	carrying water		other (milk from pastures, drinks for field workers, manure onto the field, food for farm animals, etc.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
34.28.IX Mętów (county: Lublin)	J. Grocholski quest. No. 5, 1961	yes, there is a drawing	-		until about 1930	no data	since im- memorable times	yes	yes	-	
	G. Kloska, quest. No. 6, 1965	-	-	yes	went out of use in the inter- war period [in another place: till 1918]	no data	went out of use in the interwar period	-	yes	-	jugs were also used for keeping water
13.32.XIV Marcinków (county: Bystrzyca Kłodzka)	K. Kwaś- niewski, quest. No. 5, 1962	yes, there is a drawing (recon- struction)	-	-	used until about 1940; emigrants did not use jugs here	-	-	-	yes	-	no infor- mation on using stave buckets

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Table 2. The disappearance or appearance of a particular cultural element
A suggestion concerning chronological periods on the maps of *Atlas dziedzictwa kulturowego wsi polskiej* [The Atlas of Cultural Heritage of the Polish Village]

Disappearance of a particular cultural element						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
existed until the time of research (defined as old)	disappeared after World War II	disappeared in the inter-war period (before World War II)	disappeared at the beginning of the 20th century (before World War I)	disappeared in the 19th century	existed but disappeared (no accurate chronology)	no information on chronology (existed or still exists)
						
Appearance of a particular cultural element						
existed until the time of research (defined as new)	appeared after World War II	appeared in the inter-war period (before World War II)	appeared at the beginning of the 20th century (before World War I)	appeared in the 19th century	existed but disappeared (no accurate chronology)	no information on chronology (existed or still exists)
						

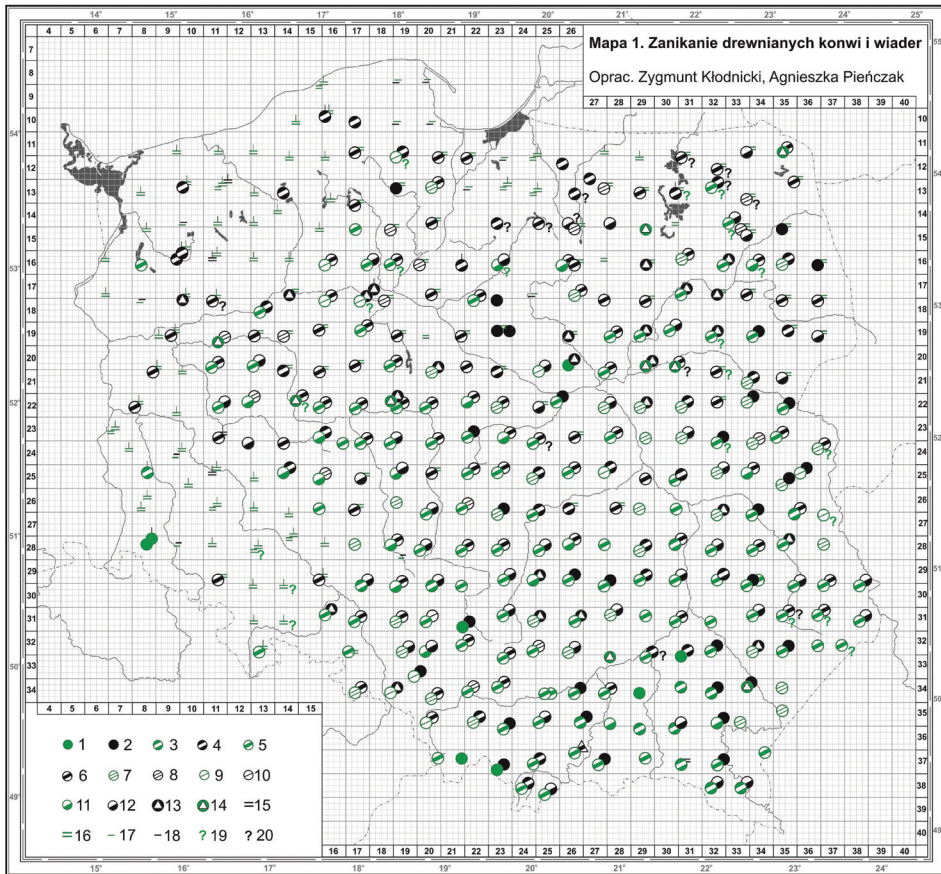
Source: Autors' own elaboration.

Table 2 contains seven basic chronological expressions. Some of them comprise the categories that can be accurately specified during the analysis of the data collected in the PEA archives (points 1–5): the time period of conducting field studies (depending on the research problem, these are usually either the 1950s or the 1960s), the post-war period (between 1945 and the time of the studies), the interwar period (between 1918 and the end of World War II), the beginning of the 20th century (the period till the end of World War I) and the most distant period – the 19th century (inaccurately specified last decades).

What requires more precise explanation are the two last categories pertaining to the lack of accurate chronology. This might take place in two cases. In the first (point 6), it is stated that the discussed cultural element has disappeared or appeared in an unspecified (impossible to indicate in a precise way) time, as in the source material there is only a general category “disappeared” or a “new” phenomenon. In the second case (point 7), the analysis of the source material has not revealed any information on the chronology of its disappearance or ap-

pearance (what is only stated is that the cultural phenomenon was known in the tradition of a particular village).

Two maps prepared in this way presenting the disappearance of stave jugs and buckets are presented below. The first concerns the fully developed chronology,



Legend:

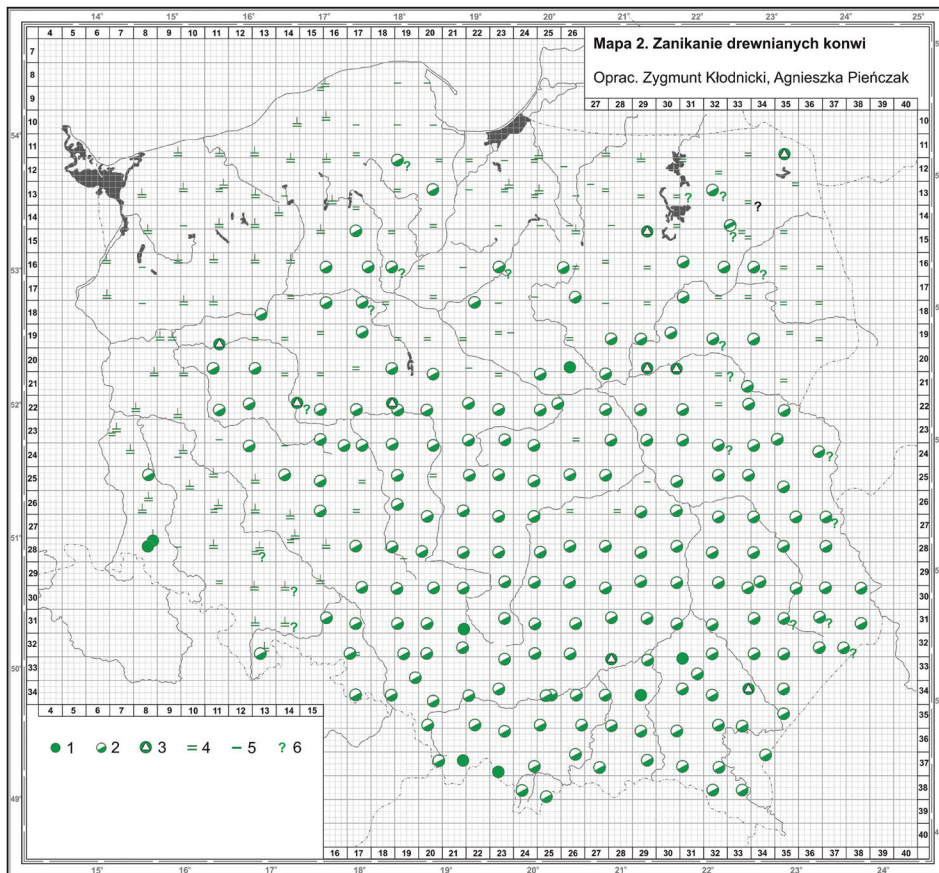
- A. Still after World War II, often or occasionally during field studies in the 1960s, the following wooden (stave) vessels were used: 1 – jugs, 2 – buckets.
- B. After World War II, the use of the following stopped: 3 – jugs, 4 – buckets.
- C. In the interwar period, the use of the following stopped: 5 – jugs, 6 – buckets.
- D. At the beginning of the 20th century, the use of the following stopped: 7 – jugs, 8 – buckets.
- E. In the 19th century, the use of the following stopped: 9 – jugs, 10 – buckets.
- F. No accurate chronology, the following stave vessels were used: 11 – jugs, 12 – buckets.
- G. No information on chronology, the following stave vessels were used: 13 – jugs, 14 – buckets.
- H. According to informants' memory, the lack of the following stave vessels: 15 – jugs, 16 – buckets.
- I. No information on the use of the following stave vessels: 17 – jugs, 18 – buckets.
- J. Doubtful information on the use of the following stave vessels: 19 – jugs, 18 – buckets.

Map 1. Disappearance of stave jugs and buckets

Elaborated by Zygmunt Kłodnicki and Agnieszka Pieńczak.

taking into account all the aforementioned caesuras (Map 1), the second – the abbreviated chronology, limited only to the general confirmation of the disappearance of jugs (Map 2).

While demonstrating Map 1, which presents stave vessels for carrying water, we are aware that it belongs to stage 3. Working on it allowed for the verification of the chronological intervals suggested by us. Yet, our assumption is that the maps of *Atlas dziedzictwa kulturowego wsi polskiej* [The Atlas of Cultural



Legend:

1. Stave jugs were still used, often or occasionally, during field studies in the 1960s.
2. The use of jugs had already stopped.
3. No information on chronology, stave jugs were used.
4. According to informants' memory, the lack of stave jugs.
5. No information on the use of stave jugs.
6. Doubtful information on the use of stave jugs.

Map 2. Disappearance of stave jugs

Elaborated by Zygmunt Kłodnicki and Agnieszka Pieńczak.

Heritage of the Polish Village] should be as legible and comprehensible as possible. This refers both to the applied graphic solutions and to the selection of the presented subject matter. Contrary to the previously published large-format cards (PEA, booklets 1–6), new maps should be understandable to the reader almost immediately, “at first sight.” Thus, the focus will be on stage 4 – the maps which will prevail in the planned *Atlas*.

The cartographic work, therefore, is aimed at choosing graphically simple signs, at the use of contrasting colours and at limiting the presented research issues to such an extent that there should be no more than one, two or maximally three signs in particular points. To preserve the legibility of a map, the information on the lack of answer (–) will be reduced as well. It will be marked only in the case when, in a particular research point, no other information appears. If positive answers occur, negative ones will be omitted. For instance, if the information appears on the map about the use of jugs, the statement that the researchers have no information about buckets is not marked. However, if the researcher has a note that informants in a particular village did not remember the use of wooden buckets – this information will be marked (=).

In the process of creating the map, in some justified cases, surface signs (hatchings and linear ranges) will appear as well as some more complicated maps, for example, such that present co-occurrence of two cultural phenomena (see Map 1). Owing to them, it is possible to investigate the interdependencies concerning the dynamics of changes (e.g., the pace of their popularization or abandoning). Therefore, elaborating them seems well-founded in certain cases.

Research network

The value of the collected materials depends on the choice of villages for the research as well. During the PEA studies, most of them were inhabited by the population who had lived there for at least several generations. The situation was different in the West and North of Poland (mainly Lower Silesia and Western Pomerania, Ziemia Lubuska, Warmia and Masuria), where the autochthonous population had moved away as an aftermath of World War II. In some villages, indigenous inhabitants had remained until the research time or even longer (the region of Opole, partially Warmia and Masuria). The inflowing population sometimes preserved some of the cultural load of previous residents or they remembered it. Thus, it will be necessary to prepare a map of villages in which the field studies were carried out.³³

³³ Maps are often supplemented with the information obtained by surveying, which comprised both the village – research point and the neighbouring villages, or sometimes even neighbouring fields. A list of such places should be attached to the map.

Conclusion

It is 2019 and many studies on the cultural heritage (mostly in its non-material aspect) are being carried out, therefore the time has come for syntheses, for trying to read out what ethnographic maps tell. What we have planned to present in *Atlas dziedzictwa kulturowego wsi polskiej* [The Atlas of Cultural Heritage of the Polish Village] are mostly the maps which are related by systematics and chronological cross-sections to the biggest number of maps in other European atlases. Our intention is to elicit some cognitive values of the atlas materials – hence the elaboration of certain issues anew. This will enable other researchers a more critical use of these sources.

Chronology was our particular concern. The earlier materials of the *Polish Ethnographic Atlas* allow for reaching as far as the end of the 19th century; the more recent ones – the interwar period. Yet, the data drawn from literature make it possible to move back further in the past. Obviously, they need to be appropriately marked on the map, for example, with a hue, serif, underlying or surface sign (hatchings and linear ranges). Introducing the older information facilitates both ethnographic and retrogressive concluding.

By using the ethnogeographic and retrogressive method,³⁴ researchers make attempts to reconstruct the history of certain artefacts and other cultural phenomena or their complex occurrences in particular geographic environments. However, they also require falsification. Undoubtedly, what seems most difficult to reconstruct is the changeability itself and the associations between the examined phenomena and human groups. Thus, ethnogeographic studies should be more strictly related to historical sciences than so far. The matchless expert in this field was Kazimierz Moszyński.³⁵

The data from ethnographic literature can complete maps in another way. While comparing maps from various atlases, it can often take place that a certain area will be a blank space – cartographical data will be missing. Then, using

³⁴ The retrogressive method applied for ethnological studies was focused on by Zygmunt Kłodnicki, see, for example, Z. KŁODNICKI, A. PIEŃCZAK, J. KOŹMIŃSKA: *Polski atlas etnograficzny*, pp. 58–62. The ancient written sources, enabling the verification of conclusion by the retrogressive method, are scarce, because the Greek and Roman literature refer mostly to the Mediterranean region – very rarely to the Central or North Europe. Later Arabic sources are of much bigger value, which has been confirmed in the works by Urszula LEWICKA-RAJEWSKA, for example, *Ibrāhīm Ibn Jaʿqūb o przedmałżeńskiej swobodzie seksualnej Słowian*. In: *Ibrahim Ibn Jaqub i Tadeusz Kowalski w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę edycji. Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Kraków, 10 maja 2006*. Ed. A. ZABORSKI. Kraków 2008, pp. 75–82 [summary: *Ibrāhīm Ibn Jaʿqūb on pre-martial sexual liberty of the Slavs*]. The so-called material culture is the main subject matter of a comprehensive work by U. LEWICKA-RAJEWSKA: *Arabskie opisanie Słowian. Źródła do dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*. In: “Prace Etnologiczne”, Vol. 15. Ed. Z. KŁODNICKI. Wrocław 2004 [summary in English].

³⁵ K. MOSZYŃSKI: *O sposobach badania kultury materialnej Prastłowian*. “Biblioteka Etnografii Polskiej”, No. 6. Wrocław – Kraków – Warszawa 1962.

the materials drawn from the literature becomes indispensable. Placing such information on a collective map will improve concluding.

There are not many ethnogeographic studies concerning Central and Eastern Europe allowing for an insight into the old times due to the lack of broader cartographic conceptualizations.³⁶ New maps are expected to make comparative studies easier. The existing studies mostly show the origins of artefacts and only few works deal with cultural phenomena in the sphere of spiritual and social culture. Many articles have been published, in which the mapping of material culture is taken into consideration (e.g. those devoted to the North-Eastern ethnographic borderland in Poland³⁷). What have been noticed by us, however, is that the ranges of archaic phenomena of the so called spiritual culture (such as the times of ritual fires in Europe³⁸ or some bans concerning birth and a birth-giving woman) are “arranged” differently. On the huge territory between the Rhine and the Bug River, small children used to be told that babies are brought by storks.³⁹ It is possible that the beliefs and rituals, especially those archaic ones which had survived till the ethnographic studies in vast areas of Europe, enable drawing the conclusions about their ancient age – that they had been spreading not for hundreds but thousands years. Therefore, the planned atlas – apart from the maps presenting material culture – will comprise also the ones pertaining to spiritual culture.

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³⁶ R. STOLIČNÁ: *The Ethnographic Atlases of Poland, Slovakia and Hungary – Possibilities of Comparison*. “Slovenský národopis” 2000, Vol. 48, booklet 1, pp. 83–92.

³⁷ This subject matter has been focused on, among others by, Kazimierz Moszyński, Jan Czekanowski, Stanisław Dworakowski, Józef Gajek and Zygmunt Kłodnicki.

³⁸ “*Forschungen zum Ethnologischen Atlas Europas und seiner Nachbarländer*”. *Die Termine der Jahresfeuer...*

³⁹ S. ŻWAK: “*Polski Atlas Etnograficzny*” i “*Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde*” – możliwości studiów porównawczych. Na przykładzie wątków wierzeniowych na Śląsku, wyjaśniających, skąd się biorą dzieci. “Lud” 2002, Vol. 86, pp. 213–228.

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