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NATIONAL STEREOTYPES AS THE THEME OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN POLAND

Over the past decade the term “stereotype” has become quite common and even abused in everyday speech and mass media; on the other hand, it is still applied by scholars rather unwillingly and with a great deal of reservation. Presumably, this holds true not only for Poland. Certainly, one of the reasons for this state of things should be sought in the absence of such a definition of this concept which would satisfy the representatives of all scientific disciplines participating in the so-called *Stereotypen-Forschung*, to use its German name. The number of such disciplines whose scope of interests includes national stereotypes (to which I restrict my reflections) is considerable and contains sociology, social psychology, ethnography (ethnology), sciences dealing with literature, politology, research into culture, philosophy and, obviously, history.

The term “stereotype” is often supplanted, also in scientific terminology, with counterparts of a similar meaning such as prejudice (*Vorurteil*, *préjugé*) or myth¹; another substitute is “image” (*das Bild*), incorrectly treated as a synonym of the stereotype. I would like to recall at this point that already at the onset of the 1960s one of the scholarly milieus in France announced the birth of a new branch of the sciences, which it gave the name of *Imagologie*. As is known, this term did not become accepted, as was the case with another novelty proposed by the French, namely *Ethnopsychologie*².

¹ I draw attention to the term “myth” which appears in titles of assorted books such as K. Luck’s: *Der Mythos vom Deutschen in der polnischen Volksüberlieferung und Literatur*, Posen 1938 (2nd ed. Leipzig 1943); H. K. Rosenthal, *German and Pole. National Conflict and Modern Myth*, Gainesville (USA) 1976.

² The periodical “Revue de Psychologie des Peuples” started to appear in Le Havre in 1946. In 1962 it contained an article by Oliver Brachfeld, *Note sur l’imagologie ethnique*, in which the author declared: “Une nouvelle science est en train de naître: celle des images” (no 2, pp. 341–349). In 1964 the periodical inaugurated a column entitled “Imagologie”, followed by a special section

The author of the survey of research presented in this study is most inclined towards a treatment of national stereotypes as a set of images about the features of the national character which is a component of cultural heritage and the recognized system of values³. In those cases when those visions refer to one's own nation we deal with an auto-stereotype while the heterostereotype refers to the national character of other nations (or ethnic groups). I envisage the image as a broader concept which encompasses both elements of the stereotype passed on from generation to generation and which contains the outcome of one's own experiences and a confrontation of the stereotype with the actual international situation⁴.

Most generally speaking, an historian delving into national stereotypes (the national "imagology") focuses on the history of culture, and more concretely, on the history of spiritual culture. His task consists of an attempt at reconstructing the sphere of human thought and emotions — on the one hand, views, opinions and evaluations, and on the other — mental states and reactions as well as the prevalent mood. Whenever possible, he should also try to find an answer to inquiries concerning the causes of negative estimations (much more frequent than positive ones) and the all-present antipathy (much more frequent than sympathy). It follows from this observation that the topic of the historian's is both the origin and the functioning of national (ethnic) stereotypes.

The emergence of such a stereotype is almost always connected with the creation of a bond within a group whose formation it accompanies; subsequently, this bond consolidates and reinforces a feeling of distinctness in relation to others, predominantly one's neighbours. Distinctness of this sort easily turns into a feeling of alienation and prejudice which, in turn, lead to animosity that becomes enmity and at times, contempt. National and ethnic groups willingly ascribe to themselves assorted virtues, and to others — faults; almost as a rule, megalomania keeps company with xenophobia⁵.

under the same title. In 1970 (no 4) the title of the publication changed to "Ethno-Psychologie" (later as: "Ethnopsychologie") while the former title was retained as a subtitle. In the following year the periodical published a rather extensive bibliography prepared by S. M a r a n d o n : *Catalogue des images d'Europe* (no 4, pp. 482–490).

³ Such a perception of the national character was proposed by I. S. K o h n , *K problemie natsyonalnogo kharaktiera*, in: *Istoriya i psikhologiya*, ed. by B. F. P o r s h n i e v and L. I. A n t i s f i e r o v , Moskva 1971, p. 122–158. The text was published also in French, i d e m , *La problème du caractère national*, "Ethnopsychologie" 1974, no 2/3, pp. 193–223.

⁴ The German scholar H. H. H a h n was absolutely correct when in his paper *Das deutsche Polenbild im 19. Jahrhundert: von der Polenbegeisterung im Vormärz bis zum Kulturkampf* read at an international conference held in April 1994 in Loveno di Menaggio, he warned against speaking about an identical image embedded in the minds of all Germans or Poles, and appealed for indispensable precision and differentiation which would take into consideration i.a. social origin, place of residence, level of education, and life experience.

⁵ See a totally pioneering work in this respect by the Polish ethnographer J. S. B y s t r o Ń ,

One should keep in mind the fact that an essential role in the appearance of negative heterostereotypes is played by religious differences⁶. In an examination of the origin of the stereotype the historian should endeavour to discover its connection with reality if such a tie took place. The establishment of this “core of truth” in the stereotype is a particularly ungrateful task when it concerns negative opinions about the given scholar’s own nation.

Quite frequently, representatives of a certain nation would cure their own complexes by transferring charges made against them onto others. This operation can be easily detected in the pejorative image of the German seen by sixteenth-century Italians and the French, the image of the Slav (Pole) in the eyes of the Germans and, finally, the image of the eastern neighbours of the Poles (Russians, Lithuanian, Byelorussians and Ukrainians).

An investigation into the functions of national stereotypes actually entails time and again the utilization of elements selected from stereotypes embedded in a given culture for the purposes of current political needs, in other words, their application in propaganda that affects public opinion or the process of the education and upbringing of the members of a certain community. The negative stereotype, disseminated in a form of the image of the enemy adapted to time, place and circumstances becomes a measure serving the consolidation of one’s own national group. One can see quite clearly that such a role was played in Germany after 1848 by the image of the Pole — the adversary while an identical role was played for Poles struggling for the regaining of independence by the nineteenth-century vision of the German foe. The true menace of reaching for elements of stereotypes inherited from ancestors becomes obvious when those negative opinions, prejudices, hostility and contempt are supposed not only to justify prepared armed aggression but also to deprive representatives of one’s own nation of all scruples in their treatment of people classified as members of a different, worse race. The thought that the disappearance off the surface of the Earth of all Jews should be greeted with joy was to appear in the minds of millions of Germans, and unfortunately did appear, during the years of the Third Reich.

Megalomania narodowa. Źródła, teorie, skutki (National Megalomania. Sources, Theories, Effects), “Przegląd Współczesny” 1923, no 20, pp. 371–396, reprinted in: *Tematy, które mi odradza.no. Pisma etnograficzne rozproszone (Topics I Have Been Warned Against. Scattered Ethnographic Writings)*, ed. L. Stomma, Warszawa 1980, pp. 277–354.

⁶ Polish Catholics frequently associated the German with a Lutheran, the follower of an alien creed, cf. J. Tazbir, *Luthers Bild im alten Polen*, in: *Martin Luther. Leistung und Erbe*, hrsg. von H. Bartel, G. Brendler, A. Laube, Berlin 1986, pp. 385–391, and numerous references to this subject in the book by K. Lück.

Undoubtedly, it was precisely the experiences of World War II which to a considerable measure contributed to a growth of interest in national and ethnic stereotypes in Europe; prior to 1939, scientific research dealing with this topic was conducted almost exclusively in the United States. In Poland, similarly to other countries, priority in this domain was enjoyed by sociologists; historians approached this subject relatively late. Certainly, one of the reasons for their decision to broach this topic was a striving towards a more universal view of the history of the Polish–German conflict; the number of motives, however, was larger. An important role was played by an “oversatiation” with economic history, preferred in so-called Marxist historiography which, together with obstacles created by censorship for those who wished to pursue political history, inclined towards a search for an attractive field of research. The recognition of national stereotypes as such a field was even easier to achieve when they became recognized as a chance for the modernization of the research workshop, and thus for the expansion of the questionnaire applied in relation to the past, and a practical implementation of postulates calling for the integration of the humanities. These factors were accompanied by an additional element — newly-opened opportunities for international contacts and the establishment of cooperation with historians from other countries. It became apparent that thanks to a similarity of interests, the closest partners for Polish historians were their colleagues from the Federal Republic of Germany.

The intensification of research into mutual Polish–German stereotypes was considerably enhanced by an interdisciplinary conference organized by Wojciech Wrzesiński in Trzebieszowice in Lower Silesia (10–11 September 1976); material from this meeting was published two years later in the Wrocław-based periodical “Sobótka”⁷. The papers which appeared in print include: *Kształtowanie się obrazu Niemca w polskiej opinii publicznej w okresie rozbiorów* (*The Formation of the Image of the German in Polish Public Opinion during the Partition Era*) by Lech Trzeciakowski⁸, *Obraz Polaka w Niemczech w XIX wieku* (*The Image of the Pole in Germany during the Nineteenth Century*) by Adam Galos⁹, *Obraz Polaka i Niemca w Polsce w latach międzywojennych i jego rola w kształtowaniu stosunków międzynarodowych* (*The Image of the Pole in Germany and the German in Poland during the Inter-war Period and Its Role in Shaping International*

⁷ “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka” 1978, no 2; cf. a presentation of the course of the conference by T. Szarota, *Badania nad stereotypem Polaka w Niemczech i Niemca w Polsce* (*Research into the Stereotype of the Pole in Germany and of the German in Poland*), “Dzieje Najnowsze” 1977, no. 1, pp. 209–212.

⁸ “Sobótka” 1978, no 2, pp. 133–137.

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 139–160.

Relations) by Karol Fiedor, Janusz Sobczak and Wojciech Wrześciński¹⁰, as well as: *Stereotyp Polski i Polaków w oczach Niemców podczas II wojny światowej (The Stereotype of Poland and Poles in the Eyes of Germans during the Second World War)*¹¹. The year of the publication of the outcome of the Trzebieszowice conference i.e. 1978, also witnessed the appearance of a volume of essays devoted to national stereotypes, issued by the “Czytelnik” publishing house and edited by Andrzej Garlicki. The texts contained in *Sąsiedzi i inni (Neighbours and Others)* shall be discussed further on and at this stage I would like to draw attention to the statement made by Franciszek Ryżka about the mutual perception of Poles and Germans in *My i oni (We and They)*¹². It seems worth-while to add that such a mutual two-sided view is rather rare since it calls for an excellent familiarity with both Polish and German sources. Successful scientific undertakings of this sort also include a study by Kazimierz Wajda entitled: *Polski obraz Niemców i niemiecki obraz Polaków w publicystyce obu krajów w latach 1871–1914 (The Polish Image of the Germans and the German Image of the Poles in the Publicistics of Both Nations in the 1871–1914 Period)*¹³ as well as Stanisław Salomonowicz’s book: *Polacy i Niemcy wobec siebie. Postawy–opinie–stereotypy (1697–1815) (Poles and Germans. Attitudes–Opinions–Stereotypes /1697–1815)*¹⁴.

Among works by Polish historians pertaining to the stereotype or image (images) of the German in Poland I would like to mention above all two books: *Niemcy i okupacja hitlerowska w oczach Polaków. Poglądy i opinie z lat 1945–1948 (The Germans and Nazi Occupation in the Eyes of Poles. Opinions and Views from the 1945–1948 Period)* by Edmund Dmiatrów¹⁵ and: *Sąsiad czy wróg? Ze studiów nad kształtowaniem się obrazu Niemca w Polsce w latach 1795–1939 (Enemy or Neighbour? Select Studies on the Formation of the Image of the German in Poland in the Years 1795–1939)*,

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 163–188.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 191–218. This text was also published in French version: *Le stéréotype de la Pologne et des Polonais aux yeux des Allemands pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* “La Pologne et les Affaires Occidentales” 1978, no 2, pp. 246–273, as well as in English version: *Poland and Poles in German Eyes during World War II*, “Polish Western Affairs” 1978, no 2, pp. 229–254.

¹² Warszawa 1978, pp. 26–38; I take this opportunity to mention yet another important text by F. Ryżka: *Stereotypy i publicystyka (Stereotypes and Publicistics)*, “Odra” 1972, no 2, pp. 39–46.

¹³ In the volume: *Polacy i Niemcy. Z badań nad kształtowaniem heterostereotypów etnicznych (Poles and Germans. Select Research into the Shaping of Ethnic Heterostereotypes)*, ed. K. Wajda, Toruń 1991, pp. 47–85.

¹⁴ Olsztyn 1994.

¹⁵ Warszawa 1987. The book received an award granted by the weekly “Polityka”; cf. his article *Die Polen über die Deutschen. Meinungen und Auseinandersetzungen aus den Jahren 1945–1948*, “Acta Poloniae Historica”, vol. LXX, 1994, pp. 127–150.

an *opus magnum* by Wojciech Wrzesiński¹⁶. I have no reservations in listing both books among the most outstanding accomplishments of Polish historiography in the past decades. Other studies on this subject worthy of our attention are: *Geneza przysłowia "Jak świat światem nie będzie Niemiec Polakowi bratem"* (*The Origin of the Proverb "As Long as the World Lasts, a German will not be the Brother of a Pole"*) by Gerard Labuda¹⁷, *Niemcy w politycznej świadomości Polaków do czasów hitlerowskich* (*Germans in the Political Consciousness of Poles up to the Nazi Period*) by Jerzy Krasuski¹⁸, *Die Gespenster der Vergangenheit. Polen über Deutsche und Deutschland 1945–1947* by Włodzimierz Borodziej¹⁹, *Obraz Niemiec i Niemców w Polsce w czasach stanisławowskich (1764–1795)* (*The Image of Germany and the Germans in Poland during the Reign of Stanislas August Poniatowski (1764–1795)*)²⁰ by Stanisław Salmonowicz and: *O obrazie Niemców w Polsce czasów saskich. Z badań nad kształtowaniem się stereotypu* (*On the Image of the Germans in Poland under the Saxon Kings. Select Research on the Formation of a Stereotype*) by the same author²¹, as well as: *Das Bild des Deutschen im geteilten Polen. Vom Ende des 18. bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* by Witold Molik²², *Kształtowanie się stereotypu Niemca i obrazu krajów niemieckich w potocznej świadomości sarmackiej od XVI do połowy XVIII w. Próba rekonesansu* (*The Shaping of the Stereotype of the German and an Image of German Lands in Universal Sarmatian Awareness from the Sixteenth to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century. An Attempt at a Reconnaissance*)²³ and: *Obraz krajów obszaru niemieckiego w polskiej prasie pisanej doby późnego baroku* (*Images of the Germanspeaking Countries in Polish Handwritten Press of the Late Baroque*) by Kazimierz Maliszewski²⁴, *Z badań nad kształtowaniem stereotypów etnicznych na Śląsku w początku XX wieku* (*Select Research on the Formation of Ethnic Stereotypes in Silesia at the Beginning of the*

¹⁶ Wrocław 1962. A translation of this work into German is being prepared by the *Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa*, directed in Dortmund by J. Hoffmann.

¹⁷ "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza", *Historia*, vol. VIII, 1968.

¹⁸ In a volume entitled: *W cieniu przeszłości. O stosunkach polsko-niemieckich* (*In the Shadow of the Past. On Polish-German Relations*), Warszawa 1986, pp. 52–78.

¹⁹ "Więź", Sonderausgabe 1994 (in German), pp. 6–25; a Polish version appeared in that periodical earlier: 1989, no 9, pp. 43–56.

²⁰ "Przegląd Humanistyczny", vol. IX, 1993, pp. 73–82.

²¹ "Wieź", vol. IX, 1993, pp. 73–82.

²² In: *Deutschlandbilder in Polen und Russland, in der Tschechoslovakei und in Ungarn. Dokumentation der Tagung 16.–19. Dezember 1992*, Leutherheider Forum, hrsg. von H. Süßmuth, Baden-Baden 1993, pp. 101–117.

²³ In: *Polacy i Niemcy*, (cf. note 13), pp. 9–43.

²⁴ In: *Wokół stereotypów Polaków i Niemców* (*On the Stereotypes of Poles and Germans*), ed. W. Wrzesiński, Wrocław 1991, pp. 55–68.

Twentieth Century) by Leonard S m ó ł k a²⁵, *Z badań nad kształtowaniem się stereotypu Niemca i Polaka w prasie polskiej w zaborze pruskim na przełomie XIX i XX wieku (Select Research on the Formation of the Stereotype of the German and Pole in the Polish Press in the Prussian Partition Area at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century)*²⁶ by Andrzej S t a n i s z e w s k i, and: *Obraz niemieckiej polityki wobec Polaków na łamach polskiej prasy pomorskiej (The Image of German Policy towards Poles in the Polish Pomeranian Press)* by Jacek B a n a c h²⁷. Finally, a number of works by the author of this report also concentrate on the subject in question: the article entitled: *Niemcy w oczach Polaków podczas II wojny światowej (Germans in the Eyes of Poles during World War II)*²⁸, an extensive text: *Berlin w oczach Polaków — przyczynek do stereotypu Niemca (Berlin in the Eyes of Poles — a Contribution to the Stereotype of the German)*²⁹ or a fragment of the book: *Niemiecki Michel. Dzieje narodowego symbolu i autostereotypu (The German Michel. The History of the National Symbol and Autostereotype)*³⁰.

The list of works by Polish historians devoted to the stereotype or image (images) of the Pole in Germany lacks up to this day a study comparable with the impressive book by Wojciech Wrzesiński. The author of these words gathered material about the functioning of the stereotype of the Pole in Germany from the end of the eighteenth century up to the treaty of 1970; he has resigned, however, from this rather unsound undertaking and have opted for the publication of several dissertations such as: *Pole, Polen und polnisch in den deutschen Mundartenlexika und Sprichwörterbüchern*³¹ or: *Polak w karykaturze niemieckiej (1914–1944) (The Pole in German Caricature/1914–1944)*³². The exploitation of the negative stereotype of Poland and the Poles by German propaganda constitutes one of the themes of two

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 119–130.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 95–117.

²⁷ In: *Polacy i Niemcy*, pp. 87–117.

²⁸ “Dzieje Najnowsze” 1978, no 2, pp. 143–172; English version: *Germans in the Eyes of Poles during World War II*, “Acta Poloniae Historica” vol. XLVII, 1983, pp. 151–195; abbreviated German version: *Die Deutschen in den Augen der Polen während des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, in the volume: *Deutschlandbilder* (cf. note 22), pp. 118–129. A considerably expanded version of this article will appear together with the article mentioned in note 11 in the form of a book entitled: *Deutsche und Polen. Feindbilder 1939–1945*, to be published in Germany.

²⁹ In: *Mity i stereotypy w dziejach Polski (Myths and Stereotypes in the History of Poland)*, ed. J. T a z b i r, Warszawa 1991, pp. 126–184; a German-language version will appear in: *Berlin in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, “Jahrbuch des Landesarchiv Berlin”, 1994, p. 7–40 (*Berlin in den Augen der Polen, 1789–1939. Ein Beitrag zum Stereotyp des Deutschen*).

³⁰ Warszawa 1988, chapter X “Niemiecki Michel” w oczach Polaków i Francuzów (*The “German Michel” in the Eyes of Poles and the French*), pp. 465–516.

³¹ “Acta Poloniae Historica” vol. L, 1984, pp. 81–113.

³² In the volume: *Wokół stereotypów Polaków i Niemców* (cf. note 24), pp. 69–93. This material was presented at the conference mentioned in note 4 (*Vom Feinbild zur Aussöhnung. Karikaturen als Seismographen nationaler Sympathien und Antipathien*).

books by the prematurely deceased scholar Janusz Sobczak: *Propaganda zagraniczna Niemiec weimarskich wobec Polski (The Foreign Propaganda of Weimar Germany towards Poland)*³³ and: *Polska w propagandzie i polityce III Rzeszy 1939–1945 (Poland in the Propaganda and Politics of the Third Reich 1939–1945)*³⁴. *Antyślawizm Adolfa Hitlera (The Anti-Slavism of Adolf Hitler)* by Jerzy W. Borejsza is undoubtedly a valuable book³⁵; *Rola szkoły niemieckiej w kształtowaniu obrazu Polski i Polaków w okresie międzywojennym (The Role of the German School in Shaping an Image of Poland and Poles during the Inter-war Period)* by Romuald Gelles³⁶ should be regarded as a serious scientific accomplishment. Mention must be made of other texts by Stanisław Salmonowicz such as his articles: *Jerzy Forster a narodziny stereotypu Polaka w Niemczech XVIII/XIX w. (Georg Forster and the Birth of the Stereotype of the Pole in Germany during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries)*³⁷ and: *Obraz Polski i Polaków w niemieckiej opinii publicznej w l. 1795–1815 (An Image of Poland and Poles in German Public Opinion in the Years (1795–1815))*³⁸. Unfortunately, the number of works by Polish historians on the stereotype of the Pole after World War II in the two German states (in the 1949–1989 period) is still scarce. The article by Maria Wardzyńska: *Założenia badań nad obrazem Polaków w Niemczech w latach 1945–1949 (Premises of Research into the Image of Poles in Germany in the Years 1945–1949)*³⁹ testifies to the urgency of the appearance of a work which could be compared with the publication by E. Dmitrów. The topic in question is only partially discussed by my paper: *Stereotyp Polski i Polaka w kulturach obcych 1918–1978 (The Stereotype of Poland and the Pole in Foreign Cultures 1918–1978)*⁴⁰ given at a convention of historians and the exhibition prepared by W. Wrzesiński and T. Szarota: *Deutsche und Polen. Vom*

³³ Poznań 1973.

³⁴ Poznań 1988.

³⁵ Warszawa 1988.

³⁶ Wrocław 1986 (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. No 898. Historia LVIII).

³⁷ "Zapiski Historyczne", vol. LII, 1987, no 4, pp. 135–147; a German-language version: *Georg Forster und sein Polenbild: Kosmopolitismus und nationale Stereotyp*, "Medizin. Historischer Journal. Internationale Vierteljahresschritte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte", vol. 23, 1988, no 3–4, pp. 277–290. As is known, the letter written by G. Forster in Vilno in 1785 contains the first "Beleg" concerning the expression "polnische Wirtschaft". Hubert Orłowski, a German philologist from Poznań is engaged in preparing an impressive, by all accounts, book on the origin and functions of this turn of phrase.

³⁸ "Zapiski Historyczne", vol. LVIII, 1993, no 4, pp. 7–27.

³⁹ In: *Wokół stereotypów Polaków i Niemców* (see note 24), pp. 131–141.

⁴⁰ In: *Pamiętnik XII Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich 17–20 września 1979 roku, cz. II Sympozja (Diary of the XII General Convention of Polish Historians 17–20 September 1979, part II Symposia)* Katowice 1979, pp. 215–226. Here I discuss i.a. the results of public opinions surveys and sociological research carried out in the Federal Republic of Germany.

*Feindbild zur Aussöhnung. Eine satirische Gegenüberstellung 1848–1991*⁴¹. Needless to say, the initiation of research in Poland on the image (stereotype) of the Pole in Germany depends on access to sources even if they are only the German press; their lack in Poland makes work abroad indispensable.

One might recognize investigations into the mutual perception of Poles and Germans very advanced (such a conclusions could be drawn from the list of the cited studies by Polish historians which, after all, are supplemented by publications by German historians, as well as representatives of other nationalities and other scientific disciplines)⁴². The number of studies on the image of the Poles formulated by their eastern and southern neighbours, and *vice versa*, is already much smaller. Undoubtedly, the most valuable publication is Andrzej Kępiński's: *Lach i Moskal. Z dziejów stereotypu (The Pole and the Muscovite. From the History of a Stereotype)*⁴³. The second of the available books: *Polaczkowie i Moskale. Wzajemny ogląd w krzywym zwierciadle 1800–1917 (Polacks and Muscovites. Mutual Inspection in a Crooked Mirror 1800–1917)* by Antoni Giza⁴⁴ has an excellent title but, unfortunately, no scholarly merits. Importance should be attached to two articles by Janusz Radziejowski: *Ukrainians and Poles. The Shaping of Reciprocal Images and Stereotypes*⁴⁵, and: *The Image of the Pole in Russian Publicistic Writings 1864–1918*⁴⁶. As regards the image of the Czech in Poland, Stanisław Bylina's study about the attitude towards the Hussites: *Wizerunek heretyka w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej (An Image of the Heretic in Late Medieval Poland)*⁴⁷ remains essential.

To these scientific studies one should also add a number of essays contained in the already mentioned volume *Sąsiedzi i inni: Między Wscho-*

⁴¹ This is the title of a double-language version of the catalogue of an exhibition displayed first in Warsaw (November 1991–January 1992) and then in Wrocław, Bytom, Weimar, Leipzig, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg and Düsseldorf.

⁴² Very valuable is the bibliography prepared by J. Hoffmann, *Stereotypen, Vorurteile, Völkerbilder in Ost und West in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, Wiesbaden 1986 (a third, improved edition is to be published); the list made by D. Jaroš: *Uwagi o polskiej literaturze naukowej na temat stereotypów (Remarks on Polish Scientific Literature Concerning Stereotypes)*, "Dzieje Najnowsze" 1991, no 2, pp. 93–103, is also of great merit.

⁴³ Warszawa–Kraków 1990.

⁴⁴ Szczecin 1993.

⁴⁵ "Acta Poloniae Historica" vol. L, 1984, pp. 115–140.

⁴⁶ "Acta Poloniae Historica" vol. LXVI, 1992, pp. 115–139; cf. also his article: "Znienawidzilem ten potwór azjatycki". *Kształtowanie się obrazu Rosjanina w Polsce od powstania listopadowego do I wojny światowej ("I Came to Despise This Asian Monster". The Shaping of the Image of the Russian in Poland from the November Uprising up to the First World War)*, "Krytyka", no 40, 1993, pp. 94–115.

⁴⁷ "Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce", vol. XXX, 1985, pp. 5–24; slightly altered version in: *Mity i stereotypy w dziejach Polski*, as in note 29, pp. 320–362.

dem a Zachodem (Between the East and the West) by Władysław A. Serczyk (the image of Russia as seen by Poles)⁴⁸; *Potomkowie Lecha i Czecha (The Successors of Lech and Czech)* by Benedykt Zientara⁴⁹; *Orientalność polska (Polish Orientalism)* by Jan Kieniewicz (the impact of the Orient upon Polish culture)⁵⁰ as well as: *Z ziemi włoskiej do Polski (From Italy to Poland)* by Andrzej Wyrobisz⁵¹, *Obecność Ameryki (American Presence)* by Jerzy Jedlicki⁵², *Podziw i pogarda (Admiration and Contempt)* by Marcin Kula (an image of Brazil in the eyes of Poles)⁵³ and *Polska wizja Lewantu (The Polish Vision of the Levant)* by Rafał Karpiński⁵⁴.

It is quite possible that the intensification of investigations into the stereotype of the Pole in Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Bohemia as well as the images of the nations envisaged by Poles will be encouraged by an international conference organized by Czesław Madajczyk in Warsaw (December 1993) and focusing on *Poland — Neighbours in the Twentieth Century. How Do We View Each Other?* Material from this conference is to appear in print in the nearest future. At this stage, I would like to draw attention to the most prominent, in my opinion, papers: *Nasze widzenie Białorusinów (Our View of Byelorussians)* by Jan Jurkiewicz; *Nasze widzenie Rosjan w XX wieku (Our View of Russians in the Twentieth Century)* by Andrzej Drajewicz; *Rosyjskie widzenie Polaków (The Russian Perception of Poles)* by Svetlana Falkovich; *Ukraińcy w oczach Polaków (Ukrainians in the Eyes of Poles)* by Andrzej Zięba; *Ukraińskie widzenie Polaków (The Ukrainian View of Poles)* by Volodimir Reruntsiev; *Czesi w oczach Polaków (The Czechs in the Eyes of the Poles)* by Jaroslav Valenta, *Polskie widzenie Słowaków (The Polish Perception of Slovaks)* by Piotr Godlewski, and *Litwini w oczach Polaków (The Lithuanians in the Eyes of the Poles)* by Piotr Łosowski. Unfortunately, scholars who were supposed to present papers discussing the image of the Poles in Byelorussia and Lithuania did not attend the meeting.

An interesting comparison of reciprocal opinions held by Poles and the French was presented by Jerzy W. Borejsza in his essay: *W tęczy Franków (In the French Rainbow)*⁵⁵, part of the *Sąsiedzi i inni* volume.

⁴⁸ *Sąsiedzi i inni*, pp. 10–24.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 40–54.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 76–93.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 116–127.

⁵² *Ibidem*, pp. 202–216.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, pp. 218–226; this scholar examined the reciprocal perception of Brazilians and Poles in the article: *The Curing of Complexes. Poles on Brazilians. Brazilians on Poles, up to 1939*, "Acta Poloniae Historica", vol. L, 1984, pp. 141–156.

⁵⁴ *Sąsiedzi i inni*, pp. 228–246.

Thorough scholarly works on the image of the Poles cultivated in France were published by Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz: *Obraz Polski i Polaków we francuskich podręcznikach szkolnych drugiej połowy XIX w. (An Image of Poland and Poles in French School Textbooks during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century)*⁵⁶ as well as *Obraz Polski i Polaków w literaturze francuskiej drugiej połowy XIX wieku (An Image of Poland and Poles in French Literature during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century)*⁵⁷; both studies were included in the book: *Francuska opinia publiczna wobec sprawy polskiej i Polaków w latach 1885–1944 (French Public Opinion and the Polish Issue and Poles in the Years 1885–1944)*⁵⁸. It is a pity that material collected by Stanisław T. Bębnek during a year-long stay in France devoted to research into the local satirical press was presented only in the form of a publicistic article entitled: *La Pologne martyre*⁵⁹.

In his: *Polska w oczach Anglików XIV–XVI w. (Poland in the Eyes of the English from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*⁶⁰ Henryk Zinś also broached the problem of the English vision of the Poles as a nation. In turn, Wojciech Lipiński's outline: *Brytania w Polsce (Britain in Poland)*⁶¹, published in: *Sąsiedzi i inni*, presents a number of observations made by Poles about the residents of the British Isles. It is strange that up to now no one has been interested in the image of the Pole in Great Britain, moulded upon the basis of contacts established during World War II and co-existence with Polish emigrés after 1945.

Spain and the Spaniards in the eyes of Poles are discussed in reflections by Janusz Tazbiri in his essay: *Sarmaci i konkwistadorzy (Sarmatians and Conquistadors)*⁶² in: *Sąsiedzi i inni* and a study entitled: *La opinion polaca sobre Espana en los siglos XVI–XVIII*⁶³.

The sole text dealing with the image of the Netherlands and the Dutch as seen by the Poles is Maria Bogucka's: *Nie tylko tulipany (Not Only Tulips...)*⁶⁴ from the oft-mentioned volume: *Sąsiedzi i inni*. The same can

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 96–113.

⁵⁶ "Kultura i Społeczeństwo" 1980, no 1, pp. 117–128.

⁵⁷ "Przegląd Historyczny" 1990, no 5, pp. 113–136.

⁵⁸ Wrocław 1987.

⁵⁹ "Tu i Teraz" 1983, no 8, pp. 9, 14.

⁶⁰ Warszawa 1974.

⁶¹ *Sąsiedzi i inni*, see note 12, pp. 150–165.

⁶² *Ibidem*, pp. 130–148.

⁶³ "Hispania. Revista española de historia" (Madrid), vol. LI, 1991, pp. 559–587.

⁶⁴ *Sąsiedzi i inni*, pp. 168–184; The image of Poles was discussed by M. Bogucka, *Przyczynek do portretu Polaka w oczach obcych (A Contribution to the Portrait of the Pole in Foreign Eyes)*, "Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce", vol. XXI, 1987, pp. 23–55; an abbreviated German version: *Polonica in westeuropäischen Nachschlagewerken des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, "Acta Poloniae Historica" vol. LV, 1987, pp. 203–214.

be said about the image of the Scandinavians (Swedes, Danes and Norwegians), described by Władysław Czaplński in: *Sąsiedzi z północy*, an essay from the same volume⁶⁵.

Polish–Hungarian stereotypes are considered in: *Polak, Węgier... (The Pole and the Hungarian...)*, an essay by Jerzy Robert Nowak⁶⁶ (also in: *Sąsiedzi i inni*) and in the reflections of Maciej Koźmiński and Andrzej Sieroszewski in: *O stereotypie Polaka i Węgra w XIX i XX w. Na podstawie wybranych fragmentów literatury pięknej i publicystyki historycznej (On the Stereotype of the Pole and the Hungarian during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century. Upon the Basis of Select Fragments of the Belles Lettres and Historical Publicistics)*⁶⁷.

The stereotype of the Jew in Poland is examined by Janusz Tazbir in: *Les Juifs vus par l'opinion polonaise des XVI^e and XVIII^e siècles*⁶⁸, available also in a German–⁶⁹ and English–language version⁷⁰.

I would like to mention two articles about interpretations which are not limited to a single nation: Lech A. Tyszkiewicz's: *Z badań nad narodzinami stereotypów Słowian w historiografii zachodniej wczesnego średniowiecza (Select Research on the Birth of Slav Stereotypes in Western Historiography of the Early Middle Ages)*⁷¹ and Jerzy Tomaszewski's: *Stereotypy mniejszości narodowych w II Rzeczypospolitej (Stereotypes of National Minorities in the Second Republic)*⁷².

In conclusion of this survey of works from the domain of Polish “imagology” I would like to offer information concerning a discussion held in Poland on “the national character” and, simultaneously, on the auto–stereotype. A conference held in Szelań (in Mazuria) from 30 May to 1 June 1983 proved to be of foremost merit for the historical milieu. Material from the meeting was subsequently published in a special issue of the periodical: “Komunikaty Mazursko–Warmińskie”. Mention must be made of the following texts: *Charakter narodowy. Rzeczywistość czy stereotyp? (The National Character. Reality or Stereotype?)*⁷³ by Stefan Kieniewicz, *Kształtowanie się mentalności Polaków zaboru pruskiego (The Shaping of the Mentality of*

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 186–199.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 56–73.

⁶⁷ “Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1980, no 1, pp. 193–204.

⁶⁸ “Études Littéraires en Pologne”, vol. XIX: 1988, pp. 41–77.

⁶⁹ *Das Judenbild der Polen im 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, “Acta Poloniae Historica” vol. L. 1984, pp. 29–56.

⁷⁰ *Images of the Jew in the Polish Commonwealth*, “Polin. A Journal of Polish–Jewish Studies” vol. 4, Oxford 1989, pp. 18–30 (Polish version in: *Mity i stereotypy w dziejach Polski*, pp. 64–98).

⁷¹ In: *Wokół stereotypów Polaków i Niemców*, pp. 27–47.

⁷² In: *Mity i stereotypy w dziejach Polski*, pp. 260–293.

⁷³ “Komunikaty Mazursko–Warmińskie” 1984, no 1–2, pp. 5–11.

Poles in the Prussian Partition Area)⁷⁴ by Lech Trzeciakowski, *Nędza i blaski Galicjanina — Polacy zaboru austriackiego (The Misery and Splendor of the Galician — Poles in the Austrian Partition Area)* by Adam Gallos⁷⁵, *Obraz własny Królewaków na tle trójzaborowego portretu Polaków (A Self-portrait of the Residents of the Kingdom of Poland against the Backdrop of the Portrait of Poles from the Three Partition Areas)* by Jan Molenda⁷⁶, *Przekształcenie się cech charakteru Polaków w latach międzywojennych 1918–1939 (The Transformation of Features of the Polish National Character during the Inter-war Period 1918–1939)* by Janusz Żarnowski⁷⁷, *Polski autostereotyp w konfrontacji z doświadczeniami lat wojny i okupacji (The Polish Auto-stereotype in Confrontation with the Experiences of Wartime and Occupation)* by Tomasz Szarota⁷⁸ and: *Badania nad charakterem narodowym Polaków (Research into the National Character of the Poles)* by Wojciech Wrzesiński⁷⁹.

The conference in Szeląg was preceded by a great exhibition: *Polaków portret własny (The Polish Self-portrait)*, organized upon the initiative of Marek Rostworowski in 1979. An extensive, two-part catalogue includes texts by: Aleksander Gieysztor's: *Polski homo mediaevalis w oczach własnych (The Polish Homo Mediaevalis in His Own Eyes)*⁸⁰, Janusz Tabir's: *W zwierciadle trzech epok (In the Mirror of Three Eras)*⁸¹, Stefan Kieniewicz's: *Wizerunek Polaka okresu niewoli (An Image of the Pole during the Era of National Servility)*⁸² and Janusz Żarnowski's: *Polak wolny, lecz fraszobliwy 1918–1939 (The Free but Sorrowful Pole 1918–1939)*⁸³.

A familiarity with the above presented accomplishments of Polish historiography as regards research into national stereotypes, and a thorough acquaintanceship with the results of investigations conducted in other countries, entitle me to formulate the following findings:

1. From the point of view of the intensity and scope of research, Germany and Poland have indubitably reached a foremost rank. It is quite

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 85–102.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 105–131.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 133–146.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 173–189.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 191–203.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 213–219.

⁸⁰ *Polaków portret własny (The Polish Self-portrait)*, coll. work, part I, Kraków 1979, pp. 19–31.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 32–66.

⁸² *Ibidem*, pp. 67–79.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, pp. 80–101.

feasible that in both cases interest in the image of one's own country, cultivated by foreigners, is a symptom of frustration and complexes.

2. Poland was the only member of the bloc of the so-called socialist countries where research into national stereotypes could, and was carried out; this fact undoubtedly testifies to a considerable freedom in the selection of topics of scholarly pursuits.

3. The political situation in Poland, including the existence of official censorship as well as the self-imposed auto-censorship of particular scholars, were one of the prime reasons for neglecting, up to the beginning of the 1990s, investigations into the image of the Pole maintained by our eastern and southern neighbours, and the images of those nations in the eyes of the Poles. At present, this situation is slowly changing.

4. A concentration of efforts on Polish-German stereotypes has contributed to establishing a close and fruitful cooperation between Polish and German historians, and even produced in effect broader international contacts⁸⁴.

5. An evaluation of the achievements of Polish historiography as regards research into national stereotypes should, in my opinion, pay particular attention to the variety of sources used by Polish scholars i.e. to the merit of their scientific workshop. Although the majority of studies still continues to be written upon the basis of an analysis of publicistic material, there are others which have used as historical sources satirical illustrations (caricature), the *belles lettres*, travellers' reports, diaries and reminiscences, linguistic material (dictionaries, collections of proverbs), radio programmes, the cinema, school textbooks, results of public opinion surveys and sociological questionnaires.

6. Inevitably, the fault of publications of Polish historians concerning national stereotypes is their rare inclusion of methodological reflections, including a precise presentation of definitions of concepts employed by the authors. A certain justification could be a closer observation of endless and, in addition, rather barren discussions on these issues held by sociologists, psychologists, philosophers and literary experts.

(Translated by Aleksandra Rodzińska-Chojnowska)

⁸⁴ Mention should be made of the Polish-German-French conference *Nationale Stereotypen und kulturelle Identität* organized in Bad Hamburg (9-11 May 1983) thanks to the joint Polish-German initiative as well as of the Polish-German-Italian meeting in Villa Vigoni in Menaggio (see note 4).