

Reviews

Acta Poloniae Historica
95, 2007
PL ISSN 0001 – 6829

Maria Bogucka, *Gorsza płeć. Kobieta w dziejach Europy od antyku po wiek XXI (The Inferior Gender. Woman in the History of Europe from Antiquity till the 21st Century)*. Warszawa 2005, Wydawnictwo TRIO, 380 pp., ill., index of persons, bibliography, summary in English.

The history of women and of the “women’s question” have long remained in the orbit of interests of Maria Bogucka. No wonder, if we take into consideration the attention this subject has focussed in the historiography of all eras and regions of the world in a few recent decades. In accordance with the chronological option the author took up years ago, she has dealt with the problem of women in old Poland in the early-modern era (16th–18th centuries). She signalled this direction in her research by her biographical works, including those on Bona Sforza¹ and Anna Jagiellon². In 1998 she published the book *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce (Woman in Old Poland)*³. The subtitle of this book signals the author’s intention to go beyond the area of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and take a comparative approach, which she realises indeed, since her comparisons (mainly) with Western Europe, are not merely a decorative device, as it happens in the works of other authors. We should also make note of the author’s book on the same subject published in Great Britain⁴, the subtitle of which also emphasizes its principally Western-European context.

The publication of the biography of Mary Stuart⁵, alongside Maria Bogucka’s books devoted to Poland and Polish female rulers, also testifies that the author keeps up contact with European issues. Thus we are not surprised by the appearance of a book meant to be a synthesis of the fortunes, situation and role of women in Europe over the entire history of our Continent.

This is a very extensive design and therefore extremely difficult to execute, but perhaps even more difficult to appraise by a single historian who almost always represents some chronological option outside of which he moves with much less certainty.

Yet such books as *The Inferior Gender* must be reviewed and discussed, so, although I do not feel fully competent, I will present my reflections upon it.

It is meant to be an academic text-book (so it says on the back of the title page). Such a classification was probably chosen not only so as to gain a subsidy from the Ministry of Education, but also to give the work a certain style, to show that this synthetic approach can be used not only by historians specializing in the subject, but also others interested in it. If this was the author’s aim, she in a large measure achieved it, since her text may attract everybody interested in history. Certainly, the author’s scholarly preferences are reflected in the size of the chapters devoted to individual epochs: almost half of the volume concerns early-modern times, from the 16th till the 18th century. It is true that with the

¹ M. Bogucka, *Bona Sforza d’Aragona*, Warszawa 1989.

² M. Bogucka, *Anna Jagiellonka*, Wrocław 1994.

³ M. Bogucka, *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce. Kobieta w społeczeństwie polskim XVI–XVIII w. na tle porównawczym (Woman in Old Poland. Woman in Polish 16th–18th Century Society, Against a Comparative Background)*, Warszawa 1998.

⁴ M. Bogucka, *Women in Early Modern Polish Society, Against the European Background*, Aldershot, Hampshire 2004.

⁵ M. Bogucka, *Marta Stuart (Mary Stuart)*, Wrocław 1990.

onset of modern times the lives and situation of women in Europe changed considerably, and rather, as the author and many other scholars think, for the worse, yet the 19th and 20th centuries saw still more essential changes, probably of greater importance than those of the Renaissance and Enlightenment eras. The latter deserve to be treated more extensively. It must be admitted, however, that the author has a good and up-to-date knowledge of the women's question, feminism etc., which shows that she is well-read in contemporary literature, and must have devoted to it additional studies. Certainly, the main direction of any author's particular interests must leave its trace on his or her synthetic work. Still, we must appreciate the final chapter, which goes beyond Europe, that is beyond the territory declared in the title, and links the whole book with the global issues. In fact, the matters in question cannot be confined to the territory of Europe.

Since the book is designed not only for specialists in the social history of women, one would like to see a more extensive *Introduction*, especially a more exhaustive treatment of the historiography devoted to women and to the feminist movement, the latter undergoing a significant evolution and being an interesting subject in itself. Some issues have been already developed in the *Introduction* to the work *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce*. The remarks contained in it could replace the lists of tens of names of male (and more often female) authors and titles, almost all of which the reader can find in the bibliography at the end of the book⁶.

The author's basic attitude towards the "feminist" historiography and that concerning "the women's question"⁷ should be appreciated as fairly balanced. The history of the "women's question" (a term coined on the model of "the working class question", "the social question" etc. discussed in the 19th century), which in the recent decades took the form and name of "gender studies"⁸, is now an inseparable part of the contemporary intellectual movement and contemporary historiography⁹. The radical representatives of this historiography and the feminist ideology in general, according to the author, now belong to the past, and although I am not quite sure of that, she seems to be right. At any rate, the "gender" issue, purged of its extremities and in fact largely co-extensive with the history of women and their situation, although more universal in its approach than the earlier discussions of those subjects, is now an inseparable and important trend in historiography, as the recent international historical congresses show.

The author could not devote more than a dozen-odd pages to ancient times (chapter I). Of necessity, the judgements she formulates are general. For this reason my detailed comments would be out of place. Generally speaking, history, traditionally relying on written sources, appeared at the time when the dominant form of an individual's existence was the patriarchal family. This relates both to the ancient East, including classical Judaism, and the Graeco-Roman world. Such was the course of history and its reasons must have gone deeper than the coercion used by the males and their perversity, so often invoked by feminist

⁶ M. Bogucka, *Gorsza pieć (The Inferior Gender)*, esp. pp. 10–12. Some mistakes have appeared in print. Of course, not all the works she cites relate only or specially to women.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 8–9. The quotation marks emphasize the lack of precision of these two terms as well as the contemporary emotional and sometimes biased connotation of feminism and feminist historiography.

⁸ The author attributes the popularity of this English term in Polish historiography to the lack of precision of other notions used in it (p. 8). However, we adopt many terms in their original version because their Polish counterparts would not be comprehensible to the global information system (computers, Internet, GPS etc., etc.); for the same reason we use "gender studies", "gender history" or such forms as the past participle "gendered", because they cannot be translated into Polish without an extensive explanation.

⁹ I say more about it in the article *Historia społeczna w XXI wieku (Social History in the 21st Century)* in the collection *Metamorfozy społeczne II*, ed. by J. Żarnowski, pub. Instytut Historii PAN, in the press.

literature, although this argument carries little power of explanation¹⁰. It has to be added that the family in Europe had retained its patriarchal character, though in a changed and weaker form, till the 19th century and only over the last hundred and fifty years has this character undergone gradual reform. This process, anyway, has not been completed and we do not know what course it may still take. So throughout the period under her analysis the author had to deal with the family based on the dominance of its (principally) male head — *pater familias* — both in the sphere of law and custom. This dominance extended not only over the woman, but over all the family. The dominance over the woman was rather the result of a general principle than of the assumed inequality of the married couple. This can be best seen in the light of Roman law, which was precisely based on the family structure (*familia*), an entity governed by the *pater familias*. The author sees this law as a deterioration in woman's situation in comparison to ancient Greece, which thesis seems to me controversial¹¹. The Roman houses had no *gynaeceum* — the place of women's seclusion, as in the Greek tradition. The epitaph of a Roman matron cited by the author¹² expresses not so much the limitations to the woman's role, as the famous ancient Roman succinctness and programmatic lack of sentimentality. Woman in Rome, especially in the later period, won for herself a more independent position than in classical Greece¹³. The evolution of marriage in the direction of some emancipation of woman is quite clear in Roman history. The situation of woman completely dependent on the male, described by the author, relates to the early form of marriage *cum manu*, which even before the downfall of the Republic was in practice replaced by the marriage *sine manu*, which left to the woman her property and independence.

However, since the patriarchal system has dominated until recent times, the persons of women active in politics, science or art, unearthed by the author and profusely cited by her, make up a study of something that was exceptional, uncommon, rare and controversial. Less colourful, perhaps, but more important are her deliberations concerning the real role of women from various social milieux in everyday life, the behaviour that was not an exception but a rule. This relates not only to old times, but the whole period embraced by the book. I do not question the links between those two types of narration, since both are necessary, I only would like to show that it is the latter which testifies to the actual situation of the majority of women in the past. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that without many eminent pioneers who paved the way for women's emancipation before the 19th century, it would have been later much more difficult to achieve.

Of great interest is the appraisal of the role of Christianity in shaping the social position of women. The author seems to be right in showing the duality of the possible answer, since one can easily find the manifestations of equality of both the sexes on many levels, and especially the spiritual one, also in the ecclesiastical communities in early Christendom, contrasted with misogyny symbolized by St. Paul's teachings. Still, even when dwelling on the role of this saint, the author emphasizes the ambivalence and contradictions in his attitude to women. Let us note that St. Paul prefers (that is recommends, but does not demand) sexual restraint and celibacy, and yet he many times emphasizes the symmetry of duties and love in marriage, firmly defends monogamous unions (certainly in the interest of women) and frequently mentions warmly his female associates, recommending them to the communities to which he addresses his letters.

¹⁰ It would be useless to invoke here the theories and discussions about patriarchy and matriarchy, since modern science questions their earlier accepted sequence, and the meaning of these two terms is controversial at any rate.

¹¹ M. Bogucka, *Gorsza pleć*, p. 27.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 28.

¹³ This is a universally accepted fact, but let me refer to Kazimierz Kumanięcki's *Historia kultury starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu* (*The History of the Culture of Ancient Greece and Rome*), Warszawa 1964, p. 318.

I write about all this also because the author seems to represent a pessimistic view, and sees the situation of women as deteriorating rather than trying to show some, even if minute, changes for the better. In fact, even within the framework of the three social structures discussed above: Greek, Roman, and early Christian/late Roman, one may discover some improvement in their situation, if measured by contemporary standards. In this connection we may observe that the author misprizes the evolution of Judaism from polygamy to monogamy, and does not mention it at all. And it is precisely this Judaic tradition that made Christianity adopt monogamy as a principle (not everywhere fully observed, to be sure).

In general, in the case of women's situation, as in many other questions, one cannot grasp one rising or falling tendency. So one can hardly speak of progress or regression in this respect up till the 19th century when as a result of the intellectual, social and political movement springing from the Enlightenment, and which was an inseparable element of the rise of a democratic society, some essential changes started to appear and gather strength also in the situation of women.

So we may only try to appraise separately each subsequent great socio-systemic-cultural change from the point of view of women's situation. Adopting a chronological order, we must first observe the shaping of the early-medieval society where "barbarian" elements and the heritage of Rome were intermingled so as to produce, centuries later, the model of a feudal society in Western Europe. The next three chapters (II-IV) discuss the problems of women in medieval times, the Merovingian, Carolingian and Ottonian periods, the women's position in the feudal structures of Western Europe and their everyday life. The author observes again the deterioration in their situation in connection with what she assesses as the misogynic evolution of Christianity from St. Augustine to Thomas Aquinas. This is, however, in contrast to many careers of female rulers, from the turn of the first millenium until the late Middle Ages, as well as the development of monastic life that ensured to (a few) women independence, access to knowledge and even power. Another manifestation of the role of women is the courtly-troubadour culture that embraced the knights and their ladies, which throughout almost 300 years exerted some influence on the imagination of the then thin stratum remaining within the orbit of high culture, and through it on the customs and manners of the upper class in general. Finally we descend with the author to the Purgatory of the everyday existence and work of medieval women. The author concludes this part of her work by defining medieval times as "the ages of misogyny and marginalization of women", but at the same time she warns us that early modern times were those which carried the real "tide of great persecution and true hatred"¹⁴.

Here the author passes on to early modern times and we should not wonder that the respective text is relatively extensive and abounds in interesting data and biographical details as well as information concerning the everyday existence, work and family life of women. The reviewer, however, cannot indulge in citing interesting information, especially that concerning the most outstanding and best-known rulers, queens, influential favourites and concubines, women active in the fields of literature and art, sometimes production and commerce, and last but not least usury (as all financial dealings were called then in Europe). He must confine himself to the author's general opinions about the main, secular changes in the situation and role of women in modern times. As I have said, the beginning of this era in the author's book does not promise anything positive. Early modern times are presented in six chapters discussing the social changes at the outset of the Renaissance, polemics about the value of women, religious and denominational matters during the Reformation from the women's point of view, "the witch-hunt", the roles of women in politics, and, separately, in literature, art and culture.

¹⁴ M. B o g u c k a, *Gorsza pteć*, p. 88.

The author emphasizes the researchers' divergent opinions about the improvement or the deterioration in women's situation in the times of the Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-reformation, and is rather inclined to hold a pessimistic view of this subject¹⁵. She shows that even if the Reformation initially carried greater acceptance of the role of women, e.g. in religious communities, the stronger control of society by the state, whose power (not in Poland) was generally growing, had led to a stricter control over women, their compulsory inclusion in the family and other structures supervised by the state or the Church, the latter often being part of state structures. As a result women were eliminated from some professional roles to which they were admitted in the Middle Ages (for example medicine and some crafts, earlier performed at home, now transferred to workshops and subject to the restrictions of the guild system). The Reformation abolished monastic centres which had played such an important role in medieval culture.

The author ranks among these restrictions also the attempts at the abolishment of the independence of single women, most frequent in Protestant countries where female convents were closed down. It seems that these restrictions were inspired mainly by women themselves. The same relates to the fight against prostitution, which (the latter) in Protestant countries was degraded to illegality. Apart from the idea of arranging everyday life according to the ideals of the *Gospel*, we have to perceive the pressure of women from the stratum dominating in religious communities on the elimination of occasions for illicit love. And this is what was especially meant here, and not "stamping all women with the stigma of unchaste sex"¹⁶. It is interesting that those who fought most fiercely against prostitution and proposed Draconian police measures, were the feminists of the turn of the 19th century, and also today penal measures, mainly directed against males, are introduced in the countries where feminists have the strongest influence (recently Finland).

However, a lot of more concrete information provided by the author corrects this generally pessimistic picture. She mentions the more general observance of the principle of voluntariness of marriage, the cases of spectacular victory of love over family interests, the new possibilities that opened for women in the leading societies of Europe at that time in the intellectual and pedagogical occupations, to say nothing of the (increasingly populous) domestic service and other services which acquired the status of professions (such as e.g. dress-making), in a society that was in the process of modernization. The thesis of the deteriorating situation of women should also be approached cautiously in view of what the author says of their artistic creativity that flourished in some countries, and which in the previous era was exceptional. The majority of the facts and institutions shown by the author which condemned women to inequality and subordination were not invented in that era but were a continuation of the age-long patriarchal system.

Even if the 16th–18th century polemics, described in a separate chapter, concerning the nature and rights of women, were mostly written in a misogynic tone, still the opinions were divided and women themselves in a large degree took part in those very sharp and sometimes rude exchanges. The same relates to many polemics concerning religion and the life of individual denominational groups. This was the period of Reformation and Counter-reformation. The former encouraged all the believers, including women, to read the only source of faith — the *Bible*. I think that the author, who takes a very critical view of the achievements of the Reformation, at least as far as women are concerned, underrates this extremely important change. The translations of the *Bible* were then mainly done for women, and this was not without benefit to the countries that had remained Catholic, although the believers there had not until recently been encouraged to read it.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 92–93.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 93.

The chapter devoted to the persecution of the witches deals with a special phenomenon which we would not like to inquire into here. Suffice it to say that the author explains to the reader who may be used to stereotypes, that the extent of persecution, the number of victims and the percentage of females and males in the number of those persecuted for witchcraft are now subject to the scholarly verification which reduces considerably the dimensions of this phenomenon.

A more cheerful chapter is one about the political role of women, introducing a procession of such well-known heroines as Elizabeth I, the tragic Mary Stuart, Christina Queen of Sweden, Maria Theresa, and Austrian female rulers (such as Maragaret of Austria, Margaret of Parma, and others), Catherine and Maria de' Medici in France, Catherine II in Russia, and a long line of royal favourites (as in France). Our pessimism is finally dispelled by the chapter devoted to the contribution of women to culture. Here we see not only Margaret of Navarre and St. Theresa of Avila, or the galaxy of excellent English writers of the 17th and 18th centuries whose works, now republished, make up an imposing library¹⁷. We also see women active in the fields of music (including singers) and painting, patrons and collectors of art (especially those from royal and aristocratic families). Women were also increasingly active in the fields of education, scholarship and even science. In modern times in this field, as well as in others, we could certainly observe a certain stratification: women from the upper classes wrote letters and translated works from many languages, while almost universal illiteracy prevailed even in the English provinces, although the whole of Western Europe saw a considerable progress in women's education. The position of Poland in this respect, especially in the Golden Age (16th century), should not be underestimated¹⁸.

The Enlightenment gave a new impulse to the education and self-education of women. Some higher-level schools were then created for girls (a prototype of the later secondary grammar schools for girls, especially in Germany). In England, the first women were then admitted to the Royal Society¹⁹.

The remaining three chapters concern the period which saw an essential change in the situation of women; this did not, however, come immediately, but only in the 19th and 20th centuries. The last of them discusses women's problems outside Europe, hence the dramatic struggle for women's rights in the 19th century and the changes in 20th century law and customs have not been treated very extensively. In the chapter *Between the Victorian Customs and Emancipation* the author provides a lot of information, but almost passes over the question why the ideals of the Enlightenment which materialized in the form of the American and French Republican Constitutions and created the models and foundations of the democratic system, had neglected the problem of equal rights for women and perpetuated their legal inequality, symbolized by the family law of the *Code Civil*. This problem was not merely overlooked at that time, during the Revolution there were many heated discussions about it. Even when the author blames for it "the bourgeois society, especially unfriendly to women"²⁰, one must observe that its members were not only males, but also females who (as the female ruler of the British Empire, from whom the Victorian society took its name) approved of such a state of affairs. Probably, after the downfall of the authority of the monarchy and the Church in the 18th century, the family was meant to constitute the last firm structure of society threatened by the strivings of the lower classes, the oppressed nations and all kinds of destructive forces? In this modest review I cannot set out to create any theory that would explain the course of history. I can only note that the author does not pose this fundamental question in her book.

¹⁷ The first professional women *litterati*, who lived by writing (not only fiction), appeared in England as early as the 17th century.

¹⁸ M. B o g u c k a, *Gorsza pteć*, p. 214.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 219.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 249.

This question may be followed by another, namely why what was impossible in the previous centuries, that is the granting of an equal status to women in the sphere of law and at least partial in the sphere of custom, could be achieved in the 19th and 20th centuries? It cannot be denied that the same ideals were at work at the turn of the 18th century, and created the models of the democratic society and especially the democratic state; and the same ideals gradually embraced (and are still embracing) ever new territories and areas of life. But in this context a hundred years' delay in granting equal rights to women requires some elucidation. Certainly, one cannot expect it from the author who did her most in creating such a synthetic work. This is rather an appeal to those who will take part in further discussions.

The penultimate chapter presents in brief the situation of women in the 20th century and at present. We are rather surprised by its briefness, since it was in the 20th century that millions of women could achieve what even in the middle of the 19th century seemed an unrealistic dream, but it was also then that women (as well as men) faced new existential problems that were frequently impossible to settle. In one short chapter it is difficult to illustrate even most generally the tide that granted women equal political rights after 1918, the reaction of dictatorial countries to new social trends, new women's movements and contemporary feminism, new legal and social regulations, favourable to women in democratic countries and consolidated in international pacts and agreements, the presence of women in literature, science, politics, but also among terrorists, and lately also among the Protestant clergymen. In fact we are no longer surprised to see women as premiers, ministers, political activists etc.; it should be noted, however, that women frequently hold the positions of prime ministers precisely in those countries where the status of females in everyday life is far from being equal. So we should not attach too much importance to the long list of women in the positions of leaders as long as this fact does not reflect everyday social reality.

One paragraph only has been devoted to the transformations in sexual life, while family matters, so topical today, have been almost completely omitted, just as the demographic questions. Certainly, nobody would be able to comprise these issues in a few synthetic sentences, so this cannot be required from the author either.

The extra-European context is the title of the last chapter which informs us mainly of abuses and crimes against women in the Islamic world, which, on the other hand, can boast of many female political activists (Pakistan, Indonesia); we can also see some rays of sunshine that brighten this dark background, that is the progress of education and the struggle for equal rights for women. We are struck by the fact that the United States have not been included in the extra-European context, which suggests that the problems of women there are like those in Europe. The difference between these two territories deserves, however, a separate discussion.

On this occasion one should try to realise what the author understands as the "European context". She follows in this respect the majority of western literature, for which Europe is mainly the western part of our Continental peninsula. Central-Eastern Europe appears in such a vision only from time to time and Poland lies certainly on the outskirts of Europe. Byzantium, the Eastern-Christian, Orthodox world appears very seldom, only when Russia seems to be part of Europe, e.g. under Catherine II or Nicholas I — the dean of the old order of European monarchs — and some of his successors. It cannot be expected of the author, however, to give a detailed account of the culturally and politically separate realities of Eastern Europe reaching up to the Ural, and perhaps (later) to Kamchatka, or of the Balkan countries under the influence of Constantinople, or even later, under the yoke of Istanbul. So I do not blame her for this limitation, even more so since the impulses to the change of the situation of women in Europe did not come from this direction.

The author closes her exposition with the following sentence: "We are well on the way towards such an organization of social life where the existence of a human person will not be determined by his or her sex, but by their personalities, talents and activeness"²¹. We can understand the author's intentions, but can the personality of an individual be separated from a certain dose of determination that appoints to males or females their social roles, even if only because of their biological differences? This is the essence of the women's (or male-female, or consequently the males') question of our times and we lack solutions that would satisfy everybody. Certainly, they cannot be provided by the book under consideration, which is a historical work.

I appraise it highly for many reasons. It is an attempt at a synthetic presentation very difficult to accomplish for a historian, since it must embrace the whole expanse of history. It is written so as to attract both scholars and other intelligent readers. It presents the recent achievements in this field which invalidate many stereotypes, so far current also in the thinking of the educated stratum, including humanists. The majority of its statements and information present the contemporary state of knowledge of this subject. The polemic remarks of the present reviewer concern rather a few general statements, which could be formulated more cautiously, the over-pessimistic view of the earlier times, and the lack of due proportion in the exposition of the subject in various periods. These remarks do not undermine the reliability of the total construction of this work. We should express our thanks to the author for this interesting and well-written book.

Janusz Żarnowski

"Przegląd Historyczny" ("Historical Review") (Warszawa), vol. XCVI, № 2, Warszawa 2005, 351 pp., sum. in English.

The second number of the 96th volume of "Przegląd Historyczny" is devoted to the memory of the late Professor Antoni Mączak. The issue opens with a short memoir by Andrzej Wyrobisz who outlines the deceased historian's contribution to Polish and world science and mentions his most important publications and scholarly projects.

In addition to Mączak's article (*Self-Government Institutions in the Commonwealth*, pp. 169–194) the issue contains studies by Henryk Samsonowicz, Peter Burke, Geoffrey Parker, Jakub Goldberg, Wojciech Tygielski, Anna Michałowska, Igor Kąkolewski and Michał Kopczyński.

In a short essay (*Marian Małowist's Seminar*, pp. 195–204) Henryk Samsonowicz portrays Professor Marian Małowist and the seminar he conducted in 1946–1988. Its meetings were attended, among others, by Antoni Mączak and students who later became Poland's most prominent historians, such as Maria Bogucka, Benedykt Zientara and Danuta Mołenda. The seminar, which focused on economic history, was not a completely new idea in the history of Warsaw University but it became a unique experience thanks to Małowist's personality. In addition to strong discipline, a critical approach to all authorities, and stress on comparative historical studies, the author singles out five principles which governed the seminar: (1) an objective truth exists, (2) in research, sources must have priority over literature dealing with the subject, (3) sources should be interpreted in a broad context, (4) economic history is a key to general history which (5) "like the French Republic /is/ one and indivisible".

Peter Burke (*Cultural Frontiers of Early Modern Europe*, pp. 205–216) discusses the cultural frontiers in early modern Europe. The author presents the latest research on the notion of frontier and shows its development since the foundation of nation states, from the zonal to the linear concept. In the case of cultural frontiers, Burke distinguishes objective approaches (research into lan-

²¹ M. Bogucka, *Gorsza pleć*, p. 349.

guage, literacy, level of publishing) from subjective ones which concentrate on seemingly insignificant but in fact essential matters, responsible for the appearance of "a narcissism of small differences". In Europe, both real frontiers, such as seas, rivers and mountains, as well as symbolic ones defined by language or religion functioned as cultural barriers. In this world of frontiers a particularly important role was played by the peripheral venues of meetings and exchange which, paradoxically, played as a result an extremely important role in the development of European culture. In conclusion the author reflects on differences and divisions inside Europe and stresses the importance of Maćzak's research for comparative studies in this field.

In an intriguing and provocative article (*From the House of Orange to the Bushes' House; Four Hundred Years of "Military Revolution"*, pp. 217–243) Geoffrey Parker presents the question of military revolutions in the history of Europe. He compares the discovery of continuous fire made in the Netherlands and Japan at the end of the 16th century with the introduction of new military technologies at the end of the 20th century. In the case of the Netherlands, he stresses the role of classical erudition and of Justus Lipsius's knowledge, saying that this inspired the new technologies which were then exported from the United Provinces to other corners of Europe through publications and by officers trained at the Siegen Academy. This openness existed in science until the 20th century because research was very costly and complex and required the cooperation of many people. It was only in the 20th century that technological progress became a closely guarded secret. The author says that an analysis of military revolutions shows that (1) the results of a revolution do not come at once, (2) outside experts are needed to put them into effect, and (3) civilians' intervention is needed to make their use reliable.

Jakub Goldberg discusses Jewish travels in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the neighbouring countries (*Jews on Polish and Foreign Highways in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 245–256). He says that the mobility of members of this group was due not only to their professional (trade or legal) activity but also to their education. Mobility was sometimes difficult to reconcile with religious instructions, e.g. the ban on using transport means on Saturdays and holy days. The author makes use of three 18th century diaries which give an interesting insight into the Jews' everyday life during their travels. Goldberg's essay is followed by Anna Michałowska's study on *Elites in Jewish Communes in the Commonwealth in the 16th–18th Centuries* (pp. 257–284).

In an article *From Italy towards the Commonwealth* (pp. 285–304) Wojciech Tygielski reconstructs the reasons for the Italians' migrations to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the basis of literature dealing with this subject. Individual factors predominated and search for employment and a better life played an important role. Tygielski also examines the sources of the Italians' knowledge of Poland by analysing selected Italian relations and shows to what extent the Italians' image of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was influenced by the Poles visiting in Italy at that time.

Igor Kałolewski presents the history of the metaphor of the prince as a simulator (*In Search of a "Machiavellian Moment". The Metaphor of the Prince as a Great Simulator and Actor in Niccolò Machiavelli and Thomas More*, pp. 305–325). The expression, linked to the metaphor of the theatre world, can be found first and foremost in Machiavelli but it also exists in the works of Thomas More and Erasmus of Rotterdam. According to the author, the presence of this metaphor testifies to a peculiar perception of the world of politics, but its contemporary interpretations are subject to presentationism.

Michał Kopczyński goes beyond the early modern period in his article' and discusses the height of recruits and conscripts in the last few years of the Polish Kingdom (*The Role of the Secular and Social Trends in the Size of Recruits from the Polish Kingdom in 1874–1913*, pp. 327–337). In the 30 years analysed by the author the recruits grew in height by an average of 0.77 centimetres (up to

1912) or by 0.54 cm (up to 1913). According to the author this growth in the recruits' stature was not caused by biological factors but by improvement in living standards, especially by a better diet. The changes differed, depending on the recruits' social class. The secular trend was not noticed among noblemen, who were higher than members of other social groups, and among Jews, the smallest recruits. The highest growth could be noted among townsmen and peasants (also illiterate ones).

This collection of articles devoted to Antoni Mączak illustrates the extremely broad range of his interests and the importance of his research for Polish and European historiography. There is not a shadow of a doubt that historians will for a long time draw inspiration from Professor Mączak's works.

Maciej Ptaszyński

William Urban, *The Teutonic Knights. A Military History*, Greenhill Books, London 2003, XIII, 290 pp., bibliography, indexes of persons and places.

William Urban is a well-known American historian, many times awarded for his rich scholarly and literary output. He obtained his doctorate at the University of Texas (Austin). He is a professor of history and international studies at Monmouth College, Illinois, and specializes in the history of the Baltic area in the Middle Ages, especially that of Livonia and Prussia. He contributes his works among other publications to the "Journal of Baltic Studies". So far, in co-operation with Jerry C. Smith, he has published Livonian chronicles (*The Chronicle of Balthasar Russow and a forthright rebuttal by Elert Kruse and errors and mistakes of Balthasar Russow by Heinrich Tisenhausen*, trans. Terry C. Smith with the Collaboration of Juergen Eichhoff and William L. Urban, Madison, Wisconsin 1988, Baltic Studies Center, XXVIII, 308 pp., maps). He also published a monograph devoted to the Battle of Grunwald (*Tannenberg and After: Lithuania, Poland and the Teutonic Order in Search of Immortality*, Chicago 2002). He devotes many studies to the revision of facts and interpretation of events from the history of the conquests and Christianization of Prussia and Livonia.

The monograph under review is not encumbered by an excessively rich scholarly apparatus. Designed for the wider public, it is written clearly and in an accessible way. It can be compared to Karol Górski's book *L'Ordine Teutonico. Alle origini dello stato prussiano*, Torino 1971, with the reservation that the latter represents a higher level of erudition. Such works certainly perform a significant role, since they present the results of both analytic and general studies to a wider public. W. Urban's book is the crowning of his 40-year fascination by the history of the Teutonic Order mainly in Prussia and Livonia conceived as an important chapter of the epos of the crusades. It should be emphasized that this is the first English-language monograph devoted to the military activity of the Teutonic Order. In twelve chapters W. Urban presents a fascinating history of the Knights and their Order, drawing attention to the source of its military successes and the growth of its power. He shows in an accessible but very interesting way, the successive stages of the history of the Teutonic Knights from the Order's foundation in the Holy Land and its role as a hospital at that time, and later its military role, through the Hungarian episode, the struggle of the Knights against pagan Prussia, the encounter with Prince of Novgorod Alexander Nevski near Lake Peipus (5 April 1242) as well as a series of wars against Poland and Lithuania. The last three chapters are devoted to describing the political background of the Great War of 1409–1411 and the later gradual stagnation of the Teutonic state, followed by its downfall first in Prussia, then in Livonia in the 16th century. Through the prism of the existence and activity of the Knights the American historian presents in an accessible way an important part of the history of Central-Eastern Europe, especially of Prussia and Livonia. The monograph is provided with an introduction, conclusion, short biographies of the outstanding figures in the history of the

Order and a list of all the Grand Masters until 1525. The bibliography contains the list of historical sources in English translation, the editions of sources in original languages (among the Polish sources there is *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum*, Jan Długosz's *Chronicle* and sources contained in the sixth volume of *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*), and secondary literature in various languages, that in English being presented separately. In those lists which, because of the type of this publication, cannot aspire to completeness, there are some works in Polish. But not too many. Apart from the above-mentioned monograph by Karol Górski (in Italian) we may find Marian Biskup and Gerard Labuda's *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach* (*The History of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*); S. Kuczyński's *Spór o Grunwald* (*The Controversy Over Tannenberg*); and H. Łowmiański's *Studia nad dziejami Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* (*Studies in the History of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*). A noteworthy aspect of the book is that it makes use of many works on the history of the Order written in recent years not only in the USA, but also in England, and even in Australia. This is a result of the fascination of many authors and readers for this subject. The content of these works deserves more detailed analysis; a separate, extensive and interesting study could give an answer to the question what picture of the Order they offer. Part of this answer is provided by the book of W. Urban who points out in the *Introduction* that the history of the Order in Prussia and Livonia in the context of the crusades is a kind of discovery for the English-speaking reader, who used to confine the geographical area of these expeditions exclusively to the Holy Land. After the long Cold War, when military history was not a favoured area of study, a period of complete openness followed, which not only allows scholars to travel and visit the places so far known only from history text-books, but also gives them access to new, earlier unknown sources and literature. Still, the historians of the Middle Ages from English-speaking countries interested in the political and military history of the Order, who have encountered various obstacles in the by-gone decades, continue to come up against various barriers connected with the specificity of the sources and literature written in various languages indispensable to the study of the history of the Baltic area and Central-Eastern Europe.

To make a more detailed assessment of W. Urban's work I have to say that the reader must be prepared for a certain surprise. The title indicates that the author will place the main emphasis on the military history of the Teutonic Order, while in fact we get an impression that he is mainly preoccupied with its political history, and military history is to him of secondary importance. Certainly, both issues are closely interrelated, but in a new edition it would be better to change the subtitle into: *A political and military history*. Another general objection is that the author places emphasis mainly on the 13th, and to a certain extent on the 14th centuries, while he underestimates the later times. Only the Battle of Tannenberg focusses his attention due to this significant event. The other wars of the first half of the 15th century have not been mentioned at all, and, what is more important, the treatment of the Thirteen Years' war of 1454–1466 is definitely too brief. As a result, about 60% of the book is devoted to earlier problems, mainly connected with the long battles against the pagan tribes in Prussia and Livonia. Such placing of the emphasis certainly results from the author's own, deeper studies of these problems, since, as I have already said, they have been the centre of his interest for 40 years.

What may arouse some criticism of professional researchers in W. Urban's writings are his many digressions, and interpretations finding no basis in the sources, most frequently of a psychological nature. Some formulations may arouse doubt, but — it seems — they help to present the subject more clearly.

As a professional historian, the author certainly had the ambition to write a true history of the Teutonic Order. The Brethren, not free of weaknesses, have been presented by him as self-sacrificing, valiant and heroic executors of the idea of the crusade. W. Urban tries to convince the reader that the Order did not exist

in a political vacuum. The whole of Northern and Central-Eastern Europe was the scene of intrigues, and the Knights constituted one of the parties of continual conflict. W. Urban has given an exhaustive description of the political context of the action of Christianization in Prussia, Livonia and Lithuania. The Order, in his opinion, was not worse than its other contemporaries, and sometimes even more civilized and humane. This position of the author may arouse controversy in Poland and Lithuania, especially in the context of the opinions voiced in the fine, popular-scientific and even scholarly literature both of the 19th and the 20th centuries. This literature is in a large measure the basis of the former and present historical consciousness in those countries. W. Urban's writings, including the work under review, certainly express his deep fascination for the history of the Teutonic Knights, so deep that he becomes a kind of apologist of this Order which through its activity influenced the shaping of the eastern borderland of Latin Europe, and transferred to this part of the Continent the values of its culture. So little wonder that the author becomes a defender of the Teutonic Order against the attacks of its earlier and more recent enemies or critics. It seems, however, that an analysis and interpretation, to be truly scholarly and objective, must present to some extent also the justified arguments of the other side, which cannot always be discarded as anachronistic, unjustified or ahistorical. This concerns above all the Polish-Teutonic contest during the Council of Constance and the conciliatory settlement of the suits by the court of the German King Sigismund of Luxemburg. It also should be regretted that the author failed to outline and refer to the so-called historiographical traditions (H. B o o c k m a n n), mainly Polish and German, which differed in their opinions of the military conquests of the Order and in its general appraisal. The author also seems not to have noticed the rich crop of the cycle of international scholarly conferences entitled *Ordines Militares*, organized for the last 20 years in Torun.

Among other details to be pointed out is the inconsistency in the rendition of the names of Polish rulers. Some critical remarks may also concern a few of the maps included in the monograph. In the map presenting the campaign of 1410 (p. 201) the name Dzewa River should be corrected into Drwęca River. Czersk Mazovia has been mistakenly called Mazovia Czerski (p. 58). The name West Prussia used for Gdansk Pomerania also cannot be accepted as correct, since it is ahistorical. The lack of the eastern boundary of Mazovia (p. 201) misleads the reader who either situates it south of the Vistula (as other maps suggest) or must treat the Mazovian Duchies as part of Poland. Besides, the maps included in the monograph seem not to be correlated with the text. Some minor objections may concern the inconsistency in the spelling of Polish towns (in one place we find the correct form of the town of Płock, in another the town of Dobrzyn is rendered as Drobín). The author does not distinguish between the names Władysław and Waclaw, each time rendering them as Ladislao (Ladislaus), which is outrageous, e.g. in the case of Władysław Łokietek (Ladislaus the Short) and Waclaw (Venceslaus) of Płock. His insufficient knowledge also comes to the surface when he says (p. 50) that the famous Gniezno Doors had been dedicated to St. Waclaw. Careless proof-reading is probably responsible for more inadequacies or mistakes. For example the Duke Boleslaus the Curly should not be called a king, Vogelsang, actually situated on the opposite bank of the Vistula to Torun, should not be placed in Mazovia (unless the author has in mind the administrative district it belonged to), and there is a mistake in the date of the First Peace of Torun — 1422 (p. 229) — the right one is 1411.

To sum up, W. Urban's new book may be recommended to English-speaking readers who want to acquire a better knowledge of the history of the Teutonic Order. Some of them, in particular those specializing in history of wars, interested only in its military aspect, will certainly stay with an unsatisfied feeling. They will not find in the book any deep analysis of the structure of the military potential of the Order, and especially such an important element of its power as fortified Teutonic castles. Nor will they learn anything about the military service of the

Knights as a consequence of the land grants on the basis of the law of Chelmno (*Ius Culmense*) or about the defensive systems of Prussian towns. The omission of the wars of the first half of the 15th century is also a significant defect. We may only hope that the above-mentioned shortcomings will be corrected in the next editions of the book, which will certainly see many republications in the years to come.

Wiesław Sieradzki

Männlichkeit im Blick. Visuelle Inszenierungen in der Kunst seit der Frühen Neuzeit, ed. Mechthild Fend and Marianne Koos, Böhlau Verlag, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2004, 274 pp., 83 illustrations.

Quite recently, in connection with the development of gender studies, there appeared in Western-European historiography a new trend of research devoted especially to males and their role in society (men's studies, *Männlichkeitsforschung*). They are a kind of counterpart to the already well-known feminist studies. The book under consideration is connected precisely with this trend¹. The dissertations it contains, written by four male and nine female authors, are a result of the symposium *Zur Repräsentation von Männlichkeit in der Kunst und in den visuellen Medien*, organized at the Goethe-Universität in Frankfurt am Main in 2000. The studies are devoted to the representations of men in the visual arts (mainly painting, but also sculpture, photography, even in body art) of early modern Europe and America. But they focus almost exclusively on the representations of nude epebes and handsome effeminate youths, even though modern art is dominated by the figures of mature men, muscular athletes, statesmen, scholars and scientists, and distinguished old men. The reason for the above selection is not clear. The editors of the volume, Mechthild Fend and Marianne Koos explain that the authors were inspired not only by gender and feminist studies, but also by queer and gay studies as well as the works by James M. Saslow and Andreas Sternweiler about homoeroticism in Renaissance art and the dissertations about the medieval church paintings pervaded by eroticism (or downright pornography), presenting the scenes of the martyrdom of the saints (p. 7)². Hence the volume under discussion brings out the problems of homoeroticism and homosexuality, revealed in the titles of the following dissertations: *Ist Endymion Schwul?*, *Politik und der homosoziale Blick*, *Homosexuelle Identitäten? Zur Sodomitie in der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaft Venedigs*, *Ein Heiliger der Sodomiten?*, *Narzissmus in der homoerotischen Kultur und in der Theorie Freuds*. In the notes we find references to many works on the history of homosexuality. Unfortunately, this does not mean that the authors know exactly what homosexuality signifies and what was the position of homosexuals in society in various epochs. Hence there are many misunderstandings. We are not surprised, therefore, that one of the co-authors, Abigail Solomon-Godeau, had been accused of homophobia by the reviewers of her earlier work (*Male Troubles. A Crisis in Representation*, London 1997), despite her protestations that she had always fought both against misogyny and homophobia. But when you take up combat you should know precisely whom you want to fight against and who is your ally, otherwise new misunderstandings and conflicts are unavoidable.

¹ The first note provides reference to two important reviews of research into this subject: I. Stephan, *Im toten Winkel. Die Neuentdeckung des 'ersten Geschlechts' durch man's studies und Männlichkeitsforschung*, in: C. Benthien, I. Stephan, *Männlichkeit als Maskerade. Kulturelle Inszenierungen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Köln 2003, pp. 11–35; publications on that subject "Männerbilder und Männlichkeitskonstruktionen", "Zeitschrift für Germanistik" N. F. XII, 2002, fasc. 2, pp. 358–369.

² J. M. Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance. Homosexuality in Art and Society*, New Haven-London 1986; A. Sternweiler, *Die Lust der Götter. Homosexualität in der Italienischen Kunst von Donatello zu Caravaggio*, Berlin 1993; *Ikonen des Begehrens*, ed. G. Härlle, W. Popp, A. Runte, Stuttgart 1997.

In fact, the spread of homosexuality cannot be treated as the only reason for the appearance of a crowd of beautiful nude ephebes and handsome youths with effeminate features in early modern European art. It was not a disease and did not spread like an epidemic of syphilis. It always and everywhere appeared, more or less, with the same intensity³, only the attitude of societies to the homosexuals changed, hence their notoriety was greater or smaller. The presumption (based on the superficial knowledge of works on the history of homosexuality) that Florence and Venice were special agglomerations of homosexuals in the 15th century, is wrong. In fact, in the 15th century there was a very intensive persecution of sodomites in both these cities, which produced an abundant court and police documentation, which, in turn, became an excellent basis for historical studies⁴. The reasons for the appearance of a multitude of homoerotic images of men in the Florentine and Venetian painting and sculpture of the Renaissance era should be sought elsewhere.

A new wave of repressions against homosexuals came in the 17th century with the onset of, especially the French, absolutism⁵. It may seem surprising, since we remember that some monarchs who followed an absolutist policy were homosexuals themselves (James I in England, Louis XIII in France, Frederick II in Prussia) and homosexuals played a considerable role in the elites and clientage correlations in the courts of that era⁶. However, it was then that the interest of painters and sculptors in homoerotic motifs clearly weakened (a fact stated by Klaus Herding in his dissertation on the sculpture of Pierre Puget, pp. 137–159). The sexuality of motifs and heroes, which in Renaissance art was marked by homoeroticism, was then neutralized. In 17th century paintings Ganymede, the lover of Zeus and symbol of homosexual love, was presented as an innocent boy, a soul flying to God (on an eagle's wings, not in his embrace), or outright as a representative of heterosexual family life. This was typical not only of Florence and Catholic Flanders, but also of Calvinist Holland and Anglican England⁷.

To develop freely, gay life had to wait until the libertine 18th century. There were many homosexual clubs in big cities at that time, called in Paris *sociétés d'amours*, in London *Molly houses* and in Amsterdam *lothuysen*⁸. This was not tantamount, however, to the end of repressions against homosexuals. Neither did

³ Cf. F. L. Whitam, *Culturally Invariable Properties of Male Homosexuality: Tentative Conclusions from Cross-Cultural Research*, "Archives of Sexual Behavior" XII, 1983, N° 3, pp. 213–217.

⁴ Suffice it to read carefully R. Canosa's book, *Storia di una grande paura. La sodomia a Firenze e a Venezia nel Quattrocento*, Milano 1991. Cf. A. Wyrobisz, *Sodoma i Gomora we wczesnonieoarskiej Florencji (Sodom and Gomorrah in Early-Renaissance Florence)*, "Przełęcz Historyczny" LXXXVIII, 1997, fasc. 1, pp. 146–147; idem, "The Great Fear" in Venice and Florence in the 15th century and its possible causes, "Acta Poloniae Historica" XCIII, 2006, pp. 55–67.

⁵ M. Lever, *Les bûchers de Sodome*, Paris 1985, pp. 193–201, 262–267; M. Daniel, *A Study of Homosexuality in France during the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV*, "Homophile Studies: One Institute Quarterly" IV, 1967, N° 3, pp. 77–93; N° 4, pp. 127–138 (reprint from "Arcadie" 1956–1957); C. Bingham, *Seventeenth-Century Attitudes Toward Deviant Sex*, "Journal of Interdisciplinary History" I, 1971, N° 3, pp. 447–472.

⁶ R. Oresko, *Homosexuality and the Court Elites of Early Modern France. Some Problems, Some Suggestions and an Example*, in: *The Pursuit of Sodomy. Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, ed. K. Gerard, G. Hekma, New York-London 1988, pp. 105–128.

⁷ J. M. Saslow, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–196.

⁸ Many works on that subject (A. Bray, D. A. Coward, A. Delon, A. H. von Römer, G. S. Rousseau), have not been cited by the authors of the volume under discussion. Cf. especially: R. Trumbach, *Sodomitical Subcultures, Sodomitical Roles and the Gender Revolution of the Eighteenth Century: The Recent Historiography*, in: "Tis Nature's Fault. Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment", ed. R. P. Maccubbin, Cambridge 1985, pp. 109–121; R. Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House. The Gay Subculture in England 1700–1830*, London 1992.

it bring a new wave of homoeroticism in art, comparable to the Renaissance period. The lyrical representations of handsome young men with girls' features, encountered in the painting and sculpture of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, should rather be associated with sentimentalism and the awakening Romanticism. The latter, though it was inclined to express the most intimate and subtle human feelings, did not bring about the development of gay culture, either⁹. The course of culture went in the direction of Victorian prudery and the trial of Oscar Wilde. The social situation, the consolidation of capitalist relations and the bourgeois morality based on them, once again got the upper hand of human nature and sentiment.

It will be hard to prove the fact of direct connection between the intensity of gay life and the appearance of homoerotic images in art.

In the publication under discussion Daniela Bohde deals with the images of St. Sebastian in the Italian Renaissance painting (pp. 79–98). He was there most frequently (but not always!) presented as a beautiful nude youth, in contradiction to the medieval tradition, the surviving hagiographic records and the commandments of the Church, which advised to present this saint as an elderly Roman officer. The author gave her dissertation the title: *Ein Heiliger der Sodomitent?*, providing it with a rhetorical query. However, she has not discovered any evidence to show that he was treated in this way in the Renaissance era. St. Sebastian became the idol of homosexuals only in the 19th and 20th centuries and this cult reached its height in Derek Jarman's film "Sebastiane" of 1975, presenting this hero in a way that was absolutely unconcerned with historical testimonies or likelihood (p. 88; there is a reference here to Richard A. Kaye's article *Losing his religion. Saint Sebastian as contemporary gay martyr*, in: *Outlooks. Lesbian and gay sexualities and visual cultures*, ed. P. Horne, R. Lewis, London–New York 1996). Previously St. Sebastian had been worshipped as "the plague's patron", a saint who rescues people from the plague. In fact the cult of St. Sebastian as "the plague's patron" arose in the Early Middle Ages and flourished throughout the Middle Ages and modern times up till the 17th century inclusive (later too, but its scope was more limited). The most ancient of the known images of St. Sebastian is the Byzantine mosaic of the end of the 7th century in S. Pietro in Vincoli Church in Rome, executed probably on the initiative of Pope Agathon as a votive offering for the rescue of Rome from the plague that visited this city in 680¹⁰. One may wonder why the author, while emphasizing the role of the cult of St. Sebastian as "the plague's patron" did not even mention the fresco made by Benozzo Gozzoli, a well-known and highly-regarded, though not a first rate Florentine painter, in S. Agostino Church in San Gimignano in 1464. Indeed, this is perhaps the most expressive of all the representations of St. Sebastian as "the plague's patron": young, but fully dressed Sebastian, crushes the arrows — the symbols of the plague — which, on God's order, are shot by the angels at the inhabitants of San Gimignano¹¹. However, the cult of St. Sebastian as defender against the plague explains in no way why since the 15th century he has been represented as a nude youth; other "patrons of the plague", e.g. St. Roch, had never been presented in the nude. The explanation should be sought elsewhere, however, not necessarily in the sphere of homoerotic associations.

The nude young St. Sebastian impersonated in the first place the model of beauty sought by the Renaissance artists which they saw in the proportions of human body. For this reason, perhaps, some of them painted the portraits of young men "as St. Sebastian" (Giorgione, Agnolo Bronzino, Bernardino Luini), because they wanted to raise the rank of their models. But St. Sebastian was

⁹ Cf. L. Crompton, *Byron and Greek Love: Homophobia in 19th Century England*, Berkeley 1985; J. Zieliński, *Szataniol. Powikłane życie Juliusza Słowackiego (Angel or Devil? The Complicated Life of Juliusz Słowacki)*, Warszawa 2000.

¹⁰ L. Gunlon, *Rome's Historic Churches*, London 1969, p. 33.

¹¹ M. Lagaisse, *Benozzo Gozzoli. Les traditions renaissance et les tendances nouvelles chez un peintre Florentin du Quattrocento*, Paris 1934, p. 41.

also "a Christian Apollo", sought by the Renaissance artists and philosophers (Erasmus, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Domenico Ghirlandajo) as a link between pagan antiquity and Christianity¹². The ideal beauty of the Renaissance Madonnas also bear reference to the beauty of Venus, of course without any erotic associations. They also express the perfect love of God who — as the philosophers of the Italian Renaissance, referring to Plato, contended — makes himself known only through the beauty of human body. Hence there is only one step from this to the apology of homosexual love¹³.

St. Sebastian certainly could not be and was not worshipped as the saint of the sodomites. Still, eroticism emanated from his images as a nude youth. An extreme example of this is St. Sebastian painted by Antonio Bazzi nicknamed Sodomita, not mentioned by the author at all, defined by some art historians as an "unbridled ephebe" (St. Sebastian's penis in erection in Jacopo de Barbari's copperplate of 1510 is only the product of the author's imagination). Hence, his images could be received as a *sui generis* homosexual pornography. The scenes of the martyrdom of the saints, so numerous in medieval and early modern Church painting, also performed the functions of pornography — in its sadistic version. This depended only on their interpretation by the viewers.

We should also recall what the author has completely forgotten, that there were many images of St. Sebastian dressed with refinement, as well as his representations not as an ephebe, but an athletic hero (all the pictures by Mantegna, Titian's St. Sebastian from Averoldi's polyptych in SS. Nazaro e Celso Church in Brescia, reproduced, however, in Bohde's article).

Another hero whose image in art underwent change in the 15th century was the biblical David — the vanquisher of Goliath. Previously always presented in clothes, in accordance with the *Old Testament* morality that did not allow nakedness, in the 15th century he started to appear naked. The first image of the nude young David was the bronze sculpture by Donatello, exhibited probably as early as 1466 in the courtyard of the Medici Palace in Florence, and after the abolition of this family's rule transferred in 1495 to the courtyard of Palazzo Vecchio, the seat of the municipalities. Donatello's sculpture is discussed by Adrian W. B. Randolph (pp. 35–51) who points out many ways in which it can be received and interpreted. Doubtless the homoerotic character of this sculpture (some art historians even tried to interpret it as Ganymede, considered to be the symbol of homosexual love) should be associated with the fact that Donatello was probably a homosexual himself, that in the surroundings of the Medici there were many homosexuals treated by them with much friendliness and that gay life, despite sharp repressions, flourished in Florence at that time (the situation described by Michael Rocke)¹⁴. But I think that behind such a presentation of the biblical hero there were many other reasons, the same that we discussed in the case of St. Sebastian. Moreover, Donatello's bronze David could also be seen as an expression of various political and social tendencies, sometimes opposed to one another, a simultaneous personification of power and powerlessness, monarchic ideas and republican virtues, depending on who looked at him¹⁵. Therefore he could stand in the courtyard of the Medici Palace, and later of Palazzo Vecchio.

¹² Cf. W. Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, London 1922; A. Chastel, *Pic de la Mirandole et l'Heptaplastus*, "Cahiers d'Hermès" II, 1947; idem, *Art et humanisme à Florence aux temps de Laurent le Magnifique. Etudes sur la Renaissance et l'Humanisme Platonicien*, Paris 1959, pp. 37, 85–86, 165, 242; R. G. Kecks, *Domenico Ghirlandajo und die Malerei der Florentiner Renaissance*, München–Berlin 2000, pp. 273–275.

¹³ V. L. Bulough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History*, New York 1976, pp. 415–416; G. Dall'Orto, "Socratic Love" as a Disguise for Same-Sex Love in the Italian Renaissance, in: *The Pursuit of Sodomy*, pp. 36–39.

¹⁴ M. Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships. Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence*, New York–Oxford 1996.

¹⁵ Cf. V. Herzner, *David Florentinus*, "Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen" XXIV, 1982, pp. 63–142; A. Sternweiler, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–38.

The author, however, does not say whether Donatello's youthful subtle David personified manliness in Florentine eyes. Or was it rather the impression given by the athletic marble David, sculpted by Michelangelo in 1501-1504? Michelangelo's David also had some homoerotic features and also was to symbolize the fight for republican ideals and urban freedoms. He certainly could not be interpreted, however, as the personification of weakness. But Randolph devotes merely a few words to Michelangelo's sculpture.

Marianne Kooß discusses the lyrical portraits of men in the Venetian painting of the beginning of the 16th century (Giorgione — Titian). In her dissertation (pp. 53-77) she rightly points out one more reason for the spread of the image of handsome effeminate young men, lost in thought, in portrait painting. This was the then current interest in lyrical poetry, the great popularity of love poems, testified e.g. by the publication and wide distribution of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* by the Venetian man of letters, Pietro Bembo in 1501 (p. 68). Another factor was the interest in nature and the popularity of romantic landscapes (for example in Giorgione's paintings, p. 72). Lyrical portraits presented a contrast to the traditional patrician identity of the Venetians, so perhaps they might express social defiance?

Victoria von Flemming analyses three works of art: Michelangelo's "Victory", Carravaggio's "Amor terreno" and Guido Reni's "Heavenly and Earthly Amors" (pp. 99-119). She says they were all metaphors of love in the neo-Platonian understanding, or more strictly speaking: they expressed the relationship between two male lovers — the elder and the younger one. It is true that neo-Platonism was very popular in Italy at that time. Its influence on the whole oeuvre of Michelangelo was discussed by Erwin Panofsky as early as 1964. But again, we have to deal here not so much with the way of presenting men as with the homoerotic motifs in art. Let us put it openly: all the three artists discussed above were homosexuals and each presented his favourite type of sexual partner.

Thomas Röske is the author of the dissertation "*Liebende Knaben*" — *Zur Darstellung homosexueller Männer und Frauen in Werk von Christian Schad (Festschrift für Fritz Jacobs zum 60. Geburtstag, Münster 1996)*. Christian Schad lived between 1894-1982. Röske, evidently, specializes in the study of homoeroticism in art regardless of the era. Here he discusses the work of a Flemish Baroque painter Michael Sweerts (pp. 121-135). This artist, born in Brussels, who studied painting in Rome where he associated himself with the Bamboccianti group, spent the rest of his life in Brussels (apart from a short stay in Amsterdam), and finished his life in the Jesuit Portuguese colony in Goa (India). Despite his Italian education, he was a thoroughly Flemish painter, which, of course, found its expression in the way he presented men and selected his models as well as in his exposition of homoerotic motifs, much more discreet, than in the Italian painting. Röske has to admit that there is no historical evidence of Sweerts's homosexuality (in contrast to the biographies of Leonardo, Michelangelo or Caravaggio). It is here that one can see how the customs and cultural traditions of each society bore upon the attitude to homosexuals and on hiding or revealing this orientation, ever and everywhere present but treated in a different way.

A separate aspect of the images of men is transvestism. Barbara Lange discusses this problem on the basis of Jürgen Klauke's photographs (pp. 233-246). But this is not so much the matter of effeminate males as males turned into females.

Gustave Courbet's painting entitled "L'origine du monde", on the other hand, discussed by Linda Hentschel (pp. 199-212), has to be classified as vulgar female pornography. Executed in 1866, it probably suited the tastes of the Turkish diplomat who commissioned it, but this flagrant kitsch cannot be treated as a work of art in terms of European aesthetics, even if we take into consideration that it was painted by an outstanding artist who defied any previous artistic

canons and exhibited an inclination to naturalism. At any rate, it has nothing to do with the images of men.

Therefore, despite the numerous group of its male and female authors, its wide chronological framework, and the great diversity of the works and artists discussed — the book is a disappointment. Instead of the images of men in modern European art, the ways of viewing men by artists and the perception of their position in society promised by the title and expected by the reader, we get a review of homoerotic motifs and representations of beautiful ephebes and lyrical youths. This picture of man in art in clearly one-sided and therefore false. The mythical beautiful sleeping shepherd Endymion, whose name is placed in the title of the first dissertation of the volume, is an object of adoration and desire (both for men and women) but he is deprived of any responsible social role. Is this the essence of the concept of the whole work? This would be sexism *à rebours*.

Andrzej Wyrobisz

Studia z historii sztuki i kultury Gdańska i Europy Północnej. Prace poświęcone pamięci Doktor Katarzyny Cieślak (Studies in the History of Art and Culture in Gdańsk and Northern Europe, contributed in Memory of Doktor Katarzyna Cieślak), eds. Jacek Friedrich and Edmund Kizik, Gdańsk 2003, Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki Oddział Gdańsk, 456 pp.

Materials from an occasional or commemorative session seldom make a thematically and formally compact volume reflecting not only the state of research on a question but even the main idea of a meeting or a discussion. We are flooded with so many special publications that for objective reasons (the time spent on editing them, finances) or subjective ones (lack of a coherent, well thought-out concept) it is becoming increasingly difficult to find a commemorative book which by its scholarly level really pays tribute to the person it wants to honour.

The book we are reviewing here is an exception. The organisers of the conference and the editors of the book have managed to avoid randomness in the choice of texts and found a proper formula to commemorate the prematurely deceased Katarzyna Cieślak, an expert in early modern art and culture. A cursory glance at the volume might lead us to the conclusion that many synthesising articles, interspersed as they are with source references to the history of architecture, sculpture and painting in Northern Europe, are outside the general conception of the book. But a closer look will make it clear to a more discerning eye that the materials collected in the volume are an interesting attempt to illustrate the state and needs of research into Gdańsk's art and culture in comparison with Royal Prussia and the Duchy of Prussia.

The bibliography of the nearly 50 works by Katarzyna Cieślak is proof of her great contribution to this research and shows us that her death means a heavy loss to this research, which, nevertheless, must be continued. As the editors say, "the Gdańsk scholarly environment hoped that this research would be initiated by Katarzyna Cieślak but her tragic, premature death has greatly undermined their hopes."

The session organised in December 2000 by the Gdańsk branch of the Society of Art Historians and the Institute of History of Gdańsk University showed that many centres were continuing work on the question in which the deceased scholar was so interested. The volume contains 25 articles (of which 20 were read at the conference and five were sent in later) many of which can be regarded as symbolic (Jacek Tylicki, *Bartłomiej Mültwitz and Adolf Boy, addenda and corrigenda*¹, Marcin Wiślocki, *Protestant Epitaphs from the 16th–18th Centuries in the Churches of Greifswald, Stralsund and Szczecin*, and Arnold Bartetzky,

¹ Cf. K. Cieślak's first scholarly text *Malarz gdański Bartłomiej Mültwitz (The Gdańsk Painter Bartłomiej Mültwitz)*, Gdańskie Studia Muzealne, vol. 3: 1981, pp. 157–174.

*Between Imitation and Originality. Architecture in the North of Europe in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries and Its Masters. The Methodological Problems of the History of Art*²).

In the introductory article Maria Bogucka defines various categories of time known to people in the early modern era. She describes how time was subjugated by clockwork, by ever better mechanical instruments and by prognostic explanations and recalls the passing away of time which "seemingly subjugated by means of a mechanical clock, served a Gdańsk inhabitant as an instrument for organising his work and leisure and at the same time was his enemy on the philosophical-magical level, for it portended destruction: death, wars, disturbances, bad crops, pestilence"³. It is a pity that this synthesising macro study of time has not been placed next to Edmund Kizik's interesting study of a single case, the passing away of an individual. Making use of a posthumous inventory and a list of funeral costs of Melchior Fritsch, Kizik shows the end of biological time, the death of an old teacher in Gdańsk in 1699. Placed at the end of the volume, the text is lost for it loses contact with the more general reflections started by Bogucka (all the more so as Kizik does not confine himself to just one case but outlines the prospects for research on posthumous inventories and last wills).

The next articles have been arranged in chronological-thematic order and, on the whole, correspond to the order in which they were read at the conference. Antoni Romuald Chodyński interprets Martin Schoninck's painting "The Siege of Betulia", a picture commissioned by the Brotherhood of the Malbork Bench in 1536. Referring to Katarzyna Cieślak's conclusions, he says that the picture reflects Schoninck's Lutheran sympathies. This historical interpretation is supplemented by a study contributed by an art historian and conservator, Maria Sięnkowska, who points out that the picture can be properly understood only if successive renovation works are taken into consideration.

In her analysis of the iconographic and ideological content of the gallery of the founders and benefactors of Oliwa, Bogna Jakubowska returns to the controversial dating of this interesting figural cycle and to the chronicle *Tabulae fundatorum et benefactorum*. She points out the links between the successive phases of the chronicle and the implementation of the Cistercian artistic initiatives. The polemical tone of the article shows that the links between writings (*in scriptura* in the title of the article) and visual art (*in pictura*) is not only a research field for historians and art historians but also a living controversial question⁴.

The next detailed iconographic interpretations present the art of tile-making (Elżbieta and Edmund Kilariski, *Rulers' Effigies on Renaissance Stove Tiles*), posthumous portraits (Teresa Labuda, *Anton Moller's Portraits*), epitaphs and funeral art (Marcin Wiślocki, *Protestant Epitaphs from the 16th-18th Centuries in the Churches of Grejfwald, Stralsund and Szczecin*), Piotr Birecki, *The Epitaph of the von der Linde Family from Toruń-Gdańsk in St. Mary's Church in Toruń*, and Jerzy Kowalczyk, *Beata Hülchen's 1606 Tombstone in the Zamość Collegiate Church*). Although these texts raise detailed interpretative and methodological questions, they give readers an insight into the development of art in Gdańsk and Toruń. Though this need not have been intended, the choice of these

² Cf. K. Cieślak's excellent last study *Między Rzymem, Wittenbergą a Genewą. Sztuka Gdańska jako miasta podzielonego wyznantowo (Between Rome, Wittenberg and Geneva. The Art of Gdańsk, a Religiously Divided City)*, Wrocław 2000.

³ The question of time and space in old Polish culture has been discussed in an interesting study by J. Drob, *Trzy zegary. Obraz czasu i przestrzeni w polskich kazaniach barokowych (Three Clocks. The Picture of Time and Space in Polish Baroque Sermons)*, Lublin 1998.

⁴ The problem has been raised again in polemics between Bogna Jakubowska and Jarosław Wenta in the columns of "Zapiski Historyczne", cf. B. Jakubowska, *zum Dienste der Wahrheit...? O studiach Jarosława Wenty nad średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwem w Oliwie (Jarosław Wenta's Studies on Medieval History Writing in Oliwa)*, and J. Wenta, *Odpowiedź Bognie Jakubowskiej (Reply to Bogna Jakubowska)*, "Zapiski Historyczne", vol. 70: 2005, N° 1, pp. 81-104.

articles shows how important it is to be aware of the many contexts of a work of art, a talent which Katarzyna Cieślak undoubtedly had.

This remark can also apply to the historical reflections presented by Bogusław Dybaś (*Jakub von Kemphen /ca 1650–1704/. Contributory Text to an Engineer's Career in the 17th Century*) and Dariusz Kaczor (*Presentations of Executions and Places Where Justice was Administered in Gdańsk in the 17th Century. Contributory Text to the Town's Legal Iconography in Early Modern Times*). Although in the titles both authors modestly define their articles as contributory texts, Dybaś, starting from detailed biographical data, portrays the picture of a European engineer in the 17th century, and Kaczor, starting from pictures of executions, enters the broader field of legal iconography and topography in Gdańsk in the early modern era.

New interpretations of well known paintings are presented by Jan Harasimowicz (*A New Look at the Picture Daniel and King Cyrus before Baal's Monument by Bartłomiej Strobel the Younger in the National Museum in Warsaw*), Jacek Tylicki (*Bartłomiej Miltwitz and Adolf Boy: addenda et corrigenda*), and Beata Purc-Steppniak (*Still Life with Skull from the National Museum in Gdańsk. Research on the Symbolism of the Ball as "Vanitas"*). As we have mentioned above, Miltwitz was the subject of Katarzyna Cieślak's first scholarly treatise⁵.

The articles dealing with applied art in Gdańsk form a separate section. Michał Woźniak shows (referring to goldsmiths' works from Gdańsk and Toruń) that in the 17th century the goldsmiths' centres in Royal Prussia were closely linked with Dutch goldsmiths' workshops (*Netherlandic Elements in 17th Century Gdańsk Goldsmithery*). On the basis of materials from the State Archives in Gdańsk, Jacek Kriegseisen has discovered an unknown goldsmith from Gdańsk, Gottfried Winholdt. What is interesting is that the fate of this goldsmith who at the turn of the 17th century ran a not very lucrative workshop in Gdańsk shows that records can be more durable than goldsmiths' works. The only trace of goldsmiths' activity are sometimes not their works (which may have been sold, plundered or remodelled according to fashion) but archival materials.

Decorations on silverware, or, to be more exact, the Biblical themes in these decorations in the second half of the 17th century, are examined by Barbara Tuchołka-Włodarska. She points out that Protestant decorative art in the whole Baltic area used the same Biblical themes and says that as regards number and thematic diversity Gdańsk silverware far surpassed the silverware of Hamburg, Königsberg, Elbląg and Malbork. Abuse of allegory and excessively developed themes were banned, but the ban had a smaller impact on Gdańsk 17th century silverware.

The two texts by German historians are devoted to broader methodological reflections. Arnold Bartetzky from Leipzig criticises the frequently thoughtlessly used criterion of originality and innovation in the architectural forms of the early modern era. Patterns, engravings and architectural treatises were in mass circulation and provided an easily accessible source of inspiration. The author emphasises, and it would be difficult not to agree with him, that "A designer's task consisted to a lesser degree in inventing new architectural forms than in using well known models in various versions and skilful combinations" (p. 213). Ansgar Haller from Cologne presents a detailed analysis of the publications advertised in the columns of *Wöchentlichen Danziger Anzeigen und dienlichen Nachrichten*. The article raises the extremely interesting question of what is known as revolution in reading habits, a concept which in the past was developed in German historiography by Rolf Engelsing and is now being studied by French historians (especially the school of Roger Chartier). Haller's research confirms the general trends of changes in reading habits known from other regions of 18th century Europe. From the middle of the 18th century the increase in the number

⁵ K. Cieślak, *Malarz gdański*.

of published books was accompanied by a change in their quality. Whereas at the beginning of the 1760s the number of books on religious, historical, legal and political questions equalled that of light fiction, in the 1770s the latter category predominated. The question of changes in reading habits remains an open question, for an analysis of what was published does not solve the problem. Haller's article supplements the research conducted in Poland on book circulation in the 18th century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth⁶. The author himself has recently extended his research on reception of culture in the 18th century by including in it the results of book and press analyses⁷.

The last four studies go beyond the early modern era but the question of preservation of historical treasures, which they discuss, was a question in which Katarzyna Cieślak was also interested. Zbigniew Massowa depicts the ceremony of unveiling the bust of Jan Hevelius, founded by Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski on the centenary of the great astronomer's death. The royal gift is presented in the article not only as an interesting example of neo-classical art but also as proof of the activity of intellectuals in "the 'Gdańsk scientists' republic" at the end of the 18th century. The fate of Gdańsk's art treasures and the efforts to preserve them are presented by Ewa Barylewska-Szymańska (*The Work Conducted by the Associations for the Preservation of Art Treasures in Gdańsk and Lubeck in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*) and Jacek Bielak (*Gdańsk's Great Synagogue An der Rettbahn 11/13 in 1887-1939*).

Jacek Friedrich's article, the last in the volume, is a good summing up of the problems which confront scholars who are interested in the history of Gdańsk, Royal Prussia and Pomerania not only in the early modern era but also in later centuries. The scale of the problem is reflected in the plans for the reconstruction of Gdańsk after World War II. In their evaluation of phenomena, texts and works of art, historians, entangled in the myths of determinism and progress, have frequently separated them from their natural historical, social and cultural context. It is enough to recall that after World War II, when neo-classicism, manifested in the Łazienki Palace, was admired in Warsaw, a unique neo-classical theatre at the Coal Market was pulled down in Gdańsk.

A list of illustrations and a table of contents in German supplement the volume. Despite some misprints (especially in the English text) and the poor quality of some reproductions (in particular in the case of epitaphs) the editors deserve credit for their diligence.

Katarzyna Cieślak, who had devoted so much time to research into various commemorative forms in early modern art, has been commemorated in a wise and beautiful way thanks to the studies by her friends, colleagues and collaborators.

Stanisław Roszak

Hans-Joachim Müller, *Irenik als Kommunikationsreform. Das Colloquium Charitativum von Thorn 1645*, Göttingen 2004, Vandenhoeck-Ruprecht, 576 pp., Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck Instituts für Geschichte, Bd. 208.

The title of the book indicates that the history of Thorn's *Colloquium Charitativum* of 1645 and its theological background is examined by the author not so much as a problem of politics and of a society which, after years of struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, was looking for a better *modus vivendi* between Christian denominations, but first and foremost as the efforts of the theologians and publicists to find a new language of communication between these

⁶ Cf. the latest study on the role of books in the 18th century: I. Mańska, *Druk jako wielofunkcyjny środek przekazu w czasach saskich* (*Print as a Multifunctional Means of Communication in Saxon Times*), Toruń 2000.

⁷ A. Haller, *Die Ausformung von Öffentlichkeit in Danzig im 18. Jahrhundert bis zur zweiten Teilung Polens im Jahre 1793*, Hamburg 2005.

denominations. The optimists thought that this would open the way to the theological "Truth". This is why in the preface (p. 11) the author emphasises the role played by irenic theologians in the process of creating a language of dialogue, a language of "conversation": *Ihre Vorschläge und Praktiken zum Aufheben der Gegensätze zwischen den konkurrierenden Konfessionen bilden schliesslich die Grundlagen für die Kommunikationsreform der Aufklärung, die "Wahrheiten" im Prozess der gelehrten Kooperation und Kritik ermittelte*. In a way, this sentence expresses the conclusion of the monograph, but let us recall here that in its classical definition irenics was an aspiration manifested by conciliatory theologians (and politicians supporting them) to find a "consensus" between Christian denominations, a consensus based on mutual doctrinal concessions. However, this turned out to be extremely difficult, if not quite impossible, even in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with its tradition of the Sandomierz Agreement. The book we are reviewing here is an extensive monograph which raises different questions connected with the *Colloquium Charitativum*, which acquired fame all over Europe. But all these questions are presented within the framework of the now fashionable research on social communication. It is worth recalling that "social communication" is an ambiguous, unclear term: researchers have recently found as many as 211 attempts at its definition in the USA scientific literature alone¹. In his examination of the genesis of the official decisions and the political writings referring to the convocation of the Thorn meeting, its course and results, Hans J. Müller, a historian from Göttingen, underlines the forms and content of the attempted discussion held by representatives of Christian denominations². The attempts were engendered by the strong but short-lived trend of irenics in those years which, in my view, was to a large extent due to the painful experiences of the Thirty Years' War³.

The book is based on rich materials referring to religious tolerance in Europe and Poland, especially on materials depicting the irenic trends in the first half of the 17th century, that is polemical studies and proposals referring to the attitudes of Christian denominations in the search for "theological truths" which as a result of a dialogue between them would be acceptable by the sides taking part in the discussion. We know that the literature directly or indirectly connected with the "Thorn discussion" is rich and that the last few years have witnessed many general and contributory studies dealing with this question. Let us stress, however, that the author has used many new sources, especially the (controversial) theological literature of that time⁴ as well as many archival materials. It is worth stressing

¹ Cf. K. Maliszewski's remarks in *Komunikacja społeczna w kulturze staropolskiej. Studia z dziejów kształtowania się form i treści społecznego przekazu w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej (Social Communication in Old Polish Culture. Studies in the History of the Emergence of the Forms and Content of Social Information in the Noblemen's Republic)*, Toruń 2001, p. 8 ff. Müller has not used this work.

² The author examines the forms of the discussion, argumentation and polemics during, before and after the Thorn debates, going deeply into such questions as the rhetorical character of polemical statements, the formulation of the principles of dialogue and the hermeneutics of the texts. Let us point out as an example that Walerian Magni thought that one should firmly determine one's own position but nevertheless base the dialogue on such norms as *modestia, charitas, humanitas* (cf. pp. 147 ff.). The author sums up the polemics and discussions between Magni and Comenius and says: *Die von Magni und Comenius geäusserten Ideen sind demnach das Produkt eines intensiven Streitszusammenhangs. Irenik erscheint somit als eine Kommunikationsform, die mit den Strategien der Rhetorik über die hermeneutischen Autortäten der Wahrheitsfindung stritt.* (p. 148).

³ Though the bibliography cited in the book is very rich, a reference to another book would have been useful. I have in mind some parts of the extensive work edited by J. P. Kintz and G. Livet: *350e anniversaire des Traités de Westphalie 1648-1998. Une genèse de l'Europe, une société à reconstruire*, Strasbourg 1999. In the part entitled *l'Édit de Nantes et les Paix de religion* this work contains also my text *La tolérance religieuse dans le "modèle" polonais (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)* (pp. 113-128).

⁴ See their list on pp. 528-545. The author has mainly made use of the extremely rich collections of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel but also Thorn archives.

that Müller has made use of the most important Polish publications on this subject⁵ and has also studied materials in Polish archives⁶. The result is an extensive scientific monograph in a generally accessible language which portrays the doctrinal history of the *Colloquium Charitativum* against a broad background which has so far not been taken into account (despite the studies by Kai Eduard Jordt Jørgensen, Edmund Piścz, Janusz Tazbir and Jerzy Cygan)⁷.

I am a historian of legal and political matters connected with the history of Protestant denominations and religious tolerance in the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Therefore I am not sufficiently competent to discuss purely theological aspects of disputes over the idea of a discussion by representatives of various Christian denominations. But in his work Müller himself prefers to examine discussions, the forms and content of the dialogue, its principles or simply its methodological premises rather than the essence of these discussions. The result of this approach is that some specific problems of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's religious policy have not attracted the author's interest. He may have decided that these questions have been discussed in Polish historiography.

The introductory Chapter I shows that the author is familiar with the history of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Poland. Trying to determine the moment when the idea of the meeting in Thorn was born and how it came into effect, Müller asks several questions which, in his opinion, are of essential importance: *Wie war Toleranz in der konfessionellen Debatte der Zeit verhaftet? Welche Kommunikationsformen und welche theoretischen Modelle wurden zu ihrer Begründung verwendet? Welche Rolle spielte die Toleranz in der Repräsentation des staatlichen Systems bei dem Aufeinandertreffen der politischen und religiösen Eliten der Adelsrepublik in Thorn? Wurde diese Toleranz zu einer kommunikativen Praxis?* (p. 76).

Apart from the introductory chapter, the book is divided into six extensive chapters, two of which (Chapters II and III) discuss the disputes and proposals from the period preceding the decision to hold the meeting in Thorn and analyse how the decision was taken⁸. The other chapters present the discussions and controversies which preceded the debates, the course of the debates and the effects of the meeting in Thorn, that is discussions and polemics from the years 1645-1651⁹. The sixth chapter, the last one, a summing up of the work, is entitled: *Theorien und Praktiken der Wahrheitsfindung und Wahrheitsgeltung. Das Colloquium Charitativum im Prozess der Ausbildung einer Kultur des wissenschaftlichen Umgangs zur Wahrheitsvermittlung*. The author considers whether the irlenics of the first half of the 17th century really suffered an unequivocal defeat, whether the formation of some principles or forms of dialogue as a method of

⁵ He could not of course use the extensive monograph by W. Sławicki, *Toruński synod generalny 1595 roku. Z dziejów polskiego protestantyzmu w drugiej połowie XVI wieku* (*The General Synod Held in Thorn in 1595. The History of Polish Protestantism in the Second Half of the 16th Century*), Warszawa 2002.

⁶ Especially the archives of the old Royal Prussia, but also the Central Archives of Historical Records, Cracow and Berlin archives and even J. Cygan's materials connected with the person of W. Magni (now kept in the State Archives in Siedlce).

⁷ It is worth stressing the solicitous elaboration of the indexes of persons and subjects, the choice of illustrations, a detailed bibliography of the materials used and, in the annex, biographic information on over a dozen most important persons connected with the Thorn meeting.

⁸ The extensive examination of the discussion between W. Magni and Comenius and of the preparations for the Thorn meeting on pp. 77-195 is nearly as long as the whole monograph by Father Piścz.

⁹ The remaining chapters are entitled: IV *Reaktionen und Diskussionen über die Formen des Gesprächs*, V *Das Colloquium Charitativum: Theologische und politische Repräsentation* (pp. 323-424, by its minute details this chapter is far above all other studies), VI *Die Eskalation des Streits nach dem Colloquium Charitativum. Publizistik und Kontroverstheologie über das Religionsgespräch 1645-1651*. This extensive chapter (pp. 425-514) probably supplies the greatest amount of new information.

controversial theology was not after all a success, for in his opinion this exerted a great influence on the development of what might be called the methodology of scientific, critical approach. In the author's view (pp. 515 ff), the dialogue between religions opened the way to many scientific concepts of the Enlightenment, an epoch of criticism and discussion. Here Müller brings Comenius into the foreground¹⁰. In his opinion, Comenius' famous work, generally known under the shortened title *Consultatio Catholica*, a work written in 1643–1647 but never published in full in Comenius lifetime and only recently made accessible in a scientific edition based on a surviving manuscript, was an intellectual apogee of the meeting in Thorn¹¹. This means that Müller, not without reason, regarded the consequences of the meeting and the ensuing intellectual enlightenment as an element of European religious dialogue in which Comenius' role was unquestionable. Polish historians have probably adopted an excessively one-sided attitude, regarding the *Colloquium Charitativum* merely as a politically-motivated royal attempt not so much to produce a consensus between religions as to pacify mutual animosities, forgetting that the parties invited to take part in the dialogue were motivated by purely theological reasons, by a foredoomed attempt to persuade their adversaries that they were right. In practice, what prevailed was the desire to strengthen, unify or purify the image of one's own religion and to propagate one's own model of each question as the model of "truth" (evangelical, primary truth, the only truth consistent with the instructions of the Bible)¹². I would venture to say that the post-Trent model of Catholicism, the most stable and consequently an "impermeable" model, was least suitable for controversial discussions, while the theological lines or trends that existed in nearly every Protestant denomination opened the way to dialogue and mutual persuasion, for a century after Luther the Protestant camp was still *in statu nascendi* as regards many doctrinal questions, as has been proved by, among other things, the birth of the powerful Pietist movement in Lutheranism.

Müller's treatise does credit to his erudition and diligence. It will be a fundamental work for all persons interested in religious unions and disputes in Europe in the middle of the 17th century. I am not sure, however, whether the author has given sufficient reasons for his stress on social communication and his opinion on the role played by the discussions in the 1640s for the creation of new forms of scientific communication up to the early Enlightenment era.

Stanisław Salmonowicz

¹⁰ On p. 522 the author says that Comenius aspiration to establish ... *Sammeln der Wahrheiten, Versachtlichung und Entpersonifizierung des Stretts und schliesslich nach kollektiver gelehrter Wissenschaftsorganisation entsprechen den Vorstellungen frühaufgeklärter Gelehrter nach einer wissenschaftlichen Kommunikationsreform*. I think that the author should have referred to the French expert in these questions and this epoch, J. B. Neveu x, *Vie spirituelle et vie sociale entre Rhin et Baltique au XVII siècle*, Paris 1967.

¹¹ Cf. Comenius, *De rerum humanarum emendatione Consultatio Catholica* (ed. Academia Scientiarum Bohemoslovaca), Praha 1966. Müller has been for years editing Comenius texts and writing about his role. In a way this was a preparation for his latest book.

¹² The results of the Thorn debates are rather disputable. On p. 422 the author says: *Es kann als Erfolg gewertet werden, dass es gelang, fast drei Monate im Gespräch zu bleiben...* What was important was that all sides tried to express their own truth during the debates. This is what I wrote on this subject some time ago: "The concluding speeches by Jan Leszczyński, Castellan Gorayski and Bishop Tyskiewicz were in a solemn, conciliatory tone. But they could no longer change anything" — S. Salmonowicz, *Kultura umysłowa Torunia w dobie Colloquium Charitativum, 1645 (The Intellectual Culture of Thorn at the Time of Colloquium Charitativum, 1645)*, in: *idem, Toruń w czasach baroku i oświecenia*, Poznań 1982, p. 88. The author points out that the Thorn meeting achieved positive results on another plane: it helped form a modern dialogue in the struggle of various truths for the truth.

Hugh Ragsdale, *The Soviets, the Munich Crisis and the Coming of World War II*, Cambridge, New York 2004, Cambridge University Press, 212 pp.

"To the peoples of Europe, especially those of Czechoslovakia, whom short-sightedness, folly, and pusillanimity delivered to a tragedy from which they were powerless to save themselves and Прекрасной Даме for whose people the deal done at Munich led to an unimaginable catastrophe". This astonishing dedication figures in the latest book by Hugh Ragsdale, an American expert in the history of Russia and Russian and Soviet diplomacy. A graduate of the University of Carolina and the University of Virginia, he lectured for some time at the University of Alabama. Having been granted a Fulbright scholarship, he studied Soviet history and the reality of life in the USSR and the countries of East-Central Europe. He is now a member of various prestigious organisations and associations, e.g. the American Council of Learned Societies. He is the author of: *Russian Tragedy: the Burden of History* (Armonk N.Y. 1996), *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy* (Cambridge-New York 1993), *Tsar Paul and the Question of Madness: An Essay in History and Psychology* (New York 1988), *Detente in the Napoleon Era: Bonaparte and the Russians* (Lawrence, Kan. 1980), *Paul I: A Reassessment of His Life and Reign* (Pittsburgh 1979). In April 2005 he gave a lecture on *Putin's Russia: Problems and Prospects* at the University of Virginia. He has published articles in "The Slavic Review", "The Journal of Modern History", "The New York Times" and other papers.

Ragsdale's latest book, *The Soviets, the Munich Crisis and the Coming of World War II*, is an analysis of Soviet policy before and during the 1938 Munich conference, that is, at the time when the fate not only of the Sudeten Germans but of the whole of Czechoslovakia was being decided. The Munich conference, which is now generally regarded as a prelude to World War II, shows the risk that was involved in the Great Powers' short-sighted policy and leads to the irrefutable conclusion that had Hitler been stopped, this could have saved the world from the war catastrophe. It was the author's intention, as he himself says, to try to find a new perspective, still overlooked and underestimated in Western historiography, and to study and throw light on the frequently ignored and underestimated literature and documentation reflecting the East European point of view, which is still little known in the West.

In order to achieve his aims the author has used not only many source materials published in Russia (*Dokumenty po istorii munhenskogo sgovora 1937-1939*), France (*Documents diplomatiques français*), Germany (*Documents on German Foreign Policy*), Great Britain (*Documents on British Foreign Policy*), Czechoslovakia (*Na pomoc Československému lidu: dokumenty o česko-slovesko-sovětském přátelství*) and Poland (*Monachium 1938: polskie dokumenty dyplomatyczne*), but, first and foremost, unpublished collections kept in the archives of Czechoslovakia (Vojenskĕ historickĕ archiv), Russia (Rossiyskiy gosudarstvenny voennyi arkhiv) and Romania (Arhivele militare române).

The disappointingly small number of preserved and accessible documents in Prague, the restrictions on the access to Moscow collections, the author's disregard of Polish archives and his extended search in Bucharest have had an impact on the structure of the work, attracting the author's attention (sometimes to an excessive extent) to Romania. Soviet attitude, which should be placed in the foreground, if only because of the title, is often on the margin, in the background of the work, leaving the reader unsatisfied, despite the references to the rich and very complex literature dealing with the subject.

The bibliography, which has been painstakingly compiled and used by the author, contains mainly works in English, accessible especially to the Western reader, written by British and American researchers as well as emigré historians from Czechoslovakia (Jiří Hočman, Igor Lukes, Victor Mamatey), Romania (Dov Lungu) and Poland (Anna Cienciāła, Piotr Wandycz). It also

contains some works written in other languages: Polish (Henryk Batowski, Jerzy Tomaszewski, Marian Zgórnjak, Janusz Żarnowski), Czech (Milan Hauner, Vaclav Kural, Ivan Pfaff), Romanian (Ioan Talpes, Alexandru Savu) and Russian (S. I. Prasolov, A. A. Grechko).

Let us point out, however, that the author has overlooked such articles as: J. W. Breugel's, *Dr Beneš on the Soviet "Offer of Help" in 1938*, "East Central Europe" 1977, N° 1, B. M. Coen's *Moscow at Munich: Did the Soviet Union Offer Unilateral Aid to Czechoslovakia?*, "East European Quarterly" 1978, N° 3, and J. Haslam's *The Soviet Union and the Czechoslovakian Crisis*, "Journal of Contemporary History" 1979, N° 3.

Diaries and memoirs have been accorded a much more modest place in the book. In addition to the notes of the Romanian foreign minister, Nicolae Petrescu-Comnen, the Polish foreign minister, Józef Beck, and the diaries of the Czechoslovak president, Edvard Beneš, the author has also made use of the memoirs of Ivan Malsky and M. Zaharov. It is a pity, however, that he has devoted so little space to a publication brought out by the Yale University Press in 2000 under the promising title *Dimitrov and Stalin 1934-1943: Letters from the Soviet Archives*. Perhaps it does not contribute much new material to the problems presented in Ragsdale's book, but the author does not even mention it.

The structure of the book is sometimes difficult to understand. It consists of three parts and two annexes: articles of the League of Nations Convention, and some points from the Franco-Soviet and Czechoslovak-Soviet treaties of 1935.

After a 27-page preface, the first part *Background of the Munich Crisis*, which is also of an introductory character, is made up of three chapters: 1) *The Shaky Foundation of Collective Security: Moscow, Paris, London*, 2) *Soviet-Romanian Relations I: 1934-1938*, 3) *Soviet-Romanian Relations II: summer 1938*.

In the preface the author goes back to the Treaty of Versailles and the first post-war years, trying to point out the gradually deepening differences in the European policies of Great Britain and France. He explains the specific French system of collective security and the bases of the antagonisms between some small and medium-sized countries of Central and Eastern Europe: Poland, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. As time went on, especially after Hitler's accession to power in Germany, these divergences of opinion on collective security, status quo and revisionism tended to obliterate the old division into the defeated and the victorious nations, leading to a greater understanding between Hungary, the most revisionist state, and Poland. According to the author, the two countries were linked by their dislike of Bene, the Czechs, radical democracy, communism and Soviet Russia as well as by their pro-German feelings. The author is not sparing in criticism of Józef Beck and his foreign policy, some of his remarks sounding controversial to a Polish reader. He does not conceal his lack of affection for the Polish foreign minister (pp. 9-10), but he is no less critical of the Little Entente, "an artificial creation" which turned out to be of worth only during the periods of relative stability. This was "a strong alliance against the weak and a weak alliance against the strong", says Ragsdale, following the opinion of the Romanian historian Dov Lungu (p. 7).

In the first chapter the author concentrates on events whose consequences were of great importance for Eastern Europe, namely, the fact that the Soviet Union broke its international isolation and initiated an active foreign policy by joining the League of Nations and signing mutual assistance treaties with France and Czechoslovakia. But according to the author, both alliances were fragile, not only because of a lack of trust between Moscow and Paris, but also because of the weakening role of France which was becoming increasingly dependent on London, and London supported a policy of appeasement towards the Third Reich rather than a policy of containment (Lord Halifax's journey to Germany in 1937 and Lord Runciman's mission in Czechoslovakia in 1938). Moreover, the lack of common borders between France, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union as well

as the opposition of Romania and Poland to letting Soviet troops enter their territories made the alliances illusory, for they could not possibly be implemented.

In the next two chapters, the author presents Soviet–Romanian relations from the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1934 and Litvinov's agreement with Titulescu, in which both countries pledged themselves to avoid talks on Bessarabia, a problem on which they differed, up to the summer of 1938, when the questions of war and peace were being decided in Europe. Romania occupied the third most important place after France and Czechoslovakia in the Kremlin's plans for a system of defensive alliances in case of German aggression. In view of Poland's categorical refusal, an agreement with Bucharest would have enabled the Soviet Union to send its troops to help Czechoslovakia. Litvinov's months-long talks with Titulescu resulted in the elaboration of a draft agreement but they were broken by Titulescu's sudden dismissal. The draft agreement was never signed and it fell into oblivion, especially during the time of prime minister Goga (1937–1938) who disliked Moscow.

The improvement in Bucharest–Moscow relations, which occurred during the premiership of Miron Cristea after the termination of the incident connected with the mysterious disappearance in Bucharest of a Soviet diplomat Fedor Butenko, coincided with the mounting German–Czechoslovak conflict. The author wants to prove that in the face of the impending danger and the uncertain attitude of the Great Powers, the Romanian authorities tried to keep an elastic attitude and were conducting a specific game. On the one hand, Bucharest referred to the new constitution, which regulated the question of an entry of foreign troops more restrictively and categorically, but on the other, it made many significant gestures, promising that it would only weakly protest in case of an enforced transit of Soviet troops. Moscow could not fail to notice these declarations. The flights over Romanian territory of the aircraft bought by the Czechs in the Soviet Union also gave rise to controversies and speculations. According to the author, the growth in these supplies, which alarmed Poland and Germany, could, but did not necessarily have to, mean that Romania was committed to helping Czechoslovakia in case of war and had agreed to the Soviet air transit. Ragsdale emphasises that the Czechs had earlier concluded trade agreements which allowed them to transport Russian goods through the territory of Romania. The author says that there was justified fear and anxiety in Romania about a possible entry of the Red Army, but the country realised that it would have to give in under pressure.

The second part of the work, entitled *Foreground: Climax of the Crisis*, is made up of three chapters: 4) *East Awaiting West: Berchtesgaden to Godesberg*, 5) *The Red Army Mobilizes*, 6) *Denouement. Chamberlain's talks with Hitler in Germany (15.09., 23–24.09)*, defined by Sir Robert Vansittart as a worse move than Canossa, symbolised the decline of the concept of military resistance. The British, who took over the initiative, only informed the French about what was going on while disregarding the Russians, and tried in vain to introduce a new order. Unfortunately, the author has not contributed much new information, duplicating what is already known to Eastern and Western researchers and producing but a summary description of the course of events. The Soviet aspect has been confined to the official speeches made in the League of Nations by Litvinov, who promised help for Czechoslovakia, and to his unanswered appeals for joint talks and agreements on the part of French, Czechoslovak and Soviet general staffs. Less known themes, e.g. Nečas's controversial memorandum, have been presented in a vague, sketchy way.

The escalation of German demands and their initial rejection caused panic and war psychosis in Europe and led to the mobilisation of armed forces in many European countries, including the Soviet Union. The author tries to analyse this difficult problem in a separate chapter. On the basis of various materials, not always reliable and complete, Ragsdale tries to find out, without solving the problem, whether the Russians were at that time preparing military assistance to Czechoslovakia. Some messages, e.g. Voroshilov's directive discussed in the

works of Jonathan Haslam, Jürgen Pagel and Geoffrey Roberts, the mobilisation and troop movements in the regions of Kiev, Belarus, Kalinin and Moscow, might have meant that such preparations were being made. But the author finds it surprising that historians have not found any trace of these large-scale Soviet troop movements in the reports of French, British or German intelligence services. A German diplomat denied in his reports that any troop movements or war preparations were taking place. The reports of Polish diplomats painted a different picture. The Polish consul in Kishinev, for instance, alarmed Warsaw that large quantities of war materials were being sent by the Soviet Union through Bessarabia to Czechoslovakia. No less distressing reports were sent by a Polish diplomat from Kuibishev. The author finds it surprising that no such reports were sent from Ukrainian territories, from the neighbourhood of Kiev.

Dual activities could be noticed not only in Soviet military circles but also in diplomatic ones. Litvinov, who in June forbade the Soviet envoy in Prague, Alexandrovsky, to engage in any negotiations on assistance, insisted at the same time that it was necessary to save the Czechoslovak state. The halting of the German march towards the south and east with the help of Prague seemed to be in the vital interest of the Soviet Union. But in a conversation with the German ambassador in Moscow the same Litvinov defined the Sudeten question as an internal problem of Czechoslovakia and assured him that the Russians would not interfere. Bene, who was assured through unofficial channels that the Russians would help, did not receive any official confirmation of assistance, and the Kremlin never replied to Prague's questions concerning the size and forms of help. Czechoslovakia's acceptance of the German demands and the final settlement reached at Munich closed the stage of diplomatic and military uncertainty and released the Russians morally from their obligations.

The last, third, part of the book, entitled *Conclusion*, consists of four chapters, loosely connected with each other but containing many interesting, though controversial, statements. The chapters are entitled: 7) *What the Red Army Actually Did*, 8) *What the Red Army Might Have Feasibly Done*, 9) *Epilogue*, 10) *Assessment of Soviet Intention*.

At first the reader may be amazed and disoriented by the mass of Romanian guards' information from Romanian archives on frequent illegal crossings in both directions of the border on the Dniestr. According to Ragsdale, this aroused the well justified fear and suspicions of the Romanian authorities that these crossings might denote an increase in the export of spies and propaganda and an illegal transfer of soldiers. From the same Romanian sources the author has acquired data on the lack of any visible signs of Soviet troop movements on the border with Romania and the lack of visible signs of increased transfers of goods by railway while war preparations were in progress in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

In view of statistical data which show that the network of roads and railway lines was unfavourable in Romania for most of them did not go towards Czechoslovakia, and in view of the military potential of the individual states, the author maintains that, though it is difficult correctly to define the intentions of Stalin, a secretive, reserved, distrustful man, it seems that, contrary to Polish reports, the Red Army did not have any interest in helping Czechoslovakia, nor did it have the proper logistic conditions for a transfer of troops through Romania.

Ragsdale engages in many polemics with well grounded opinions or joins in discussions in support of one side. He firmly dissociates himself from historians who maintain that a week before Munich Romania agreed to let Red Army troops pass through, but the Kremlin did not take advantage of this offer, betraying its ally on the Vltava. This assertion, launched by Jiří Hočman and Ivan Pfař, was based on just one cable from Comnen to Litvinov, which was found unreliable by Milan Hauner. It is not only the "dreadful French" unthinkable in diplomatic circles that aroused the author's suspicions but also many inaccuracies and errors.

Historians have also questioned the theory that the Kremlin tried to make use of the German-Czechoslovak conflict over the *Sudetenland* in order to provoke a European war which would have enabled it to export the revolution and sovietise Central and Eastern Europe. The supporters of this theory use the text of a passionate speech made by Andrei Zhdanov at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, held in Prague in September 1938, in which he called on the working class to fight against the bourgeoisie. Opponents of this theory, for instance, Hauner, try to prove that neither Zhdanov nor other alleged participants, e.g. Harry Pollitt from Great Britain and Marcel Cachin from France, could have attended the meeting. With the help of a photograph from "Pravda" they try to convince their fellow historians that Zhdanov was at that time participating in a meeting of the Political Bureau at the Kremlin. According to Igor Lukes there were two persons named Zhdanov, one of whom was in Prague and the other in Moscow. Still other historians think the speech must have been wrongly dated. It was probably made much earlier but was wrongly dated by an archive worker in the 1950s when it was registered. Ragsdale, who is critical of the document and has a sceptical attitude to many hypotheses, points out that there is a contradiction between the text of the document and the idea of a popular fight against fascism, which had been promoted by the Comintern since 1935. He thinks it highly unlikely that the Soviets could have promoted the sovietisation of Europe and the export of revolution in 1938.

To sum up, let us stress that it must have required enormous toil and efforts on the author's part to find the source materials which are rather inaccessible to researchers, especially those kept in Soviet archives. Fighting against many restrictions and limitations, he tried to construct as full as possible a picture from the scraps of information available to him. If he met a barrier that was difficult to overcome, he filled in the gaps by generally known facts or by less important second- or third-rate information taken directly from archives. What enhances the value of the book is that the author has presented many controversial questions on which researchers still do not agree. The diverse interpretations mentioned by the author make one realise how much has already been accomplished, while the questions that have not yet been answered bring it home to historians how much is still to be done.

Hanna Marczevska-Zagdańska

Andrzej Gawryszewski, *Ludność Polski w XX wieku (Poland's Population in the 20th Century)*, Warszawa 2005, Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Geografii i Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania im. Stanisława Leszczyckiego, 623 pp., tables, maps, diagrams.

Historical demography is the closest relative of social history. This was well known to the founders of the *Annales* school, besides it is in France that the links between history, geography and its relative, demography, have always been particularly close. As a matter of fact what a historian defines as "society" is the same community defined as "population" by a demographer. In their research both frequently pose similar questions to the same or a similar community. The now widely promoted inter-disciplinary approach, that is, co-operation between different research areas, has particularly favourable conditions and is something natural as far as history, demography and, let us add, geography in general are concerned.

A historian is a client of historical demography which, in turn, needs backing from historical science. The author of the book I am reviewing here raises this question in the preface. He refers to his teacher, the late Professor Kazimierz Dziewoński, who accused contemporary Polish demographers of lacking the sense of history. This accusation cannot be addressed to the author who has made ample use of historians' works. He could not avoid this, considering that he raises such questions as territorial and administrative changes, spontaneous and

enforced migrations, occupational and social structure, nationality problems and other similar issues. After all, basic explanations of these questions can be found mainly in historical literature.

As a historian dealing with some of these questions, I even got the impression that the author had adopted an excessively impartial approach to the different evaluations formed by historians and had not even tried to correct them. I noticed this in the case of nationality structure and demographic losses caused by World War II in Poland (including the questionable assessment of these losses at over 6 million people). I realise, however, that in the author's view these are details which he cannot discuss in such a study, even though for a historian and his readers they may be questions of basic importance.

The author deals with the whole of the 20th century and sometimes even goes back to previous decades; he ends his study with the first years of the 21st century (he makes, of course, ample use of the last census which was held in 2002). He starts by explaining the territory and administrative division of the Polish state for his subject is the population which lived in the territory the state had at a given time. This part does not bring any revelations but it offers some less known information and is illustrated with many maps and tables. For instance, it includes maps of the territories on the upper Bug and in the region of Solina (pp. 50–51) which were exchanged by Poland and the USSR in 1951. It is worth pointing out that in the author's opinion nationality structure was a factor which, to a large extent, determined administrative division before 1939 and was the reason for changes. The authorities tried to eliminate, or restrict the number of, administrative units which had an excessively high percentage of non-Polish, non-Catholic inhabitants by the establishment of desirable units and their borders. This applies to the division of the country into voivodships both at the threshold of the inter-war period (the division of Galicia into voivodships which had no counterpart in the Austrian times) and at the end of that period (the shifting of the voivodships' borders in the centre and west of the country in order to lower the percentage of German and Jewish populations in the individual voivodships in 1938–1939 and in the plans for 1940).

This section of Gawryszewski's study makes one wonder whether the changes made in Poland's administrative division during the last thirty years (in 1975 and 1999) were justified. Let me only point out that the 49 voivodships established in 1975 are not far in number from the 44 (recently 45) "sub-regions" established a few years ago (see p. 61), which in a way are a continuation of that division. There is much to indicate that the level of regionalisation set by the voivodship borders of 1975–1998 is in a way still viable, also in social consciousness, and that the reform of 1999 was subjected to such far-reaching distortions by local pressures that the arguments justifying it hang in mid-air. The system of districts–counties (Polish: *powiaty*) also gives rise to doubts for it moves the authorities away from the population.

The remaining parts of the study concern the population and (after a brief analysis of population statistics) deal with the following aspects:

- * The development and distribution of population
- * Urbanisation
- * Vital statistics
- * Age and gender structure
- * Nationality and religious structure
- * Education and training (rudimentary knowledge)
- * Occupational structure (and unemployment)
- * Migrations (this is the largest of all 12 parts)

The book ends with a conclusion, bibliography (ca 400 items, of which about 40% are historical studies, plus a list of statistical publications) and annexes which are interesting but seem to have been chosen by chance. For instance *The Polish Territories under the Partitioning Powers* would fit into the section discussing the territory, at the beginning of the book, similarly, the annex concerning towns

could be placed in the section dealing with urbanisation (or the many-page table with the number of inhabitants of individual towns could be placed in the annex), the classification of occupations would find a suitable place in the parts dealing with employment. The results of the plebiscites in Silesia, Mazury, Warmia and the Vistula region as well as the agreements concluded in 1946 on the transfer of Germans from Poland could be left out for they do not add much information to the main subject.

In this review I will discuss only the most noteworthy fragments, for it would be senseless to deal with the detailed information which only confirms what is already known. A historian keeps of course to the kind of information which he needs and which is accessible to him; a demographer's knowledge may differ and his preferences may be different too.

The section dealing with the process of urbanisation deserves attention. The author's estimate of the percentage of urban population in 1938 is lower than the percentage in my study on urbanisation in pre-war Poland (28.4% and 30%, see p. 121)¹. The author's estimate does not seem to be well-founded. Speaking of the post-war period the author says that the number of town inhabitants and rural dwellers became equal on December 14, 1966 (p. 98). During the next forty years the percentage of urban population has risen to 61.8% (p. 99), rather moderately, an explosive growth occurring in the 1970s (due also to the reform of voivodships and the establishment of new capital cities in them)². During the last few years the proportion of urban population has not changed or has even lowered. If we divide the European countries into groups of ten, Poland will be in the third group as far as the level of urbanisation is concerned.

The once strong processes of urban population's concentration, the quick development of large towns and the stagnation of small towns have weakened, or have even been reversed, in the last 15–20 years, due to an opposite settlement trend; more and more people are moving from towns to rural areas. But these questions can be comprehensively presented only by an analysis of the emergence of urban agglomerations, a process which is not discussed in the book. Let us also point out that the index of population (urban and rural) concentration, which kept rising in the years 1944–1989, has slightly decreased since that time (p. 100). At present half of the total population lives on 12% of the state's territory.

In the part concerning the natural increase, the author repeatedly stresses the Church's influence on family law; one of its results was that the obsolete legislation of the partitioning powers was retained in pre-war Poland, making it impossible to unify the law system; after 1989 the influence of the Church has led to the banning of abortion and made divorce difficult, which can result in the growth of concubinary unions. As regards the evolution of the natural increase, the author does not pay much attention to pre-war times (before 1939), focusing on the post-1944 period. After the compensatory post-war period the number of marriages per 1,000 inhabitants was high in Poland until the 1980s inclusive, it has fallen considerably since 1990. This well known phenomenon is described statistically in the book, but on the whole rather in synthesised form. The author points out that the differences between the "new" territories (in the north and west) and the old Polish provinces have disappeared in this respect too.

Gawryszewski says that the divorce rate is low in Poland and contrary to current opinions has remained on the same level since the beginning of the 1970s (pp. 150 ff.). But it is rising if the declining number of new marriages is taken into

¹ See my book: *Spoleczeństwo II Rzeczypospolitej (Society of the Second Republic)*, Warszawa 1973, p. 326, estimate based on Kazimierz Secomski's figures.

² Of course the most rapid growth of urban population took place in the first post-war years, when Poles were settled in the northern and western territories which were more urbanised than the old Polish provinces. It is worth pointing out that the buildings and infrastructure in the towns taken over by the USSR were worth ca 0.6 billion zlotys while those in the towns incorporated into Poland in 1945 were worth 1.9 billion (after deducting destruction and plunder), p. 123.

account (divorce is sought after different lengths of married life but newly married couples rarely seek divorce). The divorce rate is 2–3 times lower in Poland than in most European countries.

The author devotes slightly more space to births in the pre-war period, and especially to the evolution in this field after 1945. It is a well known fact that the previously high birth-rate has lowered since 1990 and the recent phenomenon of restricted reproduction may lead to a decrease of population, depending on migration processes. It is worth pointing out that an extended reproduction, which allows a population to increase irrespective of migration, was noticed in rural areas until 1994, in towns it came to an end in 1961 (p. 165). The author says that the fall in extended reproduction occurs irrespective of a state's activity; in Poland the state has banned abortions and is impeding the use of contraceptives but is conducting no positive policy in this respect (pp. 173).

Before the war and up to 1990 births out of wedlock accounted for 6–7% of all births and in 2000 to as much as 12%, which is 2–5 times less than in most European countries (Germany — 22, France — 42, Sweden 55%). The author again draws attention to the role of legal solutions imposed on Polish society, to the policy which makes it impossible for Polish women to avail themselves even of those possibilities which are envisaged by law and the difficult access to contraceptives.

The death statistics reflect the successes achieved in health care, medical progress and living standards, a process which started before the war; on the other hand, not without influence is the ageing of the population, a process which has been going on for the last few decades, and the increase in the size of older age groups. The result is that the death-rate has not changed radically since 1946. It is the causes of death and their proportions that have changed. The most important are the infantile death-rate figures. This index fell during the inter-war period, but caution is advisable for the data referring to those years are not fully reliable. The post-1946 figures, which give no rise to reservations, reflect great changes for the better. Since 1950 the infantile death-rate has lowered more than ten times, and since 1990 by 2.5 times (p. 192). It is now on a European level. In the 20th century the lifespan in Poland increased by 40 years, twice as much as in Sweden (which of course started from a different level). Let us add that since the 1970s the lifespan of the urban population has been the same as that of the rural population (p. 196). What is interesting is the evolution of this index. It kept rising before the war but nevertheless Poland was at the bottom of the list of European countries (excluding the USSR) in this respect. The greatest rise occurred in 1948–1953, which may surprise some present-day observers, it was not big in the 1960s, very small in the 1970s and 1980s, to rise considerably again after 1990.

We have already mentioned changes in the size of the age groups. They are reflected in the mean age of the population, which increased from 25 years to 34.9 in 1950–2002, that is by as much as 10 years.

The author then discusses religious and nationality differences. The information referring to the inter-war period is synthesised and does not need any special comments. The data quoted by the author are based on censuses (pre-World War I censuses held by the partitioning powers, the censuses of 1921 and 1931 in inter-war Poland, and the 2002 census. The censuses held in 1950–1988 did not have questions concerning nationality and language). He also cites estimates for the inter-war period and the communist Polish Peoples Republic. It was only in 2002 that information was obtained on the population's ethnic structure but the author's comments are insufficient. For instance, he writes about the Karaites minority which numbered 43 persons but does not say a word about the Silesian minority claimed by 170,000 persons, compared with nearly 150,000 Germans. As regards the inter-war period, the author strongly criticises the persecution of Ukrainians and the Orthodox Church and says that this was the reason for the brutal Ukrainian attacks on Poles during the war (pp.

271 ff.). These are, however, complex matters and the author could depict them only superficially. He writes about the "Vistula" operation (enforced resettlement of Ukrainians living in Poland's eastern border regions in 1947) in another place when discussing population transfers and post-war migrations. We learn a little more about Jews; let us draw attention to the tables presenting pogroms and anti-Jewish excesses from 1905 to 1946 (p. 290) and the list of the most important Jewish ghettos during the occupation (pp. 292-293). The author also supplies basic information about Germans and other smaller ethnic groups. The weak point of this section is that information on the size and distribution of minority groups is separated from detailed data on migrations, which are in another part of the book.

The part concerning education is too concise and the author does not even try to remove the doubts one can have about the reliability of his sources. For instance, the data referring to secondary and higher education, especially at the beginning of the 20-year inter-war period, included all persons who had at any time attended a secondary school, and not just those who had a secondary education in our sense of the term (pp. 320-321). The fact that Poland had a large proportion of national minorities was not reflected in the network of schools; utraquist state schools were bilingual only by name, Byelorussian schools were closed down, non-Polish secondary schools were mostly private, and the state ones were Polish with but a few exceptions (p. 323). The table on pp. 332-333 shows the evolution of Polish society as regards the level of education since 1970. Let us point out that in 1970 the percentage of graduates of university schools amounted to 2.7 while by 2002 it had risen to 10.2%, that is several times. But in 2002 nearly three-fifths of the population (57.2%) had a basic or lower vocational education. This is a very high percentage. The only consolation is that in 1970 this percentage amounted to 83.7, but there is still much to be done in this field.

The evolution in the population's occupational structure has also been presented in summary form, only 40 pages being devoted to this vast subject. In view of a lack of adequate sources for the pre-1914 and inter-war periods, the author has drawn information from historians' works³. As far as the contemporary post-war period is concerned, it is the proportions of employment in individual sectors that come to the fore, especially the slow diminution of the agricultural sector. In 1970 ca 30% of the population still depended on farming for their livelihood, in 2002 less than 8% (7.9%). But the proportion of people working outside agriculture has also been falling since the beginning of the 1980s, for there has been a rapid growth in the number of people who do not depend on paid work and live on disability pensions, old-age pensions or relief. This part of the population, which in 1970 made up about one-tenth of the total, now amounts to nearly 40%. This means an essential change in the socio-occupational structure of society (see the table on p. 356). This growth is one of the main reasons for the decline in the role of the agricultural sector from which people have shifted not so much to work outside agriculture as to a life on all kinds of pensions.

The author has discussed these questions, as well as the problem of unemployment, without considering the latest wave of emigration in search of work for, naturally, he could not yet present its significance. However, this will have to be done in the future to complete the picture and outline the prospects.

As has been mentioned above, the most extensive part of the book (ca 120 pages) concerns population transfers. This, too, is a vast subject and despite the amount of space devoted to it, the main migration problems have been presented in a general way, though the author has done his best not to leave out any important transfer. He discusses the transfers of population after World War I,

³ He has also made use of my work *Spoleczerstwo II Rzeczypospolitej*, taking my estimate of the socio-vocational structure at the end of the inter-war period, see p. 353 of G a w r y s z e w s k i's book.

internal and external migrations during the inter-war period, migrations caused by World War II hostilities, deportations carried out by the occupiers, the brutality and genocide they resorted to. He also discusses post-war transfers and migrations. This part is based on generally known statistical data and historical works (including studies by Krystyna Kersten, Jan Czerniakiewicz and Stefan Banasiak). The book contains interesting maps showing the routes of Polish people's transfers from the East, routes which ran horizontally and ended, as far as this was possible, near those persons' previous place of residence (p. 445), the settlement of Jews in Lower Silesia (p. 447), the deportations of Ukrainians from Poland to the USSR (p. 448), Soviet deportations from Poland's eastern palatinates (p. 493), transfers under the "Vistula" operation (p. 499).

In *Conclusion* the author says that the source base for research into all these questions is very uneven, that the sources and studies concerning the early decades of the 20th century are much fewer in number than those referring to contemporary times and that this has naturally affected some parts of the book.

The text is supplemented by bibliography and annexes which have been discussed above.

The book is of great value to historians, especially those interested in the history of society and other historical questions, including political and economic history. The reader will find in it information on a vast spectrum of demographic and social questions. Thanks to its enormous scope it is an indispensable companion to the work of every historian specializing in new and most recent times. However, it will not relieve historians of the duty to engage in an independent search for statistical and historical information on the socio-demographic changes discussed in it. The subtitle of the series, "monographs", repeated by the author of the preface Leszek Kosiński⁴, is misleading. The book is a typical synthesis. The author himself writes that his work may play the role of a handbook of population geography. I have already mentioned that the demands of a demographer and a geographer differ from the demands and needs of a historian who expects detailed information on socio-demographic and socio-economic processes. A demographer quite rightly tries to find this information in historical literature. This means that in writing monographic studies historians will still have to consult statistical publications and monographic studies as well as archival sources. But if they have such a synthesising work as Gawryszewski's study, they will be able to start their own search from a much higher level than they have done so far.

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⁴ In any case, this kind of study is a monograph in historians' language.