

Stanisław Grodziski, *Z dziejów staropolskiej kultury prawnej (From the History of Old Polish Legal Culture)*, Kraków 2004, UNIVERSITAS, 352 pp., index of persons.

Stanisław Grodziski is an outstanding expert in the history of the Polish political system and Polish law. His output consists of source publications and monographs as well as compendia and university handbooks. He has published rural court books which are a first-class source for studying legal culture in the countryside. Being interested in the history of law in Galicia (a part of Poland ruled by Austria in the 19th century), he has depicted its socio-political system and its *Sejm*. He is also a co-author of the most comprehensive synthesizing history of the political system and laws in the Polish territories when Poland was under the rule of the partitioning powers¹. His interests are not confined to the history of laws, he has also written a biography of the emperor Franz Joseph and a monograph devoted to the Habsburg dynasty. His *Polska w czasach przelomu, 1764–1815 (Poland at the Turning Point, 1764–1815)*, which is the sixth volume of *Wielka Historia Polski (Great History of Poland)*², is addressed to both history students and wider circles of readers. Thanks to the wide chronological range of his research, Professor Grodziski has been able to present a comprehensive picture of legal culture and its changes in pre-partition Poland. He approached this subject a few years ago in his essays *W obronie czci niewieściej (In Defence of Women's Honour)*, devoted to legal culture³.

Legal culture is a complex phenomenon which allows of various interpretations. The author does not try to define the notion of legal culture and he is probably right for this would be a subject for a separate book. As Maria Borucka-Arctowa rightly says, "there is no generally accepted definition of the word 'culture' and the proposals for a definition have aroused a polemic"⁴. I have in mind the notion of culture in general, but the same applies to the concept of legal culture. However, the "lack of a clearly defined and generally accepted notion does not prevent its use; sometimes this results from the conviction that the term is understandable to all, sometimes this leads to authors creating definitions for their own use, and most often to one of the many definitions of an eclectic character being adopted"⁵. What is beyond doubt is that the notion of legal culture is closely connected with the adopted system of values⁶.

Anna Gryniuk has analyzed the various definitions of the term "legal culture" which are being used in science⁷. Of the definitions cited by her the

¹ Professor Grodziski is the author of chapters in *Historia państwa i prawa Polski (A History of the Polish State and Polish Law)* in vol. III, *From the Partitions to Enfranchisement*, Warszawa 1981, and in vol. IV, *From Enfranchisement to the Rebirth of the State*, Warszawa 1982.

² Kraków 1999, 302 pp.

³ Kraków 2000.

⁴ Maria Borucka-Arctowa, *Kultura prawna na tle myśli filozoficznej i społecznej o kulturze (Legal Culture in Philosophical and Social Thought on Culture)*, "Studia Prawnicze" N° 1, 2002, p. 5.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 10.

⁶ Cf. also Andrzej Kojder, *Kultura prawna: problem demarkacji i użyteczności pojęcia (Legal Culture: the Demarcation and Usefulness of the Notion)*, in: *Kultura prawna i dysfunkcjonalność prawa*, Warszawa 1988, vol. 1.

⁷ Anna Gryniuk, *Kultura prawna a świadomość prawna (Legal Culture and Legal Consciousness)*, "Państwo i Prawo" 2002, N° 1, pp. 15–31.

following one would probably be most suitable for Stanisław Grodziski's research: "In a broad sense legal culture denotes the state of law (its content and form), the law doctrines and the science of law, the political institutions engaged in the creation and application of law, and everything that makes part of the notion "legal culture" in a narrower sense, that is, the knowledge which individuals and social groups have of the law in force, their attitude to this law (their willingness or unwillingness to observe its norms), the evaluation of the law and proposals for changing it".

Stanisław Grodziski explains in the preface that by legal culture he means "the individual and collective attitudes to law that are present in a society, attitudes to the apparatus administering justice as well as to its institutions and to the concrete legal norms which mark the limits of freedom and of prohibition" (p. 10). The definition may seem too narrow, but fortunately the author does not observe it too strictly. He does not confine himself to analyzing attitudes to law but also deals with the quality of the law, both from the point of view of what may be called its technical correctness and, first and foremost, from the point of view of its concordance with the ethical and moral norms accepted at a given time; he discusses its efficiency, he shows the influence of other legal systems on Polish law, and is also interested in the level of the legal education of legislators and persons responsible for the administration of justice. In order to examine all these aspects of legal culture it is necessary to study not only legislation and materials of law courts but also many historiographic and even ethnographic sources, and even this does not guarantee that everything can be fully explained, for the sources a historian has at his disposal do not always make it possible.

In the preface, entitled "Justification", the author apologizes for having intentionally chosen the obsolete critical method in writing his book. There is no need for apologies. His skill (not a very frequent quality) to present a synthesizing picture of definite aspects of the historical process, combined as it is with a lucid style and source-inspired examples of various legal actions and solutions, make the book an attractive read. Despite its title which suggests that the book is addressed to law historians, it can be recommended to all persons interested in Poland's history.

In addition to the preface and the conclusion, the book has six chapters which discuss in chronological order the semi-legendary times, the patrimonial monarchy, the estate monarchy, the Commonwealth of Noblemen's Democracy, the Commonwealth of magnates' oligarchy and finally the reign of Stanislaus Augustus. Most space has been devoted to the period of the noblemen's democracy. The construction of each chapter is similar. Each opens with a brief historical outline and the characterization of the political system in force at that time. This is the background against which the author discusses the creation, application and observance of laws.

Where this is justified, the author emphasizes the specific Polish characteristics, comparing the processes in Poland with what was happening in Europe. For instance, the right to resist the ruler if he failed to fulfil his duties to his vassals, a right which was known and used in the Middle Ages, disappeared in Western Europe after some time, while in Poland it was strengthened, expressing the conviction that the law was above the monarch.

It is impossible to discuss in a short review the wealth of the questions raised by the author. I will therefore confine myself to a few questions. In the chapter dealing with legal culture in the patrimonial monarchy the author points out that Christianity exerted two kinds of influence on laws: on the one hand it contributed to the softening of certain brutal sides of customary law, but on the other side after the introduction of ordeals many an innocent person paid with his life for the trial in which God was expected to intervene in favour of the just man.

The author has a high opinion of legal culture in the estate monarchy. He points out that the first book published in Polish was a collection of laws called the *Łaski Statute*. That was the time when the importance of canon law increased.

Unlike the diversified customary law, canon law was uniform and systematized, and it brought the principles of Roman law and a precise legal terminology to Poland. Since the nascent sense of the state's sovereignty made it impossible to ask Magdeburg for judgments and instructions, Casimir the Great set up appropriate law courts. Although the principle of legal personality impeded the administration of justice, it reflected tolerance for the customs and legal principles of the Jews, Armenians, Germans and other nationalities living in Poland at that time. But some negative processes made themselves felt and they intensified in the next periods: the frequently renewed endeavours to codify the law yielded no results and political pressure had a destructive influence on all aspects of legal culture. The legal culture of the peasants is a separate question. The author shows its specific characteristics, knowing it well from his editorial work.

On coming to the end of this interesting book the reader will naturally ask: and what happened next? How did legal culture evolve when the nation was subjected to foreign domination and to three different legal systems? On the one hand, the stubborn, victorious struggle to keep in force the French civil code, called the Napoleonic code, in the Polish Kingdom, the skilful use of Prussian legislation to preserve Polish assets in Prussian Poland, and the successful endeavours made in Austrian Poland to create possibilities for the Poles for a legal political organization of society and to assure them of participation in the apparatus of power would indicate that legal culture and the consciousness of the law deepened. On the other hand, however, the fact that the law in force was imposed by a foreign power did not promote respect for it and this affected the legal culture of society. Which attitude predominated, when, and in what conditions? Only a profound continuation of Grodziski's work could supply an answer.

Monika Hamanowa

Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause. Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion 1559-1596*, Leiden-Boston 2004, Brill, 350 pp., index, bibliography.

Frederik II did not enjoy a good reputation either with his contemporaries or historians and he was certainly overshadowed by the figure of his son, Christian IV. Only recently such researchers as Frede P. Jensen and the author of the book under discussion, American historian Paul Douglas Lockhart, have been trying to look upon him from a different perspective. The portrait of a diplomat and fighter for the unity of Protestants is meant to overshadow the figure of an ignorant boor, lover of hunting and noisy drinking-bouts. Lockhart has carried out very extensive research in Danish, French, German and English archives, he has also made use of and studied the secondary literature (although not without omitting some, which I shall discuss later), in order to produce a book presenting a different, not such a simplified picture of Frederik. According to the author's own formulation, his book aims to answer three questions: 1. in what way and to what extent religion influenced the Danish foreign policy in the second half of the 16th century; 2. what was the influence of Denmark on the conflict developing between the Protestants and the Catholics in the years preceding the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War; 3. why the King of Denmark and his other contemporaries such as Elizabeth I were not able to create a coalition which might oppose the "Catholic conspiracy" that threatened them.

Lockhart does not share the opinion of those historians who like James Westfall Thompson or S. H. Steinberg see the main reason for the 16th century political conflicts in a wish for the political domination of some definite territories, in the dynastic controversies or economic rivalry, and treat religious conflicts as a "smoke-screen" covering the real motivations. He invokes the opinion of Geoffrey Parker who in his recent work on Philip II of Spain shows how the individual piety of the ruler, his "Messianic imperialism", that is his

personal traits shaped the foreign policy of Spain in the second half of the 16th century and designated its priorities. In keeping with this conception, Lockhart intends to present in his book how Frederik the Second's religiousness influenced his activity in the international arena. Thus he has created a kind of political biography of Frederik II presenting at the same time the development of the ruler's personality from childhood to his mature years (his dyslectic troubles, which made reading difficult, gaps in his education, his conflicts with his parents, especially with his mother, his tendency to be directed by instinct and emotions rather than political calculations, which made him marry late, his abuse of drink and preference of primitive pastimes). At the same time the author reconstructs in detail the profiles of the members of the king's entourage, also those he only met occasionally, e.g. the envoys who arrived on diplomatic missions, as well as scholars, scientists, clergymen etc., who sought his patronage. On this occasion the author reconstructs the picture of contacts and ties with other royal courts and rulers, from German dukes to the Queen of England and her courtiers. This is supported by an analysis of bulky correspondence, consisting both of letters sent and received, as well as of oral and written information that came from various quarters, also newspapers and ephemeral publications, which in this era already had a large circulation. What we get as a result is a very detailed picture of the world of diplomatic ties of the era, focussed round Denmark and its ruler, connected with many endeavours for the realization of the interests of various partners both in the high political games, and in minor family-dynastic ones. The book suggests that the personal inclinations of Frederik II were of great significance to his politics, e.g. his relations with England were influenced by his personal admiration for Elizabeth I (this is proved by the toasts he drank to her in a state of slight alcoholic intoxication, or by his adoration for her portrait); his friendship with William of Orange, on the other hand, bore strongly upon his attitude to the insurrection in the Netherlands. In some cases Lockhart however shows naivety in his opinions, e.g. he wonders why Denmark did not close the Sund to the shipping of the Baltic grain to Spain (p. 276); apparently, he does not know that this grain was not shipped by Spaniards but by the Dutchmen, on Dutch ships, and that this trade with the enemy was an important source of income and substantially enriched 16th century Amsterdam.

The author presents a religious profile of Frederik II, which can hardly be called likeable. It seems that the ruler was not interested in the subtleties of theology, he did not allow any discussions to be conducted in Denmark, and at the same time he sincerely believed in the actual existence of a dreadful papistic Catholic conspiracy aimed at the eradication of Protestantism. Therefore he wanted to unite all Protestants in Europe, although in Denmark itself he introduced the principles of non-tolerance toward the Calvinists and other denominations that did not conform with Orthodox Lutheranism. The anabaptists who fled persecution for their faith from the Netherlands, were definitely unwelcome in Denmark. The ruler's anti-papistic and anti-Catholic obsession dominated his foreign policy, especially in the last years of his reign. In the area of the German Reich he started to play, more and more clearly, the role of the leader of pan-Protestant movement (especially at the conferences in Lüneburg in 1586 and Naumburg in 1587), and also came into prominence as the leader of this movement on a European scale, (he engaged and invested much money in the religious conflicts in France).

Lockhart has presented large and interesting material concerning the history of Danish and European diplomacy in the second half of the 16th century. It is a pity his expositions are not supported by an analysis of the internal situation in Denmark under Frederik the Second's rule. We do not know how ran the process of the so-called confessionalization of Danish society in those years, or what was the attitude of various social groups — aristocracy, gentry, townspeople, peasants — to the dealings of the king in the sphere of religious worship; or whether the economico-social life as well as the Danish state underwent any transformations

at that time, and if so, what kind of transformations they were. The works by E. Ladewig Petersen (among others *Fra standesamfund til rangesamfund, 1500–1700*, Kobenhaven 1980), and Artur Attnan (*The Struggle for Baltic Markets. Powers in Conflict 1558–1618*, Göteborg 1979), not mentioned by Lockhart in his bibliography, would be a good point of departure for deliberations on this subject. This would give more depth to the picture presented by the author, and perhaps would make him more critical of the sources on which he relied.

The Polish thread that reemerges from time to time in the book, is a separate matter. The role of Poland in the Northern War of 1563–1570 is practically ignored. A lot of space has been devoted to the election of the Polish King Henry de Valois, which (in accordance with the opinion of Frederik II, not subjected to any critical analysis) has been presented as extremely dangerous to Denmark and the correlation of forces on the Baltic coast, as an element of the plot of Catholic conspirators against the Lutherans (p. 134). The author accepts here the optics of his protagonist without any attempt at a scholarly verification. This also concerns the matter of Stephen Bathory's dispute with Gdańsk, which has wrongly been presented as a denominational conflict. The author also seems to be mistaken in attributing to Bathory too great ambitions concerning the Baltic area, or in regarding him as an unrelenting intolerant papist. Polish matters seem to be very exotic to the author and he makes many factual mistakes in this area. Thus he turns Catherine Jagiellon into the daughter of Sigismund Augustus, calls Bona Sforza a Napolitaine (p. 126), places the locality of Cztuchów in East Prussia instead of Royal Prussia, (p. 221). We must rank among downright curiosities that he presents in dead earnest, on several pages, without any attempt at a critical analysis, the sensational rumour about the Polish group of conspirators (in which Maciej Konopacki, a courtier of Bathory, allegedly took part), who planned a murder of Frederik II (p. 225). Of course, in that era, when attempts on the rulers' lives were quite frequent (William of Orange was murdered, there were also plans to murder Elizabeth I, Queen of England), in many royal courts there was a psychosis of fear and various rumours circulated; however, it is the historian's role to examine such gossips and their credibility. Generally speaking, Lockhart wants to see Poland among the fiercest enemies of Protestantism, and seems to be completely unaware that the Dutch anabaptists, who were ill-received in Denmark by Frederik II, came to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in order to live there in peace according to the principles of their faith.

The book leaves unsatisfied feeling. Let us hope that the author will return to the subject of Denmark and the complicated causes and the course of events during religious wars in 16th century Europe.

Maria Bogucka

Almut B u e s, *Das Herzogtum Kurland und der Norden der polnisch-litauischen Adelsrepublik im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Litblockin Giessen 2001, 370 pp.

Not much attention has been paid to the Duchy of Courland and Semigalia, as the official name of the country was. The Duchy was a peripheral and buffer state, situated at the borderline of the Baltic powers: Poland — Lithuania, Sweden and the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, pushing up towards the Baltic sea. In the 17th c., the dukes of Courland, aiming at preserving neutrality on the international political scene, often fell into serious troubles: their territory during the second Northern war (1655–1660) became a theatre of foreign armies' marches, and at some point was even occupied by Sweden. In the 18th c., the Duchy of Courland became a satellite of the Russian Empire with a puppet government led by the Birons, put on the Courland throne (after the extinction of the Kettlers' dynasty in 1737). However, during the whole epoch of Early Modern Times, formally since the 1560s, it remained the vassal state of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until its last breath in 1795. Later its territories were incorporated into

Russian Empire, within the borders of which, together with the neighbouring Livonia, remained until the end of World War I. After 1918 Courland became a part of the newly established state of Latvia. The peripheral, buffer, forgotten and rarely mentioned in the historical syntheses of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it became a subject of long lasting research, resulting in a recently published monograph.

In case of historical monographs, only the final period of Russian dominance was well described for Courland and Livonia, due to a remarkable synthesis by Leonid Arbusov, a Russian by origin, but a German by choice¹. A very complicated ethnic and political situation of the region did not, during the between-the-wars years, favour an appearance of a new historical synthesis in the Congress languages. Similarly, in the period after the Second World War, the history of medieval Teutonic Knights' Livonia, and especially the early modern Livonia and Courland, became a part of "nobody's land" history. The Soviet historiography was, in fact, more interested in the history of Estonian and Latvian "oppressed" classes, mainly peasantry and townspeople; the German historians, however, on whose shoulders fell *volens volens* the obligation to research the history of German elite reigning in the region, refrained fearfully from an annoying subject. The international aura did not help a wider scope research on the earlier history of Baltic Germans, and a lack of dynamism on the part of German fellow countrymen of the region did not stimulate such research in the German Federal Republic. In this context an excellent book², published in the U.S. in 1969 by Alexander V. Berkis — a Latvian émigré historian — became a true phenomenon, probably grown out of the search for creation of historical identity by the Latvian Diaspora.

In view of the above, the work of Almut Bues, as it concerns the after-war historiography, is an enterprise of pioneer proportions. And not only due to its Courland theme. The author, in fact, as the title suggests — decided to present the history of the Duchy of Courland against a wide comparative background, including the neighbouring Polish Livonia, Ducal and Royal Prussia in the period from mid-16th c. until the early 18th century. Until the present, notwithstanding numerous valuable works by Karol Górski, Marian Biskup, Janusz Małek and their students, and lately a wide range synthesis by Bogdan Wachowiak³, nobody in Poland had the courage to trace out the common history of northern Baltic borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It concerns the creation by the Polish-Lithuanian Jagiellons the system of "twin" lands (Duchy of Prussia — Royal Prussia, and Duchy of Courland — Livonia), created on the rubble of Teutonic Knights' state and organised on the basis of the provinces either directly incorporated into Poland-Lithuania (Royal Prussia and Livonia) or the vassal duchies (Ducal Prussia, the Duchy of Courland and Semigalia). The author decided to aim ambitiously at delineating and comparing the most important political, constitutional, social, military, economy, religious and cultural features of the above mentioned countries, that create the east-northern borderland of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. And although the author devoted the most volume to Courland, by spinning comparative accounts, she traced the history of the area, that could be called the Polish-Lithuanian Baltic region in a context of links of the peripheries with central authorities (the king, Parliament-*Sejm*) of the Commonwealth.

Almut Bues' publication is not a synthesis but rather belongs to a genre of comparative monographs. Taking the history of Courland as a starting point, the

¹ L. Arbusov, *Grundriss der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurland*, Riga 1918 (reprint Hanover 1972).

² A. V. Berkis, *The History of the Duchy of Courland 1561-1795*, Towson 1969.

³ B. Wachowiak and A. Kamiński, *Dzieje Brandenburgii-Prus na progu czasów nowożytnych, 1500-1701*, (*The History of Brandenburg-Prussia at the Treshold of Modern Era, 1500-1701*), Poznań 2001.

author compares other lands of the Polish–Lithuanian Baltic region, discussing the problems, without, however, presenting a chronological framework.

The work consists of eight chapters. In the first, Bues outlines the basic points of constitutional structure of the the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth: the privileges of nobility and its political position in contrast to the monarch's prerogatives. She also stresses the importance of Lublin Union of 1569, not only for the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania but also for the parts of the Baltic region integrated stronger with Poland–Lithuania: the Royal Prussia (Parliament union, introduction of Prussian deputies and senators to the Polish *Sejm*), the Ducal Prussia (the vassal homage by Albrecht Friedrich Hohenzollern), Courland (feudal obligations of Duke Gotthard Kettler) and Livonia (with a status of Polish–Lithuanian condominium). Bues reflects upon the uniqueness of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth constitutional system in the European context. At the same time, she impresses with her deep knowledge of Polish historiography on the subject, included in the account and footnotes.

The second chapter describes the geographical site and conditions, population and urban development of the Polish–Lithuanian Baltic region, with only a short look at Livonia⁴. However, the sub-chapter *Wahrnehmung der Regionen in der Kartographie* is written brilliantly, where the perception of Baltic region in the cartographic relics of the epoch is discussed.

The third chapter is devoted to the ruling class or to use the more precise German term, "the classes, that carry the power of authority" (*staatstragende Schichten*), i. e. the dynasty, court, official apparatus in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and both vassal Duchies, as well as their mutual links. The author's attention is drawn to the Duke's court in Mitava — a small one, provincial and, in fact, of little interest to the Courland nobility. Some more ambitious of them looked rather at the career paths in Polish–Lithuanian or Scandinavian armies. The author draws attention to the development of institutions of Courland central authorities, patterned after the Royal Prussia. At the same time, she shows the incorporated lands — Royal Prussia, Livonia — deprived of Duke's government, where the predominant role was played by nobility self-government and local officials, pointing at the Royal Prussia as a constitutional model for Livonia, reflected in *Constitutiones Livoniae* of 1582 and *Ordinatio Livoniae* of 1598. One of the subchapters describes the organisation of nobility land authorities and the structure of provincial estates assemblies (*Landtag*) in the incorporated countries (Royal Prussia and Livonia) and in both duchies (Ducal Prussia and Courland), as well as the definitions of the so-called *indigenatus* or naturalization law in Prussian and Courland Livonian countries that were supposed to provide a cornerstone of their autonomy within the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. In my opinion, there is a lack of at least general description in that chapter of Livonian *Landtag* functions in the Polish period (before 1621) as well as an analysis of the provincial estate assemblies' structures in the Baltic provinces at all. It would allow to show the influence of Polish–Lithuanian *Sejm* on the estates assemblies of particular lands of Polish–Lithuanian *Balticum*, especially Courland and Livonia⁵ (e.g. a fact of naming the Duke's highest councillors, introduced to the higher House of Courland *Landtag* as "elder brothers", similarly to the Polish senators). It could have provided a good introduction to another subchapter devoted to the nobility ideology of the nobility in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and their influence on the Baltic provinces' nobility. However, it is that

⁴ Not a very precise use of the name Polish Livonia strikes the eye — it is not certain whether it means Livonia in the period of 1561–1621 or after 1660 — a reader may find himself lost, because when the author on the one hand describing the geographical site, only marginally mentions Livonia, on the other later on stresses, a complete detachment of the seashore after 1621 from the remaining with the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth parts of Livonia.

⁵ The influence of the Polish constitutional model on the Duchy of Prussia was described by A. V e t u l a n i, and on the Royal Prussia, among others, by Z. N a w o r s k i — both quoted by the author in the bibliography on the subject.

third chapter that can be called the most inspiring in preparing ground for further debates.

Chapter fourth describes the land legal aspects and the organisation of the courts of law in Courland against the background of other Baltic provinces. The author deals with the most important treaties and vassal privileges for the Duchies of Prussia and Courland, as well as for the incorporated Royal Prussia and Livonia, stressing their often noticeable influence or even exact transfer into Courland and Livonia of the legal patterns established earlier for both parts of Prussia. In the context, one is surprised by the omission of Sigismund III privilege for the Brandenburg electors of 1611⁶, allowing them succession to the Ducal Prussia, that became one of the basis of mutual relations between the Polish Crown and its Prussian vassal. The document of 1611, worked out by a royal commission sent to the Duchy of Prussia, could just as well have served as an inspiration for another royal commission arriving in Courland in 1617. That commission worked out a privilege that became the cornerstone of Courland nobility's freedoms, namely *Formula Regiminis*. However, Bues deservedly stresses the validity of the commission, which (together with the appeals to the so-called Relations Court — *Sąd Relacyjny*, presided by the King himself) constituted the main instrument in the hands of the sovereign that enabled him to intervene into the internal policies of both vassal peripheries. Also the commissions sent by the kings to the larger Prussian towns (Gdańsk, Toruń) were of similar importance.

Following chapters are devoted to the matters of military organisation and strongholds on Baltic borderlands (Ch. 5), economy (Ch.6), religion and culture policies (Ch.7). Based on a discerning research in archives and literature on the subject, they show a wide panoramic view of discussed topics. In Chapter 5, the author sketches a "brought against the wall" situation of the Dukes of Courland, desperately veering, during the decade of continuous northern wars, between their loyalty towards the Polish-Lithuanian sovereign and the Swedish pressure to conduct policies hostile to the Commonwealth. It might be worth to remind here, that also the Prussian vassals found themselves in a similar situation. It seems that the accusation of treason and betrayal, directed at the Prussian Duke and Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, are unfounded. He abandoned John Casimir, King of Poland, much later that the Polish nobility eagerly capitulating to Carl Gustav, King of Sweden. Whereas the Duke of Courland, Jacob Kettler, in spite of his desperate attempts to preserve neutrality during the Polish-Swedish conflict of 1655-1660, was, for a time, deprived by the Swedes of his reign.

The chapter devoted to economy, on the other hand, lacks a comparative analysis of the phenomenon of, the so-called secondary peasant serfdom, or, to put it in a more exact German term — *Gutsherrschaft*. After all, such comparisons of situation of various peasant groups in that multinational and multireligious melting pot, which the lands of Polish-Lithuanian state became, could have led to many interesting conclusions.

In the part describing the culture, Bues paints a picture of ethnically and confessionally diversified Courland, whose rulers were unable to shed its provincial status. It provides a striking contrast to the 16th c. Ducal Prussia that became one of the important resources of German as well as Polish language and culture in that part of Europe (e.g. Polish printing houses in Königsberg and Elk and the Polish students on scholarships at Königsberg University).

The last chapter deals with a possibility of retaining autonomy (from the point of view of the provinces) and a closer integration of the Baltic lands within the framework of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Of particular value are the comparative remarks, often strikingly, geographically farfetched, when the author draws a parallel between the provincial and buffer duchies: Courland,

⁶ Only when discussing the religious problems, the author mentions the document of 1611, that guaranteed equal rights for the Catholics and Lutherans in the Ducal Prussia, cf. p. 261 of the work reviewed.

which never came out of its role, and Savoy. The dukes of the latter managed during several centuries to reach the position of one of the most influential rulers on the French-Italian-Hapsburg borders, where the interests of the mightiest European monarchies collided. Bues tries, as one wants to say, in the spirit of late Antoni Maćzak, to answer the question, what strategy and factors helped Savoy's success and what was lacking in Courland.

Taking into consideration numerous merits and very few demerits of the work, as well as remembering the insignificant number of earlier publications and a multitude of problems characteristics for the time and area — the book by Almut Bues must be assessed well. It is not only a pioneer publication, opening a way to further comparative studies and syntheses for the whole region of Polish-Lithuanian *Balticum*, but it also impresses with its enormous historiography on the subject, quoted by the author, and inquiry of sources conducted in the archives in Riga, Berlin, Darmstadt, Dresden, Marburg, Vienna, Warsaw, Danzig, Stettin, Cracow, Thorn, London, Stockholm, Uppsala, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Paris and Rome. Let us hope that it will become an inspiration for further arguments and monographs.

Igor Kąkolewski

Mirosława Czarnačka, Jolanta Szafarz (eds.), *Kultura smutku. Paradygmaty postaw wobec śmierci w literaturze niemieckiego baroku. Ze zbiorów Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu (The Culture of Sadness. The Paradigms of Attitudes Towards Death in German Baroque Literature. From the Collections of the Wrocław University Library)*, Wrocław 2004, Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT, 304 pp.

The book is an interesting combination of a source edition and an analytical study centred round the issue of the transience of human life, death and fear in Silesian Baroque literature. Its editors have brought out a dozen funeral literary works from the collections of old printed publications held in the Wrocław University Library. Their authors are Friedrich von Kogau, Andreas Gryphius, Benjamin Schmolcke, Matthäus Hoffmann, Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, Margaretha Susanna von Kuntsch, Christian Hoffman Hoffmannswaldau, Johann Besser, Hans Assmann von Abschatz, Martin Opitz, Benjamin Neukirch and Heinrich Mühlpfort. These texts are presented as reproductions, each of which is provided with: a preface introducing the profile of the author, a commentary and notes prepared with much care and reliability by the editors' pupils and postgraduate students.

The whole material is divided into two parts: 1. A discourse on death and transience of human life (pp. 13–190), and 2. The paradigms of the attitudes to death in family and public life (pp. 191–304). The first part also includes four analytical dissertations on the subjects dealt with by the works presented in this collection. Jolanta Szafarz writes about *The Visualization of the Philosophical Discourse on Death in 17th Century Literature* (pp. 13–26); in fact she starts her exposition much earlier, for with the poem about Gilgamesh, and the birth of the antique concept of *vanitas vanitatum*, through medieval thinkers (in a very large selection), and finishes with the representations of the Dance of Death, so popular in the 16th–17th centuries (again in a very large selection), and the development of Renaissance–Baroque emblem books. Mirosława Czarnačka presents *The Anthropology of Fear in the Funeral Texts and Epicedia by Andreas Gryphius, 1616–1664* (pp. 69–79). This eminent Silesian poet and great dramatist centred in his funeral works on the problem of fear as the basic phenomenon of *conditio humanae*, as well as on the posture of stoical constancy (*constantia*) as a way of overcoming that fear. Czarnačka maintains that Gryphius's works show the determination of all spheres of human life in the 17th century by fear. Here we

can see an analogy with the observations by the French researcher of the phenomenon of fear, Jean De Lumeau. An interesting fragment of Czarnecka's deliberations is her attempt to show by example of Gryphius's works how fear shaped the cultural model of gender, especially in the era marked by the drama of Thirty Years' War and the disasters of famine and plague that accompanied it. In this connection she chooses and especially carefully analyses those works where the poet deals with fear bound up with pregnancy, birth, the first weeks of life, and death—rate of new-born babies, a fear principally affecting women, but also shared by men. A separate place is devoted to the dilemma of barrenness that stigmatized women in the 17th century. This is a very important and interesting study, which can be included in the discussion of gender relations in the early-modern era.

Małgorzata Morawiec in her dissertation "*Monumentum aere perennius*" or *Comissioned Work? Baroque Funeral Sermons Seen Through the Prism of Rhetoric* (pp. 81–97) deals with a special kind of occasional literature represented by printed funeral speeches commissioned by the families of the deceased persons, and differing from the normal funeral sermons, although their contents were also of a homiletic character. M. Morawiec emphasizes the role played by printed funeral speeches in the Protestant milieu — they were a form of the public expression of sorrow, an attempt to come to terms with the tragedy of the death of somebody near, and to encourage and elevate those who remained alive. They were also a kind of memorial erected both to the deceased person and his/her family. The author devotes special attention to the texts dedicated to women who died at childbirth and to the children who died prematurely. Thus her expositions also to a certain extent refer to the subject of M. Czarnecka's study, and on the one hand join in the discussion of gender relations and on the other deal with the problem of the attitude to children, and the presence or lack of parental love, so intensively discussed in the historiography of the early-modern era.

The author of the fourth study is again M. Czarnecka. She deals in it with *The Urban Culture of Old Wrocław in the Light of Baroque Epicedial Poetry* (pp. 125–136). She joins in the important discussion conducted by historians for scores of years on the subject of the main culture-creative centres in the Baroque era, the role played by towns and the rulers' courts as well as by the court officials, already ennobled but derived from the urban milieu. Czarnecka is right in observing differences between various countries in this respect; the phenomenon must have been based on the different degree of their urbanization and the specificity of the socio-political structures in each. Baroque culture was marked by an urban character in some territories of the German Reich, however, this model cannot be identified with that prevailing in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth dominated by the gentry. Czarnecka presents Wrocław as a typical urban literary centre, which is best testified by occasional literature concerning all the important events of everyday life in this town, such as births, weddings, funerals, reaching particular levels in professional career by the inhabitants, etc. The author not only emphasizes the great role of occasional poetry in the social communication in 17th century Wrocław, but regards it as a sign of "urban mentality", which at that time was already dominated by a certain level of education.

While reading these interesting deliberations one cannot help thinking of analogies with the towns of Royal Prussia — Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg — where similar literary forms flourished in the 17th century. Some authors (e.g. Opitz) worked in both these territories. It might be worthwhile reaching for the works of E. Kizik and K. Cieślak, dealing with similar subjects, in order to make comparisons, or even to elaborate a common model of "the culture of sadness" reaching from Silesia to the Baltic Sea.

Maria Bogucka

Mirosława Czarnaek, *Wieszczki. Rekonstrukcja kobiecej genealogii w historii niemieckiej literatury kobiecej od połowy XIX do końca XX wieku (Prophetesses. Reconstruction of Female Genealogy in the History of German Female Literature from the Middle of the 19th Century to the End of the 20th)*, Wrocław 2004, Wyd. Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 246 pp., bibl., index of persons.

At first sight the title seems rather pompous but the author explains it in the preface. It refers to the myth of Cassandra, the "mute" prophetess, or rather to the story by the German novelist Christa Wolf, in which Cassandra expresses the wish that at least one person might listen to her and transfer the story to her daughter, who in turn would transfer it to hers, so as to create a history that would be different from the male history of wars and heroes. This is the way to create the history of female literature, a history of "women recovering their right to speak", a history transgressing the traditional spaces reserved for each gender. The second element of the title, the concept of genealogy, refers to the reflections of Michel Foucault, who regarded the diversified space of time relations and dependencies, a space full of convulsions and surprises, as a genealogical structure. To a large extent, Czarnaek's history of German female literature (that is, literature written by women, she tacitly assumes that it differs from male literature) is an examination of the transmission from "an older person" to "a younger one", an analysis of mother-daughter relationship. At the same time she unmasks the archetype of "gentle" woman, woman as a victim. The book has 10 chapters. Although the author is mainly interested in the 19th and 20th centuries, she starts her reflections with the Middle Ages and early modern times. Chapter I (*Querelle des femmes ou longue durée: 15th-19th centuries*, pp. 17-29) presents the centuries-long European debate on woman's nature and place in society on the basis of the latest rich international literature (mainly German) dealing with this subject. There is however some doubt as to whether the witchcraft trials of the 16th-18th centuries were only a manifestation of misogyny (p.20). Recent research indicates that this was a complex phenomenon and that men, too, were accused of witchcraft. As regards France, this was pointed out by R. Mandrou in his book *Magistrats et sorcières en France au XVII^e s.*, Paris 1968. Finland, Estonia and Iceland are countries in which mainly men were accused (cf. B. Ankarloo, G. Henningsen, eds., *Early Modern European Witchcraft*, Oxford 1990). In Germany, too, many men were brought to trial for witchcraft. It is estimated that men accounted for one-quarter of all persons executed for witchcraft in Europe (A. Gow, L. Apps, *Gender at Stake. Male Witches in Early Modern Europe*, Montreal 2002). As to minor remarks, it is worth pointing out that *Disputatio nova contra mulieres* of 1595 was published anonymously and that Valens Accidalius denied he was the author (pp. 20, 21). Frauenlob (Praiser of Women) is a pseudonym (p.22). Leporin gained her doctorate not only with the consent but thanks to the support of Frederick the Great; only a person of such high rank could finally break the resistance of the university (p. 26). The French Revolution did not propagate the equality of the sexes (pp. 28, 51); on the contrary, the *Rights of Man and of the Citizen* were to apply only to men, hence the female protests, including the protest of Olympe de Gouges (cf. O. Blanc's latest work *Marie-Olympe de Gouges, une humaniste à la fin du XVIII^e s.*, Cahors 2003). These are but minor corrections to a very interesting and competently written chapter.

Chapter II (*An Outline of the History of Female Literature in Germany from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, pp. 31-54) introduces the subject of the book. The author discusses women's earliest attempts at writing, from religious poetry and poems written on special occasions to such forms as family records and autobiographies, and finally comes to the breakthrough achieved during the Age of Enlightenment which enhanced women's role as consumers and producers of literature and witnessed the birth of the female novel. The chapter contains

succinct but very apt portrayals, among others of Luise Adelgunda Gottsch ed from Danzig and Sophie de la Roche, author of a well known sentimental novel *The Story of Miss von Sternheim*. In a very interesting passage Czarnecka tries to indicate the main characteristics of the female literature of that period, pointing out that it was dominated by the mother figure on the one hand and on the other, by stories about their heroines' illness and death, which were not only metaphors of patriarchal authority and punishment but also manifestations of women's protest against the ruthlessly imposed gender construct (esp. pp. 48 and 49). She analyzes both the form of female novels (novels composed from letters, fable stories) as well as their subject matter. Much space is devoted to the situation of women writers during the Romantic period. Czarnecka agrees with J. Kristeva, in whose opinion women — the sisters, wives, daughters and friends of famous poets and philosophers of the Romantic Period — performed the function of "behind-the-scenes workfemales" (p. 51). Czarnecka's general evaluation of German Romanticism is unequivocal: women were accepted as readers and listeners but not as creative participants in discussions or authors of independent views. The result was that they gave up most of their own literary aspirations and lived in the shadow of men, accompanying and supporting them. As the author points out, what was characteristic of the epoch was women's friendships, which led to the development of epistolary literature (best exemplified by Bettina von Arnim).

Chapter III (*Women Writers and the First Feminists 1848–1918*, pp. 55–102) discusses the breakthrough which occurred in the development of German female literature thanks to the Springtide of Nations and the beginning of the emancipation movement. Czarnecka portrays a whole generation of professional women writers (very interesting biographies of Fanny Lewald and Luise Mülbach), depicts new trends in the discussion between the genders at the turn of the 19th century and portrays in detail women's achievements in German modernist literature, paying special attention to the presence of the mother–daughter conflict as often an important autobiographic element (Lou Andreas Salomé) as well as to criticism of marriage and of the bourgeois family (Gabriela Reuter). Czarnecka presents the literature of these years against the background of the socio-political changes taking place in Germany and the development of women's movement. According to her, particularly important was the year 1918, when German women (like Polish women) were granted the right to vote. However, she is wrong in thinking that the situation was "similar in many European countries" (p. 67). The process was much slower. In 1918 women became voters (in addition to Poland and Germany) only in Ireland, Luxembourg and Great Britain, in 1919 they were granted right to vote in Austria and Czechoslovakia, in 1920 in Hungary, and in 1921 in Sweden. During the interwar period voting rights were granted to the women of Spain and Portugal, and after World War II to the women of France and Italy. In Switzerland women have been voting only since 1971, and that not in the whole country, for in Half-Kanton Appenzell-Inner Rhoden women were enfranchised, after a wave of protests, only in 1990!

Though the political enfranchisement of women was undoubtedly a significant event, the question arises whether the admission of women to university studies was not more important for their literary work.

Chapter IV (*Women in the Culture of the Weimar Republic*, pp. 103–135) is a very important and excellently constructed part of the book. It portrays the events of World War I and the results it had for the situation of women, as well as women's situation in the Weimar Republic. Czarnecka rightly assesses the influence of the birth and development of national socialism on shaping the cultural patterns prescribed for both genders and analyzes in detail the characteristics of female literature during that period (e.g. the "new objectivity" and the reporter's style), but she focuses (especially Chapter V) on women writers' attitude to the humanitarian catastrophe, and on the fate and work of writers of Jewish origin. She pays great attention to Elisabeth Langgässer and Maria Luise Kaschnitz. Chapter VI (*Commitment: Women's Debuts in the 1960s*, pp. 137–

146) is an introduction to what is the main sphere of the author's reflections, namely, the vigour of feminism in the Federal Republic of Germany (with brief references to the specific situation in the German Democratic Republic) and the unprecedented development of female literature (Chapter VII *New Feminism in the Federal Republic*, pp. 147–162 and Chapter VIII *Women's Feminist Literature*, pp. 163–183). Czarnecka specially underlines the notion of "sisterhood", a reflection of feminine solidarity, and the presentation of woman as a victim of the patriarchal system, with the absence of a concept of what the "new woman" should be like (p. 168). However, the meeting of Writing Women held in Munich in 1976 stated precisely in the assumed programme that women writers should adopt a common stance in order to "revalue the male world and even annihilate it in an act of psychological castration". But — as Czarnecka observes — these extreme trends soon evoked criticism. Czarnecka analyzes works representing both trends in an objective way, without taking sides. She seems to be more interested in the current of feminine literature which she calls "body writing" or in a more sophisticated way "the palpimpests of mother's voice". What she means is works in which attention is focused on woman's body, both as regards her sexuality and pathological deviations (e.g. hysteria, anorexia, fertility troubles, etc.). These reflections lead her to define feminine literature (or perhaps rather a part of it) as "somatic" literature (p. 182).

The last two chapters (Chapter IX *Post-Feminist Literature*, pp. 185–211 and Chapter X *Women's Literature as a Utopia*, pp. 213–224) present contemporary feminine literature in Germany. Czarnecka points out that women writers now often take up mythical antique subjects (Cora, Demeter, Antigone, Cassandra, Medea, etc.), or use medieval myths and legends, transferring them into the reality of the DDR or the Federal Republic. It would be interesting to find the reasons for these trends. Czarnecka has devoted a special place to the life and work of Christa Wolf, the best known East German writer, especially to her novel *Cassandra*, which expresses a protest against the male history of wars and fathers' patriarchal rule. Czarnecka seems to share Wolf's opinion that women, because of their biology and absence in official history (such total absence seems to be an exaggeration — MB), experience and express a different reality from the reality of men. This is why they can create a different kind of aesthetics. Since I have my doubts about statements of this kind, I would prefer a more critical stance on this matter in Czarnecka's book.

The book ends with inspiring reflections on how women's situation during and after World War II has been reflected in literature. Czarnecka focuses on women's participation in the Third Reich's discrimination and extermination machinery (e.g. Helga Schuber's interesting novels), on the reality of women's life in the DDR (Monika Maron's works), and also on the obsessive way in which many women writers try to settle accounts with the father figure (in addition to negative portrayals also visions of an ideal father–friend). Czarnecka also rightly points out that in the 1980s more and more women in Germany became authors of historical novels, science fiction and thrillers. Does it mean that thanks to a better education they are going beyond the threshold of their homes and are dismantling the home-connected rules that restricted women's interests to family matters and customs?

The book closes with reflections on the conditions which hamper women in writing literary works. Lack of time and of space of one's own, involvement in the practical spheres of life (motherhood, marriage, the duty to look after old and sick parents and relatives), the necessity of simultaneously performing many functions, are the realities emphasized by many female writers. On the other hand, many women writers think that writing is similar to the act of love, to pregnancy and childbirth (Karin Struck). According to Czarnecka, this is how women writers explain their differences, their separate, isolated place in the process of creativity. Opinions of this kind were certainly a reply to reality in the Middle Ages and the early modern epoch when female literature was a rare phenomenon

evoking distrust, and was frequently different from mainstream literature. But the end of the 20th century with its deep changes in gender relations and social mentality surely does not provide grounds for such far-reaching separation. Opinions of this kind cannot therefore escape criticism.

Mirosława Czarnecka's book is a solid, erudite study. The author's language may seem to be too difficult, full of sophisticated expressions (like the frequent theorems) which could be replaced by simpler or even, more correct words. But the wealth of information contained in the book, its vast chronological range and the author's interesting interpretations make it a very valuable read. The author has acquainted the reader with the development of German female literature, has shown its links with the socio-political situation of women and with gender relations in Germany from the Middle Ages to the end of the 20th century, and has also presented the state of research in this field. The only item that I think is missing in the rich bibliography at the end of the book is the work by Gisela Bock, *Frauen in der europäischen Geschichte. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, München 2000. The index makes it easier to find one's way among the hundreds of names mentioned in the book. It is a pity, I think, that the work has been published only in the Polish language for this will limit its reception in Germany and other countries, where it would undoubtedly be welcomed as a valuable study of a very interesting subject.

Maria Bogucka

Ryszard T e c h m a n, *Armia radziecka w gospodarce morskiej Pomorza Zachodniego w latach 1945–1956 (The Red Army in the Maritime Economy of Western Pomerania in the Years 1945–1956)*, Poznań 2003, Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, pp. 349.

The onset of the 21st c. has become a fruitful period in Polish historiography. Many monographs devoted to the Polish — Soviet relations, broadening their chronological scope outside the “magical” borderline of 1948, have been published. In an introduction to the collection of documents *Polska w dokumentach z archiwów rosyjskich 1945–1953 (Poland in the Documents from the Russian Archives)*, published in 2000, Andrzej P a c z k o w s k i rightfully noticed that the research, conducted by both Polish and Russian historians on the bilateral relations after World War II, has concentrated almost exclusively on the 1945–1948 period¹. Among the publications that have appeared in the last three years, the book by Andrzej S k r z y p e k seems to have the widest subject range, as it presents the Polish–Soviet relations during 1944–1957 in view of the Soviet Union subordination mechanism for Poland².

Not only the chronological borderlines of the researched problems of the Soviet Union policies towards Poland or the whole territory of Central–Eastern Europe were widened, but also the subject range itself. Until then, there occurred only attempts at a presentation of general Soviet concepts towards the central-eastern region, though they mostly appeared in expert papers, with an exception of only one monograph, published in 1999³. Among the publications devoted to the Soviet Union policy towards Poland at the final stages of World War II and immediately after, the works by Krystyna K e r s t e n⁴ remain the most valuable.

¹ *Polska w dokumentach z archiwów rosyjskich 1949–1953 (Poland in the Documents from the Russian Archives)*, ed. A. P a c z k o w s k i, Warszawa 2000, pp. 8–9.

² A. S k r z y p e k, *Mechanizmy uzależnienia. Stosunki polsko-sowieckie 1944–1957 (Mechanisms of Dependency. Polish–Soviet Relations 1944–1957)*, Pułtusk 2002.

³ H. B a r t o s z e w i c z, *Polityka Związku Radzieckiego wobec państw Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w latach 1944–1948 (The Soviet Union Policy towards the Countries of Central–Eastern Europe between 1944–1948)*, Warszawa 1999.

In the Russian historiography, only one stands really out, namely the work by Grant M. Adebikov about *Kominform*⁵. At present, the Russian historians devote more detailed attention to analytical studies resulting in valuable monographs, all due to an easier access to the Polish archives. Unfortunately, the source basis has not been enriched by the Russian sources, as the Russian archives after World War II are still inaccessible to the Polish historians, and for the Russian scholars only to a limited degree. The historians' knowledge is only complemented by the publication of documents from the resources of Russian archives⁶.

In the Polish historiography, the earliest detailed research was devoted to the subject of deportation and repatriation of the Poles from the USSR⁷. In 1994 there appeared the first valuable monograph by Edward Nalepa⁸, on military matters in the Polish-Soviet relations after World War II, presenting one of the spheres of mechanisms subjugating Poland to the USSR. The subject was picked up by other Polish scholars and resulted in several notable works. One of them, written by Lesław Krogulski, is showing the complex problem of Soviet garrisons in Poland during 1944-1956⁹.

The author of the reviewed book, Ryszard Techman, is both a historian and an archivist. He is interested in administration and maritime economy, the history of archives and their resources as well as international relations after World War Two. Techman's chronological borderlines were chosen well and are clearly legible. They start at the moment of arrival of Russian troops in the Western Pomerania territory; they remained there until 1993. The garrisons, numbering several thousand Soviet soldiers on the Polish territory after World War II, were one of the manifestation of Polish subservience to the USSR. The lack of legal bilateral agreements proves that they were, in fact, occupation forces. The legal status of the Soviet army stationed in Poland changed, at least formally, in 1956, after the treaty signed between the two countries.

The content of the reviewed publication is wider than the title suggests. Four chapters devoted to establishing the subject of research are preceded by a large introduction (pp. 19-73), presenting political conditions of Poland's subservience, economic aspects of the Soviet army presence in the Western Pomerania territories and social results of that presence. It has to be stressed that in that part of monograph, the rich literature on the subject was scrupulously examined. The Polish historiography dominates, but the works of Russian historians are also presented. The next four chapters, called by the author "substantial" are not limited only to the economic problems of the Soviet army presence but also discuss the political aspects and social consequences of the exploitation of particular territories of Western Pomerania. In presentation of that most important part of the work, Techman implemented a geographical — subject matter structure. Chapter Two deals with the role of army war commands along the Oder river, the take over of that waterway by the Polish side and the transport exploitation by

⁴ K. Kersten, *Narodziny systemu władzy w Polsce 1943-1948 (The Birth of Governmental Power System in Poland 1943-1948)*. Paris 1985; eadem: *Jajta w polskiej perspektywie (Yalta in the Polish Perspective)*, London — Warsaw 1989; eadem, *Między wyzwoleniem a zniewoleniem. Polska 1944-1956 (Between Liberation and Suppression. Poland 1944-1956)*, London 1993.

⁵ G. M. Adebikov, *Kominform i poslewoennaia Evropa 1944-1956*, Moskva 1994.

⁶ Further on the subject, cf. *Polska w dokumentach (Poland in the Documents)*, p. 10.

⁷ K. Kersten, *Repatriacje Polaków po drugiej wojnie światowej. studium historyczne (Repatriation of the Poles after World War II. A historical study)*, Wrocław 1974; J. Czerniakiewicz, *Repatriacja ludności polskiej z ZSRR 1944-1948 (Repatriation of the Polish Population from the USSR, 1944-1948)*, Warszawa 1987.

⁸ E. Nalepa, *Oficerowie Armii Radzieckiej w Wojsku Polskim 1943-1968 (The officers of the Soviet Army in the Polish Army, 1943-1968)*, Warszawa 1995.

⁹ M. L. Krogulski, *Okupacja w imię sojuszu. Armia Radziecka w Polsce 1944-1956 (Occupation in the Name of Alliance. The Red Army in Poland 1944-1956)*, Warszawa 2000.

the Soviets. Chapter Three delineates the Soviet presence in Szczecin since April, 1945, and, first of all, the Soviet rule over the Szczecin harbour, the presence of army and trade outposts in shipbuilding industry, as well as the Soviet fishing fleet in Szczecin and around it. Chapter Four incorporates in its content the presence of Red Army battalions at Szczecin Bay, especially in the region of, so called Police enclave, and also the functioning of the USSR Marines' basis in Świnoujście. Finally, Chapter Five deals with the problem of Soviet garrisons along the central part of seashore and their exploitation activities in smaller harbours and fisheries.

The source basis depended on the Polish archives. The author scrupulously examined the materials held at the Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, first of all governmental acts of central authorities and their agencies, as well as political parties documents, mostly PPR (Polish Workers Party) and PPS (Polish Socialist Party). He also looked through the collection at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw, CAW (Central Military Archives) in Rembertów, Marines Archives in Gdynia and Borderguards Archives in Szczecin. He also examined the resources at local State Archives in Gdańsk, Szczecin, Koszalin, Słupsk and Wrocław. However, he does not explain the reasons for not checking the resources at State Archives in Opole. But it has to be underlined that the author managed to gain access to some sources at two Russian archives, namely the Ministry of Defence of Russian Federation and its Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Techman is one of very few Polish historians who researched, though to a limited degree, the Russian sources generated after 1945.

The author presents, for the first time in historiography, a picture of economic exploitation and robbery of Western Pomerania by the Soviet Army troops until 1956. The publication also delineates the ensuing social consequences of the Red Army presence, especially the rise in criminality or even banditry, resulting from low cultural and moral level of the Soviet soldiers. Murders, rapes and robberies negatively influenced the safety of the local population and, in effect, slowed the process of the Polish settlement in those territories.

In the sphere of economic exploitation of Western Pomerania, the author draws particular attention to the losses sustained by the maritime economy, the most important in this region. The intensity of Soviet activities affected especially sea fishery and harbours. The Soviets damaged greatly the shipbuilding industry, where against the Polish-Soviet agreements signed at governmental level, the workshops were dismantled almost in full and moved to the USSR.

In the reviewed publication, the exploitation of the Oder river and its basin finds it most interesting aspects in the transport of goods to Western Pomerania harbours and later, by sea, to the Soviet Union; they were war spoils gained as the so-called reparations, but also common robberies, as well as coal, a strategic mineral for Moscow, bought in Poland much cheaper than the world prices of this raw material. The Soviet activities in Oder river basin were not only illegal (lack of any bilateral agreement), but they also led to the elimination of Polish transport enterprises since the transport was dominated by two Soviet enterprises. The exploitation of Oder waterway by the Soviets was accompanied by its devastation.

The activities of Soviet army authorities in Szczecin comprise a particularly vivid example of exploitation tactics conducted in the territories transferred to Poland by the three great powers decision in Potsdam. The biggest Stettin industrial establishments were dismantled and moved to the USSR. The harbour was the most important for the Soviets and it became, since the middle of 1945, the main transport link from Germany and Poland to the Soviet Union. Until signing an agreement (in September 1947) between Poland and the Soviet Union on releasing the Szczecin harbour to the Poles, it was exploited exclusively by the USSR, though completely illegally. The agreement, however, did not mean an immediate or full withdrawal of the Russians from the harbour. It was only in the mid-1950s that Poland gained the control over the Szczecin harbour.

During a period of several months after the end of World War II, a special status was granted to an area north of Szczecin. It was not accessible to the Polish administration and maritime authorities. During the time, the fishing harbours worked exclusively for the Red Army. A formal admittance of the Polish authorities to the region did not, in fact, change the situation. On the USSR demand, an area of several kilometres along the Oder river and Szczecin Bay was excluded from the Polish territory creating a, so called, Police enclave. The fishing harbour of Trzebież with its largest fishing fleet was included into this enclave, and it served exclusively as the Russian suppliers. Other fishing harbours of the Szczecin Bay also played a similar role. The Soviet Marines took over, absolutely illegally, all the old *Kriegsmarine* buildings in Swinoujście and the seashore district, rendering impossible the development of the summer resort and health facilities as well as the harbour itself. It was only after 1956 that Poland had a chance to gradually take control over the city and the harbour, and the presence of the Soviet Marines diminished and became dislocated.

The Soviet army situated since 1945 in Western Pomerania territory did not satisfy itself with plundering and excessive use of military installations, waterways, harbours and large industrial workshops, but it also exploited smaller industrial enterprises, small fishing harbours, roads, farm lands and inland waters. That is why the detachments of Northern Red Army Corps were located along the whole middle seashore of the Baltic Sea. Their presence effectively prevented the Polish state from controlling the seashore, harmed the development of Polish settlements and Polish maritime economy.

The economic losses of Poland, resulting from exploitation and robbery committed by the Soviet Army would be difficult to assess, without even mentioning the social cost of that initially illegal and later compelled presence. The author's research helps, however, in presentation of a detailed and clearly visible picture of the Red Army presence in the region.

The reviewed publication is not free from some deficiencies and small lapses or inaccuracies. The worst defect is the lack of indexes (especially of the index of persons). The author also had some problems with the identification of persons, while writing particular chapters. He was unable to decipher the first names of people appearing in his book, e.g. on p. 24 there are only initials of persons well known in politics of the period: Eugeniusz Szyr and Jakub Prawin; similarly on p. 23 also only initials of the Soviet generals Konstantin Tleegin and Aleksiej Subbotin. However, the book is enriched by tables and illustrations.

The reviewed publication has to be appreciated as a valuable work, undertaking new problems omitted previously by the historians. The author not only scrupulously examined the sources and literature available to him, but also conducted a reliable analysis, providing, in effect, a veritable historical monograph that shows the economic and social results of the Red Army presence in Western Pomerania and its activities in a widely understood maritime economy during 1945–1956.

Henryk Bartoszewicz

Ruta Czaplińska, *Z archiwum pamięci... 3653 więzienne dni* (From the Archives of Memory. 3653 Days in Prison), ed. Krzysztof Szwaagrzyk and Jacek Żygadło, Wrocław 2003, Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 418 pp.

The book under discussion, the main part of which consists of Ruta Czaplińska's memories of her stay in many houses of detention and prisons of Stalinist Poland, is only apparently one of the many memoirs on this subject that started to appear in profusion after 1989. It stands out from others at least for two basic reasons.

First, it is worth drawing attention to the form of this publication, which in Polish conditions is exceptional. Ruta Czaplińska's memories are preceded by short commentaries on their content by a historian (Krzysztof Szwaagrzyk), a

psychologist (Tomasz Och inowski) and Polish philologist (Tomasz Pr z e d p e ł ski). While the latter is very laconic and his observations only loosely related to the content of these memoirs (a short poem), the other two scholars point out the significance of these memoirs to their fields of learning. The last part of the book contains Ruta Czapl i Ń ska's answers to the special questionnaire prepared in 1989 by Tadeusz Kost ewicz which served to establish the basic facts concerning Stalinist prisons and was used for collecting accounts of many other surviving victims of Stalinist repressions. The book is provided with a set of notes which do credit to its authors/editors.

Secondly, Ruta Czapl i Ń ska's memories are in themselves an unusual testimony due to the scope of her detailed observations. Before I try to prove this thesis, I feel obliged to present their author.

Ruta Czapl i Ń ska was born on 10 September 1918 at Janowice near Kazimierz Dolny to a family of landowners. She received her certificate of general education in Toru Ń in 1937, and started studying physics at Warsaw University. In January 1942 she joined the Home Army (AK). In the years 1944–1945 she administered her family estate, which she lost due to land reform. In 1945 she settled in Łódź, where she started studying at the local branch of the Chief Higher School of Commerce. In that period she joined the conspiratorial activity of the Polish anti-Communist movement as a member of the Chief Command of the National Military Association (NZW). Arrested in April 1946, in November 1947 she was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment by the Warsaw District Military Court. She stayed in the Warszawa-Mokotów penitentiary prison where she was detained pending inquiry, then in the prisons of Fordon, Inowrocław and again in Fordon. Released in April 1956, she started studying at the Department of Biology of Łódź University, then she worked in the administration of the Institute of Mathematics of the Polish Academy of Sciences and in the publishing house of the Technical University of Wrocław. Since 1989 she has been active in the Union of Political Prisoners of the Stalinist Period.

Why do R. Czapl i Ń ska's memoirs represent such an exceptional value? Of the many possible justifications of such an opinion I will point out a few.

In the first place the author describes the realities of everyday life in Stalinist prisons with great precision. To a certain extent this may be the result of the state of her psyche — the extreme experience of a sudden change in the conditions of her life and the stress of a landowner's daughter all of a sudden thrown into the primitive prison existence. Whatever the cause of her ability to reconstruct in an almost photographic way the minutest details of everyday life in successive cells in successive prisons, this value of her book is hard to overstate by a historian. For this reason the person who became a victim of what the above-mentioned psychologist Tomasz Och inowski calls "an anthropological experiment" provides us with an extremely credible description of the differences between a "better prison" and a "worse" one. It is by no means an accident that for Czapl i Ń ska Inowrocław was a "Polish Auschwitz" (p. 298), much worse than Fordon. A very important aspect of her analysis is that her evaluation of the members of the prison staff differs. For example, the author is able to give justice to a young doctor from the prison in Inowrocław who insisted on and finally obtained a recommendation for a treatment and operation on her fellow-prisoner, in contrast to another doctor who did not even touch her and "examined her from the depth of his armchair" (p. 185). Her opinions of other prison functionaries also differ. The most severe and cruel among the latter were in her opinion the re-emigrants from France.

Another important value of Ruta Czapl i Ń ska's book is her suggestive picture of what may be called the "cultivated person's" reaction to his/her existence as a "prisoner". This is inseparably linked to the ethos of a political prisoner well-rooted in Polish tradition. It is true that in the Stalinist "newspeak" this term was replaced by another — "an anti-state prisoner", but those who suffered the repressions consciously defied it.

What was the essence of this phenomenon? It seems, it was an attempt to keep up, in extremely difficult conditions, the habits rooted in the civilization and culture the prisoners were earlier used to. This concerned, above all, the great "greed" for the written word. The habit of reading made Ruta Czaplińska and other women-political prisoners, in view of a lack of other books, read even Marxist literature, or a book like *Chemistry and the Hygiene of Milk*. They even tried to satisfy their spiritual needs by writing, in secret, poems and lyrics, by reciting, or — when it was already possible — by taking part in impromptu theatrical performances, or by learning English. For this kind of person the necessity to sleep in bedclothes earlier used by another prisoner, which was one of her first experiences after being moved to Fordon, was especially irritating, and consequently defined by Czaplińska as "the most difficult decision".

The attempt to keep up the ethos of a political prisoner was testified by solidarity in sharing the contents of parcels sent by relatives. Ruta Czaplińska says: "We, political prisoners, have always 'run our household' in common. The parcels we received were always passed to the persons who were on duty and they divided our resources. They prepared sandwiches for lunch and tea, and also for all celebrations such as our namedays and welcoming of our new prison-mates" (p. 112). This sense of tie created by such and other everyday types of behaviour was of great psychological importance. The author writes: "The awareness that the authorities were not able to break these ties, and that they even grew, was very encouraging" (p. 151).

From the point of view of a scholar specializing in Polish recent history, the prisons described by Czaplińska are primarily the places of repression against the enemies of the system of communist power. However, the author, in a very interesting way, brings out the universal aspect of the experience of imprisonment. On p. 232 she writes: "Being in prison means waiting. Waiting for a parcel — the sign of life during the investigation, waiting for letters and visits — this comes already after the sentence; waiting for an amnesty, for this is what we continually think and talk about, on any possible occasion. Finally, waiting for the consideration of an application — for a revision of the judgement or an earlier release. And finally — waiting for coming out when we know that nothing was remitted, that we have to do our time" (p. 232). This sense of the passage of time, at a rate different from that in freedom, influences the everyday behaviour of prisoners. However, the author says in another place: "My day in prison is full of counting. I count everything, beginning with the days, weeks and months that separate me from freedom. On the very first day I calculated how many days I would spend in prison. I translated the three remaining years and seven months into the weeks, the number of baths, into the supposed number of searches, and into days. Every day the number of these searches is smaller by one. And every day I endlessly repeat to myself, all day from the morning on, the number that falls on that day. I do it faultlessly" (p. 215). This struggle with time, and treating the time in prison as a temporary state made one try to spend it creatively, so that it should not be wasted" (p. 124). Various procedures of coping with the passage of time were important elements of the strategy of survival in prisons. The adoption of a kind of self-discipline in performing the rituals of everyday existence was to serve the same purpose.

In the case of the author — and it was not only her individual experience — of much more importance to this survival was on the one hand, her sense of being able to rely on her family, and on the other — her deep religiousness. The importance of the former factor is testified by her letters to her nearest and dearest, which she frequently cites, and which she carefully thought out earlier so that they might pass through the thorough scrutiny of censorship and yet might convey what the author wanted to say. Her meetings with her family, although they passed in conditions that made mutual communication difficult, also performed such a "therapeutic role".

The author's religious experiences in prison were for her something unique. It is not accidental that while recalling her transportation to Inowrocław on 26 August 1952 she writes: "In conditions of complete solitude, stripped of any material belongings, deprived of contact not only with home, but also with the closest neighbours, I awaited the Nativity. This was the most authentic, the most deeply felt Advent in my life" (p. 228). In these conditions the unique experience of devotion was also expressed in the great importance attached to the celebration of church feasts. When women of various Christian denominations lived in one cell (Polish and Ukrainian women at Fordon), the prisoners tried to establish such a time-table of the day that religious rites could be celebrated twice.

The fact that the author was conscious of drawing her power of survival from two inter-related sources: religiousness and family ties, is testified by a few, but quite symptomatic passages in her publication. At one moment R. Czaplińska writes: "And yet I survived, though not without internal struggle. I knew I would not commit suicide, for I had my faith and my Mother" (p. 300). In another place she says: "My everyday prayer for those I embraced with my intention, was also a meeting with them, (in this way, also, I understand the dogma of the Saints' communion with God" (p. 230). One can hardly imagine a more succinct and at the same time convincing description of that kind of feed-back. The mechanisms she mentions gave her a sense of spiritual strength and freedom.

R. Czaplińska's memoirs consist of many threads. They show everyday life, mechanisms of survival and the way of experiencing life in prison by an educated woman, with a very keen sense of observation. These experiences thwarted her professional career, affected her family life and bore upon her way of viewing the surrounding reality. It is not accidental that the author speaks with irony about the contemporary "heroic" behaviour of the participants in "hunger strikes" who compare them with those she witnessed and participated in at the turn of the 1940s.

It is a risky task to formulate any reservations to memoirs, and in this case it is quite difficult. Their authenticity cannot be questioned, the scope of the issues raised by the author is very wide. However, it is a pity she does not say what was the essence of the prisoners' unwritten "moral code". What actions were regarded as unequivocally condemnable, which were considered passable, and which aroused respect. It would also be interesting to learn something about the differences in particular prisoners' postures in face of their guards and their superiors. Nevertheless, it seems these questions and expectations should be addressed to the scholars who ever more frequently preoccupy themselves with the history of prison reality in Stalinist Poland.

Dariusz Jarosz

Polacy wobec PRL. Strategie przystosowawcze (The Poles' Attitude to the Realities of the Polish People's Republic. Adaptation Strategies), ed. by Grzegorz Miernik, Kielce 2003, Kieleckie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Akademia Świętokrzyska, 222 pp.

This is the collective title given to the papers that were read at (or prepared for) a scholarly session organized at the Academy in Kielce in December 2002. The organizing committee worked under the direction of Professor Dariusz Jarosz and Dr. Grzegorz Miernik, who also edited the book under discussion. What attracts attention to this smallish volume is the fascinating subject examined by the authors: the adaptation of various social milieux to the realities in People's Poland¹. It is no exaggeration to say that life in Poland during that 45-year period

¹ This is what the Poland ruled by the communist regime was called for nearly 50 years, but the regime did its best to avoid the term "communism", thus unintentionally testifying to the feelings of the population. The term "Polish People's Republic" was created only in 1952, when the new constitution gave the state this name, but a large part of the texts concerns earlier years. The term "People's Poland" was used throughout that time, from 1944 to 1989.

of Poland's history, especially social history, hinged on adaptation. Most studies that have been written about that period during the last fifteen years focus on the authorities' misdeeds and on the society's resistance sometimes presented in a grotesquely broad interpretation. They take account of even completely insignificant gestures and lay stress on adaptation measures which did contain in substance an element of resistance but were not confined to it. This is why a book which presents social and individual adaptation to the conditions prevailing in 1944–1989 is most welcome.

It goes without saying that such adaptation occurs in every society, in every community. What is socialization if not a process of the individual adapting himself to the requirements of life in society? What was characteristic of the adaptation process in People's Poland/the Polish People's Republic was that individuals and groups had to adapt themselves to the political system which came into being through the violation of the will of the majority of society and was liquidated by that society of its own free will when the external conditions sustaining it ceased to exist.

Each living creature and each group must, to some extent, have adaptation ability for this ability is a condition of survival and is often regarded as the most important component of intelligence. If Polish society has this ability to a no lesser extent, if not even greater, than other societies, it deserves admiration, and not sarcastic remarks or complaints that it fails to rise to the summit of a martyrdom that would lead it to an allegedly honourable annihilation. Thanks to their adaptation ability, which the Poles have had repeatedly to exercise during the last few centuries of their history, they have preserved their distinctness, in other words, their identity. It is thanks to this ability that Polish society has survived many hard times, and it can be presumed that it will need this ability time and again.

These basic problems are discussed above all by Dariusz Jarosz (*Polish Stalinism 1948–1956: Adaptation Strategies*) who emphasizes that the question of adaptation has been ignored in scientific and quasi-scientific historical literature (not all historical studies dealing with that period can be regarded as scientific). He says that the question has been examined rather by sociologists, especially Polish ones (Andrzej Rychard, Mirosława Marody, Winicjusz Narojek) who have pointed out that the very same individuals, members of society, who were disgusted by the basic principles of the socio-political system during the times of Stalinism, and even later, accepted at least some of its structures and were ready to participate in their activity. The proportions of disgust and participation differed.

Let us add that what we mean is something more than the individuals' adaptation strategy and tactics, which were of an instrumental character and can be easily interpreted, as has been done in most studies, as an attempt to outwit the regime, to camouflage oneself and wait till the attacks end, that is, as an inferior kind of resistance. Taken as a whole, the individuals' behaviour repeatedly revealed, and that on a mass scale, the existence of two or even more systems of values, which functioned depending on the sector of social life in which the individual found himself at a given moment. For a social psychologist there is nothing unusual about this. Every man in his lifetime professes principles and supports attitudes which theoretically and logically are undoubtedly contradictory. Let us venture the opinion that an individual fully consistent in all his/her actions and attitudes would probably be a dangerous monster, if such an individual could be found.

But let us go back to adaptation in People's Poland or the Polish People's Republic. Dariusz Jarosz surveys the forms and examples of adaptation in various milieux, among peasants, workers and intellectuals, but the examples he cites concern mainly tactical adaptation attempts, the interpretation of which is not so difficult as the interpretation of internalized double standards and seemingly contradictory opinions which, while rejecting the principles of the system, allow

individuals to function in their structures, a problem which the author also refers to. What however seems to be more important is (p. 74) that, as is usually the case, adaptation was mutual: people adapted themselves to the system but the system also adapted itself to them, at least to some extent. It would not be difficult to substantiate this, though the author has chosen as his subject the years of Stalinist offensive and this is a period to which the majority of the historical works published in Poland is confined. This is a fact which seriously distorts perspective, for though it is very easy to expose the crimes and absurdities of that period, the next period, the years 1956–1989, lasted five times as long as the Stalinist period, Polish society gained five times more experience, and five times as many young people, even more, grew up in that new period. And it is they who are still the core of the present society, a fact which should be remembered by a historian². But out of the 10 texts in the volume we are discussing seven do not go beyond the year 1956. The primary task of researchers interested in this question should therefore be an analysis of the over 30-year long period after 1956 up to 1989.

It is worth pointing out that Stalinism was a relatively rigid system, for its base was outside Poland's frontiers, in a foreign country, and Poland's leaders at that time were, so to say, functionaries of that foreign regime. This is why the attempts to adapt the regime to society, though they did exist, were an exception. Things must have changed in the post-Stalinist era when the regime's ideological foundations were completely discredited in social opinion and the rulers had to consider people's reaction to their decisions to a much greater extent than during Stalin's lifetime. In any case they could not refer to the indisputable authority of the Great Leader.

Dariusz Jarosz's paper is the only one with a broader, methodological approach to the question of adaptation, it can therefore be regarded as a point of reference for the other papers. As has been mentioned before, the volume comprises only ten papers (and a short communiqué). One cannot therefore expect them to cover the whole problem and present them in right proportions. The volume contains texts which the organizers managed to get. The result is that out of these ten texts four concern the attitude of the clergy (Ryszard Gryz, Krzysztof Kowalczyk, Jan Żaryn) and lay Catholics (Andrzej Friszke), one is devoted to peasants (Grzegorz Miernik), one deals with industry, but only with thefts and manipulations (Maciej Tymiąski), one, an excellent paper, concerns the academic milieu (Stanisław Salmonowicz), one is of a general character and is in fact a presentation of the whole problem (D. Jarosz), one presents the "Gierek epoch" (Marcin Zaremba), and one the "Polish London" or Polish exiled politicians in Britain (Tadeusz Wojsza). A list of the fields that have not been examined in the volume would be endless but it would be pointless to make it. The volume may be just a first step, but it is a step in the right direction.

The next steps, in addition to a chronological extension, could be an analysis of the country's most populous milieux, that is, the industrial milieu (a broader analysis than the one in Tymiąski's article), the peasants and other inhabitants of rural areas, the workers and officials living in large towns, the professional intelligentsia and artists; last but not least, such an analysis should cover the party circles in the broad meaning of the term, from the party apparatus and the circles rallied round it to the active party members and rank-and-file members, for where were the adaptation needs and processes stronger than in that milieu? An equally important step would be to use Dariusz Jarosz's suggestion and examine how the regime and its component parts adapted themselves to the situation and to society, to the untamable trends clearly evident in it. After all,

² On p. 73 the author writes about the workplaces' "Stalinist" paternalistic attitude to workers and its pernicious results. Industrial paternalism has a long-standing tradition: from 19th century housing estates built by factory owners, through the well known pictures from the works of the Ford Company, to paternalism in fascist systems and in today's (or rather yesterday's) state industry in Western Europe, where paternalism is regarded as an element of the welfare state. A welfare state is of necessity a paternalistic state.

the hundreds of thousands of the regime functionaries, even millions if one takes all of them into account, were not imported to Poland from communist Russia, but grew up within the same society and remained its component part, being to a large extent open to the influence of their environment.

Let us now add a few comments on the other papers. As in all writings dealing with the postwar years, two kinds of approach to the history of the postwar period are manifest in these texts: a polemical approach, increasingly anachronistic as the years go by, resorted to by authors who, being bent on unmasking the regime, use a militant vocabulary and a suitable style, and an analytical approach applied by writers who would like to make these complicated questions understandable rather than roar at a regime liquidated long since or make fun of its actions. In view of the title of the volume, the authors of the papers should rather favour the latter approach, but this is not always the case.

In his paper Andrzej Friszke characterizes three ideological, programmatic, strategic and tactical orientations among the milieux proclaiming themselves as adherents of political Catholicism in the first postwar years. What cannot but strike the present-day reader is that a very large part of these milieux adapted itself to the balance of forces in Poland and the world, not only because of the presence of Russian troops in Poland and the Soviet Union's supremacy in Eastern Europe but also because the West did not promise to preserve the Oder-Neisse frontier, which was an axiom of all Poles but was guaranteed only by Moscow. Various opinions were expressed about this frontier in "Polish London" at that time. This subject is not discussed in the next paper penned by Tadeusz Wojsza who only depicts how the authorities of "Polish London" evaluated the situation in Poland and presents their recommendations on how the Poles should behave towards the communist government and in professional and public life. This method is rather beside the point in an analysis of reality for the author repeats, without a comment, assertions which had nothing to do with the situation in Poland at that time³ and says nothing about such important questions as the Polish London's attitude to the Poles' settlement in the western and northern territories.

In his short text Stanisław Salmonowicz brilliantly and faithfully analyzes the socio-political reality in academic circles as well as the adaptation trends and the necessity for adaptation in that milieu. Ryszard Gryz's text about clergy in the Kielce region pays more attention to manipulations by the party authorities and the Security Office (Secret Police) than to adaptation trends, though these are also mentioned. The same can be said about Krzysztof Kowalczyk's article on clergy in Western Pomerania. The last text devoted to the clergy, the one by Jan Żaryn, is wider in scope for it covers the whole period from 1944 to 1989. It contains much interesting information⁴, though it, too, dwells excessively on agents and speaks less about adaptation. After all, the main subject of the book is adaptation and not agents, secret police and difficulties created by the authorities, all the more so as much has already been written about them.

³ For instance (p. 50), the following information has been left without a comment: "there are five groups of ration cards and people pass from a lower group to a higher one only if they declare their loyalty to the communist party. Only the rations of the first group (for active communists and their assistants) are sufficient to live on." This is an invented picture, but the rations were indeed small. However, the situation was not so bleak for a society which remembered the rations during the German occupation. But the linking of ration cards with loyalty to the "communist party" (even the word "communism" was banned from the political vocabulary) is a fruit of imagination and is ludicrous for everyone who remembers those days.

⁴ It is appalling that 15 per cent of the clergy in those days were agents of the Security Office, and that was in 1970, when the blackmail-facilitating fear of the Security Office, known from the times of Bierut and Stalin, no longer existed (p. 205). Other interesting items of information are the author's remarks on the hierarchy's cautious attitude to the political opposition which tried to use Church structures for its objectives and which later found an outlet in "Solidarity".

The text by Grzegorz Miernik concerns peasants, Kielce region being cited as an example. The article contains many interesting data on the peasants' tactics of resistance and their adaptation in the years of crushing taxation and ruinous "quota deliveries"⁵ but the reader can rightly complain that the author has not taken into account the increasingly deep divisions in the countryside, not only the government-proclaimed stratification into *kulaks*, owners of middle-sized farms and poor peasants, as they were called in official terminology which now sounds not only ominous but also funny, but rather the division into the group of rural inhabitants who decided to stay in their village and the circles of young people who had had a taste of school, excursions, work in a factory, and sometimes even of a post in the commune or a town, or of a youth organization connected with the regime to a greater or smaller extent. The latter were the circles which were most open to co-operation and adaptation, and more should have been said about this.

Workers, and also supervision officials and directors of industrial works, appear in the volume only as thieves and tricksters, and this is how they have been described by Maciej Tymński. The author limits their adaptation strategies to actions which were in fact criminal, but the word "adaptation" would suggest the possibility of their being regarded as justified, although now this may be an *ex post* politically motivated justification. It is a pity that the author has not mentioned other forms of adaptation, such as work competition or attempts to raise one's qualifications, though after some time these no longer ensured promotion. As sociological research has shown, it was the blocking of promotion channels for workers and the disappearance of adaptation prospects that led to the growth of the potential for socio-political rebellion before 1980. If the picture presented in Tymński's article is a mirror of reality, it is certainly distorted.

The last text is a description of the Gierek decade by Marcin Zaręba. The subject gave the author the chance to present the other side of adaptation, that is, the regime's adaptation, within certain limits of course, to society, a subject mentioned by Dariusz Jarosz. This capital question has not been developed by the author; he has left it unnamed and has only sporadically mentioned it amidst sneering descriptions of the manipulations and insidious actions of Gierek and his associates. The development of "poor quality" social services "relieved citizens of the necessity of risk-taking, of innovative activity and the danger of competition, typical of capitalism", says the author (p. 185). It is interesting whether the much better health and social services developed in the West European countries at that time also had such sinister results. According to the author, Poland "was drifting towards a socialist welfare state" (*ibidem*). We are not told what the author means by "drifting". Was this drifting the result of internal pressure or did some external forces induce Gierek to set up social security institutions which, as the author says, are dangerous to society. The strained style of the title, a quasi-parallel to Kadar's "goulash socialism", symbolizes the chance the author has missed. "*Bigos* socialism", a term coined *hic et nunc*⁶, can make one think of Gomułka but certainly not of Gierek and his Polish Volkswagen, the "little Fiat" (with a capacity of 600 cubic centimetres) and the "big Fiat" (125p model with a capacity of 1.4 litres) for more prosperous and influential people (vouchers distributed by the authorities made it possible to buy

⁵ I would not go so far as to regard migration to towns and employment in industry as the peasants' way of adapting themselves to the regime. This is what it looked like from the peasants' point of view, but these were first and foremost great social processes, unless we include all such processes in the category of adaptation activities, but the term will then be excessively wide and will cover the entire socio-economic process in the country. Moreover, the peasants who migrated to towns and industry had their own, no less significant and interesting adaptation problems.

⁶ The author keeps repeating his neologism, which may suggest that, like Khrushchev's definition of Kadar's system as "goulash socialism", this was a term used at that time. But this is not true. As far as I know, no one used this expression in those days.

a car at the official price) or the imported Wartburg car. Was that *bigos*? It should rather be called *kiseb* or kebab, products and dishes consumed at that time by many Polish tourists in Bulgaria or *pasta/spaghetti* eaten during the rather rare and expensive excursions to Italy at the end of the 1970s. The author sets Gomułka's *siernięga*⁷ socialism against the *bigos*⁸ socialism of Gierek. Since both terms belong to the same social sphere, this obliterates the differences between the situation under Gomułka and under Gierek. The author's abortive and biased stylistic tricks do not matter much. What does matter is that Zaremba has missed the chance to analyze the subject. Even such an important and significant question as the replacement of communist Marxism–Leninism with a kind of national–communist ideology, or in fact a specific nationalism, a question which cannot be alien to the author, has been put off with but one sentence (pp. 191–192).

We are approaching the end of this review. The volume also includes a short communiqué by Szczepan Świątek, *For a Profound Social History of the Polish People's Republic. A Communiqué*. One can see that the author raises several important questions but they are only summarized. Let us go back to more general matters. This rather smallish volume contains many interesting studies on questions which are of great importance for anybody who wants to understand and define the fifty years of Poland's social history after World War II. Whatever reservations one can raise and whatever wishes can be expressed, the publication of this collective work is most welcome.

Janusz Żarnowski

⁷ *Siernięga* — a peasant's coat of rough homespun cloth, used in old times; in present-day Polish it is a synonym of primitiveness.

⁸ *Bigos* — a traditional Polish dish, a synonym of simple and old-fashioned but nourishing food.