

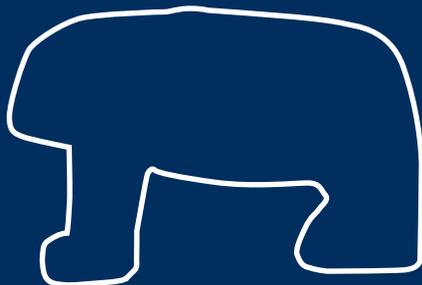


Uniwersytet
Wrocławski

Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii
Oddział Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego



ŚLĄSKI KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY SOBÓTKA



ROCZNIK LXXVIII (2023)
NR 2

U N I W E R S Y T E T W R O C Ł A W S K I
W R O C Ł A W S K I E T O W A R Z Y S T W O M I Ł O Ś N I K Ó W H I S T O R I I
O D D Z I A Ł P O L S K I E G O T O W A R Z Y S T W A H I S T O R Y C Z N E G O

ŚLĄSKI
KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY
SOBÓTKA

ROCZNIK LXXVIII (2023) NR 2

REDAKCJA / Editorial Board

Tomasz Przerwa (Wrocław, Redaktor naczelny / Editor-in-chief)
Robert Kołodziej (Wrocław, Zastępca redaktora naczelnego / Deputy Editor)
Wojciech Kucharski (Wrocław, Zastępca redaktora naczelnego / Deputy Editor)
Miron Urbaniak (Wrocław, Redaktor tematyczny / Section Editor)
Marek L. Wójcik (Wrocław, Sekretarz / Secretary)

REDAKTOR TOMU / Volume Editor: Teresa Kulak

KOMITET NAUKOWY / Scientific Committee

Joachim Bahlcke (Universität Stuttgart)
Marie Bláhová (Univerzita Karlova, Praha)
Tomasz Jurek (Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk)
Ryszard Kaczmarek (Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach)
Padraic Kenney (Indiana University, Bloomington)
Teresa Kulak (Uniwersytet Wrocławski)
Martin Pelc (Slezská univerzita v Opavě)

ADRES REDAKCJI / Editorial Office

ul. Szewska 49, 50-139 Wrocław, Polska / Poland
<http://sobotka.uni.wroc.pl>
e-mail: sobotka@uwr.edu.pl

Teksty powstały w ramach projektu
Narodowego Programu Rozwoju Humanistyki nr 3bH 15 0119 83
pt. *Dzieje Śląska w perspektywie europejskiej*

Prace publikowane w „Sobótce” są recenzowane /
SKH „Sobótka” is a peer reviewed journal

Wydanie czasopisma zostało sfinansowane przez Instytut Historyczny
Wydział Nauk Historycznych i Pedagogicznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego

Właściciel praw autorskich: Uniwersytet Wrocławski

Czasopismo opublikowane na licencji Creative Commons
Uznanie autorstwa-bez utworów zależnych 4.0 (CC BY-ND 4.0).



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/4.0/deed.pl>

Tłumaczenie na język angielski i korekta językowa /
English translation and proofreading: Marek Misiak

Opracowanie redakcyjne / Editorial development: Redakcja
Korekta / Proofreading: Zofia Smyk
Skład / Typesetting: Aleksandra Kumaszką, eBooki.com.pl

Wersją pierwotną czasopisma jest wydanie papierowe /
The hard copy edition is the reference version for this journal

e-ISSN 2658-2082 | PL ISSN 0037-7511

Uniwersytet Wrocławski
Wydział Nauk Historycznych i Pedagogicznych
Instytut Historyczny

<http://wnhip.uni.wroc.pl/Instytut-Historyczny>

SŁOWO WSTĘPNE

Zespół redakcyjny pod kierunkiem prof. dr hab. Teresy Kulak wydał w minionych latach cztery angielskojęzyczne numery Śląskiego Kwartalnika Historycznego „Sobótka”: *Silesia as a meeting place of cultures* (71 [2016], 4), *Not only the Reformation. Churches and Religious Movements in Silesia through the Centuries* (72 [2017], special issue), *Wars and their Consequences in the History of Silesia (10th–20th century)* (73 [2018], special issue) oraz *Times of prosperity and stagnation in the Economy of Silesia in past centuries* (74 [2019], special issue). Zostały one przygotowane pod auspicjami Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego, a były finansowane w ramach Narodowego Programu Rozwoju Humanistyki (No. 3bH 15 0119 83) pt. *Dzieje Śląska w perspektywie europejskiej*. Bieżący numer pt. *Science, Education and Intellectual Culture in Silesia* ukazuje się z opóźnieniem, niemniej stanowi integralną, ostatnią część wspomnianego projektu. Dzięki przychylności Ministerstwa Edukacji i Nauki, Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego, Redaktor Teresy Kulak i Autorów możemy przedstawić Państwu pięć opracowań i cztery recenzje, które – mamy nadzieję – zostaną dobrze przyjęte.

Redakcja Śląskiego Kwartalnika Historycznego „Sobótka”

INTRODUCTION

An editorial team headed by Professor Teresa Kulak published in the last few years four English-language issues of “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny »Sobótka«”: *Silesia as a meeting place of cultures* (71 [2016], 4), *Not only the Reformation. Churches and Religious Movements in Silesia through the Centuries* (72 [2017], special issue), *Wars and their Consequences in the History of Silesia (10th–20th century)* (73 [2018], special issue), and *Times of prosperity and stagnation in the Economy of Silesia in past centuries* (74 [2019], special issue). They were prepared under the auspices of Polish Historical Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne)

and funded within the National Programme for the Development of Humanities (No. 3bH 15 0119 83) as a grant programme *The history of Silesia in a European perspective*. The current issue – *Science, Education and Intellectual Culture in Silesia* – is released following a delay; however, it constitutes an integral part of the aforementioned project. Thanks to the support and kindness from Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Poland, Polish Historical Society, Professor Teresa Kulak, and the Authors we present the readers five original articles and four book reviews, which – we hope – will be well received.

Editorial Team of “Kwartalnik Historyczny »Sobótka«”



PAWEŁ JAWORSKI

University of Wrocław

ORCID: [0000-0001-5256-1238](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5256-1238)

TERESA KULAK

University of Wrocław

ORCID: [0000-0002-5397-9940](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5397-9940)

FROM THE PAST OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WROCLAW (OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY UP TO 1945 AND DURING THE POST-WAR YEARS)

Z PRZESZŁOŚCI UNIwersYTETU WROCLAWSKIEGO (ZARYS DZIEJÓW UCZELNI DO 1945 ROKU I LAT POWOJENNYCH)

ABSTRACT: The article presents in a concentrated narrative the history of the University of Wrocław (Breslau), beginning with the establishment of the two-faculty Catholic Leopoldina in 1702, which, after its merger with the Protestant Viadrina, existing since 1506 in Frankfurt (Oder), became from October 19, 1811, the state University of Wrocław. In 1911, it was named the Silesian Frederick William University, and it remains the Polish University of Wrocław since 1945.

KEYWORDS: Leopoldina, Breslauer Universität, Breslauer Universität und Technische Hochschule, Politechnika Wroclawska, Technische Hochschule, Universitas Litterarum Wratislaviensis, Śląski Uniwersytet im. Fryderyka Wilhelma, Uniwersytet Wrocławski

The question of the relationship between the Polish University of Wrocław and the Breslauer Universität was debated in Poland and Germany for many post-war years. It became more significant when documenting with sources the history and traditions of both universities began.¹ The post-war University of Wrocław

¹ Zdzisław Latajka, *Przeszłość i przyszłość Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego*, [in:] *Jubileusz trzechsetlecia Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 1702–2002*, ed. Adam Chmielewski, Wrocław 2005, pp. 11–14.

was established by a Decree of the State National Council of August 24, 1945,² transforming the German universities Breslauer Universität and Technische Hochschule,³ temporarily merged in 1932, into a Polish academic institution known as the “University of Wrocław and Wrocław University of Technology”. The Prussian Breslauer Universität was established in 1811, also from the merger of two other universities – Wrocław’s two-faculty (Catholic theology and philosophy) Leopoldine University of 1702 and the four-faculty Protestant Viadrina, established in Frankfurt (Oder) in 1506, whose existence and development, due to an outflow of students, was threatened in 1810 by the newly created University of Berlin.⁴

In Wrocław, the ceremonial opening of the state university took place on October 19, 1811. It was a university with five faculties, including the parity faculties of Catholic theology and Evangelical theology (treated on par), as well as faculties of philosophy, law, and medicine. Only the Faculty of Catholic Theology remained from the Leopoldina, as the Faculty of Philosophy was unified with the analogous faculty of the Viadrina.⁵ The new university was initially colloquially referred to as the Wrocław Viadrina, but its official name was: Universitas Litterarum Wratislaviensis.⁶ The name Royal University of Wrocław was not introduced until August 3, 1816, and was retained until July 26, 1911, when it was named the Friedrich Wilhelm Silesian University.⁷

University of Wrocław was intended by the state authorities to educate the inhabitants of the two Prussian provinces – Silesia and the Grand Duchy of Posen. In the first year of its existence, it had just seven professors and 207 students, as the newly established institution, in a little-known provincial town in eastern Germany, experienced difficulties in both assembling a teaching staff and a student body. The University possessed good premises, with an extensive baroque building built for

² Wojciech Wrzesiński, *Uniwersytet Wrocławski 1945–1995*, Wrocław 1995, p. 205.

³ Teresa Kulak, *Uniwersytet Wrocławski i Wyższa Szkoła Techniczna w latach 1910–1945*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 3 (1994), pp. 77–89.

⁴ Mieczysław Pater, *Historia Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego do 1918 roku*, Wrocław 1997, pp. 58–61.

⁵ Witold Molik, *Uniwersytet Wrocławski na tle uniwersytetów w Rzeszy (1871–1914)*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 3 (1994), p. 9.

⁶ Teresa Kulak, Mieczysław Pater, Wojciech Wrzesiński, *Historia Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego do 1918 roku*, Wrocław 2002, p. 44.

⁷ Friedrich Andreae, *Aus dem Leben der Universität Breslau. Der Schlesischen Friedrich Wilhelms Universität zum 125 Gedenken ihrer Gründung*, Breslau 1929, p. 7.

the Leopoldina in 1728–1740.⁸ As a result of the secularisation of religious orders in Prussia in 1810, the University also received, for its library and art collections, a building from 1730 on Sand Island (Wyspa Piasek), at 3/4 St. Jadwiga Street, which had previously been the southern wing of the monastery of Canons Regular.⁹

The 2nd valuable acquisition was a complex of buildings in the city centre (at the corner of today's Piaskowa and J.E. Purkyniego Streets), obtained after the dissolution of the Dominican monastery. The University's overall favourable housing conditions made it possible in the following years to increase the number of students to around 300 and the number of professors and private docents (i.e. not paid from the University budget, but by the students attending their lectures) to 44. The scientific resource, for scholars and all students alike, was a library of initially more than 120,000 volumes, comprising the collections of both universities. It soon almost tripled in size, however, thanks to Johann Gustav Büsching,¹⁰ director of the combined libraries, who took over the collections of books and manuscripts and works of art previously owned by monastic orders that had been secularised in Prussia in 1810, saving them from destruction. They were located on the Sand Island, in a building formerly occupied by the Augustinian Order, also handed over to the University.¹¹

The post-Jesuit boarding school (*Konwikt*), located at today's 35 Kuźnicza Street, which was acquired by the Royal Bank in 1741, also returned to the University. It was named the Steffens House in honour of the professor of philosophy, physics and mineralogy. In its refectory, converted into a fencing room, Henrik Steffens made a patriotic appeal to students in 1813,¹² calling on them to voluntarily serve in the war against Napoleon and his Grand Army, which occupied Wrocław from January 7, 1807 until its departure on November 20, 1808.¹³ It was also at this time that, as a result of the dismantling of the city fortifications and the filling in

⁸ Henryk Dziurła, *Z dziejów zabudowy, przeobrażeń i planowania dawnego zespołu uniwersyteckiego we Wrocławiu*, "Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego", 4 (1995), pp. 7–32.

⁹ Krzysztof Migoń, *O początkach wrocławskiej Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej*, "Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego", 3 (1994), pp. 69–96.

¹⁰ Marek Hałub, *Johann Gustav Büsching 1783–1829. Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der schlesischen Kulturgeschichte*, Wrocław 1997, p. 39.

¹¹ Migoń, *O początkach*, pp. 72 ff.

¹² *Encyklopedia Wrocławia*, ed. Jan Harasimowicz, coll. Włodzimierz Suleja, Wrocław 2000, p. 783; cf. *Historia Uniwersytetu*, p. 43.

¹³ Teresa Kulak, *W dobie wojen napoleońskich 1808–1815*, [in:] *Dolny Śląsk. Monografia historyczna*, ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 2006, pp. 380–381.

of the Oder branch flowing around Ostrów Tumski, the University obtained an area where, in accordance with the wishes of Friedrich Wilhelm III, a Botanical Garden was created. It was created on the area of the levelled fortifications of the Bastion of the Leaping Star (Springsterne) and covered an area of approx. 5 ha. It was to remain an important object for science and the development of natural disciplines as well as a place of recreation for the citizens of Wrocław. The creation of the garden and the planting of some 9,000 plants was taken over by Professor Franz Heyde of the Viadrina, a specialist in botany and natural and economic history.¹⁴ At the end of the 19th century, buildings for the University's seminaries and institutes were constructed along the newly laid out St. Martin and Holy Cross Streets.

From its inception, the Prussian University of Wrocław was a provincial university, with students most interested in medicine and law, ensuring their future stability and position in life, and in the Faculty of Philosophy, which prepared them for the teaching profession. Professors of the University animated the cultural and scientific life of the city, and participated in the activities of the (officially approved in 1809) Silesian Society for Homeland Culture, unofficially treated as a regional academy of sciences.¹⁵ Among the more prominent people associated with the University of Wrocław in the first decades, the most frequently mentioned are the student and then, until 1839, private docent Gustav Freytag, later writer and publicist, and the poet August Hoffmann von Fallersleben, from 1843 a full professor of German literature and language.¹⁶ Recognition of the people of Wrocław was also won by Christian G. Nees von Esenbeck, who, as head of the Botanical Garden from 1830 to 1853, made a significant contribution to the popularisation of horticultural knowledge.

It should be emphasised that the Prussian authorities intended the Viadrina in Wrocław to be a university of two provinces – Silesia and the Grand Duchy of Posen – so the number of students did not exceed 700 until the 1860s. A noticeable growth of the University did not occur until after the reunification of the German Reich, reaching 1,116 students already in the academic year 1875/1876 and 1636 in 1900.¹⁷ The increase in the number of students had an impact on the development

¹⁴ Teresa Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2: *Od twierdzy fryderycjańskiej do twierdzy hitlerowskiej*, Wrocław 2002, p. 141.

¹⁵ Michael R. Gerber, *Die Schlesische Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur (1803–1945)*, Sigmaringen 1988, p. 10.

¹⁶ Wojciech Kunicki, *Zarys dziejów germanistyki na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim w latach 1918–1945. Struktura. Katedry i profesura*, "Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego", 4 (1995), pp. 87–109.

¹⁷ Molik, *Uniwersytet Wrocławski*, p. 16.

of the University's material base and the creation of new fields of study, mainly of an economic and natural science orientation, as expected by the Silesian administrative authorities and business circles. It was therefore on their initiative that the Agricultural College was founded in 1881, with specialised institutes for, among other things, agricultural machinery and cultivation technology as well as veterinary science, zootechnics and agricultural construction. In turn, for the training of specialists in practical knowledge, a considerable area of farmland was purchased in Swojczyce (Swoitsch) and Różanka (Rosenthal). There, multi-hectare farms for experimental farming and new agricultural crops were established.

Between 1887 and 1909, a complex of clinics of the Faculty of Medicine was built on the Oder River, in the area of Szczytniki, at the present M. Curie-Skłodowskiej, L. Pasteura, K. Marcinkowskiego, and T. Chałubińskiego Streets.¹⁸ The first Clinic of Obstetrics and Gynaecology was completed in 1890, and by the end of 1892, the following clinics had been built: Surgery, General Medicine, Dermatology, and a building for the Institute of Pathology. By 1901, in the second phase of construction, the clinics of Ophthalmology and Paediatrics, were built, among others, while in the third phase, by 1909, the Clinic of Laryngology and the Institute of Forensic Medicine were erected. The clinics had modern equipment and a functional solution for the research and teaching block. Thus, Wrocław medicine soon became famous with many professors: ophthalmologist Richard Foerster, surgeon Jan Mikulicz-Radecki, pathologist Emil Ponfick, and dermatologist Albert Neisser. The most successful was Paul Ehrlich, a world-renowned pathologist and serologist, who received the Nobel Prize in 1908 for his work in immunology.¹⁹

At the beginning, professors often did not stay in Wrocław for long. The custom, which had existed since the Middle Ages, of students wandering from university to university to complete their semesters, also applied to professors seeking better living and working conditions in various parts of Germany.²⁰ However, already in the second half of the 19th century, the renowned names of historians Theodor Mommsen and Richard Roepell, economists Lujó von Brentano and Werner

¹⁸ *Historia Wydziałów Lekarskiego i Farmaceutycznego Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego oraz Akademii Medycznej we Wrocławiu w latach 1702–2002*, ed. Waldemar Kozuszek, Wrocław 2002, pp. 45–95.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 110–115. It is worth mentioning that from 1912 until his death in 1915, Alois Alzheimer was the head of the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Wrocław (and the director of the local psychiatric clinic).

²⁰ See notes in: Friedrich Paulsen, *Die deutschen Universitäten und das Universitätsstudium*, Berlin 1902.

Sombart, philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey and the chemist Robert Bunsen are mentioned among the professors of the University of Wrocław. It is noteworthy that the famous astronomer Johann G. Galle, discoverer of the Neptune and inner rings of the Saturn, worked in Wrocław for 40 years, and the law professor, publicist and poet Felix Dahn – for 23 years. A Pole, the “brilliant surgeon” Jan Mikulicz-Radecki, worked at the medical faculty for 15 years until his death in 1905.²¹ He had an important personal contribution to the development of world surgery already since his work in Cracow, but achieved his main successes in Wrocław in 1890–1905.²²

Expansion of the University was already on its way between 1851 and 1858, with a new building on the eastern side of the Main Building for the Institute of Chemistry. In terms of student number, the Breslauer Universität did not visibly develop until after German unification. It was ranked fourth – after the universities of Berlin, Leipzig, and Munich. However, a new phase of its development did not begin until 1895–1897, when the last elements of the earliest, i.e. still Piast, castle buildings were demolished.²³ Two bays were then added to the Main Building, forming the Rector’s Office and the Senate Hall on the first floor.²⁴ Next to the Institute of Chemistry, at the corner of today’s Grodzka and Szewska Streets, another building was constructed to house the Institute of Pharmacy. After 200 years, since the establishment of the Leopoldina, the University of Wrocław owned 16 properties in the city, with 33 building complexes and 103 individual buildings, generally given over to office, residential or museum use.

Renovation of the Main Building, however, did not take place until it was necessitated by the upcoming celebrations in 1911 of the centenary of the University’s founding as a Prussian University. The anniversary was commemorated by Emperor Wilhelm II’s decision to give the University a patron – namely, its founder Friedrich Wilhelm III, and to change its name to Friedrich Wilhelm Silesian University²⁵ – introduced by imperial rescript on July 26, 1911. At that time, the University had around 150 professors and docents and 2,540 students, including

²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 86–103; cf. Zdzisław Wiktor, *Jan Mikulicz (1850–1905)*, [in:] *Sześćsetlecie medycyny krakowskiej*, Vol. 1: *Życiorysy*, Kraków 1963, pp. 171–194.

²² For more information, see Waldemar Kozuszek, *Jan Mikulicz-Radecki 1850–1905. Współtwórca nowoczesnej chirurgii*, Wrocław 2003.

²³ Dziurła, *Z dziejów zabudowy*, p. 23.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 23–24.

²⁵ Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, p. 237.

more than 60 female students.²⁶ They had been present at the faculties of Philosophy and Medicine since 1895, but in Germany, women were not formally granted the right to study until 1908.

From 1910, there was a second university in Wrocław, the Higher Technical School, which had about 300 students during the summer semester in 1914. By this time, the University had reached a total of 2,771 students,²⁷ and among them were 219 female students. The student community already had a multinational character, as alongside Germans there were many Poles and Jews. However, if they came from outside Prussia or the Reich, they were identified, because of the Partitions, as Russian or Austrian subjects. It should be added that at that time, for the first time, students from Japan, China, and the USA came to study in Wrocław, mainly medicine.²⁸

The centenary jubilee of the Prussian State University was held on August 2–3, 1911. It was a great festive occasion for the city authorities, the inhabitants, and its 2,288 students. The anniversary was celebrated in the presence of Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm and many official guests invited by the Reich authorities. The events received a historically valuable, scholarly cover in the form of a two-volume work written by Georg Kaufmann, then rector of the University. Volume 1, with the announcement of the jubilee, was published a year before the celebration,²⁹ while Volume 2 presented, in scientific terms, information on the participation of the various organisational units of the University and on the public course of the jubilee celebrations. A separate volume, edited by Johannes Ziekursch,³⁰ was published as a meticulous record of all church and public celebrations, with the participation of 109 guests of honour (clergy and political and business figures of Silesia and whole Germany), 71 professors of German universities, in addition to 108 guests from various German and foreign cities. Conveying all the splendour

²⁶ Krzysztof Popiński, *Pierwsze kobiety na studiach na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim (1895–1918)*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 4 (1995), pp. 187–200.

²⁷ Mołik, *Uniwersytet Wrocławski*, p. 9.

²⁸ More of them arrived in Wrocław after the First World War, cf. Teresa Kulak, *Działalność Niemiecko-Zagranicznego Klubu Akademickiego we Wrocławiu w latach 1933–1943*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 4 (1995), pp. 210–218.

²⁹ Georg Kaufmann, *Festschrift zur Feier hundertjähriges Bestehens der Universität Breslau*, vol. 1: *Geschichte der Universität Breslau 1811–1911*; vol. 2: *Geschichte der Fächer, Institute und Aemter der Universität zu Breslau 1811–1911*, Breslau 1912.

³⁰ Johannes Ziekursch, *Bericht über die Jahrhundertfeier der Schlesischen Friedrich Wilhelms Universität zu Breslau vom 1.–3. August 1911*, Breslau 1912.

emanating from this extraordinary ceremony, Ziekursch solemnly enumerated all the speeches accompanying the jubilee meetings and quoted the toasts given by officials and students.³¹

The centenary of the University brought the school significant financial income from state, provincial and municipal authorities. These were planned to be used for the expansion of the university buildings and the construction of the first students' dormitory. The imminent outbreak of World War I, however, prevented these intentions from being realised, as in August 1914 the students and some staff of the University went to the front, and a reserve lazarette was set up in the Main Building, as in the days of Friedrich II and his wars with Austria. In 1915, outside the city centre, construction of a complex of buildings for the Agricultural College was undertaken, but it was hampered both by the wartime defeat of Imperial Germany in 1918 and the ensuing economic collapse. In the winter semester of the 1918/1919 academic year, although the number of matriculated students had risen to 3,915, 1/3 of them were on leave, which meant that a significant number were still on military service.

Professor Max Koch, an eminent expert on English literature of the 18th century and editor of masterpieces of world literature, including studies on the history of German literature, was elected the first post-war rector of the University.³² As a Knight of the Iron Cross First and Second Class (he spent 3.5 years in the war), he was very popular with the students of Wrocław. For some, this was probably because he did not hide his nationalist convictions from them, including his adoration of imperial Germany and, at the same time, his hostility to republican rule, but this attitude, in turn, could, as it was supposed, cause "resentment among colleagues" towards him.³³

After the conclusion of the Paris Peace Conference and the signing of the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919, there were 4,344 students enrolled. However, the Friedrich Wilhelm Silesian University did not begin its regular academic and teaching activities. Germany had become a republic and was undergoing a revolutionary political transformation, and society found it difficult to come to terms with its wartime defeat. The conditions of civilian life were hard, especially for young men who, by staying at the front, had lost years of study and the opportunity to learn a profession and find their place in society. A three-semester

³¹ For more information, see: Pater, *Historia Uniwersytetu*, pp. 268–278.

³² Kuniński, *Zarys dziejów germanistyki*, pp. 87–89.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 93.

system of study was therefore introduced for them, many preparatory and supplementary courses were organised, and final examinations were facilitated for them. However, their problems could not be solved quickly because of the multitude of participants in the Great War, and since Silesia was not calm. The student self-government organisation, founded in 1912 under the name of the Allgemeiner Studenten-Ausschuss, was therefore reactivated and focused on mobilising state, provincial, and University authorities to provide students with material assistance – mainly scholarships. They were also concerned with reducing the study time and obtaining professional qualifications as quickly as possible.

These expectations were to be fostered by the Treaty of Versailles, but this document did not include a clear decision on the Polish-German border and the fate of Upper Silesia.³⁴ Instead, it announced that a plebiscite would first be held, and only then would the Upper Silesia be divided in accordance with the result of the plebiscite. The Germans protested strongly against this, and the Poles, in order to fulfil this treaty condition, organised 3 uprisings between 1919 and 1921. To fight them, volunteers flowed into Upper Silesia from other parts of the Reich, especially veterans of regular front units, forming Freikorps. Wrocław students participated in battles against the Polish insurgents and also supported the Kappa-Lüttwitz putsch against the Weimar Republic in March 1920.³⁵ Afterwards, the University was temporarily closed and some students were arrested.

The Osteuropa-Institut, established in Wrocław on February 8, 1918, began intensive academic and lecture activities. Specialised lectures on Eastern European cultural, literary, and artistic issues were initiated there, which were very popular with the public. These were later extended to include economic relations and legal and political issues of Eastern Europe. Established in Wrocław in 1925, Historische Kommission für Schlesien popularised the term “Volks- und Kulturboden”, defined by Prof. Albert Penck as “deutsche Volksboden”, i.e. an area settled in the past by a German ethnic element. Penck included in this term the annexationist and revisionist plans hostile to Poland, which were present in German literature until 1939.³⁶

³⁴ The most comprehensive depiction: Gerard Labuda, *Polska granica zachodnia. Tysiąc lat dziejów politycznych*, Poznań 1971, pp. 212–254.

³⁵ Franciszek Biały, *Pucz Kappa-Lüttwiza na Śląsku*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska”, 10 (1970), pp. 109–143.

³⁶ See: Janusz Sobczak, *Propaganda Niemiec weimarskich wobec Polski*, Poznań 1973, pp. 41–49, 162–169.

In 1921, there were 5,148 matriculated students, but there was a decline after the plebiscite on March 20, 1921 and the subsequent division of Upper Silesia between Poland and Germany in 1922, and especially after the second division in 1923, i.e. the creation by the Prussian government of two provinces: Lower Silesia with Wrocław and Upper Silesia with Opole.³⁷ It affected both students and teachers, as this division was not accepted in Wrocław, since it threatened the political and economic interests of Lower Silesia and Germany.³⁸ After the decisions were revealed in the press, the number of students decreased sharply, to around 3,500, and was the lowest during the Weimar Republic. The teaching staff (from professors to lecturers) reacted in the same way, decreasing from 220 to 200. The most renowned and respected professors left for other universities, e.g., Prof. Wilhelm Volz went to Leipzig and Prof. Robert Holtzmann to Halle. A little later, former rectors, Levin Schücking, Johannes Ziekursch and Alfred Manigh, also left Wrocław.³⁹ In these personnel changes, a “Zug nach dem Westen”, dangerous for Silesia and the University since the 19th century, was recognised. Their names were noted in the press with regret, with articles on the disappearance of “many eminent heads” from Wrocław.⁴⁰

Concerned about this, the University authorities began to seek financial support from the Reich and Prussian governments for the expansion of the University Library and the scientific activities of the Ost-Europa-Institut. As a preliminary solution, and – in the opinion of the university – a necessary one for its development, it was proposed that several new departments and faculties be established. This effort was supported by the Wrocław city authorities and, above all, by the representative of the provincial government, Georg von Thaer, the Landeshauptmann, i.e. the Provincial Marshal of Lower Silesia and the Lower Silesian provincial authorities under him.⁴¹ He considered that the University would be “saved” by the reminder of its 115th anniversary in 1926. The University indeed, thanks to that anniversary, received commemorative funds from Berlin for the renovations of the Main Building and extension and modernisation of the clinics, which took place between 1926 and 1929. An attraction for researchers and the city public was

³⁷ *Walka o jedność Śląska*, [in:] Teresa Kulak, *Propaganda antypolska dolnośląskich władz prowincjonalnych w latach 1922–1933*, Wrocław 1982, pp. 22–29.

³⁸ *Zur Frage der Zukunft Schlesiens*, Breslau 1924, p. 10.

³⁹ *Zug nach dem Westen?*, “Breslauer Neuste Nachrichten”, April 28, 1928.

⁴⁰ “Schlesische Monatshefte”, 1929, 6.

⁴¹ Kulak, *Propaganda*, s. 28–30.

also built in Wrocław – the astronomical observatory at what is now 11 M. Kopernika Street (former Finkenweg). The outbuildings and didactic buildings in Swójczyce (*Schwoitsch*) were also renovated as a result of a top-down modernisation of study programmes and the introduction of compulsory internships for agricultural, animal science, and veterinary students.

A politically important decision was made by the authorities in 1928 with the creation of the Deutsches Institut. It was headed by the well-known Germanist Prof. Theodor Siebs; also, the historian Hermann Aubin, who specialised in the medieval history of German colonisation in Eastern Europe, was appointed to Wrocław. Under the slogan of reactivating the “former unity of the Silesian tribal area”, he established in Wrocław the Working Group for Silesian Tribal Culture, seeing this as the main condition for maintaining Germanness in the area of the Oder and Vistula rivers.⁴² The cartographer Walther Geisler was hired the following year, and he made a name for himself by accusing Poland in front of the world public that it had presented a “forged map” by Jakob Spett⁴³ during the Paris Peace Conference in order to obtain a favourable course of its western border in the Treaty of Versailles.⁴⁴ In the person of Geisler, the Wrocław academic community became involved in this anti-Polish action, 15 years after the conclusion of the Paris Peace Conference, mainly in order to undertake editorial work to “correct” and publish Spett’s revised map under the title *Die Sprachen und Nationalitäten-Verhältnisse an der deutschen Ostgrenzen und ihre Darstellung. Kritik und Richtigstellung der Spettschen Karte*, Gotha 1933. A well-known Polish cartographer, Prof. Jan Wąsowicz, gave a decidedly negative assessment of their “work”,⁴⁵ but to the Germans, similar measures seemed propagandistically advantageous, so an analogous “scientific” battle against the Versailles system was undertaken by Prof. Albert Hesse (a specialist in political economy), who, commissioned by the Reich’s central economic institutions, made a “critical assessment and overall evaluation of the negative effects of the Versailles territorial settlement present in the economy of all the eastern provinces”.⁴⁶ For the Berlin authorities, the work proved so

⁴² See “Schlesische Monatshefte”, 1938, 4.

⁴³ Jakob Spett, *Nationalitätenkarte der östlichen Provinzen des Deutschen Reichs nach dem Ergebnissen der amtlicher Volkszahlen von Jahr 1910*, Wien 1918.

⁴⁴ Kulak, *Propaganda*, pp. 76–77.

⁴⁵ “Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny”, 1933/34, 46, p. 182.

⁴⁶ Albert Hesse, *Die Einwirkungen der Gebietsabtretungen auf die deutsche Wirtschaft*, Berlin 1930.

valuable that, once translated, it was popularised in Britain until the outbreak of World War II. Also among this circle of authors has been Manfred Laubert, who, working with the *Auswärtiges Amt*, popularised his work by writing “about the hostile Polish policy towards eastern Germany”.⁴⁷

Unquestionable scientific achievements were shown by the Faculty of Medicine, which was successful in the treatment of internal diseases, mainly of the pancreas. Much was also spoken in the Reich about the achievements of Wrocław paediatrics, ophthalmology and venereology. In 1932, at the World Dental Congress in Berlin, Hermann Euler made Wrocław dentistry famous. Students reacted approvingly to these achievements and changes, as the University then had over 5,500 students, the highest number in its history, and this placed it fourth in Germany after Berlin, Leipzig and Dresden. However, the global economic crisis soon hampered its growth, and drastic restrictions were imposed on state expenditure on education and schooling. As a result, on December 2, 1932, the Prussian authorities decided to merge the University and the Technische Hochschule into a new institution of higher education, the Schlesische Universität zu Breslau. Within this new structure, the former Technische Hochschule had the status of only a Faculty of Engineering Sciences.⁴⁸ In spite of protests from its students and staff, this merger was maintained, as savings were made in administrative expenses and the joint office of the superintendent. Joint management of the institutes' laboratories was also introduced (of Chemistry, Biochemistry, and Agricultural Technology), and even shared facilities of the Institute of Physical Education and Sports.

The last period of the Weimar Republic for the University, which described itself as a Grenzland-Universität in 1923, was characterised by particular political visibility, due to the influx of students. Their attitudes were influenced by the internal atmosphere in Germany, Hitler's political speeches, and the intensification of efforts to revise the border with Poland. Professors at the University, which was situated in the “German East”, became engaged in Third Reich revisionism, mainly out of a “patriotic” sense of “defending the German state and nation” against “Slavic possessiveness”, especially of Poland and Czechoslovakia. They tried to attract young people from German universities in Prague, Budapest, and Vienna to their

⁴⁷ Manfred Laubert, *Deutsch oder slavisch? Kämpfe und Leiden des Ostdeutschtums*, Berlin 1928.

⁴⁸ Józef Drozd, *Wyższa Szkoła Techniczna we Wrocławiu i jej akta z lat 1910–1945*, “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 33 (1978), 3, pp. 350 ff.

mission, but were much more successful in influencing students from the universities of Cologne, Münster, Hannover, Heidelberg, and Göttingen, who were induced to come to Wrocław as part of the propaganda Eastern Weeks and “study” trips. To encourage academic youths from the hinterland of the Reich to travel to the East, they were offered free travel and subsistence, so – in the midst of an intense crisis – they willingly arrived in groups of sometimes up to 130 people. At the University of Wrocław, young people attended lectures suitably prepared for them, under the general title: *Fragen der deutsche Ostgrenzen*, illustrated with colourful maps and plans of towns and settlements.⁴⁹ Soon, movies were also available, with intentional and biased information on Silesian border, as well as cultural and ethnic issues. Students toured Wrocław and attended lectures held at both schools, then travelled by bus to the “bleeding border” with Poland, mainly to the districts of Namysłów (*Namslau*), Syców (*Groß Wartenberg*), and Milicz (*Militsch*), and sometimes to the area of Opole Silesia.⁵⁰ This province specialised in the production of propaganda maps of the borderland with Poland. They were distributed in large numbers, informing visitors about the “illegal” border with Poland.

The interests of the student community were represented by the Freie Breslauer Studenten Bund, which was dominated by the influence of right-wing and nationalist corporations (Borussia, Wandalia, Stahlhelm-Studentenring). In 1931, Hitler’s supporters from the National Socialist Union of German Students (NSD-StB) took over power in this association after an electoral mobilisation. By then, the Nazi movement had already gained considerable influence in the academic milieu, and after Hitler’s rise to power, professors hid neither their links with Hitlerism nor their sympathies for it – in particular, the political law professor Axel von Freytagh-Loringhoven and the Evangelical theologian Karl Bornhausen, the infamous initiator of the public burning of books incompatible with Hitlerism,⁵¹ and also the historian Hans Uebersberger, who arrived from Vienna in 1930 and became the director of the Osteuropa-Institut.

In 1932, anti-Semitic speeches against professors and students of Jewish origin intensified, and the situation was exacerbated in January 1933, when the provincial NSDAP leadership attacked the Faculty of Law, where “non-Aryan” or “semi-Aryan” professors – as was assessed – were most numerous. The most

⁴⁹ Karl Werner, *Ein Heimatwerk in Landkarten*, “Schlesische Heimatshefte”, 1933, 1.

⁵⁰ *Fahrt an die niederschlesische Ostgrenze*, Breslau 1928, pp. 10–11.

⁵¹ *Historia Uniwersytetu*, p. 156.

prominent and distinguished were attacked, e.g., Richard Schott, a specialist in state law, former rector and the actual initiator of the establishment of the Osteuropa-Institut in 1918, who died in 1934 following a brutal removal from his position. Richard Schoendorf, an expert in international law, especially Russian law, was also forced to resign. Repression also affected his collaborators, so his department ceased to exist. Schoendorf worked at the University of Vienna until 1938, and committed suicide on March 13, the day the Wehrmacht entered Vienna. Sociologist Eugen Rosenstock-Huyssy, a well-known ideologue of youth work and leisure communities, left for the USA. Several prominent professors from the Faculty of Medicine also left Wrocław. Following this forced exodus of Wrocław scholars, Walter Tausk, a participant in World War I, recipient of the Iron Cross, graduate of the Faculty of Philosophy at Wrocław University and author of the factually poignant self-documentary *Breslauer Tagebuch 1933–1940*, noted with satisfaction that “Jewish doctors and professors who had been expelled from Wrocław were soon employed in Sofia, Zurich, Paris, and other cities”.⁵²

Objections to the racial “purity” of the Slavic scholar Prof. Erdmann Hanisch resulted in his relegation to the lower-paid post of lecturer of Polish language, whereas Friedrich Andreae, an outstanding historian of the history of Wrocław and the University in the 18th and 19th centuries, was completely removed from teaching because of his “non-Aryan spouse”. For the same reason, the well-known Germanist Friedrich Ranke was forced to leave the Third Reich and move to the University of Basel, where the historian Richard Koerber had previously found employment. It is stated that the fascist-enforced changes and personnel repression affected 62 people, including the dean of the Faculty of Catholic Theology, Prof. Bertold Altaner,⁵³ who had “discredited himself” by his participation in the pacifist movement. This faculty was left in relative peace by the Nazis until the war, as its legal protection and prestige in the academic community was assured by Cardinal Adolf Bertram.

The fact that the University had as many as three rectors within 12 months is indicative of the lack of stability at this institution. Until May 1933, the philologist Karl Broekelmann held this office, then Hans Helfritz, a prominent lawyer, was elected with the approval of the NSDStB students. He was removed in October

⁵² Walter Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch 1933–1940*, Berlin 1977, p. 58.

⁵³ Günter J. Ziebertz, *Berthold Altaner (1885–1964). Leben und Werk eines schlesischen Kirchenhistorikers*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 1997 (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, 29).

1933, and after the abolition of university autonomy in the Reich, Gustav Adolf Walz, a specialist in state and international law, who had been brought to Wrocław, was appointed rector in 1934.⁵⁴ He was an “old party comrade” (since 1931) and a trusted man, so he held the office of rector for 3 consecutive years.⁵⁵ The filling in of the staff losses that had been incurred at the University took place by means of new promotions, which made the newly nominated professors and docents sympathetic to the new authorities, and whom, by accepting the positions – as Richard Grunberger wrote in *A Social History of the Third Reich* – in a way accepted earlier decisions to remove the Jews from the University.⁵⁶ The Nazi “new spirit” consisted of the complete political subordination of the university employees, since, according to the law of October 11, 1933, all independent university employees were obliged to belong to the National Socialist Association of Docents. The University Act of October 28, 1933, abolished the autonomy of universities, and matters of academic life and organisational forms at the universities were regulated by the *Führerprinzip* (“leader principle”), with rector Walz as its executive. He imagined that, in view of Hitler’s annexation plans for southern and eastern Europe, the politically engaged University of Wrocław would gain the honoured title of *Reichsuniversität* (Reich University), as it fought to restore to the Reich the lands “stolen by the Treaty of Versailles”.⁵⁷ Ideological considerations of Hitlerism led to the establishment of the Institute for Racial Research in 1934, and new importance – ethnic, ideological, and political – was given to deutsche Volkskunde and archaeology, so that in 1936, on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the Prussian University, respective research institutes were established. After racial research had been undertaken, a new Faculty of Natural Sciences was separated from the Faculty of Philosophy in 1938, as the sixth at the University.

The Technische Hochschule also underwent a metamorphosis as the Reich prepared for war, so the development of chemistry, biochemistry, geology, mineralogy, and palaeontology was more in demand. Scientifically, it was only then that the University’s organisational association with the Technische Hochschule was fully exploited, with the creation of a joint Gas Laboratory, whose lethal products during the war became well-known, especially in Eastern Europe. A Laboratory for

⁵⁴ Gustav Adolf Walz.

⁵⁵ See: Christoph Schmelz, *Der Völkerrechtler Gustav Adolf Walz. Eine Wissenschaftskarriere im “Dritten Reich”*, Berlin 2011, pp. 23–27.

⁵⁶ Richard Grunberger, *Historia społeczna Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Warszawa 1994, p. 370.

⁵⁷ Bolko Richthofen, *Gehört Ostdeutschland zur Urheimat Polen?*, Danzig 1929.

High-Frequency and Short-Wave Research used in Radio Technology was also established. The research of the physicist Professor Hans Stebing in the fields of atomic science, spectroscopy, and infrared photography became militarily important.⁵⁸

The 125th anniversary of the founding of the University in 1936 once again prompted the renovation of the Main Building and a decision regarding plans for a new University Library building. The intention was to locate it on the side of the west wing to the Main Building, at the exit of the present Więzienna Street, with a view of the Oder River and Kępa Mieszczańska. The implementation of the initially prepared designs was once again rendered impossible by the approaching war. However, the University did receive the buildings it needed – already in 1931, after a fierce battle in Berlin, it obtained a building at 49 Szewska Street, which had been vacated by the Presidium of the Police. It was then named Seminar Building I, and the seminaries of History, Evangelical Theology, Slavonic Studies, Indo-Germanic Philology, and Oriental Studies were moved there. On the other hand, the properties at 7–9 St. Martin Street were designated as Seminar Buildings II, and Seminars in Modern Philology, including the German Institute, were located there. The name Seminar Building III was given to the premises of the closed Academy of Arts, at Kaiserin Augusta-Platz (today's 3/4 Polski Square), in 1933. Among others, the Archaeological Institute and its museum collections and the Institute of Medieval and Modern Art were relocated there, and the Mathematical Institute of the University and College of Technology was located at 5 Polski Square (Seminar Building IV).

The Nazi Reich did not care about the development of the intelligentsia and this is evident from the restrictions on university enrolment quotas. Thus, in 1938, the University of Wrocław had only about 2,500 students and was back to its World War I numbers. This decline was already visible in 1933, when professors and young people of Jewish origin left.⁵⁹ The organisational life of the students was *gleichschaltet* – new associations appeared in place of traditional corporations and named themselves according to the new ideology, such as the Kameradschaft Wartburg or the Leo Schlageter-Kameradschaft. Complaints from teaching staff and employers about the low academic performance of graduates and poor preparation for students also increased, as compulsory work camps, sports and military exercises, as well

⁵⁸ Hermann Matzke, *Die Technische Hochschule Breslau*, München 1941, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Leszek Ziátkowski, *Żydzi na studiach prawniczych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego od XIX w.*, "Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego", 4 (1995), pp. 173–186.

as political training took up much of the time previously allocated to study for young people. Hitler's rule attracted mainly young people, but it also triggered a change in the attitudes of professors, some of whom joined the NSDAP. The few memoirs from this period claim that Nazi influence was not significant, but "one had to be on one's guard in public statements, using the top-down regulated language of Goebbels, although silence was the best option".⁶⁰

The outbreak of World War II caused the temporary closure of the University, but (as the radio announcements stated) "after extremely successful developments in the East", the University was able to resume its activities already on October 2, 1939 – however, to a limited extent as some of the medical professors, docents and assistants, as well as people from the administrative and support staff of institutes and laboratories, were at the front. Professors affiliated with the NSDAP engaged in the establishment of new research centres in occupied Poland. Already in the autumn of 1939 historian M. Laubert, known for his anti-Polish stance, moved to Cracow, where the Nazi governor Hans Frank established the East German Labour Institute. With most physicians leaving the University for the front, the Medical Faculty came to the fore in terms of student numbers, reaching as many as 1,500–1,600 students in 1940–1941. The number of female students also increased significantly, despite the earlier recommendation by the authorities that they should be no more than 10% of the total number of students.

From 1940 onwards, studies were held in a trimester system, as the opportunity to study was given to soldiers on leave from the front; this meant also a chance for teaching staff in the army to partially return to the universities. Young Germans from Eastern Europe and the Balkans arrived in Wrocław. In 1943, after the defeat at Stalingrad, the situation of the University became much more complicated, as the conscription of staff and students to the front was increased. Therefore, the *Vorlesungs- und Personal-Verzeichnis*, which was published every semester, ceased to give their numbers and up-to-date information about the study programme. It is thus difficult to determine how many professors and students remained during this final period of the war. What is known, however, is that as late as the autumn of 1944, professors and students who were still present in Wrocław were directed to build fortifications around Wrocław, which was to be the Nazi Festung Breslau.

⁶⁰ Georg Stadtmüller, *Erinnerungen an das Osteuropa-Institut in Breslau*, "Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrichs-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau", 26 (1985), p. 253.

The Breslauer Universität ceased its activities on January 22, 1945, as a result of the January offensive of the Soviet Army. On that day, Dr. Theo Bertram, the joint superintendent of the University and Technische Hochschule, closed both schools and, with the professors remaining in the city, left by train for Dresden. The siege of Wrocław lasted 100 days and caused enormous losses to the city and the University, and even a cursory enumeration of them makes one realise the barbarity of Festung Breslau's command. Great damage was sustained by the University Library, which housed more than half a million volumes. Its building was about to be demolished, as the fortress commandant had designated his quarters in its basement, so the collections were moved during March 1945 to St Anne's Church and the student canteen situated opposite. After the end of hostilities, they burned down in unexplained circumstances. The Library building was also severely damaged already in the first days of the siege. The fire also destroyed the University's Archaeological Museum, located in its side wing, together with its exhibits and book collection.

The greatest damage was sustained by the University on Easter Sunday, April 1, 1945, when an air raid destroyed the University building, and a bomb fell next to the Mathematical Tower, "ripping" the building in two and completely destroying the Oratorium Marianum (that is, today's restored Music Hall). In the Botanical Garden belonging to the University, bunkers filled with ammunition exploded and the buildings there, including the Zoological Museum, were burnt down. In another artillery attack on Ostrów Tumski, the buildings at St. Martin and St. Cross Streets were destroyed, so were the seminary buildings mentioned earlier. The university clinics were also severely damaged and lost much of their specialist equipment. The building of the Institute of Anthropology, located at 72/74 Curie-Skłodowska Street, was completely burnt down, along with its valuable collections.

On May 6, 1945, the day of the surrender of the Festung Breslau, the University was in ruins, devoid of its students, its academic staff and its scientific output, as well as its material base, which had been created and developed since 1702. At that time, the history of the Prussian University of Wrocław, founded in 1811, had come to an end, and with the arrival of the Scientific and Cultural Group from Cracow on May 9, despite the still burning ruins, the history of the Polish university already begun. Its newly appointed rector, Prof. Stanisław Kulczyński, the pre-war rector of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów, stated in his speech inaugurating the academic year 1946/1947: "We are the material heirs to the ruins

of the German University and Polytechnic in Wrocław, and the spiritual heirs to the borderland culture of Lwów”.⁶¹ The professors and students of the Jan Kazimierz University, many of whom found their way to the city on the Odra River as a result of the occupation’s turmoil, were instrumental in rebuilding the University and academic life in Wrocław. They came both from the Nazi camps, occupied Poland and from the already liberated part of Europe, including Polish Army units fighting in the West.

A symbolic reference to 1702 and the beginnings of academic life in Wrocław was the inauguration of the lectures of all the universities, on St. Leopold’s Day, November 15, 1945. All university schools in Wrocław remained in organisational symbiosis until 1951 when today’s Wrocław University of Science and Technology and other Wrocław universities were separated from the University of Wrocław (Academy of Medicine, Academy of Agriculture, Academy of Economics, and Academy of Physical Education, now also called universities). A paradox today is that the only faculty that can fully point to the University’s three hundred years of tradition, namely Catholic Theology, is not a part of this University, as it is a separate Pontifical Faculty of Theology.

The University of Wrocław celebrated 300 years of its existence on November 15, 2002, on the St. Leopold’s Day, and in the present 2023 it is already 21 years older. In its jubilee celebrations, today’s University of Wrocław draws on the genealogy and traditions of the Leopoldina Academy, although it does not resemble that university from the early 18th century. However, it makes full use – like the earlier Prussian-German university until 1945 – of the magnificent baroque building founded by Leopold I of Habsburg in Austrian times, named the Leopoldina Academy in honour of the founder. Every year, since 1945, on November 15, i.e. the University of Wrocław revives and preserves the memory of that solemn inauguration, celebrated by Jacob Mibes, a member of the Jesuit Order and its first rector. He was appointed to this official function by Leopold I Habsburg, ruler of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia and emperor of the German Reich.

With the passing of the post-war years, the University of Wrocław’s German past was gradually forgotten from 1945 onwards, as was the earlier internal

⁶¹ Wrzesiński, *Uniwersytet*, p. 205. This is shown, among other things, by the collection of the Ossoliński Library in Lviv, which was brought to Wrocław.

resistance to it. University of Wrocław became the *de facto* heir to the history of the pre-war Friedrich Wilhelm Silesian University. This fact was emphasised in 2011 during the celebrations marking the 200th anniversary of the merger of the Viadrina University and the Leopoldina University, and the anniversary celebrations were honoured with a special anniversary exhibition documenting the University's past, which was the origin of the current Museum of the University of Wrocław.

During the scientific symposium accompanying these events, researchers "from almost all over the world" participated, representing all university disciplines, i.e. historical and philological sciences, mathematics, physics and chemistry, as well as natural, agricultural and medical sciences, attesting to the universality of university science. Their meeting on November 15, 2011, was attended by the Presidents of Germany, Christian Wulff, and Poland, Bronisław Komorowski, who also took part in a discussion on the model of the modern university and its relationship with the state.

It should be noted here that the University of Wrocław is not the legal successor to the pre-war Friedrich Wilhelm Silesian University, as the patronage over the legacy of the former German Silesian University was assumed by the University of Cologne after World War II. This fact is a consequence of the political division of Germany and Europe after 1945, the effects of which were felt in Wrocław, even in 2011. These effects included a politically and morally significant initiative for the people of Wrocław and the scientific community of the University of Wrocław, which was conceived in order to remember and honour those who, during the Nazi regime of 1933–1945, were deprived, for political and national or racial reasons, of their titles and degrees obtained at the University of Wrocław.

The longstanding nature of this initiative is evidenced by a text by Prof. Alfred Konieczny of the Faculty of Law at the University of Wrocław, published in 1967, titled *Pozbawienie Żydów stopni doktorskich na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim w latach 1940–1941* [The deprivation of Jewish doctoral degrees at the University of Wrocław in the years 1940–1941].⁶² The author reported that the Nazi law affected more than 260 people. The mode of resolving the issue, with the participation of the Rectors of both Universities, was decided in 2011, and in 2015, following the completion of the *Delated-Restored* research project, all victims of totalitarian Nazi ideology were presented and a joint statement was issued condemning the

⁶² Alfred Konieczny, *Pozbawienie Żydów stopni doktorskich na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim w latach 1940–1941*, 1967 (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No. 63, Prawo 18), pp. 123–132.

diverse forms of persecution and discrimination used against students and scholars in the Third Reich.⁶³

Today, the University of Wrocław, in the 3rd decade of the 21st century, is regarded as one of the 10 prominent Polish universities. Following an evaluation by an international group of experts in autumn 2019, in a competition announced by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, it was given the opportunity to participate in the Excellence Initiative – Research University programme. This decision opens up the opportunity for the University of Wrocław to compete with the best research and teaching centres in Europe and the world.

STRESZCZENIE / SUMMARY

W artykule przedstawiono syntetyczny obraz dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, poczynając od założenia w 1702 r. dwuwyziałowej katolickiej Leopoldiny, która po połączeniu z istniejącą od 1506 r. we Frankfurcie nad Odrą protestancką Viadriną stała się od 19 X 1811 r. państwowym Uniwersytetem Wrocławskim. W 1911 r. otrzymał on nazwę Śląski Uniwersytet im. Fryderyka Wilhelma, a od 1945 r. pozostaje polskim Uniwersyteciem Wrocławskim.

REFERENCES

- “Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten”, 1928.
- “Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny”, 1933/34.
- “Schlesische Monatshefte”, 1929, 1938.
- Andreae Friedrich, *Aus dem Leben der Universität Breslau. Der Schlesischen Friedrich Wilhelms Universität zum 125 Gedenken ihrer Gründung*, Breslau 1929.
- Biały Franciszek, *Pucz Kappa-Lüttwiza na Śląsku*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska”, 10 (1970), pp. 109–143.
- Dolny Śląsk. Monografia historyczna*, ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 2006.
- Drozd Józef, *Wyższa Szkoła Techniczna we Wrocławiu i jej akta z lat 1910–1945*, “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 33 (1978), 3, pp. 349–362.
- Dziurla Henryk, *Z dziejów zabudowy, przeobrażeń i planowania dawnego zespołu uniwersyteckiego we Wrocławiu*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 4 (1995), pp. 7–32.

⁶³ Kamilla Jasińska, Krzysztof Łagajda, *Skreśleni przywrócení – podsumowanie projektu “Skreśleni”*, “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 70 (2015), 1, p. 163.

- Encyklopedia Wrocławia*, ed. Jan Harasimowicz, coll. Włodzimierz Suleja, Wrocław 2000.
- Fahrt an die niederschlesische Ostgrenze*, Breslau 1928.
- Gerber Michael R., *Die Schlesische Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur (1893–1945)*, Sigmaringen 1988.
- Grunberger Richard, *Historia społeczna Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Warszawa 1994.
- Hałub Marek, *Johann Gustav Büsching 1783–1829. Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der schlesischen Kulturgeschichte*, Wrocław 1997.
- Hesse Albert, *Die Einwirkungen der Gebietsabtretungen auf die deutsche Wirtschaft*, Berlin 1930.
- Historia Wydziałów Lekarskiego i Farmaceutycznego Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego oraz Akademii Medycznej we Wrocławiu w latach 1702–2002*, ed. Waldemar Kozuszek, Wrocław 2002.
- Jasińska Kamilla, Łagojda Krzysztof, *Skreśleni przywrócení – podsumowanie projektu “Skreśleni”*, “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 70 (2015), 1, pp. 163–173.
- Kaufmann Georg, *Festschrift zur Feier hundertjähriges Bestehens der Universität Breslau*, Vol. 1: *Geschichte der Universität Breslau 1811–1911*; Vol. 2: *Geschichte der Fächer, Institute und Aemter der Universität zu Breslau 1811–1911*, Breslau 1912.
- Konieczny Alfred, *Pozbawienie Żydów stopni doktorskich na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim w latach 1940–1941*, 1967 (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 63, Prawo 18).
- Kozuszek Waldemar, *Jan Mikulicz-Radecki 1850–1905. Współtwórca nowoczesnej chirurgii*, Wrocław 2003.
- Kulak Teresa, *Działalność Niemiecko-Zagranicznego Klubu Akademickiego we Wrocławiu w latach 1933–1943*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 4 (1995), pp. 210–218.
- Kulak Teresa, *Historia Wrocławia*, Vol. 2: *Od twierdzy fryderycjańskiej do twierdzy hitlerowskiej*, Wrocław 2002.
- Kulak Teresa, *Propaganda antypolska dolnośląskich władz prowincjonalnych w latach 1922–1933*, Wrocław 1982.
- Kulak Teresa, *Uniwersytet Wrocławski i Wyższa Szkoła Techniczna w latach 1910–1945*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 3 (1994), pp. 77–89.
- Kulak Teresa, Pater Mieczysław, Wrzesiński Wojciech, *Historia Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego do 1918 roku*, Wrocław 2002.
- Kunicki Wojciech, *Zarys dziejów germanistyki na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim w latach 1918–1945. Struktura. Katedry i profesura*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 4 (1995), pp. 87–109.
- Labuda Gerard, *Polska granica zachodnia. Tysiąc lat dziejów politycznych*, Poznań 1971.

- Latajka Zdzisław, *Przeszłość i przyszłość Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego*, [in:] *Jubileusz trzechsetlecia Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 1702–2002*, ed. Adam Chmielewski, Wrocław 2005, pp. 11–14.
- Laubert Manfred, *Deutsch oder slawisch? Kämpfe und Leiden des Ostdeutschtums*, Berlin 1928.
- Matzke Hermann, *Die Technische Hochschule Breslau*, München 1941.
- Migoń Krzysztof, *O początkach wrocławskiej Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 3 (1994), pp. 69–96.
- Molik Witold, *Uniwersytet Wrocławski na tle uniwersytetów w Rzeszy (1871–1914)*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 3 (1994), pp. 7–22.
- Pater Mieczysław, *Historia Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego do 1918 roku*, Wrocław 1997.
- Paulsen Friedrich, *Die deutschen Universitäten und das Universitätsstudium*, Berlin 1902.
- Popiński Krzysztof, *Pierwsze kobiety na studiach na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim (1895–1918)*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 4 (1995), pp. 187–200.
- Richthofen Bolko, *Gehört Ostdeutschland zur Urheimat Polen?*, Danzig 1929.
- Schmelz Christoph, *Der Völkerrechtler Gustav Adolf Walz. Eine Wissenschaftskarriere im “Dritten Reich”*, Berlin 2011.
- Sobczak Janusz, *Propaganda Niemiec weimarskich wobec Polski*, Poznań 1973.
- Spett Jakob, *Nationalitätenkarte der östlichen Provinzen des Deutschen Reichs nach dem Ergebnissen der amtlicher Volkszahlen von Jahr 1910*, Wien 1918.
- Stadtmüller Georg, *Erinnerungen an das Osteuropa-Institut in Breslau*, “Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrichs-Wilhelms- Universität zu Breslau”, 26 (1984), p. 211–264.
- Tausk Walter, *Breslauer Tagebuch 1933–1940*, Berlin 1977.
- Werner Karl, *Ein Heimatwerk in Landkarten*, “Schlesische Heimatshefte”, 1933, 1.
- Wiktor Zdzisław, *Jan Mikulicz (1850–1905)*, [in:] *Sześćsetlecie medycyny krakowskiej*, Vol. 1: *Życiorysy*, Kraków 1963, pp. 171–194.
- Wrzesiński Wojciech, *Uniwersytet Wrocławski 1945–1995*, Wrocław 1995.
- Ziątkowski Leszek, *Żydzi na studiach prawniczych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego od XIX w.*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego”, 4 (1995), pp. 173–186.
- Ziebertz Günter J., *Berthold Altaner (1885–1964). Leben und Werk eines schlesischen Kirchenhistorikers*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 1997 (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, 29).
- Ziekursch Johannes, *Bericht über die Jahrhundertfeier der Schlesischen Friedrich Wilhelms Universität zu Breslau vom 1.–3. August 1911*, Breslau 1912.
- Zur Frage der Zukunft Schlesiens*, Breslau 1924.



MAREK ZYBURA
University of Wrocław
ORCID: [0000-0001-8762-1202](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8762-1202)

WROCLAW'S CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE CITY'S HISTORICAL POLICY

KULTUROWE DZIEDZICTWO WROCLAWIA W POLITYCE HISTORYCZNEJ MIASTA

ABSTRACT: Until the political breakthrough of 1989/90, the cultural heritage of Wrocław had been the subject of an irresolvable historical and ideological dispute between Germany and Poland, burdening their mutual relations. The exclusive use of the national paradigm by both sides in their approach to the city's history made it impossible to bring their stances closer together. The author shows this dispute against the background of the general Polish attitude to the phenomenon of German cultural heritage in Poland after World War II and explains its evolution in Wrocław and Silesia.

KEYWORDS: public history, historical heritage, historical policy

The notion of cultural heritage is nowadays so problematic that it requires us first to define in what sense/scope it will be used here. It is strongly impacted by the very term 'culture', which has been understood in various ways in the past and in our times is defined in a virtually inflationary way. One of today's most renowned cultural scholars calls the turn to culture "part of the cultural history of the last generation".¹ This means that not only has the research paradigm changed before our eyes, but we ourselves have begun to perceive the world around us differently, taming the previously 'high' notion of culture in sometimes peculiar ways.² In the thick-
et of definitions, there is, however, a general tendency to contrast culture with nature

¹ Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, Cambridge 2004, p. 9.

² See Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture*, Oxford 2000.

rather than civilization. In the broad understanding of culture implied by such an approach, culture includes both the patterns of human behaviour and the result (“products”) of human spiritual and material activity. In this sense, cultural heritage is nurtured and transmitted from generation to generation socialisation output (understood as cultural patterns of behaviour fixed in social contact), as well as spiritual and material output of a given population in the area it inhabits. This understanding of cultural heritage, which in this case could also be called cultural tradition, as an integral whole of various values, is increasingly in line with the current theory and practice of museum services, as well as that of monument protection and conservation. This is the understanding of heritage that we will be concerned with here.

“The town maintains its identity, which was the same three hundred, nine hundred years ago, against the river of time sweeping over it”³ – this statement by Serenus Zeitblom, chronicler of “the life of the German composer Adrian Leverkühn”, from Thomas Mann’s novel *Doctor Faustus* – applied to the thousand-year history of Wrocław, which was Piast in its beginnings – might, until recently, have provoked opposition in German readers (especially the older ones, who were former residents of the city),⁴ whereas the Poles would mostly accept it naturally as something obvious to them – for they both used to proceed from a strongly nationally profiled narrative of the city’s identity, a narrative that only now, before our very eyes, seems to be becoming a thing of the past.

The capitulation of Festung Breslau on May 6, 1945, marked the beginning of the end of Wrocław’s centuries-long German tradition; this was sealed in August by the Potsdam Decrees. After the expulsion of the German population (how else could this forced displacement be called?) and the establishment of the two German states, the Polish history of the city was not acknowledged in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), and in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) territorial losses in the East were tabooed. In preserving the memory of the suffering of 1945–1947 (when the last large transports of former Breslau residents left for the West, although the resettlement campaign continued until 1955⁵), the Slavic-Polish contribution to the city’s history was removed from popular German historical consciousness, even

³ Thomas Mann, *Doktor Faustus*, transl. John E. Woods; New York: Vintage, 1999, p. 39.

⁴ Prince Edmund von Hatzfeldt, a descendant of the German aristocratic family that was once strongly rooted in Silesia, who had been visiting Wrocław regularly since the 1970s, said during a conversation in the editorial office of “Odra” twenty years later: “I come to Breslau, not to Wrocław. And no one can blame me for that”.

⁵ See Teresa Kulak, *Wrocław. Przewodnik historyczny*, Wrocław 1999, p. 278.

though it had for centuries co-shaped the atmosphere and climate of this important cultural and civilizational transmission node between the Reich and Poland.⁶ (*Mutatis mutandis*, this brings to mind the post-war Polish attitude toward Lviv/Vilnius and the Ukrainian and Lithuanian residents of those cities.) In fact, in the 19th century, sensitivity to this state of affairs was still present in Germany, even if, in the absence of historical insight, it was fed only by imponderabilia that after all do never emerge in a vacuum. The Königsberg writer Fanny Lewald noted this in the second volume of her 1862 autobiography *Meine Lebensgeschichte*: “Wrocław [...] in my heart has never made the impression of a German city, and even more so a foreign city, and in 1832 it appeared to me particularly foreign. [the November Uprising in the Russian partition and Wrocław’s enthusiasm for it – M.Z.]. It was not a question of the market square [...], or old churches, or single, sometimes very old houses, which struck my eye and did not appear to be German. No, it was something, incomprehensible to me – something in the physiognomy of this city that I used to call Polish”.⁷ The Prague-Leipzig writer Carl Herloßsohn observed a decade later: “Wrocław is a strange city, composed of various elements, of which the dominant one is Prussian-Silesian. Alongside this there is a Polish element and [...] also a traditional Austro-Silesian one”.⁸ In 1888, the Silesian regionalist Franz Schroller wrote that “Wrocław was somehow covered with Polish tarnish and still had much of a Polish habitus” (which he himself did not agree with).⁹

We could find more such testimonies. It is essential, however, that these examples already make us aware, in their imprecision, of how difficult it is in a borderland (which Silesia is after all) to distinguish and separate all ethnic and cultural influences, dependencies, traces, and layers – and whether it is necessary/worth to do so... (we will return later to this question). Be that as it may, such (and similar) opinions did not fit in after 1945 with the nostalgic image of the “eternally German”

⁶ In fact, this process continued until the turn of the millennium, that is, until Georg Thum’s book, *Obce miasto. Wrocław 1945 i potem*, transl. Małgorzata Słabicka, Wrocław 2005 (German edition: 2003). It is characteristic here that it would be in vain to look for any reflections on the Polish accent in the history of the city in *Breslau – Biographie einer deutschen Stadt*, Günter Elze, 1993, or in Gerhard Scheuermann’s two-volume *Breslau-Lexikon*, 1994 (actually, the anti-Polish character of this compendium is only barely concealed). Incidentally, both authors are natives of Wrocław.

⁷ Fanny Lewald, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, Vol. 2: *Leidensjahre*, Frankfurt am Main 1989, p. 48.

⁸ *Orbis Wratislaviae. Wrocław w relacjach dawnych i współczesnych*, ed. Krzysztof Ruchniewicz, Marek Zybura, Wrocław 2018, p. 90.

⁹ Franz Schroller, *Schlesien. Eine Schilderung des Schlesierlandes*, Glogau 1888, Vol. 2, p. 309.

city, a myth pushed especially strongly during the Third Reich by the Institute for Eastern Europe, with its headquarters on Sand Island (Wyspa Piasek). The Germans had taken this myth with them, and media control over it was exercised until German reunification in 1990 by the expellees' associations, in which the "Wrocław apocalypse of 1945"¹⁰ and the loss of the "ancient German city" functioned as if in ahistorical space, with no reflection on the causes of this fact. The obverse of the "place of memory" that Wrocław became in this German historical consciousness was its bright, happy German past, while the reverse was its apocalyptic Polish takeover – that is, its end, *Untergang* (Gleiss).

In turn, the question of German cultural heritage in Poland (and thus also the cultural heritage of German Wrocław up to the end of World War II) must be said in this context to be a never-ending subject in Polish–German relations. It should be stated at the very beginning, before any further considerations, that the political controversies and the agitated emotions – which accompany these relations – are relatively recent. This heritage has been inscribed in Polish history since the early days of Polish statehood because of the role of the Germans in our history¹¹ and the shifting of borders, which involved appropriating the material culture of the lands occupied by the ethnic element living there. It is possible to tendentiously exaggerate the role of the German factor (and thus of the German heritage) in Polish history, as German nationalist historiography has until recently done, using the term *deutsche Ostarbeit*.¹² It can also be marginalisation, as was done by Polish nationalist historiography, or even questioned outright. It is also possible, by reversing the German argumentation, to push forward the myth of a German *Drang nach Osten*,¹³ as Polish National Democracy party did. The medieval settlement

¹⁰ This is how Horst A. Gleiss has titled his 10-volume documentation of the siege of Breslau: *Breslauer Apokalypse 1945. Dokumentarchronik vom Totenkampf und Untergang einer deutschen Stadt und Festung am Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, Wedel–Rosenheim 1986–1997.

¹¹ See Marek Zybura, *Im gemeinsamen Haus. Zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Polen*, Berlin 2019.

¹² The "predatorily anti-Polish historian" from Poznań (T. Ulewicz), Kurt Lück wrote directly about "Deutsche Aufbaukräfte in der Entwicklung Polens" (the title of his 1934 book), or about "Deutsche Gestalter und Ordner im Osten" – this is in turn a volume edited by him in 1940 and reprinted in 1957 by Viktor Kauder under the politically more correct title: *Deutsch-Polnische Nachbarschaft* (The memory of how the Germans "shaped and ordered" East/Poland was still very fresh), but with an undisguised intention as to the meaning of the book in its subtitle: *Lebensbilder deutscher Helfer in Polen*.

¹³ This myth was dismantled already in the 1960s by Antoni Gołubiew, and a decade later by Benedykt Zientara: *Z zagadnień terminologii historycznej: "Drang nach Osten"*, [in:] *Spółczesność, gospodarka, kultura. Studia ofiarowane Marianowi Malowistowi w czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Stanisław Herbst, Warszawa 1974, pp. 425–433.

under German law in Piast-ruled Silesia, including Wrocław (rebuilt after the Mongol invasion in 1241 under Magdeburg Law) and its consequences, belongs equally to the German heritage in Poland as do the centuries-long symbiosis of Royal Prussia with the Polish Crown (of which Ducal Prussia was a temporary fief) or the Saxon Wettins on the Polish throne. This narrative could be continued even further. German settlers, especially merchants and craftsmen, shaped the appearance of Polish cities and villages. Over the centuries, they contributed to our clerical, ecclesiastical, scientific, military, and other staff, that is, they grew into Polish everyday life. The mutual relations in which the issue of the material and spiritual culture implemented here by the Germans (the substance of their legacy in Poland, which has grown over the centuries and which is now our heritage) did not constitute a significant ground for national or political frictions – they developed, accordingly, in a variety of ways, with displays of indifference, familiarity or feuds, as is the case in every human community.

It was not until World War II, which confronted Poles with Germans on an unprecedented scale and bound them even more firmly than any other event in the past, that the issue of German cultural heritage in Poland was included in the catalogue of mutual offences and demands. It still casts a shadow on Polish–German relations, a symbol of which is the so-called *Berlinka*¹⁴ in the collection of the Jagiellonian University Library. This happened as a result of the border agreements of Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam between the victorious coalition powers, and the territorial shift of Poland to the West in 1945.¹⁵ One third of its national territory was to consist of the former German eastern provinces.

The historian Sebastian Haffner once observed that in the social context of generational change, “[e]ach new generation must submit its own vision of the past. This is not because the new generations suddenly acquire absolute knowledge unknown to their predecessors, but because our fluid reality each time reveals

¹⁴ *Berlinka* is the Polish name for a collection of German manuscripts from the Prussian State Library in Berlin, which since the end of the Second World War are located at the Jagiellonian University Library in Kraków. See Michał J. Żółtowski, *Zbiory Biblioteki Pruskiej w Polsce. Studium przypadku*, Warszawa 2012.

¹⁵ See Longin Pastusiak, *Teheran, Jałta, Poczdam. Wielka Trójka o zachodniej granicy Polski*, [in:], *Powrót nad Odrę i Bałtyk z perspektywy siedemdziesięciu lat*, ed. Antoni Dragan *et al.*, Warszawa 2017; also: Jan Czuła, *Pożytki z Jałty*, [in:] *Polska Rzeczywiście Ludowa. Od Jałty do Października '56*, ed. Paweł Dybicz, Warszawa 2019, pp. 163–170.

a new aspect of the truth about the past”.¹⁶ Haffner was thinking here of England, but it is a statement that can also be applied to the attitude of Polish society towards the German heritage in the lands taken over in 1945 – also in Wrocław. The fact that successive generations reveal “new aspects of the truth about the past” for themselves (let us complement Haffner with Pierre Nora here), is due to the fact that history and memory are by no means synonymous – because “memory”, writes Nora, “is life: it is constantly transmitted by living people and therefore it is in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting. [...] History wants to be an intellectual operation, secularised, analysed, and critically argued. Memory sacralises what we recall/remember – and history expels it from the sphere of the sacrum; its role is disenchantment. Memory is a creation of the group, which it binds it together from within”.¹⁷ And this mechanism works so because memory is the space in which the internal cement of a given community is created, and there is never any lack of attempts to manipulate memory, i.e., to “invent traditions” (*de facto* constructing them) – to quote Hobsbawm.¹⁸

As far as Wrocław is concerned (as well as all post-German territories taken over by the Polish state in 1945), this phenomenon occurred after the war, because there the memory of the city was simply “amputated” (A. Zawada). Moreover, the takeover of the region and its capital came quite unexpectedly for the Polish public – although already at the beginning of the 20th century (Poland was then still under Partitions) such notion appeared in the writings of the ideologue of Polish nationalism, Roman Dmowski, who grew out of the political program of Jan Ludwik Popławski and Bolesław Chrobry. Dmowski proposed the so-called “Piast ideology”, termed also as the “Western thought”, which postulated the restitution of the Polish state within its medieval Piast borders.¹⁹ However, its significance in the consciousness of the Polish public remained marginal because it put in brackets six centuries of the history of Poland, which since the time of Casimir the Great had been developing territorially, politically, and culturally in a consistent eastward direction. Its lands were taken by the Russians, but the return of this “borderland”

¹⁶ Quote from: Uwe Soukup, *Ich bin nun mal Deutscher. Sebastian Haffner. Eine Biographie*, Berlin 2001, p. 38.

¹⁷ Pierre Nora, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis*, Frankfurt am Main 1998, pp. 13 ff.

¹⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, *Das Erfinden von Traditionen*, [in:] *Kultur & Geschichte. Neue Einblicke in eine alte Beziehung*, ed. Christoph Conrad, Martina Kessel, Stuttgart 1998, pp. 97–118.

¹⁹ See Roman Dmowski, *Niemcy, Rosya i kwestya polska*, Lwów 1908. On the “Western thought”, see Grzegorz Strauchold, *Myśl zachodnia i jej realizacja w Polsce Ludowej 1944–1957*, Toruń 2003.

eastern Rzeczpospolita was desired by the Poles during the Partitions. The centuries-long eastward expansion weakened the memory of the medieval cradle of the state in the west and emotionally bound Poles ever more strongly to the eastern centres of Polish power and culture. The Polish memory of Silesia was getting weaker and weaker, although the Wrocław pastor Johannes Kurtzmann still claimed in the 17th century that Silesia was “die Tochter der Mutter Pohlen”, and the writer Johann Gottlieb Schummel, impressed by his *Reise durch Schlesien im Julius und August 1791*, included in this work an apologia for the Polish language in Silesia.

A few years after Dmowski's speech, Marian Słubicz, a publicist from Cracow, argued that although in the 10th century the Polish western border “lay on the Oder”, yet in 1914 “it would be possible to find only a few Poles whose heart would beat more vividly at the thought of Kołobrzeg or Wrocław – but their home towns are Lwów [now Lviv], Stanisławów [now Ivano-Frankivsk], Wilno [now Vilnius], and others”.²⁰ Hitler's invasion of Poland in 1939 actualised Dmowski's anti-German option, but the idea of territorial retaliation in accordance with the “Piast idea” was not considered for a long time. The Polish government-in-exile in London saw in a possible westward shift of Poland at the expense of Germany the danger of future German revanchism, which Poland could oppose only through a close political alliance with the Soviet Union, which would be tantamount to giving up its own sovereignty. As late as December 17, 1944, Tomasz Arciszewski, the prime minister of the government-in-exile, emphasized in this context in an interview with the *Sunday Times*, that “[w]e want neither Wrocław nor Szczecin”.²¹

One of the “benefits of Yalta” was Wrocław, which opens the issue of the Polish attitude to the city's existing cultural heritage. For its former inhabitants, traumatised by the madness of defending Festung Breslau and being expelled to Germany, the city's historical clock stood still. Due to the exchange of population, the socializing component of German cultural heritage was not preserved in the now Polish Wrocław. It disappeared from the city along with its former residents. Their contacts with the incoming population were too short and superficial for a lasting transmission of behavioural patterns characteristic of the community that had been established there for generations. For the successive waves of new settlers from the Polish eastern territories annexed by Stalin in 1939, as well as from

²⁰ Marian Słubicz, *Polska między Wschodem i Zachodem*, Kraków 1914, p. 12.

²¹ Quote from: Krystyna Kersten, *Narodziny systemu władzy. Polska 1943–1948*, Poznań 1990, p. 108.

central Poland and neighbouring Wielkopolska, the historic clock of Wrocław began to tick again in Polish rhythm. In light of the urgent need to build the foundations of a new, Polish identity for the city among its new inhabitants and to subject it, together with these inhabitants, to the modes of a new, Polish historical policy – for it had to be incorporated into Polish reality – the “Piast idea” was resorted to and it was a late success for Dmowski over his rival Piłsudski!²² It is an obvious truth that the Polish Wrocław and the new Polish western territories were a compensation for the Polish northern and south-eastern territories of the Second Polish Republic, i.e., for the so-called *Kresy* (Bordelands). Thus, Józef Mackiewicz rightly mocked that “the former allies of our new allies” presented them to us in Tehran and in Yalta. In the new political conditions, his statement was censurable. The state launched a massive propaganda campaign whose “fuel” was the “Piast idea” with the myth of “the return of the western territories to the Motherland” or “regaining the Piast heritage”. The creation and dissemination of the Piast “invented tradition”, using the concept of the Western territories as compensation, socio-technically referred to as the “Recovered Territories”, was intended to suggest the allegedly illegitimate nature of German rule over them for two reasons. First, for the sake of international, especially Western, public opinion, for which the “ancient Polishness” of these lands was emphasized, as well as the historical rights to them and to “Piast Wrocław”²³ (of which this opinion was not particularly convinced). Secondly, and even primarily – because of the new inhabitants, socio-technically called “repatriates”, in order to mobilize in them a readiness to rebuild Wrocław and the region. This could only succeed if these people, often severely affected by history and expelled from their homes and farms, would accept the “post-German” (as they said) strange-land (as they used to call it) as their new homeland. It was necessary to give them a home, i.e., a new identity, and to remove the feeling of living in a territorially and politically provisional situation, replacing it with the awareness of being connected to Polish roots. They had difficulties with that, like the student Joanna Konopińska, a resident of Wrocław since

²² It should be noted here, by the way, that the western Polish border was of secondary importance to Piłsudski, so perhaps – had it not been for the outbreak (and success!) of the Wielkopolska Uprising, Wielkopolska would most likely have remained outside the borders of the Second Republic.

²³ The piquant irony of history, in the context of invoking “historical rights” to the annexed lands, lies in the fact that the absurdity of such procedure was discredited by the Polish historian and diplomat of the Enlightenment era, Feliks Łoyko, who ridiculed the historical justification of the First Partition of Poland by Prussia so severely that Berlin abandoned this argumentation during the Second Partition.

1945, who noted in her diary: "At every step I come across objects belonging to someone else, testifying to someone else's life, about which I know nothing, about people who built this house, lived here, and now perhaps, are no longer alive. How to start a new life here? No, I cannot imagine that I will ever be able to say that this is my home".²⁴ It was therefore necessary to give the settlers a sense of "being at home", which was an urgent task of historical policy, because everything was foreign here: the landscape, the aesthetic and symbolic layer of buildings, the forms and degree of their industrialization (in Wrocław) and agricultural development (in the region), as well as the cultural fabric and even local history.

It is not a coincidence that the Office of the General Plenipotentiary for the Regained Territories initiated publications such as Władysław J. Grabski's *200 miast wraca do Polski* [200 Cities Return to Poland]. The author explicitly admits that he is writing his book "for the widest strata of society, wishing to familiarise them, in a way, with history, and to revive the history of the recovered cities for the use of present-day Poland, its inhabitants, administrators, and neighbours".²⁵ It seems that this was not a matter of their re-Polonization as part of the process of "familiarization" with the Western Territories, but of their programmed de-Germanization and Polonization of the heritage embedded in them. The "Piast Wrocław" – after 1945, in the public perception, has become the second Polish Lviv (although, contrary to the legend that persists to this day, the majority of its new inhabitants did not come from Lviv, but the city's "Lvivness" was rooted here by, among others, the Lviv staff of the now Polish University, the Ossolineum as well as by the Raławice Panorama, and the monument of Aleksander Fredro), which became an important laboratory for the progressing integration of the "new homeland" with the rest of the country.

The great propaganda event intended to consolidate the people of Wrocław and the nation around the Polish mythology of the "Recovered Territories" was an exhibition (from July to October 1948), anti-German in intention and message. It was meant to document the achievements of the reconstruction of the territories taken over from the Germans, to prove to the Polish population and foreign public, both their Polishness and the organisational and administrative efficiency of their

²⁴ Joanna Konopińska, *Tamten wrocławski rok 1945–1946*, Wrocław 1987, p. 53. The author titled second volume of her notes, completed in 1948, the title *We Wrocławiu jest mój dom* [In Wrocław is my home], but this is the title she gave *ex post* when preparing for publication at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s.

²⁵ Władysław J. Grabski, *200 miast wraca do Polski. Informator historyczny*, Poznań 1947, p. 5.

new owner. Both aspects were significant, but the latter was more important because the reluctance of the Anglo-Saxons, at the Potsdam Conference, to make too large territorial concessions to Poland in the west, was still remembered. This was expressed by Churchill, who worried at the time whether the “Polish goose” would not choke on too large a portion.²⁶ The exhibition was an opportunity for the city to hasten the demolition and removal of war damage from streets and squares: “Wrocław literally revived”, noted Joanna Konopińska in July, impressed by the enthusiasm with which the inhabitants took up the appeal of the authorities to join in the preparations for the Exhibition.²⁷ It proved to be a great propaganda and political success for Polish state and was very well received by the citizens of Wrocław and visitors (over one and a half million) from all over Poland, and fulfilled its integrating function.²⁸ Not coincidentally, at the same time the World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace was organised in Wrocław on August 25–28, gathering participants from nearly 50 countries. Following their return, they were to testify of Silesia’s Polishness before the world. However, it was easier to convince the arrived Poles, who had to make a living somehow here, than the guests from abroad. The Polish-friendly Swiss writer Max Frisch, confronted during the Congress with “historical” evidence “that Silesia is Polish land”, commented that: “The same words could be quoted against us by Austria, demanding that after seven hundred years we return to its rule”, and added: “It is only [...] in the aspect of reparations that one can, I think, talk about [Polish] Silesia”.²⁹

The effectiveness of the state historical policy in the “Recovered Territories” (as evidenced by the success of the Wrocław Exhibition) was determined by the support given to it by the Catholic Church, which also had a material interest in the matter, taking over not only post-German Catholic, but also Protestant church property. The Catholic Church immediately responded to the appeal of the ideologists and practitioners of Polonization of the city and the region, and joined the work of Polonization by implementing Catholicism. As early as August 1945, the Primate began to organise the structures of the Polish Catholic Church in the

²⁶ Czuła, *Pożytki*, p. 168.

²⁷ Joanna Konopińska, *We Wrocławiu jest mój dom. Dziennik z lat 1946–1948*, Wrocław 1991, p. 224.

²⁸ Jakub Tyszkiewicz, *Sto wielkich dni Wrocławia. Wystawa Ziem Odzyskanych we Wrocławiu a propaganda polityczna Ziem Zachodnich i Północnych w latach 1945–1948*, Wrocław 1997.

²⁹ Max Frisch, *Dziennik 1946–1949, 1966–1971*, transl. Jakub Ekier, Krzysztof Jachimczak, Warszawa 2015, p. 228.

“Recovered Territories”, passing full ecclesiastical authority temporarily to apostolic administrators appointed by the Vatican. After his death in 1948, this policy was continued even more actively by his successor, Stefan Wyszyński, who in 1952 appointed a new Polish cathedral chapter without consulting the Holy See. Addressing the faithful in Silesia, he spoke: “Behold, on the Piast land of Lower Silesia, our fathers – Piast dukes and knights – erected heavenly temples to God. And you have returned to them, like children, after a long journey to the threshold of your own home”. Motivating them to intensify their efforts, he emphasized: “We do not consider ourselves respectable guests here, we work for the future of Poland in this land”.³⁰ These words could just as well have come from a paper delivered by a government propagandist to the then local activists of the Polish Western Association or the Society for the Development of the Western Territories. They unambiguously testify to the state-creating involvement of the Catholic Church in the process of integrating the former German eastern provinces into the Polish state.³¹ A significant support for this state-church policy was given by writers, who helped to “reinterpret the region’s millennia-long past in a Polish-Catholic spirit”,³² such as Zbigniew Hierowski and Zbyszko Bednorz, who developed programs for the cultural acquisition of the new lands.³³ It was no coincidence that in November 1947 Wrocław hosted the participants of the Third National Congress of the Polish Writers’ Trade Union, who debated the strategy of literary Polonization of the city and the region. A poem for the subsequent economic development by Zofia Walicka-Neymanowa was characteristic – it described the new settler who came to the yesterday’s German lands, who “kneeled and with his face lowered over the fields / and with his hand, worn, trembling with emotion / he took these fields... forests... meadows... these larking songs / into Polish possession / with a sacred sign of the cross”.³⁴

Even if literature did not spread the Piast myth among the new inhabitants in a confrontational manner (as it was the case in the so-called Piast novels by Karol Bunsch), it did laser on the “Recovered Territories” as if on a palimpsest, which

³⁰ <https://przystanekhistoria.pl/pa2/tematy/stefan-wyszynski/82238,Prymas-Wyszynski-wobec-Ziem-Zachodnich.html> (accessed: December 29, 2021).

³¹ On the subject, see: Robert Żurek, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki w Polsce wobec Ziem Zachodnich i Północnych 1945–1948*, Szczecin–Warszawa–Wrocław 2015.

³² Wojciech Bro w arny, *Historie odzyskane. Literackie dziedzictwo Wrocławia i Dolnego Śląska*, Wrocław 2019, p. 10.

³³ See, e.g., Zdzisław Hierowski, *Program kulturalny dla ziem odzyskanych*, “Odra”, 1945, 7, pp. 1–2.

³⁴ “Polityka”, 1995, 47, p. 1.

can be seen, for example, in Anna Kowalska's texts dedicated to Wrocław. She wrote that "[i]n some Rome guidebooks, a transparent sheet of paper with the plan of the ancient city can be placed over the plan of the modern city. The reader can easily identify each street, each building, what they were in antiquity, what they are in modern times. Now, the citizens of Wrocław are slowly placing a new, for them readable card of Polishness on the German city. Scholars, on the other hand, draw a plan of the former Polish stronghold. Sometimes, a storm helps the researchers – a house collapses during a windstorm and a thick layer of plaster falls off the neighbouring building, and then an old sign of an ancient Polish inn appears to the eyes of a passer-by".³⁵ The principles of such "archaeology of Polishness", as he called it, were proclaimed as early as 1946 by Emil Kaliski, who stated: "Records [of the Polishness of these lands – M.Z.] are faded, sometimes indistinct, sometimes destroyed. Therefore, with the greatest care, in order to preserve all that has miraculously survived to our times, it is necessary to reconstruct it again. And to reconstruct not only that which, despite the destruction, survived above the ground, but to reconstruct also that which, unprotected by the Germans, disintegrated in the course of the passing centuries, to be later hidden underground".³⁶

Both texts reveal the national criterion, which for a long time dominated the official Polish approach to the post-German legacy in the acquired territories. From the very beginning, the services for the protection and conservation of historical monuments, which started to be established in the 19th-century Europe, were guided by the principle of "protection from destruction of objects of specific and recognised cultural, artistic, historical, and scientific values", as Jan Pruszyński, an expert in this field, described it.³⁷ However, the practical application of this principle and its interpretation in a given place and time differed from country to country. Thus, to the above-mentioned national criterion, in the new conditions of the Polish political system and its historical policy, the criterion of class was added. This categorical tandem proved particularly disastrous for the acquired cultural assets, especially those of an architectural nature, which were of the youngest date. The then existing regulations established the 1855 limit as the terminus *ante quem* for registering objects as historical monuments. Moreover, the canon of artistic quality functioning at the time eliminated works with neo-Gothic, Art

³⁵ Anna Kowalska, *Opowieści wrocławskie*, Warszawa 1955, p. 225.

³⁶ Emil Kaliski, *Wrocław wrócił do Polski*, "Skarpa Warszawska", 1946, 9, p. 4.

³⁷ Jan Pruszyński, *Ochrona zabytków w Polsce*, Warszawa 1989, p. 33.

Nouveau, and eclectic style features from the protective umbrella. In general, however, the patriotic-national and political principle of the conservation service was a selection factor. It led to partial or even complete destruction of historic buildings or complexes in Lower Silesia that survived the war in very good or satisfactory condition. This practice was continued in Silesia also in the later period, as documented by reports in the archives of the Central Board of Museums and Monuments Protection.

The General Conservator-Restorer of Monuments, Jan Zachwatowicz, in 1946 developed the *Program i zasady konserwacji zabytków* [Program and principles for the conservation of monuments], in which he wrote: "The importance of the relics of the past for the nation has been brought out with drastic vividness by the events of recent years, when the Germans, wishing to destroy us as a nation, demolished the monuments of our past. [...] Refusing to accept that monuments of our culture be ripped away from us, we will reconstruct them, we will rebuild them from their foundations, in order to pass them on to the generations, if not in an authentic form, then at least in an exact one, alive in our memories and available in materials".³⁸ These words clearly indicate that this was a program addressed to *Polish* cultural heritage, and in the lands of Lower Silesia, the new Poland, it could only be applied selectively. In order to implement the program in central Poland, where the reconstruction of Warsaw became the program's flagship, specialised demolition companies were set up in the west and north of the country, operating until the end of the 1950s. They were engaged in "recovery" of building materials and elements from the post-German architectural substance. Among other places, Warsaw received shipments of bricks from tenement houses in Wrocław, Nysa, Brześć, and other places, as well as from the Lower Silesian Junkers' palaces, which were then demolished because they did not meet national and class criteria. In addition, there was also the criterion of religion, as it sometimes happened that an evangelical church was demolished in order to build a Catholic vicarage from the material thus obtained. What was not demolished or utilised by the 1960s, started to fall into disrepair in the following years, and was removed from urban areas by sapper demolition in the 1980s. The most striking example of such devastation was in Wrocław, where in 1974 the ruins of the medieval St. Clare's Mills were blown up.

³⁸ "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury", 1946, 1–2, p. 48.

De-Germanization practices sometimes took grotesque forms in the city. From the reprint of the image of the city from Schedel's *Chronicle* (1493) published in 1983 by the Society of Wrocław Enthusiasts (sic!), the inscription Breslau was removed, and such forgery was offered for sale in bookstores. Yet in Wrocław antique shops one could – with a bit of luck – buy the original of this engraving. In turn, at the beginning of the 1990s, during the restoration of the historical city border stone, dating from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the original “Breslau” inscription was removed and replaced with the Polish “Wrocław”. It would seem that these kinds of absurdities constitute an irrevocably gone past in Breslau, yet a book published in 2019 contradicts this, with its author beginning it with a statement: “In 1938, Wrocław was part of the great Silesian province. It was inhabited by almost 630,000 people, mainly Germans and Poles, and a small number of Czechs”.³⁹ This statement, which is inaccurate, clearly a lie, and a blatant de-Germanization of the pre-war demographic potential of the city, is incomprehensible and astonishing. It remains a relic of the physical destruction of the preserved substance of German cultural heritage in the city, consisting in its “de-Germanization”. The then Olsztyn provincial restorer Zbigniew Rewski put it bluntly in his speech at the national conference of historic buildings restorers in Łańcut in 1948, when he spoke of “de-Prussianization”.⁴⁰ However, the “de-Prussianization” of architecture caused irreparable damage. In the 1970s, some well-preserved baroque stuccowork was removed from several Wrocław churches as part of the regothisation of their interiors and an ideologically pushed return to the Piast period.

The destruction of the acquired historical cultural heritage in Lower Silesia affected not only real estate historic substance, but also movable objects. The resulting damage to the cultural landscape of the region, concerning individual towns, settlements, historic complexes, or buildings, is even more painful because it is impossible to compensate for the numerous movable monuments, which were once located there, and which were transferred during the so-called “translocation” to central Poland. Therefore, the original appearance and artistic functionality of historical objects, complexes, etc., are often impossible to recreate. In other words, it means their permanent cultural and artistic depreciation. In this context, a few

³⁹ Joanna Hytrek-Hryciuk, *Między prywatnym a publicznym. Życie codzienne we Wrocławiu w latach 1938–1944*, Wrocław 2019, p. 7.

⁴⁰ Zbigniew Rewski, *Zagadnienie odpruszczenia krajobrazu i zabudowy na Ziemiach Odzyskanych a konserwatorstwo*, “Ochrona Zabytków, Kronika”, 1948, 3–4, p. 164.

telling examples from Wrocław should be mentioned. Outstanding works of medieval art from Silesia, such as the famous Beautiful Madonna from the St. Elizabeth Church, the Altar of St. Barbara from the St. Barbara Church, and the Triptych of St. Hedwig from the Bernardine Church, were taken to Warsaw. A reading of the Silesian section in the catalogue of mediaeval table paintings in the National Museum in Warsaw, written by Tadeusz Dobrzeński, is a historical proof of an unprecedented artistic conquest, whose victims were not only churches and museums in Wrocław, but Silesia in general, all the area up to Zgorzelec. The catalogue, published in 1972, euphemizes the predatory nature of this action (to which the Warsaw collection owes its creation), informing in the imprints of individual objects: "acquired in 1945 (1946)". How it was possible to "acquire" works of art in 1946, in Silesia, which was already Polish at the time, and where museum infrastructure and conservation and protection services were already in place, remains a mystery to Warsaw museum specialists.

As a result of this procedure, of all the provinces incorporated into Poland in 1945, Silesia suffered the greatest losses, being the richest among them in historical monuments. The fatal consequences of these decisions for genetic and style research do not need to be specifically emphasized. Moreover, part of the gathered collection (it is difficult to say which part, as the documentation of the shipments was kept superficial and incomplete in order to obscure the origin of some objects) was never to be seen again, ending up in museum storerooms. There it disappeared, not only from the eyes of the ordinary public, but also from those of art historians. Such was the fate of, for instance, the lion's share of the rich furnishings of the Krapps' Chapel in St. Elisabeth Church in Wrocław (including the valuable, wood-carved, so-called the Krapps' Passion), which has been in storage at the National Museum in Warsaw since 1946.

The top-down promoted Piast myth, by which the state propaganda tried to reduce the past few hundred years of German presence in Silesia to the dimension of its few-century-long occupation, fell on deaf ears among the inhabitants of Wrocław born after the war, as it had no compensatory value for them. Escape from the syndrome of historical and cultural depravity imposed upon them for decades was achieved through scholarly references to German individual memory (through increasing numbers of personal contacts in those years) and collective memory (contained in the literature and material culture produced in this area). This was consistent with the (sub)conscious mnemonic mechanism which causes

that “we are invaded by doubts about memories that are only ours [...]. When the memory is not shared, it seems false”.⁴¹

This process went hand in hand with a re-evaluation of thinking about Polish–German relations – including the cultural heritage taken over from the Germans – which had been progressing in Poland since the 1970s. From the climate of this debate emerged in the 1980s in the circle of Wrocław art historians the originally uncensored *Memoriał o stanie zabytków na Dolnym Śląsku* (Memorial on the State of Monuments in Lower Silesia).⁴² The authors focused in detail on this one region, but when summarizing the post-war period in this area, they nevertheless made a general evaluation of the “cultural policy in the Recovered Territories” when they wrote about the “losses” which the Silesian region suffered as a result of this policy and about the fact that “architectural monuments, sculptures and paintings, already negatively perceived according to the model of class struggle as works of art of the owning and exploiting strata, were treated particularly brutally in Silesia as part of the so-called removal of traces of Germanness”. This is a statement that applies in its entirety to the other Western and Northern Territories as well. Emphasizing here the problem of cultural heritage taken over from the Germans, the authors of *Memorial* presented, for the first time in the Polish debate on this issue, a position free of national-state perspective. The departure from single-value and antagonistic schemes, however, could widely take place only after the political breakthrough of 1989/91.

It was then that an awareness began to make its way into the historical self-knowledge of the people of Wrocław, the awareness that was expressed in 1993 by the Wrocław author Sebastian Lamarck (aka Stanisław Bereś): “I lived in a German house, where for generations German children were born and German old people were dying. I slept on a German couch, looked at German paintings, bathed in a German bathtub, ate from German pots and plates, played with German sabres, wrote with a German pen and ink, and leafed through German books [...]. Even when I took off my school blouse from the hanger, the inscription »Steuernagel« revealed itself. It was the name of the doctor who used to live in my apartment. He never did anything bad to me, and I lived between his stuff. [...] Sometimes it occurred to me: »Jesus Christ! We’re living among stolen possessions«”.⁴³ In the same year Maciej

⁴¹ David Lowenthal, *Przeszłość to obcy kraj*, “Res Publica”, 1991, 3, p. 9.

⁴² Originally published in: “Biuletyn Dolnośląski”, 1986, 2, pp. 2–5.

⁴³ *Amarcord wrocławski. Rozmowa z Sebastianem Lamarck*, “Odra”, 1993, 5, p. 51.

Łagiewski, director of the Wrocław Historical Museum, spoke in an interview for "Odra" of a "city devoid of memory" (1993, No. 10), which the literary scholar and writer Andrzej Zawada soon afterwards made more precise when he wrote directly about a city "whose memory has been amputated".⁴⁴ At that time, the restoration of the city's memory was met with a regular aggressive campaign by the right-wing press. One of its authors wrote: "The effects of reviewing the materials on the expansion of Germanness in Wrocław are simply horrifying. It turned out that Wrocław is quickly catching up with Opole and Szczecin in re-Germanization activities such as: the restoration of German names at the expense of the existing Polish ones, and the particular reverence shown for various reminders of the German past". The author quoted above did not hesitate to make the false accusation that "[a] very grim role in this regard is played by local traitorous pseudo-elites, especially by academics ready to worship Germany on their knees in exchange for high grants, fees, lectures, scholarships, awards, and decorations".⁴⁵

The way to overcome the national-state paradigm with regard to Wrocław and build a new identity based on the dialectic and multicultural tradition of the place was indicated by Andrzej Zawada, who gave his essays the meaningful title *Bresław*. The city authorities have been supporting the people of Wrocław on this path from the very beginning, with a huge role played by Bogdan Zdrojewski, the city's first mayor in 1990–2001. Thanks to him, the metaphor of "the meeting place" has been attached to Wrocław, popular among both domestic and foreign visitors, and inextricably linked with it. It is also symbolised by the above-mentioned permanent exhibition *1000 lat Wrocławia* [1000 years of Wrocław], opened in 2009 in the City Museum, which shows, according to Andrzej Zawada, that today's city "could only have come into being as a sum of varied cultural heritage, brought here by all new inhabitants of Wrocław, and the heritage gathered by the inhabitants of Wrocław from previous centuries and epochs. Combining this heritage, gluing the individual components together, supporting the merging into one young and energetic urban organism"⁴⁶ – this is a task which the Polish inhabitants of Wrocław have succeeded in accomplishing after 1989, but which they must not give up working on.

⁴⁴ Andrzej Zawada, *Bresław. Eseje o miejscach*, Wrocław 1996, p. 52.

⁴⁵ Jerzy Robert Nowak, *Pełzająca germanizacja Wrocławia*, "Nasz Dziennik", February 14/15, 2009. Cf. polemic by Beata Maciejewska, *Germańska fala zalewa Wrocław*, "Gazeta Wyborcza", February 21/22, 2009.

⁴⁶ Andrzej Zawada, *Drugi Bresław*, Wrocław 2015, p. 76.

STRESZCZENIE / SUMMARY

Autor analizuje stosunek władz Wrocławia do miejscowego dziedzictwa kulturowego. Podkreśla, że do przełomu politycznego lat 1989/1990 stanowiło ono przedmiot nierozwiązywalnego sporu historycznego i ideologicznego między Niemcami a Polską, co obciążało wzajemne stosunki. Stosowanie przez obydwie strony wyłącznie paradygmatu narodowego w podejściu do dziejów miasta uniemożliwiało zbliżenie stanowisk. Autor ukazuje ten spór na tle ogólnego, polskiego stosunku do zjawiska niemieckiego dziedzictwa kulturowego w Polsce po II wojnie światowej i tłumaczy jego ewolucję we Wrocławiu i na Śląsku aż do dzisiaj.

REFERENCES

- “Biuletyn Dolnośląski”, 1986.
- “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury”, 1946.
- “Polityka”, 1995.
- “Gazeta Wyborcza”, 2009.
- “Nasz Dziennik”, 2009.
- “Skarpa Warszawska”, 1946.
- Amarcord wrocławski. Rozmowa z Sebastianem Lamarck*, “Odra”, 1993, 5.
- Browarny Wojciech, *Historie odzyskane. Literackie dziedzictwo Wrocławia i Dolnego Śląska*, Wrocław 2019.
- Burke Peter, *What is Cultural History?*, Cambridge 2004.
- Czuła Jan, *Pożytki z Jałty*, [in:] *Polska Rzeczywistość Ludowa. Od Jałty do Października '56*, ed. Paweł Dybicz, Warszawa 2019.
- Dmowski Roman, *Niemcy, Rosya i kwestya polska*, Lwów 1908.
- Eagleton Terry, *The Idea of Culture*, Oxford 2000.
- Frisch Max, *Dziennik 1946–1949, 1966–1971*, transl. Jakub Ekier, Krzysztof Jachimczak, Warszawa 2015.
- Gleiss Horst A., *Breslauer Apokalypse 1945. Dokumentarchronik vom Todeskampf und Untergang einer deutschen Stadt und Festung am Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, Wedel–Rosenheim 1986–1997.
- Grabski Władysław J., *200 miast wraca do Polski. Informator historyczny*, Poznań 1947.
- Hierowski Zdzisław, *Program kulturalny dla ziem odzyskanych*, “Odra”, 1945, 7.
- Hobsbawm Eric, *Das Erfinden von Traditionen*, [in:] *Kultur & Geschichte. Neue Einblicke in eine alte Beziehung*, ed. Christoph Conrad, Martina Kessel, Stuttgart 1998.
- Hytrek-Hryciuk Joanna, *Między prywatnym a publicznym. Życie codzienne we Wrocławiu w latach 1938–1944*, Wrocław 2019.
- Kersten Krystyna, *Narodziny systemu władzy. Polska 1943–1948*, Poznań 1990.

- Konopińska Joanna, *Tamten wrocławski rok 1945–1946*, Wrocław 1987.
- Konopińska Joanna, *We Wrocławiu jest mój dom. Dziennik z lat 1946–1948*, Wrocław 1991.
- Kowalska Anna, *Opowieści wrocławskie*, Warszawa 1955.
- Kulak Teresa, *Wrocław. Przewodnik historyczny*, Wrocław 1999.
- Lewald Fanny, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, Vol. 2: *Leidensjahre*, Frankfurt am Main 1989.
- Lowenthal David, *Przeszłość to obcy kraj*, "Res Publica", 1991, 3.
- Mann Thomas, *Doktor Faustus*, transl. Maria Kurecka, Witold Wirpsza, Wrocław 2018.
- Nora Pierre, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis*, Frankfurt am Main 1998.
- Orbis Wratislaviae. *Wrocław w relacjach dawnych i współczesnych*, ed. Krzysztof Ruchniewicz, Marek Zybura, Wrocław 2018.
- Pastusiak Longin, *Tehran, Jalta, Poczdam. Wielka Trójka o zachodniej granicy Polski*, [in:] *Powrót nad Odrę i Bałtyk z perspektywy siedemdziesięciu lat*, ed. Antoni Dragan *et al.*, Warszawa 2017.
- Polska Rzeczywistość Ludowa. Od Jalty do Października '56*, ed. Paweł Dybicz, Warszawa 2019.
- Powrót nad Odrę i Bałtyk z perspektywy siedemdziesięciu lat*, ed. Antoni Dragan *et al.*, Warszawa 2017.
- Pruszyński Jan, *Ochrona zabytków w Polsce*, Warszawa 1989.
- Rewski Zbigniew, *Zagadnienie odprusaczenia krajobrazu i zabudowy na Ziemiach Odzyskanych a konserwatorstwo*, "Ochrona Zabytków, Kronika", 1948, 3–4.
- Schroller Franz, *Schlesien. Eine Schilderung des Schlesierlandes*, Glogau 1888.
- Slubicz Marian, *Polska między Wschodem i Zachodem*, Kraków 1914.
- Soukup Uwe, *Ich bin nun mal Deutscher. Sebastian Haffner. Eine Biographie*, Berlin 2001.
- Strauchold Grzegorz, *Myśl zachodnia i jej realizacja w Polsce Ludowej 1944–1957*, Toruń 2003.
- Thum Georg, *Obce miasto. Wrocław 1945 i potem*, transl. Małgorzata Słabicka, Wrocław 2005.
- Tyszkiewicz Jakub, *Sto wielkich dni Wrocławia. Wystawa Ziem Odzyskanych we Wrocławiu a propaganda polityczna Ziem Zachodnich i Północnych w latach 1945–1948*, Wrocław 1997.
- Zawada Andrzej, *Bresław. Eseje o miejscach*, Wrocław 1996.
- Zawada Andrzej, *Drugi Bresław*, Wrocław 2015.
- Zientara Benedykt, *Z zagadnień terminologii historycznej: "Drang nach Osten"*, [in:] *Spółczeństwo, gospodarka, kultura. Studia ofiarowane Marianowi Małowistowi w czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Stanisław Herbst, Warszawa 1974.
- Zybura Marek, *Pomniki niemieckiej przeszłości*, Warszawa 1999.
- Zybura Marek, *Der Umgang mit dem deutschen Kulturerbe in Schlesien nach 1945*, Görlitz 2005.

Zybura Marek, *Im gemeinsamen Haus. Zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Polen*, Berlin 2019.

Żółtowski Michał J., *Zbiory Biblioteki Pruskiej w Polsce. Studium przypadku*, Warszawa 2012.

Żurek Robert, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki w Polsce wobec Ziem Zachodnich i Północnych 1945–1948*, Szczecin–Warszawa–Wrocław 2015.



MARCIN WODZIŃSKI
University of Wrocław
Orcid: [0000-0002-0281-6391](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0281-6391)

WOJCIECH TWOREK
University of Wrocław
Orcid: [0000-0002-0067-9100](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0067-9100)

WROCLAW JEWISH STUDIES AFTER THE WORLD WAR II

WROCLAWSKA JUDAISTYKA PO II WOJNIE ŚWIATOWEJ

ABSTRACT: The article traces the development of academic Jewish studies in Wrocław from their modest beginnings after the Holocaust, through a renaissance of academic interests in the 1980s, and culminating in the creation of the Department of Jewish Studies at the University of Wrocław. As we demonstrate, the main areas of scholarly interest among the faculty members of the Department are the history of Hasidism, modern Yiddish culture, and the socio-political history of Polish Jews in the 20th century, which, as we argue, closely correspond with major methodological and cultural developments in global humanities.

KEYWORDS: history of science, history of universities, Silesia, Jews, Wrocław

The tradition of academic Jewish studies in Wrocław dates back to the mid-19th century and to the establishment of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the preeminent centre for Jewish studies in 19th- and early 20th-century Europe. Wrocław (then Breslau) was home to the most important Jewish scholarly periodical of the time (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*), and of the founding fathers of modern Jewish studies: Zacharias Frankel (1801–1875), Heinrich Graetz (1817–1891) and Abraham Geiger (1810–1874). Prominent Jewish studies scholars studied in Wrocław, most notably Wilhelm Bacher (1850–1913), Herman Cohen (1842–1918), Moritz Güdemann (1835–1918), Marcus Brann (1845–1920), Max

Grunwald (1871–1951), and David Kaufmann (1852–1899). At the same time, Oriental studies, mainly Semitic and Hebrew studies, were developed at the University, largely in collaboration with the lecturers and students of the Seminary. Jewish studies thrived also outside these strictly academic institutions, namely at the Jewish Museum and in the major archival and documentary project run by the Jewish Community.¹ The entire body of accomplishments created through the enormous efforts of several generations of scholars was destroyed during the years of Nazi persecution, and the World War II and the Holocaust brought it to its final end.

Post-war beginnings

In 1945, the Jewish Theological Seminary no longer existed, and its rich library had been looted and dispersed throughout Germany, Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, and the United States. The dilapidated Seminary building stood abandoned until the 1970s, when it was demolished due to its poor condition. Neither the University of Wrocław, which did not re-establish Semitic or Hebrew Studies after the war, nor any other institution in the city was able to continue the pre-war traditions of Wrocław's Jewish studies. Few people from the pre-war Jewish community remained in Wrocław, while new residents often viewed German Jews and their heritage (perceived within the culture of Nazi Germany) with hostility. However, the archives of the Wrocław Jewish community survived miraculously intact, stored during the war in the new Jewish cemetery outside the city. The researcher and archivist of the pre-war Jewish community, Bernhard Brillling (1906–1987), who survived concentration camp in 1938 and emigrated to Palestine a year later, was brought to Wrocław to assess and inventory this collection.² Unfortunately, quickly and in a manner typical of the new Communist state, the collection was centralised and transferred to Warsaw, where it has been kept to this day in the archives of the Jewish Historical Institute. This, of course, raises the question of who is or should be the heir to this heritage, both material and spiritual, of the Jewish community in Breslau/Wrocław and Silesia, and whether

¹ The history of Jewish studies in Wrocław has not yet been thoroughly researched. To date, the most comprehensive study concerns the history of the Jewish Theological Seminary; see: *Das Breslauer Seminar. Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar (Fraenckelscher Stiftung) in Breslau 1854–1938. Gedächtnisschrift*, ed. Guido Kisch, Tübingen 1963.

² Bernhard Brillling, *Archiwum gminy żydowskiej we Wrocławiu*, “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego”, 1950, pp. 15–17.

it should continue to be housed at a state institution in Warsaw, where few people come to study its Silesian collections.

The resulting situation also demonstrates the problem of discontinuity in academic Jewish studies in post-war Wrocław. The city, deprived of its pre-war archival collections, major libraries and above all its pre-Holocaust Jewish scholarship, could hardly continue this academic tradition. Indeed, for many decades in Wrocław, as in the rest of communist Poland, Jewish studies subsisted on the margins of state-funded academia. State-funded Holocaust research was conducted mostly in Warsaw and was discontinued relatively early. The intensive but short-lived Jewish settlement in Lower Silesia between 1946 and 1950 did not have any significant impact on scholarship, although many journals and other publications from that period provide valuable information today, not only about the erstwhile Jewish community. The Jewish Scholars' Circle, which was active in Wrocław between 1946 and 1950, was more of a confraternity than an academic association.

Notably, however, despite the lack of statutory institutions dedicated to academic Jewish studies and distinct academic centres, there were researchers who investigated various aspects of Jewish history and culture. In 1960, Szyja Bronsztejn (1923–1995) defended his excellent doctoral dissertation on the historical demography of Jews in interwar Poland. In the years that followed, he was virtually the only researcher at the University of Wrocław to conduct more or less systematic Jewish studies of nationwide significance.³ Other publications of Wrocław-based scholars appeared only occasionally: Jerzy Falenciak's study on the Wrocław Bible,⁴ or Arnold Goldsztejn and Samuel Bat's works on post-Holocaust Jewish settlement in Lower Silesia.⁵ Still, none of these made a clear mark on the development of Jewish studies, even on the local Wrocław scale.

³ Szyja Bronsztejn, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym. Studium statystyczne*, Wrocław 1963; *idem*, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej na Dolnym Śląsku po II wojnie światowej*, Wrocław 1993. See Ewa Mika, *Bibliografia prac prof. dr. hab. Szyji Bronsztejna za lata 1957–1995*, [in:] *Studia historyczno-demograficzne*, ed. Tadeusz Jurek, Krystyn Matwijowski, Wrocław 1996, pp. 15–22.

⁴ Jerzy Falenciak, *Hebrew Bible from the 13th Century in the Manuscripts of the University Library in Wrocław*, Wrocław 1986.

⁵ Arnold Goldsztejn, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1948* (doctoral dissertation defended at the University of Wrocław), Wrocław 1969; *idem*, *Produktywizacja ludności żydowskiej na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1948*, [in:] *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej na Śląsku*, ed. Krystyn Matwijowski, Wrocław 1991, pp. 121–135; Samuel Bat, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym Śląsku*, "Rocznik Wrocławski", 5 (1961), pp. 141–163.

The situation began to change only in the 1980s. New interests emerged outside the formal academic institutions as a result of the general opposition to the Communist regime and state-dominated culture. This socio-cultural opposition led to the development of interest in subjects that had been discriminated against by the Communist authorities, including minority cultures. Following the state-sponsored anti-semitic campaign of 1968, the topics of Jews and Judaism were among the least favoured areas for research, which in the 1980s was in and of itself a sufficient reason for increased interest in these subjects. An additional factor making Jewish studies more attractive was the tangible presence and visibility of the Jewish past in the cultural landscape.⁶ In Wrocław, these cultural artefacts included two cemeteries and a synagogue. Biographical interest in famous Wrocław personalities, such as Abraham Geiger and Ferdinand Lassalle, prompted many to explore the German Jewish past of the city and region. In particular, two conferences in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and the academic publications which followed, opened a new chapter in the study of Wrocław's Jewish past. Finally, the revival of Jewish life in Wrocław bolstered Jewish research and sparked various forms of cooperation between the organised Jewish community and scholars of Jewish history and culture.

The revival of Jewish studies at the University of Wrocław is, therefore, a relatively recent phenomenon, as it dates back only to the 1980s. It was developed to some extent independently in three research groups of historians of law, literary scholars and modern historians. Legal historians in Wrocław, above all the co-editors of the annual *Studia nad faszyzmem i zbrodniami hitlerowskimi* (Studies on Fascism and Nazi Crimes), Karol Jonca (1930–2008), Franciszek Połomski (1934–2019), and Alfred Konieczny (1934–2023) relaunched – after four decades of neglect – studies about the extermination of Jews in Silesia. Their works are still among the best studies of the regional history of the Holocaust.⁷ Soon afterwards, Wrocław

⁶ On the surge of interest in Jewish topics see recent studies by Geneviève Zubrzycki, *Resurrecting the Jew: Nationalism, Philosemitism, and Poland's Jewish Revival*, Princeton 2022; *eadem*, *The Politics of Jewish Absence in Contemporary Poland*, "Journal of Contemporary History" 52 (2017), 2, pp. 250–277. For a general overview of Jewish studies in post-Holocaust Poland, see *Studia żydowskie w Polsce – przeszłość, stan obecny, perspektywy*, ed. Stefan Gąsiorowski, Kraków 2014, pp. 139–291.

⁷ See e.g., Franciszek Połomski, *Prawo własności a tzw. ostateczne rozwiązanie kwestii żydowskiej w Niemczech hitlerowskich*, Wrocław 1991, Karol Jonca, "Noc kryształowa" i casus Herschela Grynszpana, Wrocław 1992; *idem*, *Zagłada niemieckich Żydów na Górnym Śląsku (1933–1945)*, "Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka", 46 (1991), 2, pp. 219–249; Alfred Konieczny, *Tormersdorf, Grüssau, Riebnig. Obozy przejściowe dla Żydów Dolnego Śląska z lat 1941–1943*, Wrocław 1997.

historians Krystyn Matwijowski (1936–2017), and later Leszek Ziątkowski, Mateusz Goliński and others, published a series of works on Jews in Silesia and Poland in medieval and modern times. In addition, Bożena Szaynok examined the Kielce pogrom of 1946, the post-war Jewish settlement in Lower Silesia, and Polish-Israeli relations until 1967.⁸ The literary scholar Krzysztof Migoń (b. 1940) conducted equally interesting research in modern Silesian oriental studies, including Semitic and Hebrew philology and the history of Hebrew printing, while Mieczysław Inglot (1931–2019) studied Jewish subjects in 19th-century Polish literature.⁹

Woronczak

However, most most significant for the further development of Wrocław Jewish studies were the scholarly activities of the eminent Wrocław philologist, Jerzy Woronczak (1923–2003).¹⁰ His interest in Jewish culture – including his knowledge of Hebrew and Yiddish – dated back to the pre-war period. Yet, for years, Jewish studies remained a minor sub-current of his research activities, resurfacing occasionally in his work on Jan Kochanowski's *David's Psalter* or his studies in Christian liturgy. The turning point came in the 1980s with the more general resurgence of Jewish studies nationwide. Woronczak not only contributed to this phenomenon but also gave it – and not only in Wrocław – a characteristic philological and editorial bent. At that time, material heritage was among the most popular research interest as objects of material culture were the easiest-to-find traces of the past Jewish culture and, at the same time, were significant memorial sites of an annihilated civilization. Woronczak

⁸ See: *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej na Śląsku*, ed. Krystyn Matwijowski, Wrocław 1991; *Z historii ludności żydowskiej w Polsce i na Śląsku*, ed. Krystyn Matwijowski, Wrocław 1994; Leszek Ziątkowski, *Ludność żydowska we Wrocławiu w latach 1812–1914*, Wrocław 1998; *idem*, *Między niemożliwym a koniecznym. Reformy państwa pruskiego w końcu XVIII i na początku XIX wieku a proces równouprawnienia Żydów ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem sytuacji na Śląsku*, Wrocław 2007; Mateusz Goliński, *Wrocławskie spisy zastawów, długów i mienia żydowskiego z 1453 roku. Studium z historii kredytu i kultury materialnej*, Wrocław 2006; Bożena Szaynok, *Pogrom Żydów w Kielcach. 4 VII 1946 r.*, Warszawa 1992; *eadem*, *Osadnictwo żydowskie na Dolnym Śląsku 1945–1950*, Wrocław 2000; *eadem*, *Z historią i Moskwą w tle. Polska a Izrael 1944–1968*, Wrocław 2007.

⁹ Krzysztof Migoń, *Recepcja książki orientalnej na Śląsku do końca XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1969; *idem*, *Książka żydowska na Śląsku. Rekonesans badawczy*, “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 44 (1989), 1, pp. 89–99. Mieczysław Inglot, *Postać Żyda w literaturze polskiej lat 1822–1864*, Wrocław 1999.

¹⁰ See *Od starożytności do współczesności. Język – literatura – kultura. Księga poświęcona pamięci Profesora Jerzego Woronczaka*, ed. Irena Kamińska-Szmał, Wrocław 2004, pp. 57–61.

embraced this trend, participated in numerous documentation projects, and even collected curiosities. He always enjoyed working at cemeteries and appreciated the opportunity this gave him to come into contact with Jewish folk art. However, he also recognised the more general relevance of sepulchral studies and stressed the importance of documentation for further research. He saw a direct connection between his earlier work in Polish studies and the study of Hebrew funerary inscriptions. In his last published text he wrote, as if formulating his scholarly testament: ‘As a Polish studies scholar, I have been most of all a researcher and editor of source materials, and in Jewish studies I have been doing something very similar – inventoring tombstones.’¹¹ For him, documenting of Jewish cemeteries was a continuation of his work as an academic editor of Old Polish sources.

Why did Woronczak abandon Old Polish literature for Jewish tombstones? First, he recognised the urgent need to document Jewish cemeteries, which were increasingly threatened with destruction. He stressed that every tombstone needed to be inventoried, not only the oldest or the most interesting ones, because ‘as we are dealing with a dead, a murdered culture, whatever is left is an archaeological artefact’.¹² Moreover, a gravestone not catalogued or poorly documented would become a lost source, as it would quickly become impossible to reconstruct its form and inscription. Documentation should therefore be undertaken as soon and as accurately as possible.

Woronczak’s interests were obviously not limited to cataloguing. In his view, this was only the initial stage of scholarly work, whereas source edition was for him merely an introduction to thorough research of the culture in which it originated. Effectively, the space of a necropolis, the tombstones with their ornamentation and symbolism, and above all the epitaphs constituted for him records of more general cultural phenomena, reflecting folk imagery and worldviews, systems of values, and cultural and literary skills of broad social strata, eschatological beliefs and more. This approach turned cemetery research into a multi-faceted sub-field within cultural history and opened new vistas which other sources could have not provided. Certainly, this method was not Woronczak’s unique discovery, but his incorporation of it into Jewish epigraphy in Poland overcame the methodological stagnation of Polish Jewish studies, and its impact can be seen in his publications as much as those by his students and the students of his students. Woronczak never published

¹¹ Jerzy Woronczak, *Introduction*, [in:] *Jews in Silesia*, ed. Marcin Wodziński, Janusz Spyra, Kraków 2001, p. 12.

¹² *Ibidem*.

his magnum opus, a monograph about the Jewish cemetery in Zülz/Biała near Prudnik. His successors, however, developed new analytical methods, which use cemetery sources for interdisciplinary study of literary, cultural, and social processes, and more recently also for quantitative research.¹³

Last but not least, Woronczak's contribution to the development of Jewish studies in Poland was his work as a teacher and mentor. His seminars generated approximately 20 master's theses and many doctoral dissertations devoted, among others, to Jewish cemeteries, as well as the representations of Jews and Jewish culture in 16th-century Polish literature, Hebrew epigraphy in Silesia, and Polish biblical translations in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Department of Jewish Studies

The first Centre for Jewish Studies at the post-war University of Wrocław was established in 1993. Ten years later, it was transformed into the Centre for Jewish Culture and Languages, and in 2016 into the Department of Jewish Studies. During this time, this academic unit grew from having one to 13 full-time research and teaching faculty members, became a distinct department within the university and created undergraduate and graduate programmes (in Polish and English). The Department has established a library and moved into its beautiful premises in the former convent and library building on Sand Island in the historic centre of the town and, above all, developed a dense network of academic cooperation in Wrocław, Poland, and worldwide.

Together with these developments came academic achievements.

In the early phase, its focus was on cemetery research. With time, the departmental interests expanded and today cover an entire spectrum of topics, disciplines, and methodologies, from Ladino literature and the culture of Sephardic Jews,¹⁴

¹³ See *Studia z dziejów kultury żydowskiej na Śląsku*, Vol. 2: *Cmentarze żydowskie*, ed. Jerzy Woronczak, Wrocław 1995; Marcin Wodziński, *Inskrypcje hebrajskie na Śląsku XIII–XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1997; *idem*, *Groby cadyków w Polsce. O chasydzkiej literaturze nagrobnej i jej kontekstach*, Wrocław 1998; Agnieszka Jagodzińska, *Pomiędzy. Akulturacja Żydów Warszawy w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*, Wrocław 2008; Agata Rybińska, *Granice integracji. Religijność Żydów wrocławskich w drugiej połowie XIX w. (1854–1890)*, Wrocław 2017.

¹⁴ Agnieszka August-Zarębska, *The Language of Sephardic Jews: History and Main Characteristics*, [in:] *The Balkan Jews and the minority issue in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Jolanta Sujcka, Warsaw 2020, pp. 181–203; *eadem*, *Contemporary Judeo-Spanish Poetry for Young Readers*, "Children's Literature in Education", 54 (2023), 1, pp. 131–148.

through the history of Jews in Silesia,¹⁵ conversion,¹⁶ gender studies,¹⁷ the study of the Holocaust and remembrance,¹⁸ the culture of contemporary Israel¹⁹ and other issues on the borderline between history, ethnography, literary, and cultural studies.

Three fields are particularly strongly represented in the Department: Hasidism, Yiddish culture, and the socio-political history of Polish Jews in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Hasidism, a mystical-ecstatic religious movement born in the late 18th century in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, has traditionally been one of the most popular topics in Jewish historiography.²⁰ Studies on Hasidism existed in Breslau Jewish studies almost since its 19th-century beginnings (especially spearheaded on by the pioneering studies by Heinrich Graetz),²¹ and after the 1990s' revival have become increasingly important. The rekindled interest in Hasidism was also associated with the aforementioned cemetery studies, but it quickly moved beyond this paradigm, with scholars orienting themselves primarily towards investigating the social and political history behind the Hasidic movement. Offering

¹⁵ *Jews in Silesia*, ed. Marcin Wodziński, Janusz Spyra; *Židé ve Slezsku. Studie k dějinám Židů ve Slezsku*, ed. Janusz Spyra, Marcin Wodziński, Český Těšín 2001; Marcin Wodziński, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien II*, München 2004; *idem*, *Languages of the Jewish Communities in Polish Silesia (1922–1939)*, “Jewish History”, 16 (2002), 2, pp. 131–160.

¹⁶ *W poszukiwaniu religii doskonałej? Konwersja a Żydzi*, ed. Agnieszka Jagodzińska, Wrocław 2010; Agnieszka Jagodzińska, *Duszozbawcy? Misje i literatura Londyńskiego Towarzystwa Krzewienia Chrześcijaństwa wśród Żydów 1809–1939*, Kraków 2017.

¹⁷ Agnieszka Jagodzińska, *Does History Have a Sex? On Gender, Sources and Jewish Acculturation in the Kingdom of Poland*, “Gal-Ed”, 22, 2010, pp. 67–87; *Nieme dusze? Kobiety w kulturze jidysz*, ed. Joanna Lisek, Wrocław 2009.

¹⁸ Katarzyna Liszka, *Etyka i pamięć o Zagładzie*, Warszawa 2017; Kamil Kijek, *Konieczny kierunek i ślepy zaułek w badaniach nad zagładą Żydów na terenach dawnej Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, “Zagłada Żydów”, 2019, pp. 735–753.

¹⁹ Jagoda Budzik, *Erec szam. Polska w tekstach izraelskiego trzeciego pokolenia po Zagładzie*, Warszawa 2023; *eadem*, *Stara i nowa przestrzeń alternatywnych rzeczywistości. Syjonizm, postsyjonizm, neosyjonizm*, “Teksty Drugie”, 2020, 6, pp. 95–114; *Work in progress. Konfrontacje trzeciego pokolenia po Zagładzie*, ed. Jagoda Budzik, Kraków 2018; *Jak się miewa bestia? Pięć dramatów o trzecim pokoleniu po Zagładzie*, ed. Jagoda Budzik, Kraków 2017; Małgorzata Lipska, *Ziemia, za którą się ginie, na której się żyje, z której mitów się czerpie: trzy perspektywy we współczesnym dramacie hebrajskim*, “Kwartalnik Historii Żydów”, 2022, 4 (284), pp. 871–882.

²⁰ See Moshe Rosman, *Pesak dina szel ha-historiografja ha-Jisre'elit 'al ha-chasidut*, “Zion”, 74 (2009), pp. 141–175. On limitations of the field, see Wojciech Tworek, *The Eastern European Problem of Hasidic Studies*, “Jewish Quarterly Review”, 112 (2022), 2, pp. 256–259.

²¹ H[enrich] Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, Bd 11: *Geschichte der Juden vom Beginn der Mendelssohn'schen Zeit (1750) bis in die neueste Zeit (1848)*, Leipzig 1870, pp. 102–126.

a new perspective on the broad social context, these studies have profoundly revised the views repeated by historians about the relationship between Hasidim and supporters of the Jewish Enlightenment and the state apparatus. They also introduced sources hitherto unknown or marginalised by researchers, who had tended to focus on the Hebrew-language elite sources produced by Hasidic leaders in the early period of the movement. These were the first Polish studies on Hasidism, which entered the global academic circulation in English translations, and the methodologies and sources they proposed became part of the global scholarly discussion.²²

These publications, to a significant extent, informed the direction of further Wrocław-based research on Hasidism. Egalitarian perspective, methodological innovation, new types of sources, and internationalisation have been the hallmarks of the Wrocław school of Hasidic studies ever since. Subsequent research has focused on Hasidism as a popular and diverse movement operating in multiple social, political, and cultural contexts. Innovative spatial approaches to the history of Hasidism have provided new understanding of factors shaping not only the geography of the movement but also its social organisation, religious practices, and spirituality. A recent monumental, multi-authored history, as well as a handbook discussing the most important sources and methods of research, have provided more new insights into Hasidism.²³ The research conducted in Wrocław on the Chabad-Lubavitch branch of Hasidism is perhaps the most interesting attempt in contemporary Hasidic studies to address the oldest challenge of this research, namely the dichotomy of intellectual and social history.²⁴ The new studies, inspired by Ada Rapoport-Albert of University College London, integrate the analysis of mystical concepts within their social context, but also harmoniously integrate these two perspectives with innovative methodological approaches, rooted in the hermeneutic tradition but going beyond it into the fields of economic history or the history of emotions. What Robert Darnton once called the ‘social history of ideas’, i.e. the history of the intersection between ideas and their social duration, is perhaps

²² See Marcin Wodziński, *Haskalah and Hasidism in the Kingdom of Poland: A History of Conflict*, trans. Sarah Cozens, Oxford–Portland 2005; *idem*, *Hasidism and Politics: The Kingdom of Poland, 1815–1864*, Oxford–Portland 2013.

²³ See Marcin Wodziński, *Hasidism: Key Questions*, Oxford 2018; *idem*, *Historical Atlas of Hasidism*, cartography by Waldemar Spallek, Princeton 2018; David Biale *et al.*, *Hasidism. A New History*, Princeton 2018; *Studying Hasidism: Sources, Methods, Perspectives*, ed. Marcin Wodziński, New Brunswick 2019.

²⁴ Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, *Hasidei de’ar’ua and Hasidei dekokhvaya’: Two Trends in Modern Jewish Historiography*, “AJS Review”, 32 (2008), 1 pp. 141–167.

the best moniker for the study of the Chabad movement but also for the study of Hasidism in general, in which Wrocław-based scholars play a significant role.²⁵ Equally innovative is a deep incursion into the study of the history of Hasidism in the 20th century, i.e. into a period which has been little explored so far, and the introduction of new sources: first, by broadening the spectrum of languages used in the study of Hasidism, but also by introducing radically new types of sources.²⁶ This is also a more general characteristic of the Wrocław research on Hasidism, which aims not only to build a more complete source base but also to break the repetitive methodological and interpretative patterns resulting from the one-sidedness of the source base.

The Wrocław research on Hasidism has both local and global significance, as it provides an important voice in current scholarly discussions and often sets new directions. Its impact is visible not only in the aforementioned publications, but also in numerous international projects initiated and co-created by the Department's faculty.²⁷ The Department puts effort into integrating its research with teaching and outreach, which results in innovative BA and MA theses dedicated to unexplored aspects of Hasidic culture, and the participation of our students and alumni in various research projects and cultural activities.

Thanks to the popular rise of interest in Yiddish culture, academic Yiddish studies is experiencing a global renaissance, the effects of which are visible in Poland. Wrocław Jewish studies has a particularly strong position thanks to a series of groundbreaking studies focused on modern Yiddish culture in Eastern Europe, including studies of the Yiddish literary avant-garde and monumental translation documentation projects. The innovative study on Yung Vilne (Young Vilnius) by Joanna Lisek did not only present a comprehensive picture of the literary and graphic output of this important artistic group but also, by juxtaposing literature and visual art with

²⁵ Robert Darnton, *In Search of the Enlightenment: Recent Attempts to Create a Social History of Ideas*, "The Journal of Modern History", 43 (1971), 1, pp. 113–132. Practical demonstration of this method: Marcin Wodziński, Wojciech Tworek, *Hasidic Attitudes Towards the Non-Jewish World*, "Jewish Social Studies", 25 (2020), pp. 35–70.

²⁶ See Wojciech Tworek, *Eternity Now: Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liady and Temporality*, Albany 2019; *idem*, *Mystic, Teacher, Troublemaker: Shimon Engel Horovits of Żelechów and the Challenges of Hasidic Education in Interwar Poland*, "Jewish Quarterly Review", 2020, pp. 313–342.

²⁷ In addition to the above-mentioned new history of Hasidism, worth mentioning is the ongoing project to compile a digital corpus of Hasidic stories, as well as the two currently developed projects: of an atlas of Hasidic attire and a lexicon of Hasidic leaders. These projects are developed in collaboration with scholars from Israeli universities.

archival materials (including secret reports of the state police), reconstructed a completely unknown social and political ‘collective biography’ of the group.²⁸

Similarly, Karolina Szymaniak’s studies of Jewish artistic life in the interwar period, particularly on Polish-Yiddish cultural contacts, have focused on the meeting point of literary and visual arts activities and the progressivist artistic discourse that accompanied them.²⁹ Studies of women in Yiddish culture and the use of gendered tools of analysis have gained much prominence in recent years, culminating in a monumental anthology and an equally monumental monograph of Yiddish women’s poetry from the 16th to the mid-20th century.³⁰ It seems that interests in the minority and progressive Yiddish culture on the one hand and the study of Jewish women’s history and gender on the other have common roots in the emancipatory currents in contemporary humanities and complement each other well.

However, equally important for the profile of Wrocław’s Yiddish studies is the long tradition of editorial work. Anthologies of Warsaw’s Yiddish avant-garde, Yiddish women’s poetry, and Yiddish ego-documents turned out to be highly successful, also in terms of wide readership and popular response.³¹ The Polish translation of Rachel Auerbach’s writings from the Warsaw Ghetto³² has been particularly appreciated and awarded, and recently noteworthy are subsequent volumes of the monumental series of translations of the autobiographical literature of Polish Jews (more on this anon).

Wrocław’s Yiddish studies are also firmly rooted in the local context, which has resulted in a doctoral dissertation and a series of popular articles on Jewish theatre and Yiddish culture in Lower Silesia.³³ Scholars of the younger generation are broadening the scope of their interests to include Yiddish-language theatre,

²⁸ Joanna Lisek, *Jung Wilne. Żydowska grupa artystyczna*, Wrocław 2005.

²⁹ Karolina Szymaniak, *Settling the Score: Modernist Translingual Practice and the Dynamics of Polish-Yiddish Literary Contacts in the Interwar Period*, [in:] *Yiddish and Modernism*, ed. Marion Aptroot, Amsterdam 2019, pp. 25–50; *Montaże: Debora Vogel i nowa legenda miasta*, ed. Andrij Bojarov, Paweł Polit, Karolina Szymaniak, Łódź 2017.

³⁰ *Moja dzika koza. Antologia poetek jidysz*, ed. Karolina Szymaniak, Joanna Lisek, Bella Szwarzman-Czarnota, Kraków 2018; Joanna Lisek, *Kol isze: Głos kobiet w poezji jidysz (od XVI do 1939 r.)*, Sejny 2018.

³¹ Karolina Szymaniak, *Warszawska awangarda jidysz. Antologia tekstów*, Gdańsk 2006; Joanna Lisek, ‘To Write? What’s This Torture For?’ *Bronia Baum’s Manuscripts as Testimony to the Formation of a Writer, Activist, and Journalist*, “Jewish History”, 33 (2020), pp. 61–113.

³² Rachel Auerbach, *Pisma z getta warszawskiego*, ed. Karolina Szymaniak, Warszawa 2015.

³³ See Anna Kałużna, *Teatr żydowski na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1968*, Wrocław 2015.

press, popular literature, and topics at the intersection of literature and material culture. Yiddish culture invariably remains one of the main topics of interest among students, and many BA and MA theses written in the Department address this area, from 17th-century women's religious songs to 20th-century Yiddish modernism. Many theses combine different aspects of Departmental research and teaching, analysing, for example, Hasidic cultural production in Yiddish.

Wrocław-based Yiddish studies scholars are also involved in national and international professional initiatives, teaching Yiddish language and culture at summer schools in Poland, Ukraine, France, and the UK, or participating in the Polish Association for Yiddish Studies.

The development of research in the cultural and political history focusing mainly on the Polish lands in the 19th and 20th centuries is equally impressive. It includes important publications on integration and acculturation, the socialisation of Jewish youth, and political and cultural processes in the Jewish community after World War II. Common to this group of scholars and their research interests is strong grounding in social theory and an interdisciplinary view of the historical process (with the most evident influence of sociological methods and literary studies), as well as an exceptionally broad comparative perspective (not reduced to merely simple historical parallels, but rather to horizontal and vertical, diachronic and synchronic *histoire croisée*). For example, the groundbreaking study of integration processes among Warsaw's Jewish intelligentsia in the second half of the 19th century departed from textual analysis of worldview declarations by the leaders of this milieu. Instead, Agnieszka Jagodzińska focused on linguistic, onomastic, and clothing practices as factual and empirical rather than declarative manifestations of acculturation processes. In so doing, she was able to capture the actual hybridity of the social and cultural position of this community, suspended between Polishness and Jewishness, between the declarative layer and their social practices, between the aspiration to build a new collective identity and the identity instability inseparably associated with it.³⁴

In a sense, a continuation of these analyses of 19th-century acculturation processes is the study of the socialisation of Jewish youth in interwar Poland, which presents a fascinating case of acculturation without integration. Using a rich and diversified body of historical sources (mainly ego-documents, but also school records, periodicals, and other items), Kamil Kijek shows that the success of the state

³⁴ See Jagodzińska, *Pomiędzy*.

acculturation project paradoxically led to a deep radicalisation of Jewish youth, when confronted with the limits of social integration and growing antisemitism. The result was radical modernism as an ideology shared by the entire interwar generation, from ultra-Orthodox Hasidic youth and Zionist-Revisionist circles to Jewish Communists, anarchists, and others.³⁵ New studies of this trend also explore, among other things, the emergence of consumer culture in the Eastern European Jewish community, the transnationality of processes in that community after the World War II or the relationship between the worldview transformations of the interwar period and attitudes during the Holocaust and after 1945.³⁶

Jewish Studies conducted in Wrocław, both within these three particularly strongly represented areas and in other fields, share common preferences for multilingual sources, openness to new methodologies, and far-reaching internationalisation. Although most of the Department's staff are graduates of Polish universities, their work differs from the directions dominating in Polish Jewish studies, namely from the concentration of research into the Holocaust and the history of local Jewish communities. This does not mean these two topics are absent in Wrocław, but that Wrocław's Holocaust research, contrary to the dominant tendency in Poland, does not focus on the years of the war and occupation, but treats the topic from a broader historical, philosophical or literary perspective. The anti-Jewish violence of the 1940s is investigated from the perspective of long-term political and social processes.³⁷ The experience of the Holocaust is included in a broader ethical reflection on memory and remembrance or in reflections on the literary processing of trauma in the works of Israeli authors.³⁸ Finally, the local and regional historiography, developed in the early days of the Wrocław centre, particularly stressing Lower Silesian Jewish material culture, has been almost entirely supplanted by research

³⁵ Kamil Kijek, *Dzieci modernizmu. Świadomość, kultura i socjalizacja polityczna młodzieży żydowskiej w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Wrocław 2017.

³⁶ *Jewish Lives under Communism. New Perspectives*, ed. Kateřina Čapková, Kamil Kijek, New Brunswick 2022; Kamil Kijek, *The Road to Przytyk. Agitation and the Sociotechnique of Violence in the Kielce region, 1931–1936*, "Gal-Ed" (forthcoming); *idem*, *Only Ashes? Jewish Visitors to the New Poland in 1946 and the Future of Polish Jewry*, "Journal of Modern European History", 20, (2022), 1, pp. 111–26; Agnieszka Jagodzińska, *How to Create a Hebrew Reader? Olam Katan (1901–1904) and the Young Hebrew Reading Public*, "Children's Literature in Education", 2022, pp. 1–16.

³⁷ See Kamil Kijek, *On the Pitfalls of Operationalization and Scholarly Hubris in the Study of Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Eastern Poland Prior to the Holocaust*, "Journal of Genocide Research", 22, (2020), 2, pp. 301–307.

³⁸ See Liszka, *Etyka i pamięć*; Budzik, *Work in Progress*; *eadem*, *Jak się miewa bestia?*

of a trans-regional character, and the current micro-historical research projects are developed in a broader, transnational context of modern Jewish history.³⁹

What next?

As with all of the global humanities, Jewish studies in Poland and worldwide are in crisis. One problem is the general decline in interest in humanistic studies, combined in Poland with a long process of depreciating them in the public discourse and media. An additional factor is the gradual, more general decline in historical thinking, and, consequently, also in the interest in history. Combined with this is an obsessive use of Polish contemporary history in political discourse and in primitive ‘historical politics’. The direct results of these factors include a sharp decline in the study of history before 1918, marginalisation of universal history, ethnocentrism, and methodological backwardness.⁴⁰ These general tendencies certainly do not foster harmonious development of Polish Jewish Studies. However, if the doctoral dissertations written in Wrocław are a reliable indicator of future trends, it seems that the negative tendencies for historical thinking to disappear have less impact here than elsewhere: most of the dissertations written in the Department of Jewish Studies concern history before 1918,⁴¹ and their sources and methods give hope for significant, or even groundbreaking work.

The awareness of this crisis also encourages reflection on and the quest for viable solutions. In recent years, Wrocław Jewish studies have turned towards fundamental research and projects of key importance for the entire discipline, sometimes of even monumental scope. An example of both tendencies is the nationwide ministerial-sponsored project, coordinated by the Department, called *Kanon literatury wspomnieniowej Żydów polskich* (The Canon of Memoir Literature of Polish Jews),

³⁹ See Kamil Kijek, *Reichenbach/Rychbach/Dzierżonów: A Center of Jewish Life in Poland in a Period of Transition, 1945–1950*, [in:] *Our Courage – Jews in Europe 1945–48*, ed. Kata Bohus et al., Boston 2020, pp. 104–117.

⁴⁰ On some of these phenomena on a global scale see Jo Guldi, David Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 81–85; Benjamin M. Schmidt, *The History BA since the Great Recession*, “Perspectives on History”, 56 (2018), 9, online edition; Eric Alterman, *The Decline of Historical Thinking*, “The New Yorker” (February 4, 2019).

⁴¹ For comparison: nationwide, about 70% of doctoral dissertations on Jewish themes relate to the 20th century; see Marcin Wodziński, *Prospects for Jewish Studies in Poland: An Update for a New Decade*, [in:] *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, Vol. 32: *Becoming Post-Communist: Jews and the New Political Cultures of Russia and Eastern Europe*, ed. Eli Lederhendler, Oxford 2023, pp. 66–83.

which resulted in a series of 27 autobiographies of Polish Jews translated from Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, and German into Polish, and published in critical scholarly editions. The series includes memoiristic literature from the early 17th to the mid-20th century from all areas of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, diverse in terms of language, genre, social status, ideology, and gender of the authors. Thus, the series offers a representative selection of Jewish ego-documents hitherto unknown to Polish readers. The series not only provides new additions to the canon of memoirs written in and about Poland, but above all offers a radically different point of view than the one known from ‘classical’ memoirs. The account of the anti-Tsarist Uprising of 1831 from the point of view of a Jew (and a Polish patriot) innocently accused of spying for the Russian troops gives a radically different perspective on a historical event researched apparently as thoroughly as possible.⁴² Twenty volumes have thus far been published.⁴³ When completed, this will be one of the largest projects in the Polish humanities of this century.

Several smaller translation and editing projects serve to make literary works and source texts available to the Polish reader. One such project, carried out by a team largely made up of faculty, graduates, and students of the Department, is an anthology of Hasidic stories, forthcoming in the oldest Polish books series *Biblioteka Narodowa*. Other projects include the aforementioned anthologies of Yiddish women’s poetry, a forthcoming anthology of short prose forms in Yiddish, translations of the novels of Chava Rosenfarb (an outstanding Yiddish writer from Łódź), and the Makor/Źródła publishing series, which produces editions of source texts fundamental to Jewish history.⁴⁴

Among the important scholarly accomplishments of Wrocław Jewish studies one should also mention research in the field of digital humanities.⁴⁵ Apart from the

⁴² See Jaakow Lewin, *Kroniki z dni polskiego buntu, 1830–1831*, ed. Jagoda Budzik, Warszawa 2022.

⁴³ See <http://zydzi.autobiografia.uni.wroc.pl> (accessed November 7, 2023). An introduction in Joanna Lisek, Agnieszka Jagodzińska, Marcin Wodziński, *Literatura autobiograficzna Żydów polskich*, Wrocław 2024; short summary of the project in: Joanna Lisek, *Żydowskie egodokumenty w serii Żydzi. Polska. Autobiografia*, “Studia Judaica”, 2020, 2, pp. 376–379.

⁴⁴ See Chava Rosenfarb, *Drzewo życia*, Vol. 1–3, Łódź 2015–2019; *eadem*, *Między miasteczkiem i Łodzią. Opowieść o miłości*, Łódź 2021.

⁴⁵ On the digital humanities and its challenges see Guldi, Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, pp. 88–116; On digital humanities in Jewish studies see *Digital Judaism: Jewish Negotiations with Digital Media and Culture*, ed. Heidi A. Campbell, New York 2015; Michelle Chesner, *JS/DH: An Introduction to Jewish Studies / Digital Humanities Resources*, “Judaica Librarianship”, 20, (2017), pp. 194–196; *Jewish Studies in the Digital Age*, ed. Gerben Zaagsma *et al.*, Berlin–Oldenbourg 2022.

above-mentioned historical atlas of Hasidism (which made use of GIS tools and created large and innovative databases, the largest of which includes 130,000 contemporary Hasidic families), these studies have resulted in a series of digital projects of international scope. One of them is the Polish component of the European Yerusha project, which aims to create a monumental catalogue of source materials on Jewish history in European archival collections.⁴⁶ The Department is also working on an important international project documenting the history of the Jewish book called *Prenumeranten* ('subscribers'). Implemented by the University of Wrocław and the eLijah-Lab at the University of Haifa, the project established a relational database of approximately one million subscribers, 10,000 localities, and many thousands of Jewish books (mostly, but not only, in Hebrew) from the late 18th to the mid-20th century, as well as tools for network, spatial, statistical, and other analyses. When the database and portal are completed, it will probably be one of the largest and most important tools for studying the history of the Jewish book and European book history in general. The portal will allow almost unlimited studies of book-distribution and trade routes, reading clusters, the Enlightenment 'republic of letters', mechanisms of knowledge diffusion, and more. Access will exist for rich comparative material on the Jewish book with one easy click.

Recently, new tools of digital humanities have entered the field of Hasidic studies, bringing intriguing perspectives and challenges. Our centre plays a role here, contributing to major international projects. Apart from the aforementioned historical atlas of Hasidism and the index of Jewish book subscribers, where Hasidic books will be an important component of the corpus, new projects include, among other things, a digital corpus of ca. 5,000 Hasidic stories and the project *Mysticism and Modernity: Chabad Lubavitch in Interwar Poland*, part of which involves the creation of a series of interrelated databases on Hasidic Jews in interwar Poland. A digital lexicon of Hasidic leaders and an historical atlas of Hasidic attire are in development, too.⁴⁷ Importantly, these new projects aim to aggregate these stand-alone projects into a larger, multi-layered meta-platform with a focus on four areas: 1) integration and digitisation of existing research projects; 2) initiation of new research; 3) development of new search and analysis tools; and 4) better integration of research and teaching practices. The result will be, among other things, a meta-portal allowing for unrestricted advanced data searches of

⁴⁶ See <https://yerusha.eu> (accessed November 7, 2023).

⁴⁷ For the former, see <https://tsadikim.uwr.edu.pl> (accessed November 7, 2023).

existing digital databases devoted to Hasidism. In this way, researchers will be provided with a tool that allows them to combine and analyse massive data in a simple, intuitive way in its historical and geographical context.

While building the brand of the Wrocław Department and its position as a distinct school on the global Jewish studies scene, we have focused, among other things, on the development of digital humanities. Digital tools, although present in scholarship for several decades, are only now coming into wider use in Jewish studies, which creates an opportunity for us to assume an important role in this development. However, this strategy may entail certain risks. At present, the strength of our team lies in the diversity of our research and teaching interests. Focusing on one type of research, combined with inevitably limited funding, could lead to the defunding and marginalisation of certain research areas, which are our strength today. This danger stems from the nature of digital humanities and the accompanying infrastructural, methodological, and political problems that its critics have highlighted.⁴⁸ Digital projects require long-term planning and extensive funding to ensure that they remain functional and accessible in the face of changing technologies. Effectively, they are much more costly and labour-intensive than other, ‘analogue’ research projects. Nor should these projects lead to the marginalisation and abandonment of teaching other methods. Finally, the digital turn must not exacerbate the precarisation of academia. The success of the Wrocław digital projects would be the sustainability of the Department rather than a one-sided development.

Beyond research

Research has built its position in Wrocław Jewish studies, but we also see our role – and a chance for the future – in formal and informal education, community building, outreach and, more broadly, in stimulating local and national discussions about Jewish heritage, minority cultures, and inclusive education. To put it in a somewhat clichéd manner, our students are our future, and our teaching aims to prepare them not only for academia but also to face cultural, social, and political challenges beyond a narrow regional or national context. Through the selection of methods, literature, organisation of classes, and assistance with study and research trips, we prepare students to participate in the global community of researchers,

⁴⁸ Richard Grusin, *The Dark Side of Digital Humanities*, “Differences”, 25 (2014), pp. 79–92.

educators, and activists. In short, just as in research, so in teaching, the Department sees itself to be a part of the international academic community engaged in Jewish and minority studies.

Second, as an institution with an already established international reputation, we want to be a consolidating factor for scholars and enthusiasts of Jewish culture. We pursue this goal by expanding the library (which in 2020 added the largest collection in Poland on Jewish mysticism and spirituality) and the archival collections (e.g., relating to the activities of Lower Silesian Jewish organisations). Our students and graduates participate in a number of these projects, which allows them to acquire new skills and, while doing so, contribute to the development of the Department.

Third, our research translates directly into outreach activities in the form of open lectures, festivals, popular publications outside the circle of academic journals and presses, and cooperation with non-academic institutions and individuals. The most prominent example is the participation of the Department in the creation of the permanent exhibition at the POLIN Museum in Warsaw, and the collaboration with the Museum of the City of Łódź, among others, on temporary exhibitions related to Jewish culture. We are particularly proud of our students and graduates, who work in or set up cultural and educational organisations themselves. The Department also organises many public events, although their cyclical nature was severely disrupted by the outbreak of the pandemic in 2020.

Conclusion

Wrocław Jewish studies has travelled a long road since the 1980s and Professor Woronczak's first expeditions into Jewish cemeteries. It is gradually passing from the pioneering phase into the stage of stability. The average age of the team is just over forty, so these researchers are at a relatively early stage in their careers, and they will be setting the direction of the centre's development in the coming decades. Creating a team and providing it with an institutional base, in which it can develop world-class research, is in itself a success. However, while the development of the Wrocław centre took place in an atmosphere of pioneering enthusiasm and – at least until a few years ago – popular interest in Jewish culture, it is entering its mature phase under much more difficult circumstances. The global crisis in the humanities, exacerbated by the pandemic and its aftermath, is already leading to the closure of humanities departments and Jewish cultural research

centres at smaller universities in the United States. In Poland, this crisis was until very recently accelerated by a wave of ethnocentrism and xenophobia, top-down attempts to steer scholarship by hand, and the precariousness of academic work. The future is uncertain. In the current situation, success is no longer about more books and articles in prestigious publishing houses and journals, but about ensuring the continuity of these activities. A particular challenge is to attract students and young researchers, for whom working on short-term contracts is simply unattractive, and who may face difficulties in obtaining state funding for their projects.

Development in three fields – research, education, and outreach – is Wrocław Jewish Studies' response to these challenges. We want to act not only as a research institution but also as a cultural and educational centre. We seek to attract students by offering them the opportunity to work in small groups and to have direct contact with top-class researchers. We are opening studies in English and developing joint research projects with teams from abroad, also in order to be as independent as possible from the local political situation. We hope that we will continue to develop despite the historical turmoil.

STRESZCZENIE / SUMMARY

Artykuł przedstawia dzieje akademickich studiów judaistycznych we Wrocławiu od skromnych początków, krótko po Holocauście, poprzez renesans zainteresowań badawczych w latach 80. XX w., po współczesne sukcesy naukowe i organizacyjne. Początki tej historii to powołanie, z inicjatywy prof. Jerzego Woronczaka, Pracowni Kultury i Języków Żydów Polskich przy Instytucie Filologii Polskiej Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego w 1993 r. Stopniowo Pracownia przekształciła się w samodzielną Katedrę Judaistyki (od 2016 r.). Autorzy prezentują bogaty dorobek pracowników Katedry, których obszar badań obejmuje historię chasydyzmu, nowoczesną kulturę jidysz oraz społeczne i polityczne dzieje Żydów polskich w XX w. Autorzy ukazują, jak badania pracowników Katedry korespondują ze światowymi nurtami rozwoju metodologicznego i kulturowego nauk humanistycznych.

REFERENCES

- Auerbach Rachela, *Pisma z getta warszawskiego*, ed. K. Szymaniak, Warszawa 2015.
- August-Zarębska Agnieszka, *The Language of Sephardic Jews: History and Main Characteristics*, [in:] *The Balkan Jews and the minority issue in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Jolanta Sujecka, Warsaw 2020, pp. 181–203.
- August-Zarębska Agnieszka, *Contemporary Judeo-Spanish Poetry for Young Readers*, “Children’s Literature in Education”, 54 (2023), 1, pp. 131–148.

- Biale David *et al.*, *Hasidism: A New History*, Princeton 2018.
- Brilling Bernhard, *Archiwum gminy żydowskiej we Wrocławiu*, “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego”, 1950, pp. 15–17.
- Bronsztejn Szyja, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym. Studium statystyczne*, Wrocław 1963.
- Budzik Jagoda, *Erec szam. Polska w tekstach izraelskiego trzeciego pokolenia po Zagładzie*, Warszawa 2023.
- Budzik Jagoda, *Stara i nowa przestrzeń alternatywnych rzeczywistości. Syjonizm, post-syjonizm, neosyjonizm*, “Teksty Drugie”, 2020, 6, pp. 95–114.
- Chesner Michelle, *JS/DH: An Introduction to Jewish Studies / Digital Humanities Resources*, “Judaica Librarianship”, 20 (2017), pp. 194–196.
- Das Breslauer Seminar. Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar (Fraenckelscher Stiftung) in Breslau 1854–1938. Gedächtnisschrift*, ed. Guido Kisch, Tübingen 1963.
- Digital Judaism: Jewish Negotiations with Digital Media and Culture*, ed. Heidi A. Campbell, New York 2015.
- Goliński Mateusz, *Wrocławskie spisy zastawów, długów i mienia żydowskiego z 1453 roku. Studium z historii kredytu i kultury materialnej*, Wrocław 2006.
- Guldi Jo, Armitage David, *The History Manifesto*, Cambridge 2014.
- Inglot Mieczysław, *Postać Żyda w literaturze polskiej lat 1822–1864*, Wrocław 1999.
- Jagodzińska Agnieszka, *Does History Have a Sex? On Gender, Sources and Jewish Acculturation in the Kingdom of Poland*, “Gal-Ed”, 22 (2010), pp. 67–87.
- Jagodzińska Agnieszka, *Duszozbawcy? Misje i literatura Londyńskiego Towarzystwa Krzewienia Chrześcijaństwa wśród Żydów 1809–1939*, Kraków 2017.
- Jagodzińska Agnieszka, *How to Create a Hebrew Reader? Olam Katan (1901–1904) and the Young Hebrew Reading Public*, “Children’s Literature in Education”, 2022, pp. 1–16.
- Jagodzińska Agnieszka, *Pomiędzy. Akulturacja Żydów Warszawy w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*, Wrocław 2008.
- Jak się miewa bestia? Pięć dramatów o trzecim pokoleniu po Zagładzie*, ed. Jagoda Budzik, Kraków 2017.
- Jewish Lives under Communism. New Perspectives*, ed. Kateřina Čapková, Kamil Kijek, New Brunswick, 2022.
- Jewish Studies in the Digital Age*, ed. Gerben Zaagsma *et al.*, Berlin–Oldenbourg 2022.
- Jews in Silesia*, ed. Marcin Wodziński, Jarosław Spyra, Kraków 2001.
- Jonca Karol, “Noc kryształowa” i casus Herschela Grynszpana, Wrocław 1992.
- Jonca Karol, *Zagłada niemieckich Żydów na Górnym Śląsku (1933–1945)*, “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 46, (1991), 2, pp. 219–249.
- Kałużna Anna, *Teatr żydowski na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1968*, Wrocław 2015.
- Kijek Kamil, *Dzieci modernizmu. Świadomość, kultura i socjalizacja polityczna młodzieży żydowskiej w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Wrocław 2017.

- Kijek Kamil, *Konieczny kierunek i ślepy zaułek w badaniach nad zagładą Żydów na terenach dawnej Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, "Zagłada Żydów", 2019, pp. 735–753.
- Kijek Kamil, *On the Pitfalls of Operationalization and Scholarly Hubris in the Study of Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Eastern Poland Prior to the Holocaust*, "Journal of Genocide Research", 22 (2020), 2, pp. 301–307.
- Konieczny Alfred, *Tormersdorf, Grüssau, Riebnig. Obozy przejściowe dla Żydów Dolnego Śląska z lat 1941–1943*, Wrocław 1997.
- Lipska Małgorzata, *Ziemia, za którą się ginie, na której się żyje, z której mitów się czerpie: trzy perspektywy we współczesnym dramacie hebrajskim*, "Kwartalnik Historii Żydów", 2022, 4 (284), pp. 871–882.
- Lisek Joanna, *Jung Wilne. Żydowska grupa artystyczna*, Wrocław 2005.
- Lisek Joanna, *Kol isze: głos kobiet w poezji jidysz (od XVI do 1939 r.)*, Sejny 2018.
- Lisek Joanna, *Żydowskie egodokumenty w serii Żydzi. Polska. Autobiografia*, "Studia Judaica", 2020, 2, pp. 376–379.
- Liszka Katarzyna, *Etyka i pamięć o Zagładzie*, Warszawa 2017.
- Migoń Krzysztof, *Książka żydowska na Śląsku. Rekonesans badawczy*, "Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka", 44 (1989), pp. 89–99.
- Migoń Krzysztof, *Recepcja książki orientalnej na Śląsku do końca XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1969.
- Mika Ewa, *Bibliografia prac prof. dr. hab. Szyi Bronsztejna za lata 1957–1995*, [w:] *Studia historyczno-demograficzne*, ed. Tomasz Jurek, Krystyn Matwijowski, Wrocław 1996, pp. 15–22.
- Moja dzika koza. Antologia poetek jidysz*, ed. Karolina Szymaniak, Joanna Lisek, Beła Szwarcman-Czarnota, Kraków 2018.
- Montaże: Debora Vogel i nowa legenda miasta*, ed. Andrij Bojarov, Paweł Polit, Karolina Szymaniak, Łódź 2017.
- Nieme dusze? Kobiety w kulturze jidysz*, ed. Joanna Lisek, Wrocław 2009.
- Od starożytności do współczesności. Język – literatura – kultura. Księga poświęcona pamięci Profesora Jerzego Woronczaka*, ed. Irena Kamińska-Szmaj, Wrocław 2004.
- Petrovsky-Shtern Yohanan, *Hasidei de 'ar 'a and Hasidei dekokhvaya': Two Trends in Modern Jewish Historiography*, "AJS Review", 32 (2008), 1, pp. 141–167.
- Połomski Franciszek, *Prawo własności a tzw. ostateczne rozwiązanie kwestii żydowskiej w Niemczech hitlerowskich*, Wrocław 1991.
- Rosman Moshe, *Pesak dina shel ha-historiografia ha-Jisre'elit 'al ha-chasidut*, "Zion", 74 (2009), pp. 141–175.
- Rybińska Agata, *Granice integracji. Religijność Żydów wrocławskich w drugiej połowie XIX w. (1854–1890)*, Wrocław 2017.
- Studia z dziejów kultury żydowskiej na Śląsku*, t. 2: *Cmentarze żydowskie*, ed. Jerzy Woronczak, Wrocław 1995.
- Studia żydowskie w Polsce – przeszłość, stan obecny, perspektywy*, ed. Stefan Gąsiorowski, Kraków 2014.

- Szaynok Bożena, *Osadnictwo żydowskie na Dolnym Śląsku 1945–1950*, Wrocław 2000.
- Szaynok Bożena, *Pogrom Żydów w Kielcach. 4. VII 1946 r.*, Warszawa 1992.
- Szaynok Bożena, *Z historią i Moskwą w tle. Polska a Izrael 1944–1968*, Wrocław 2007.
- Szymaniak Karolina, *Settling the Score: Modernist Translingual Practice and the Dynamics of Polish-Yiddish Literary Contacts in the Interwar Period*, [in:] *Yiddish and Modernism*, ed. Marion Aptroot, Amsterdam 2019, pp. 25–50.
- Szymaniak Karolina, *Warszawska awangarda jidysz. Antologia tekstów*, Gdańsk 2006.
- Tworek Wojciech, *Eternity Now: Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liady and Temporality*, Albany 2019.
- Tworek Wojciech, *Mystic, Teacher, Troublemaker: Shimon Engel Horovits of Żelechów and the Challenges of Hasidic Education in Interwar Poland*, “Jewish Quarterly Review”, 2020, pp. 313–342.
- Tworek Wojciech, *The Eastern European Problem of Hasidic Studies*, “Jewish Quarterly Review”, 112 (2022), 2, pp. 256–259.
- W poszukiwaniu religii doskonałej? Konwersja i Żydzi*, ed. Agnieszka Jagodzińska, Wrocław 2010.
- Wodziński Marcin, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien II*, München 2004.
- Wodziński Marcin, *Hasidism: Key Questions*, Oxford 2018.
- Wodziński Marcin, *Historical Atlas of Hasidism*, cartography by Waldemar Spallek, Princeton 2018.
- Wodziński Marcin, *Prospects for Jewish Studies in Poland: An Update for a New Decade*, [in:] *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, Vol. 32: *Becoming Post-Communist: Jews and the New Political Cultures of Russia and Eastern Europe*, ed. Eli Lederhendler, Oxford 2023, pp. 66–83.
- Work in progress. Konfrontacje trzeciego pokolenia po Zagładzie*, ed. Jagoda Budzik, Kraków 2018.
- Woronczak Jerzy, *Introduction*, [w:] *Jews in Silesia*, ed. Marcin Wodziński, Jarosław Spyra, Cracow 2001.
- Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej na Śląsku*, red. Krystyn Matwijowski, Wrocław 1991.
- Z historii ludności żydowskiej w Polsce i na Śląsku*, ed. Krystyn Matwijowski, Wrocław 1994.
- Ziątkowski Leszek, *Ludność żydowska we Wrocławiu w latach 1812–1914*, Wrocław 1998.
- Židé ve Slezsku. Studie k dějinám Židů ve Slezsku*, ed. Jarosław Spyra, Marcin Wodziński, Český Těšín 2001.
- Zubrzycki Geneviève, *The Politics of Jewish Absence in Contemporary Poland*, “Journal of Contemporary History”, 52 (2017), 2, pp. 250–277.
- Zubrzycki Geneviève, *Resurrecting the Jew: Nationalism, Philosemitism, and Poland’s Jewish Revival*, Princeton 2022.



JOANNA WOJDON
University of Wrocław
ORCID: [0000-0003-2681-1226](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2681-1226)

PUBLIC HISTORY ENTERING POLAND¹

HISTORIA W PRZESTRZENI PUBLICZNEJ W POLSCE

ABSTRACT: The article presents the short outline of history of public history in the USA and in Poland, referring to Barbara Franco's definition that it is history for the public, by the public, with the public, and about the public. Emphasizing the role of the public, it focuses on these four aspects, addressing issues of the relationship between the past, the public and other stakeholders, and relating them to the ways of dealing with history that respond to changing external conditions, that take into account local specificities, but at the same time are a universal experience.

KEYWORDS: public history, Poland in 20th and 21st century, museum boom, historians, grassroots activities

For the public. History as commodity. Historians-businesspeople

To describe public history, scholars tend to refer to its process of emergence rather than to strict definitions, methodologies, or other theoretical assumptions.² They usually refer to the USA of the 1970s as the cradle of this trend, although

¹ The first version of this article was published in Polish as Joanna Wojdon, *Historia w przestrzeni publicznej*, [in:] *Bliska historia. O badaniach historii lokalnej i regionalnej*, ed. Przemysław Wiszewski, Warszawa 2018, pp. 187–200. Cf. *Historia w przestrzeni publicznej*, ed. Joanna Wojdon, Warszawa 2018 – the first Polish book devoted entirely to the idea of the public history, its theoretical and practical aspects, and implementation of its particular components. Since then two books were published that explore the ideas presented here in more detail: *Public in Public History*, ed. Joanna Wojdon and Dorota Wiśniewska, New York 2021 and *Public History in Poland*, ed. Joanna Wojdon, New York 2021.

² E.g. James B. Gardner, Paula Hamilton, *The past and future of public history, Developments and challenges*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of Public History*, Oxford 2018, pp. 1–4.

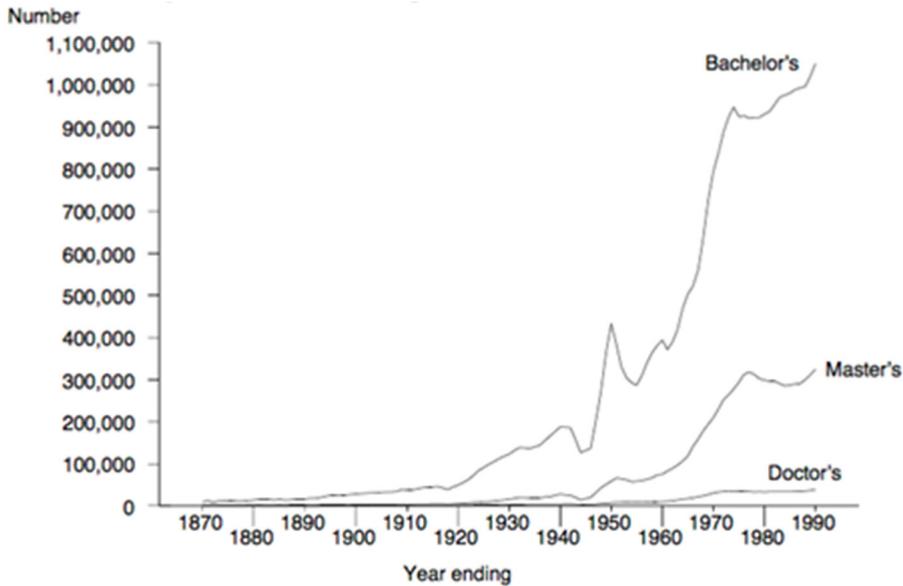
the origins of public history can be found in the social changes following World War II and in the formation of a post-industrial consumer society. Some even go back to the 19th century, when criticism began to be levelled at academic history, which was increasingly confined to “ivory towers”, or allude to even earlier periods before academic history became distinct and professionalised. After all, “since time immemorial” societies have had various forms of “recalling” and telling about the past, in stories, poetry and songs. It was also commemorated – in monuments or celebrations. Naturally, the term ‘public history’ was not used at the time.³

After World War II, American society experienced a confluence of such mutually interacting factors as increased average educational attainment, wealth, mobility, and access to public services, all of which entailed changes in lifestyle. In the USA, the beginning of a rapid increase in the number of people with higher education was associated with the post-war G.I. Bill, a law that gave demobilised soldiers low-interest loans to pay for college tuition. While in the academic year 1929/1930 less than 1.2 million Americans enrolled in college, and in 1939/1940 less than one and a half million, in 1949/1950 this number reached almost 2.5 million, and the trend was upward, reaching, in the academic year 1959/1960 more than 3.5 million, with a much lower rate of growth of the total population of the USA (1929 – 122 million, 1939 – 130 million, 1949 – 150 million, 1959 – 177 million). This tendency, after a temporary pause, continued in subsequent decades, and the increase in the number of college degrees earned is reflected in Figure 1 below, covering the years 1869–1990.⁴

³ Rebecca Conard, *Benjamin Shambaugh and the Intellectual Foundations of Public History*, Iowa City 2002. See also Denise D. Meringolo, *Museums, Monuments and National Parks: Toward a new genealogy of public history*, Amherst 2012.

⁴ *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*, ed. Timothy Snyder, Washington 1993, p. 67, <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf> (accessed July 15, 2018).

Figure 1. Bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees conferred by institutions of higher education: 1869/70 to 1989/90



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Studies of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*; and U.S. Department of Education, National Center of Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*, various issues

The widespread higher education brought an increased interest in the past, both in one's own family and more broadly – in the locality, region, country, and also civilization. This was further fostered by the celebration of “round” anniversaries of many historical events. The bicentennial of the USA in 1976 played a particular role in drawing the attention of the entire society to the past, all the more so because the formula of its celebrations assumed involvement of local communities and schools, and encompassed mass events and showbiz productions.⁵

Moreover, technological developments and rising social affluence observed during the exceptionally long post-war prosperity meant that people began to have more money and leisure time to spend on various forms of entertainment. These factors fostered the development of the entertainment industry – from radio and cinema, which were already thriving before the war, through television, which experienced a boom after World War II, to entertainment related to computer

⁵ Tammy S. Gordon, *The Spirit of 1976: Commerce, Community, and the Politics of Commemoration*, Amherst 2013.

technology (video games, virtual reality), characteristic of the 1980s and 1990s, as well as huge music or sports shows, present in the public space all the time.

Various branches have widely drawn on history as a source of inspiration, such as music, movies, literary fiction, amusement parks, video games or Internet memes. Sometimes one can also observe a relationship flowing in the opposite direction, when the entertainment industry shaped the public's historical consciousness. For example, after the release of the movie *Braveheart* (1995), there was a clear increase in the number of Americans proudly manifesting their Scottishness; even if they were not of Scottish descent, they declared their interest in Scottish history.⁶

The entertainment industry has benefited from the latest technological advances – it would not exist in its current form without the invention of sound and image recording or without computers, and in recent years, the Internet and cellular network. They provide the means both for the production of attractive forms of historical content and for its reception and use. They also changed and keep changing the role of the public, especially in the last few years, when, in the era of Web 2.0, Internet users' comments have become a natural complement to texts created by professionals. Wikipedia entries are created by enthusiasts, and an ordinary cell phone gives better opportunities to take pictures or film than anyone was able to do at the dawn of the 20th century.

A little earlier, the same happened with the spread of motorisation, which influenced a dynamic development of tourism, including tourism connected with history (also local one). The possibility of easy access by car facilitated the success of a model historical park created in post-industrial textile Lowell, Massachusetts, now considered the cradle of this branch of public history.⁷ Mobility in general is a major factor boosting the development of public history. It ranges from family trips in cars, through school bus tours to museums and open-air historic sites, to more recent air travel and luxury cruises – all of which bring crowds of visitors, directing their interest toward countless exhibitions, museums, historical parks, and memorials.

⁶ Duncan Sim, *American Scots: The Scottish Diaspora and the USA*, Edinburgh 2011, pp. 59–60, reports that there were 85 organisations of Americans of Scottish descent in 1986 and 205 in 2000, despite the lack of an influx of a larger wave of immigrants from Scotland.

⁷ See Cathy Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment. Public History in a Post-industrial City*, Amherst 2006.

Civilizational changes – social and technological – have thus facilitated the creation of a market for public history audiences. On the other hand, service providers have emerged, willing to make money on this market, often with the help of specialists: museum workers, tour operators or other public historians, i.e. people who can convince the public that it is worthwhile to take advantage of their offer and come to a museum or a concert, watch a movie, play a game, visit an old mining town or a knights' tournament, and buy a t-shirt or a mug with a historical motif. Their main task is to make their clients satisfied and willing to return and/or recommend the service to others. Such specialists combine historical knowledge with managerial and interpersonal skills. They need to acquire the ability to communicate historical content in an understandable, accessible and attractive way. It is not enough for them to know the established historiography, because they still need to know and understand the needs of their audience, to be aware of changing trends of tastes, and to use the achievements of technology and psychology.⁸ For example, historical quizzes on television or mobile apps operate on the people's desire to demonstrate their factual knowledge about the past while museum stores base their business on customers' need to collect and sentimentalize.

We can see from the above that the commercialisation of history is the essence of American public history. It can also be observed on the example of museums. Of course, museums are not a recent invention – on the contrary, they are one of the oldest forms of public history, as places intended by the mighty (especially monarchs) to shape the images of the past in the minds of their subjects, i.e. the public, and they enjoy unflinching public trust.⁹ However, in recent years museums have been undergoing significant changes to better match their offer to visitors' tastes. For many institutions, the number of visitors determines their to be or not to be – either directly through ticket purchases or indirectly through attendance and the level of satisfaction with the offer, which are arguments in applying for subsidies. An employee of a museum must not only be a specialist in the content of the materials stored in it, not only know how to properly preserve these materials, but also should be able to effectively attract visitors.

⁸ Faye Sayer, *Public History: A Practical Guide*, New York 2015 provides sets of key characteristics and skills for different profiles of public historians.

⁹ Alan S. Marcus, Jeremy D. Stoddard, Walter W. Woodward, *Teaching History with Museums. Strategies for K-12 Social Studies*, New York 2017, pp. 9–10, 27–30.

These trends reached Poland with some delay, but they fundamentally changed the functioning and perception of history museums.¹⁰ The breakthrough year was 2004, with the opening of the Warsaw Rising Museum,¹¹ the first major narrative museum, in the creation of which World War II veterans were involved. They had participated in the Uprising in their youth, but during the communist period they were marginalised in the society and in veterans' organisations. The insurgents were appreciated only after the fall of the communist system, although their number was already significantly smaller. What is characteristic is that these people decided that the shape of the museum should be determined less by their expectations and more by the needs and habits of the visitors. It was as if they spontaneously expressed this basic principle of public history: "for the public".

The Warsaw Rising Museum was absolutely innovative in Polish conditions. Pathos, showcases, silence, and solemnity are absent. Visitors can hear the hustle and bustle and see people moving around according to their own chosen routes, sometimes at a brisk walk or run. Moreover, individual halls have diverse scenography and the exhibits can be searched for and touched in various nooks and crannies. Since the Warsaw Rising Museum turned out to be an attendance and financial success, it was soon followed by other institutions of this kind, not only in Warsaw (here, especially the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews¹²) but also in other cities.

Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk attracted international attention. Originally, it aimed to showcase the universal, all-human experience of war – which, however, did not meet with the understanding of Poland's nationally-oriented cabinet ruling after 2015. The museum became the subject of public controversy and court cases.¹³ Despite some changes and shifts that have been made to the exhibition, it is still fascinating as a multifaceted story about World War II as seen from the perspective of ordinary people. Actually, it is a collection of many such stories seen from different points of view. That is why visitors can return there many times and always find something new for themselves, which is one of the characteristics of contemporary museums that use mechanisms

¹⁰ This process is presented in detail by Paweł Ukielski, *New Historical Museums in Poland*, in: *Public History in Poland*, ed. Joanna Wojdon. New York 2021, 50–66.

¹¹ <https://www.1944.pl/en> (accessed July 15, 2018).

¹² <https://polin.pl/en> (accessed July 15, 2018).

¹³ Paweł Machcewicz, *The War That Never Ends: The Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk*, Berlin–Boston 2019.

developed within the framework of public history – not to let the public get bored and fully satisfied, but to leave them feeling unfulfilled and keep encouraging them to visit again and again.

At the same time, the European Solidarity Centre¹⁴ opened its doors nearby, exactly on the spot where the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union “Solidarity” was born during the workers’ strikes of 1980. Its history and achievements, from 1980 to the fall of the communist system, are the subject of a permanent exhibition. The target public of both mentioned museums are visitors not only from Poland but also from abroad. Both museums try to tell Polish and universal history to people who do not really know anything about it, but are interested in the past.

In neighbouring Gdynia, the Emigration Museum¹⁵ has opened, dedicated to the migrations of Poles from the 19th century to the present day. The emphasis on overseas emigration results from the location of the museum – in the building of the former Maritime Station (Dworzec Morski), from which transoceanic ships used to depart, including the famous “Batory”, on which thousands of Poles sailed to America before air traffic became widespread.

In turn, the historic bus depot in Wrocław, where in August 1980 a strike broke out in support of Gdańsk shipyard workers, houses the Depot History Centre (Centrum Historii Zajezdnia),¹⁶ whose permanent exhibition tells the post-war history of the city. Together with the Museum, the “Remembrance and Future” Centre functions as a research centre specializing in the post-war history of the Western and Northern Territories, incorporated into Poland after World War II at the expense of Germany, and in oral history. It is the publisher of the leading Polish academic journal dedicated to the theory and practice of oral history, “Wrocławski Rocznik Historii Mówionej” (Wrocław Yearbook of Oral History), with articles in Polish and English.¹⁷

One notable addition deserves to be made in 2023: The Sybir Memorial Museum in Białystok in north-eastern Poland opened in 2021. Its permanent exhibition is devoted to the history of Polish presence in Siberia, from Tsarist deportations into Russia to Soviet repression and crimes but also voluntary Polish settlements

¹⁴ <https://ecs.gda.pl> (accessed July 15, 2018).

¹⁵ <https://polska1.pl> (accessed July 15, 2018).

¹⁶ <https://zajezdnia.org/en/> (accessed July 15, 2018).

¹⁷ <https://wrhm.pl/wrhm> (accessed July 15, 2018).

and business operations. On December 5, 2023 the Sybir Museum was announced the laureate of the Council of Europe Museum Prize 2024.¹⁸

Apart from museums, it is not difficult to notice other public history-related phenomena and processes in Poland, similar to those in the USA. Historical supplements to weekly magazines and novels about medieval dukes of the Piast dynasty by Elżbieta Cherezińska are bestsellers. A flagship series of television shows “Sensacje XX wieku” (Sensations of the 20th century) were broadcast already in communist times, and its host Bogusław Wołoszański became an iconic figure popularizing history, the subject of parodies and Internet memes. Historical motifs can be found in the literary fantasy saga *The Witcher* and a series of video games based on them. It brought its producer, CD-Projekt, worldwide commercial and image success. Steady profits, although on a smaller scale, are earned by selling the so-called “patriotic” clothing – hooded jumpers or t-shirts referring to Poland’s historical victories, especially military ones, including hussar wings or national symbols. Similarly as in the rest of the world, museum stores take advantage of the public’s interest in such assortment, selling various gadgets referring to the content of exhibitions or, more broadly, to past events.

These processes in Poland began several decades later than in America, and in fact, it is only after 1990 that we can speak of a rapid increase in the number of students at universities and of the dynamic development of automotive and tourism, including historical tourism, which is also emerging as a research field.¹⁹ Despite this delay, I would identify the beginnings of Polish public history in the 1970s and 1980s, as in the USA, with the activities of the democratic opposition and the dissemination of historical narratives alternative to the official, ideology-loaded message. The KARTA Centre, the Weeks of Christian Culture, the independent

¹⁸ <https://sybir.bialystok.pl/en/muzeum-pamieci-sybiru-najlepsze-muzeum-w-europie-2024/> (accessed December 16, 2023). The website states: “*The museum works with the strong narrative of deportation, reducing research-based material to the essentials, working with strong spatial images that give a voice to the selected authentic objects. The museum’s ability to convey history through workshops, events, media, publications and new formats is impressive and brings it to a broad audience.*” – the committee representative for the Museum Prize, Constantinos Efstathiou, said about our Museum. The Council of Europe Museum Prize is the most important prize awarded every year since 1977 to one the best museum in the particular year in Europe. It is given to institutions which contributed to human rights compliance in a significant way, expanding the knowledge and understanding contemporary social problems as well as culture unification through encouraging intercultural dialogue or overcoming social and political boundaries.

¹⁹ See Armin Mikos von Rohrscheidt, *Historia w turystyce kulturowej*, Warszawa 2018; *Turystyka w edukacji historycznej i obywatelskiej*, ed. Mariusz Ausz et al., Lublin 2016.

publishing movement – these were the Polish precursors of public history. That is why Polish public history is characterised by a greater political admixture (which is also present in other countries), and its roots may be connected with the British vision of public history as, above all, grassroots history in accordance with the beliefs of the public.

By the public. Collectively written history. Everybody is a historian

One's interest in the past seems to be a natural trait of humans. Historical epics are among the oldest literary forms in various cultures. If we treat the film *Blade Runner* as a voice in the discussion about history, then in its view, memory of the past is the essence of humanity, distinguishing humans from even the most perfectly constructed androids. People remember the turns of their own lives, and they pass these stories on, from generation to generation, orally or in writing. Public history values such activities. In the British version of public history, its essence is not business, but the activities of ordinary people, amateurs, aiming at learning about and popularizing the past – especially of their own persons, groups, environments, and local communities.

Also in other countries, many people are fascinated with genealogy. In the USA, for example, the film and book *Roots* about slaves' descendants triggered a real boom of searching for the roots of one's family, which benefited not only archives, but also travel agencies offering trips to Africa. According to a report by the U.S. National Archives, as many as 21% of the queries on its website relate to genealogical research.²⁰

People write down their memories – for their own family and friends, or with the intention of publishing them in print. They make videos, run blogs and create other forms of disseminating information about the history of their family, town, school, or workplace. The more devoted establish community archives and chambers of memory or local museums related to a given period, place, event, or social group, where they collect documents and memorabilia, saving them from being discarded and forgotten. They also organize exhibitions, meetings, picnics, and conventions. Reconstruction groups meticulously recreate the conditions of life hundreds of years ago, in an effort to experience the past anew. In the age of the

²⁰ <https://www.archives.gov/metrics/reports> (accessed July 15, 2018).

Internet and mobile network, it is increasingly easy to organize and communicate, exchange experiences, conduct research, and disseminate findings.

There is no doubt that non-institutional history is an expression of genuine interest and commitment by non-professionals to learning about the past. It also provides them with an opportunity to broaden and deepen both their knowledge and their skills, and fulfils a number of social needs.²¹ This means, as Harold Skramstad of the Ford Museum in Dearborn, cited by Tammy Gordon, stated: “History is too important to be left to historians alone”.²²

Of course, amateurs can make mistakes in their searches; they can carry them out not systematically, being subject to longer or brief fashions. But do not professional historians also succumb to similar influences? Do they not undertake research on commission from publishers, in response to competitions announced, in the hope that their works will receive more attention in the year of the anniversary of the events they write about? As early as 2005, a study of the credibility of Wikipedia, a grassroots initiative, and the professionally run Encyclopaedia Britannica, showed similar credibility between the two publications, with a slight advantage for the latter.²³

In Poland, under communism, official institutions were not allowed to delve into certain areas of research, so those fields were necessarily left in the hands of amateurs, supported by those professionals who were willing to risk their careers (and sometimes their personal freedom) by engaging in completely or partially illegal activities. It was thanks to their involvement that oral accounts were collected from those war veterans who actively fought the communist regime, documents of the anti-communist opposition were collected, and historical sources and studies were published outside the reach of censorship. One can say that an information circuit dealing with the past, independent from the authorities, has been formed – an independent public history.

Thus, professional historians can co-create the amateur releases on history and support their development, as well as observe and study them. They can inspire

²¹ Tammy Gordon singles out the following tasks that small local museums set for themselves: representing the local community to the outside world, creating connections between older and younger generations, building a sense of a shared past, as well as earning money from tourists, T. Gordon, *Private History in Public. Exhibition and the Settings of Everyday Life*, Lanham 2010, p. 39.

²² Introduction to: Gordon, *Private History*, p. xi.

²³ Jim Giles, *Internet encyclopedias go head to head*, “Nature”, 2005, 438, pp. 900–901.

the public and involve it into various activities. For example, they may try to reconcile conflicting local memories or engage volunteers in popularisation work.²⁴

In today's Poland, professional historians employed by institutions such as state archives or museums attach increasing importance to establishing cooperation with amateurs – history enthusiasts and ordinary people who, in various circumstances, have had or are dealing with history.

While in the 20th century archives appeared to be bastions of knowledge, guarding their treasures against unauthorised access, where even professional researchers had to seek permission and justify the need to explore the collections, in the 21st century, we can observe how these institutions are opening up to a wider public. They organise exhibitions and lessons for students, meetings and lectures, participate in “nights of museums”, as well as attach importance to their presence on the Internet (through websites and social media). They also issue publications intended for young people and the so-called general readership.

Museums create collections of memorabilia or accounts of “ordinary people” to be included in the exhibitions. Young people are particularly encouraged to talk about the past with their parents and grandparents, and sometimes to bring exhibits.

It is advisable for the staff of these institutions to keep ethical issues in mind and to sensitize their public to these issues – from the property and copyright rights associated with the materials provided to the potentially inconvenient details of the biographies of the older generation. This is all the more true given the publication of guides where professionals or experienced amateurs offer practical advice to beginners on how to organize research (e.g., genealogical), whom to turn to for help to, and how and where to obtain materials, including when, for example, due to draconian fees, one is unable to access scholarly articles from academic databases.²⁵

Professional public history does not ignore history studied “by the public”; on the contrary, it tries to appreciate it and include it in institutional projects. This guarantees the interest of the public, increases its engagement, and is a condition of success of many undertakings, from ensuring attendance to obtaining materials stored in closets and attics or in the memory of witnesses.

²⁴ Gordon, *Private history*, pp. 39–40 ff.

²⁵ E.g. Rosemary Chorzempa, *Polish Roots = Korzenie polskie*, Baltimore 1993; *An American Association for State and Local History Guide to Making Public History*, Lanham 2017.

About the Public. History of the neglected, marginalized and others. Who doesn't have a history?

Classical academic history tended to focus on the presentation of political and military history of well-to-do, politically active white men. Common sense suggests, however, that they were not the only ones who made the past. Already Marxist historiography told us to write the history of the exploited strata – peasants and workers – and to look for their presence in the sources of the past.

In the 1960s and 1970s, public and academic debate increasingly demanded that the role of women and children, ordinary people, as well as ethnic and sexual minorities be recognized. The post-colonial turn in humanities has drawn attention to the history of former colonies of European countries, which in pre-colonial times often did not use writing, and thus – in light of the classical definition – did not have a pre-colonial history. Following Gayatri Spivak's voice, instead of trying to force the description of the past of these communities into patterns adopted for the world of Western civilization, some researchers decided to look for alternative historical sources and research methods, such as oral history or analysis of material remains and also civilizational relics of the past – e.g., customs, beliefs and convictions.

Public history is eager to incorporate such non-classical sources and research methods into its work because they remain close to the public: people and their experiences. With such a broad approach to the study of the past, historical reconstructions can be a research tool that allows us to explain socioeconomic relationships or technological processes and, through empathy, can make us better sense the mentality of past societies. Moreover, such research demonstrates that history does not have to fit into the narrative patterns of grand national political history, because, for example, as oral historians claim, everyone is the best expert in his or her own life story,²⁶ and life consists of more than just grand politics. Oral testimonies enrich our knowledge about underestimated areas of the past, and the stories of individual people do not have to be an exemplification of national history. Already in the 20th century, competitions were organized concerning diaries and memoirs. Oral accounts were also collected, especially from representatives of groups that tended not to write memoirs, and for this reason were generally

²⁶ E.g. Michał Kierzkowski, *Historia mówiona – próba definicji pojęcia*, "Wrocławski Rocznik Historii Mówionej", 4 (2014), p. 10.

marginalized by academic historiography (see the section “About the public”). Nowadays, it is common for history museums to include recordings of witness accounts of history in their exhibitions.

In doing so, public history is interested not only in what happened in the past, but also how it is remembered, commemorated and communicated to different audiences – in other words, how the memory of past events functions in public sphere. Incidentally, the term ‘audience’ is not an adequate description of those participating in public history. This word, like in the academic or school model, implies a one-way communication from the historian-expert to the audience-public, while the essence of public history is communication in both directions. The term ‘public’, or plural ‘publics’, is, therefore, more appropriate in this context.

By touching upon the problem of memory, we enter more deeply into the discussion between public history and classical academic history. As Maurice Halbwachs claimed, history (scientific, objective) begins where memory (subjective, deformed) ends. In this distinction, grassroots public history, based on human memory and amateur research, loses the value of being scientific. However, post-modern historiography departs quite decisively from its positivist roots. Among its key achievements are: Pierre Nora’s concept of *lieux de mémoire* and research into how they function; Hayden White’s narrativist turn, which challenged the objectivity of historical research by arguing that it is impossible to objectively state “how things were” and that any narrative about the past – including academic ones – is a subjective story that reflects the realities of the present and the views of the author; the postcolonialism of G. Spivak and the growing interest not only in the oppressed peoples of the colonies, but also in other groups (such as women, children, ethnic or sexual minorities) and in the problems hitherto marginalized (e.g., the history of food and clothing, of entertainment and sports – not only the games, but also, for example, the behaviour of fans).

With such an evolution of traditional history, it absorbs the objects of public history research which it has so far ignored or marginalized. At the same time, every historian can be, at least sometimes, a public historian when they address their findings to non-professional audiences, or when they work for government or commercial clients, rather than confining themselves exclusively to the academic world.²⁷

²⁷ Fabio Spirinelli writes in his blog about the “accidental public history practiced by many historians, <https://www.c2dh.uni.lu/thinking/climbing-out-ivory-tower-jumping-society-some-thoughts-public-history> (accessed July 15, 2018).

With the public. Users of history

So is public history simply part of history? And are there public historians? Having outlined the civilizational changes, the grassroots movements of researchers of the past, and the quest for history by those who were deprived of it, let us turn to the fourth source of public history: the oversupply of educated American historians holding doctoral degrees in the 1970s. Whereas previously the doctorate was considered to open the door to an academic career, by the 1970s it turned out that barely one in ten promoted PhD graduates could expect a job at a university.²⁸ Robert Townsend reports that in 1971, 2,481 people applied for 188 university posts in the USA. Over 1,000 PhDs in history were promoted annually – an effect of the excessive expansion of doctoral studies in response to the educational boom of the first post-war years, which, however, was soon corrected by the market and students began to choose majors other than history, while doctoral programmes remained, forcing their graduates to make significant efforts to find employment.

Young educated humanists began to seek employment elsewhere – and they found it in the booming museums and national parks, as well as other government agencies that employ historians, or in the commercial sector. Their work was initially seen as an inferior career path. After all, they were not engaged in historical research, but in popularizing it – in other words, using what the academy had developed.

With time, however, the specificity of public history began to be recognized – no longer as a path for those who failed in the academic world, but as a separate discipline. It was recognized and appreciated that activities in public space are not just reproductive popularisation, but creative tasks that require professional preparation, sound factual knowledge, and interpersonal and organisational talents. First at the University of California Santa Barbara, and later at other universities as well, public historians began to be taught so that they would not have to learn only from their own mistakes. Public history graduates, unlike those graduating in many other humanities fields, had no problem finding jobs in the profession, which brought new applicants to the university programmes and reinforced a sense of professional distinctiveness. Public history programmes had a significant practical component:

²⁸ Robert Townsend, *History in those hard times: Looking for jobs in the 1970s*, “Perspectives on History”, September 1, 2009, <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/september-2009/history-in-those-hard-times-looking-for-jobs-in-the-1970s> (accessed July 15, 2018).

internships, work experience, projects – also as part of regular classes. There was also a strong emphasis on ethical issues: maintaining the credibility of the message irrespective of financial and political pressures, the need to deepen one's own knowledge and skills, but also, for example, not using one's privileged position (e.g., in access to archival materials), maintaining reliability and being resistant to substantive pressures from the principals, as well as respect for the audience.²⁹

In Poland, the only master's degree programme dedicated to public history and using this name so far has existed since 2014 at the University of Wrocław. At other universities, there are specialisations within history studies, or majors dealing with public history or its selected aspects, but under different names.³⁰ At the University of Wrocław, students gain knowledge of history during seminars dedicated to "historical debates", focusing on the most controversial topics of particular historical periods, from the Middle Ages to the present. During the first semester, they are introduced to each of the five specialisations offered: popularisation, archive management, publishing, historical memory and politics, and interpretations of history. As one can see, the first three are more practical in nature, while the others are more theoretical. The former are definitely more popular, which confirms the demand for practical knowledge. Each of the specialisations includes seminars and a specialisation project as well as a professional internship. All students participate in writing workshops and in "introduction to historical journalism" classes.

The curriculum also includes an introduction to oral history. Another workshop subject is e-history, which implements the use of electronic tools useful in the work of a historian moving in public space. Due to the lack of a sufficient number of didactic hours, historical films and "history in entertainment and media" are watched and analysed rather than created by the students themselves. Moreover, there are

²⁹ The classic study on the professional ethics of public historians is Theodore Karamanski, *Ethics in Public History. An Anthology*, Malabar 1990.

³⁰ I wrote more about it in the article: Joanna Wojdon, *Historia w przestrzeni publicznej*, "Klio. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Polski i powszechnym", 34 (2015), 3, pp. 25–41. Another unique academic undertaking in the field of public history, carried out in Wrocław in cooperation with the International Federation for Public History, is the Public History Summer School. Its first edition took place in 2018, gathering over forty researchers and practitioners from around the world. See Małgorzata Rymśza-Pawłowska, *Notes from the field. University of Wrocław's Public History Summer School*, history@work, August 31, 2018, <https://ncph.org/history-at-work/notes-from-the-field-the-university-of-wroclaws-public-history-summer-school/> (accessed July 15, 2018); Fabio Spirinelli, *Climbing out of the ivory tower; jumping into society: some thoughts on public history*, <https://www.c2dh.uni.lu/thinking/climbing-out-ivory-tower-jumping-society-some-thoughts-public-history>, July 12, 2018 (accessed July 15, 2018).

“managerial” subjects, i.e. a course on public relations, entrepreneurship and project management as well as classes on fundraising and grant management. Thanks to the cooperation with the Depot History Centre, each year the managerial classes produce a professionally made outdoor exhibition, presented for several weeks in an open space in Wrocław city centre, so that it can be seen by ordinary passers-by. Apart from the exhibition, students also make podcasts, websites and board games, as well as conduct activities for pre-schoolers and guided tours.

The entire course of studies is concluded with a master’s thesis, which in its form is a traditional dissertation of a scholarly nature, but its subject matter often refers to public history. So far, for example, there have been works about historical themes in rock music, in historical memes or in legends; about the topics evoking conflicts of memory around the anti-communist resistance in Poland (1944–1953) and about students’ expectations towards history museums. In each case, substantive emphasis was put on the public and its role in the creation or reception of narratives about the past.

Conclusion. The past, the public and public history

Interactions between the past and the public form the core of public history. They sometimes involve professional public historians, i.e. individuals who are trained in academic history and in dealing with the public, who develop their offer in accordance with people’s needs, interests and expectations.³¹ They invite the public to participate in their undertakings or they join the endeavors undertaken by other stakeholders, from amateur researchers and other enthusiasts of the past to commercial companies and state-sponsored memory institutions. Public history may exist without historians, but it does not exist without the public. Poland is no different in this regard.

STRESZCZENIE / SUMMARY

Artykuł przedstawia krótki zarys historii i teraźniejszości public history, głównie w USA i w Polsce, odwołując się do klasycznej definicji Barbary Franco głoszącej, że jest to historia dla ludzi, przez ludzi, z ludźmi i o ludziach. Wychodząc od amerykańskich

³¹ See Joanna Wojdon, *Public historians and their professional identity*, “Public History Weekly”, April 2, 2020, <https://public-history-weekly.degruyter.com/8-2020-4/public-historians-video-games/> (accessed April 5, 2020).

i brytyjskich korzeni public history w drugiej połowie XX w., przedstawia elementy jej polskiej specyfiki, w tym związki z polityką i XXI-wieczny boom muzealny. Kładzie nacisk na rolę przemian społecznych i cywilizacyjnych dla rozwoju różnych form public history. Porusza kwestie relacji między przeszłością, publicznością i innymi interesariuszami oraz historykami, odzwierciedlone w praktycznych działaniach, teoretycznych refleksjach oraz programach studiów. Podkreśla kluczową rolę publiczności, która wyróżnia public history od innych obszarów i form uprawiania i popularyzowania badań historycznych.

REFERENCES

- 120 Years of American education: a statistical portrait*, ed. Timothy Snyder, Washington 1993, <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf>.
- An American Association for State and Local History Guide to Making Public History*, Lanham 2017.
- Chorzempa Rosemary, *Polish roots = Korzenie polskie*, Baltimore 1993.
- Conard Rebecca, *Benjamin Shambaugh and the intellectual foundations of public history*, Iowa City 2002.
- Gardner James B., Hamilton Paula, *The past and future of public history, Developments and challenges*, [in:] *The Oxford handbook of public history*, ed. James Gardner, Paula Hamilton, Oxford 2018, pp. 1–22.
- Giles Jim, *Internet encyclopedias go head to head*, “Nature”, 2005, 438, pp. 900–901.
- Gordon Tammy, *Private history in public. Exhibition and the settings of everyday life*, Lanham 2010.
- Gordon Tammy, *The spirit of 1976. Commerce, community, and the politics of commemoration*, Amherst 2013.
- Historia w przestrzeni publicznej*, ed. Joanna Wojdon, Warszawa 2018.
- Karamanski Theodore, *Ethics in public history. An anthology*, Malabar 1990.
- Kierzkowski Michał, *Historia mówiona – próba definicji pojęcia*, “Wrocławski Rocznik Historii Mówionej”, 4 (2014), pp. 5–19.
- Machcewicz Paweł, *The war that never ends: The Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk*, Berlin–Boston 2019.
- Marcus Alan S., Stoddard Jeremy D., Woodward Walter W., *Teaching history with museums. Strategies for K-12 social studies*, New York 2017.
- Meringolo Denise D., *Museums, monuments and national parks. Toward a new genealogy of public history*, Amherst 2012.
- Mikos von Rohrscheidt Armin, *Historia w turystyce kulturowej*, Warszawa 2018.
- Public in Public History*, ed. Joanna Wojdon, Dorota Wiśniewska, New York 2021.
- Rymsza-Pawłowska Małgorzata, *Notes from the field. The University of Wrocław's Public History Summer School*, “history@work”, <https://ncph.org/history-at-work/notes-from-the-field-the-university-of-wroclaws-public-history-summer-school/>.
- Sayer Faye, *Public history. A practical guide*, New York 2015.

- Sim Duncan, *American Scots. The Scottish diaspora and the USA*, Edinburgh 2011.
- Spirinelli Fabio, *Climbing out of the ivory tower; jumping into society: some thoughts on public history*, <https://www.c2dh.uni.lu/thinkering/climbing-out-ivory-tower-jumping-society-some-thoughts-public-history>.
- Stanton Cathy, *The Lowell Experiment. Public history in a post-industrial city*, Amherst 2006.
- Townsend Robert, *History in those hard times. Looking for jobs in the 1970s*, “Perspectives on History”, <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/september-2009/history-in-those-hard-times-looking-for-jobs-in-the-1970s>.
- Turystyka w edukacji historycznej i obywatelskiej*, ed. Mariusz Ausz, Joanna Bugajska-Więcławska, Andrzej Stępnik, Dariusz Szewczuk, Lublin 2016.
- Ukielski Paweł, *New Historical Museums in Poland*, [in:] *Public History in Poland*, ed. Joanna Wojdon, New York 2021, pp. 50–66.
- Wojdon Joanna, *Historia w przestrzeni publicznej*, “Klio. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Polski i powszechnym”, 34 (2015), 3, pp. 25–41.
- Wojdon Joanna, *Historia w przestrzeni publicznej*, [in:] *Bliska historia. O badaniach historii lokalnej i regionalnej*, ed. Przemysław Wiszewski, Warszawa 2018, pp. 187–200.
- Wojdon Joanna, *Public historians and their professional identity*, “Public History Weekly”, <https://public-history-weekly.degruyter.com/8-2020-4/public-historians-video-games/>.
- Wojdon Joanna (ed.), *Public History in Poland*, New York 2021.
- <https://www.1944.pl/en>
- <https://ecs.gda.pl>
- <https://polin.pl/en>
- <https://polska1.pl>
- <https://sybir.bialystok.pl>
- <https://wrhm.pl/wrhm>
- <https://zajezdnia.org/en/>



WANDA MUSIALIK
Opole University of Technology
ORCID: [0000-0001-5548-0118](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5548-0118)

POLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY ON SILESIA IN THE FIRST TWO DECADES OF THE 21ST CENTURY

POLSKA HISTORIOGRAFIA O ŚLĄSKU W PIERWSZYCH DWÓCH DEKADACH XXI W.

ABSTRACT: At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, scientific deficits and thematic deficiencies in Silesian historical research were analysed in the university environment. Both scientific works, based on classical historical methodology, and others, that did not meet these requirements, were published. In parallel with the observed decrease in the number of scientific publications, the publication activity of persons not professionally related to historical research increased. When assessing the resulting literature, in general historical publications on the history of Silesia, Silesian studies were distinguished, representing objective classical history and subjective narration, called ahistory. Scientific disciplines, within which the research into Silesian history in a fragmentary way and for utilitarian purposes is conducted, were also identified.

KEYWORDS: Silesia, academic history, ahistory, metahistory, regional history

In the 1990s, a shift from the role ascribed to history in previous years could be discerned. Reflection on the observed change prompted Wojciech Wrzosek in 2005 to pose the question: Does history have a future?¹ It was later taken up by, among others, Wiktor Werner² and Stefan Zamecki.³ Without entering a discussion

¹ Wojciech Wrzosek, *Czy historia ma przyszłość?*, [in:] *Gra i konieczność. Zbiór rozpraw z historii historiografii i filozofii historii*, ed. Grzegorz A. Dominiak, Janusz Ostoja-Zagórski, Wojciech Wrzosek, Bydgoszcz 2005, pp. 11–16.

² Wiktor Werner, *Antropologia wiedzy. Dylemat historyczności*, [in:] *Nauka i społeczeństwo w stulecie szczególnej teorii względności Alberta Einsteina (1905–2005)*, ed. Bożena Płonka-Syroka, Wrocław 2006, pp. 119–135.

³ Stefan Zamecki, *Na marginesie książki: Gra i konieczność. Zbiór rozpraw z historii historiografii i filozofii historii pod redakcją Grzegorza A. Dominiaka, Janusza Ostojy-Zagórskiego*,

on the reasons for this distinction between different types of historical writing, this article draws on their differentiation into classical history, also referred to as academic or monumental history, usually undertaken by people with specialist education, and non-classical history, referred to as alternative or “ahistory”, as the domain of enthusiasts. For them, “a description of the world is bound only to their own historical context and is incompatible with descriptions produced in other contexts”.⁴ Taking up the analysis of the directions of research interest in the past of Silesia in the years 2001–2021, it was decided to use the above division worked out in the scientific discussion devoted to the general tendencies in historical research conducted in the first decade of the 21st century. Irrespective of the distinction between the divisions of descriptions of the past, the publications in which the information about the past serves other scientific disciplines are also given, as historical works resulting from the tendency to economise history, i.e. to consider research from the point of view of the material benefits it can bring to the present.⁵

1. Classical history

In the first decade of the 21st century, academic historians adopted the indications of W. Wrzosek who reminded claims of empirically oriented researchers that the prerequisite for progress in science is “an effective identification and inventorying of ‘cognitive gaps’ existing within a given field of research”.⁶ The effort to assess the deficiency in the area of cognition of Silesia’s past was undertaken five years after the publication of a cross-sectional monograph titled *History of Silesia*⁷ by a team of authors: Marek Czapliński, Elżbieta Kaszuba, Gabriela Wąs, and Rościśław Żerelik, from the Historical Institute of the University of Wrocław. The extensive monograph *Lower Silesia* edited by Wojciech Wrzesiński (Wrocław 2006)⁸ also contributed to identifying areas of research shortcomings. It is worth emphasizing that in this volume of over 900 pages, 14 renowned researchers from Wrocław presented a new

Wojciecha Wrzoska, Bydgoszcz 2005. Oficyna Wydawnicza EPIGRAM, “Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki”, 52 (2007), 2, pp. 229–248.

⁴ Werner, *Antropologia wiedzy*, p. 119.

⁵ Tadeusz Srogosz, Book review: *Wojciech Wrzosek, Historia – kultura – metafora. Powstanie nieklasycznej historiografii, Wrocław 1995*, “Medycyna Nowożytna”, 3 (1996), 1–2, p. 199.

⁶ Wojciech Wrzosek, *Historia, kultura, metafora. Powstanie nieklasycznej historiografii*, Wrocław 1995, p. 357.

⁷ *Historia Śląska*, ed. Marek Czapliński, Wrocław 2002, and 2007.

⁸ *Dolny Śląsk. Monografia historyczna*, ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 2006.

view at the history of Lower Silesia, not only utilizing the latest state of knowledge at that time, but also the results of their research on various problems of this region, not only political, but also social, economic and cultural. From this group also emerged an initiative to identify fragments of the past which had not yet interested Silesian historians. This task was undertaken during the conference “Research deficits of the Silesian historical sciences” in September 2007 by presenting postulates concerning economic history, social history and history of the Catholic Church. The necessity of conducting in-depth research in the field of archival science, source science, sigillography, numismatics, genealogy, and diplomatics was also recognised. The need was pointed out to take into account the latest world methodological trends, which attempt to explain problems rather than just establish facts. Attention was given to the need for analytical research covering longer periods of history and presenting matters in comparative terms, i.e. how the issues under consideration functioned during the same period but under different governments.⁹

The catalogue of guidelines was extended in 2009 during the interdisciplinary conference “Deficits of Silesian Studies” in Katowice, organised by the International Centre for Silesian Studies, established by the Conference of Rectors of Silesian Universities. The observations were presented by researchers from scientific centres in Gliwice, Katowice, Opole, Opava, Ostrava, and Wrocław. To the presented problem of deficiencies of Silesian historical research, made two years earlier in Wrocław, the necessity was added, among others, of linking with the past and examining the interdependence of social, economic, cultural, political phenomena, conducted in the standard of regional science. The above-mentioned conclusions were popularised by a post-conference collective monograph and its reviews (Artur Kamiński, Sabina Lazik-Wodarz¹⁰).

The presentation (in 2007 and 2009) of a list concerning areas of Silesia’s past which had not been fully recognised set out one of the postulated research trends. The issue of its inclusion in the trend of world methodology was taken up by the participants of the international grant “Cuius Regio. Analysis of bonding and

⁹ Marek Czapliński, *Najpilniejsze deficyty śląskich badań historycznych*, [in:] *Deficyty badań śląskoznawczych*, ed. Marek S. Szczepański, Tomasz Nawrocki, Andrzej Niesporek, Katowice 2010, p. 20.

¹⁰ *Deficyty badań śląskoznawczych*; Artur Kamiński, *Konferencja “Deficyty Badań Śląskoznawczych”*, “Niemcoznawstwo”, 17 (2009), pp. 341–343; Sabina Lazik-Wodarz, *Deficyty badań śląskoznawczych. Recenzja pracy zbiorowej pod redakcją Marka S. Szczepańskiego, Tomasza Nawrockiego, Andrzeja Niesporka, Katowice, 2010*, “Górnośląskie Studia Socjologiczne. Seria Nowa”, 2013, 4, pp. 354–356.

destructive forces within a region determining affiliation of people (social groups) and social cohesion as a historical phenomenon”, realised within the framework of European Comparisons in Regional Cohesion, Dynamics, and Expressions (EuroCORE CODE). As a result of this project, a multi-volume collective monograph was prepared, which defines factors shaping regional distinctiveness of the inhabitants of Silesia in the period from 1000 to 2015.¹¹

Participation in the project strengthened cross-border contacts between Silesian scholars of different generations and schools, enabling joint work by historians from the Czech Republic, Germany and Poland, among others. The monographs which stand out for their high-quality content include *History of Upper Silesia. Politics, Economy and Culture of a European Region* edited by Joachim Bahlcke, Dan Gawrecki and Ryszard Kaczmarek,¹² and *Silesia and its History*, edited by Arno Herzig, Krzysztof Ruchniewicz and Małgorzata Ruchniewicz.¹³

Further cooperation with German researchers stimulated the scientific activity of a younger generation of scholars, who exposed the influence of trends connected with its belonging to state structures and German culture in Silesia. It was therefore proposed to undertake “a revision of the hitherto research as incomplete, deficient, often based on erroneous assumptions and false premises”.¹⁴ These observations guided the reflections contained, among others, in the monographs: *Upper Silesia Imagined: Around Myths, Symbols and Heroes of National Discourses*, edited by Juliane Haubold-Stolle and Bernard Linek, *Silesia. Realities Imagined*, published under the editorship of Wojciech Kunicki, and also *Silesia Invented* by Wojciech Smolorz.¹⁵ The analysis of the aforementioned publications led Aleksander Kwiatek to claim a change in the character of the Silesian studies discourse and its “departure from the rules of a transparent methodology”, as well as the predominance of victimisation themes, inspired by motifs of the “glorification of own suffering”.¹⁶

¹¹ *Cuius regio? Ideological and Territorial Cohesion of the Historical Region of Silesia*, ed. Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościśław Żerelik, Vol. 1–5, Wrocław 2013–2015.

¹² Joachim Bahlcke, Dan Gawrecki, Ryszard Kaczmarek, *Historia Górnego Śląska. Polityka, gospodarka i kultura europejskiego regionu*, Gliwice 2011.

¹³ Arno Herzig, Krzysztof Ruchniewicz, Małgorzata Ruchniewicz, *Śląsk i jego dzieje*, Wrocław 2012.

¹⁴ Aleksander Kwiatek, *O Śląsku wymyślonym i wyobrażonym, czyli o śląskoznawstwie w ponowoczesnej narracji*, “Pogranicze. Polish Borderlands Studies”, 3 (2015), 1, pp. 19–36.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 21. Cf. Tomasz Zarycki, *Uciemiona forpoczta Zachodu. Wiktyimizacja i okcydentalizacja we współczesnym polskim dyskursie regionalnym*, “Kultura i Społeczeństwo”, 49 (2005), 2, pp. 115–133.

This attitude influenced the increase in the number of publications devoted to research which, until 1989, was subject to censorship control, especially those dealing with various aspects of the German culture influence. A significant number of historical works produced in Lower Silesia were devoted to the Austrian and Prussian times, which reflected the directions of local societies and state activities at the time. Multithreaded issues were taken up – without singling out any particular subject, but mostly ignoring political matters – mainly the pre-industrial period, armed conflicts, as well as industrial civilizational transformations. The monographs on the history of the region's capital city provide an overview of the public interest in the past. At the beginning of the 21st century, the Dolnośląskie Publishing House (Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie) published a three-volume study on the history of Wrocław prepared by university historians.¹⁷ Later, the subject was not addressed in such a comprehensive manner, and the existing body of research was extended with the history of urban districts,¹⁸ groups of bourgeoisie,¹⁹ as well as religious communities, including the Jewish one.²⁰ The *Encyclopedia of Wrocław* summarises the knowledge about the city's past and modern times.²¹ The publication was established on the occasion of the 700th anniversary of the city's founding. The work was shaped by the efforts of nearly 600 authors, which made it possible to present history in a balanced way, without national prejudices, up to the period before and after 1945. The interest in the history of Wrocław before 1945 visible in this publication remains exceptional, as after 2000, the past of other Lower Silesian municipalities was described rather sporadically. The attitude towards research on Silesian social and economic history of modern times was similar, and interest in comparative studies also declined.

¹⁷ *Historia Wrocławia*, Vol. 1: Cezary Buśko *et al.*, *Od pradziejów do końca czasów habsburskich*, Wrocław 2001; Vol. 2: Teresa Kulak, *Od twierdzy fryderycjańskiej do twierdzy hitlerowskiej*, Wrocław 2001; Vol. 3: Włodzimierz Suleja, *W Polsce Ludowej, PRL i III Rzeczypospolitej*, Wrocław 2001.

¹⁸ Grażyna Pańko, *Wrocławska dzielnica czterech wyznań jako przykład roli religii w kształtowaniu stosunków między mieszkańcami jednego miasta*, [in:] *Od konfliktu do współistnienia i współpracy*, Vol. 2: *Sąsiedzi w historiografii, edukacji i kulturze*, ed. Teresa Maresz, Katarzyna Grysińska-Jarmuła, Bydgoszcz 2017, pp. 265–282; *Osiedla Wrocławia. Historia*, ed. Halina Okólska, Tomasz Kozubek, Wrocław 2021.

¹⁹ *Mieszczanstwo wrocławskie. Materiały sesji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Muzeum Miejskie Wrocławia w dniach 7–9 grudnia 2000 r.*, ed. Halina Okólska, Marzena Smolak, Wrocław 2003.

²⁰ Mateusz Goliński, *Ulica Żydowska we Wrocławiu w XV w.*, “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 67 (2012), 1, pp. 3–27; 2, pp. 19–39; 68 (2014), 1, pp. 37–58.

²¹ *Encyklopedia Wrocławia*, ed. Jan Harasimowicz, coll. Włodzimierz Suleja, Wrocław 2000.

The research on a particular topic was more often the domain of a particular researcher than of a deliberately formed long-term and multi-person team of historians representing various research centres. The exceptions were research into the effects of secularisation²² and the already mentioned *Cuius Regio* project. The majority of historical publications were authored by historians from centres of lesser academic prestige than the university, e.g., museums and archives, and dealt with topics that had not been previously recognised. These included issues related to the Napoleonic campaign²³ and aristocratic families.²⁴ They were created using the traditional methodology of historical work with a focus on cognitive filling of “white spots” and publication of sources from local archival or library resources.

Studies devoted to times past have been dominated by publications on the history of communities since the end of World War II. The range of topics explored was very broad: from the presence of the Red Army²⁵ and the formation of the new economic system,²⁶ through forced migration of the population²⁷ and the formation of the identity of new settlers,²⁸ to the functioning of the political opposition and the activities of the repressive apparatus under martial law in 1981–1983.²⁹ In the majority of cases, these were works conducted with the use of customary research procedures and most often as studies created on the basis of preserved files (not always complete) of public security organs. The tone of the published analyses was set by the accusatory initiatives of the Institute of National Remembrance (Instytut

²² Marek Derwich, *Kasaty klasztorów na obszarze dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i na Śląsku na tle procesów sekularyzacyjnych w Europie*, Vol. 2: *Kasaty na Śląsku Pruskim i na ziemiach zaboru pruskiego*, Wrocław 2014.

²³ Andrzej Olejniczak, *Obciążenia wojenne w zachodniej części Dolnego Śląska podczas kampanii napoleońskich 1806/07 i 1813 roku*, Bolesławiec 2009; *idem*, *Wielka Armia na Dolnym Śląsku w 1813 roku*, Oświęcim 2014.

²⁴ E.g. Krzysztof A. Kuczyński, *W kręgu Carla i Gerharta Hauptmannów*, Jelenia Góra 2018, p. 597.

²⁵ *Tragedia Górnośląska 1945. Konferencja, Warszawa, 22 kwietnia 2015 r.*, ed. Gabriela Zielińska, Warszawa 2015; Tomasz Kruszewski, *Gwałty na kobietach niemieckich w schyłkowym okresie II wojny światowej (październik 1944–8/9 maja 1945 roku) i w pierwszych latach po jej zakończeniu*, Wrocław 2016.

²⁶ *Modernizacja czy pozorna modernizacja? Społeczno-ekonomiczny bilans PRL 1944–1989 (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Dolnego Śląska)*, ed. Jędrzej Chumiński, Wrocław 2010.

²⁷ E.g. Paweł Kasprzak, *Administracyjne i prawne formy organizacji wysiedleń ludności niemieckiej z Polski w latach 1948–1949*, “*Studia Lubuskie*”, 4 (2008), pp. 61–74.

²⁸ E.g. Michał Surowiec, *Osadnictwo polskie na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1947 na przykładzie podlegnickiej wsi Kunice*, Wrocław 2017.

²⁹ Bartłomiej Perlak, *Internowani na Dolnym Śląsku i Opolszczyźnie. Ośrodki odosobnienia podległe Okręgowemu Zarządowi Zakładów Karnych we Wrocławiu (1981–1982)*, Warszawa 2017.

Pamięci Narodowej – IPN), while some studies were created on the basis of non-public archival resources of religious congregations, made available selectively and mostly to church historians.³⁰ For this reason, controversial issues, such as the scale of cooperation of this community with representatives of the Security Service or the presence of representatives of the German population in church circles, were not addressed.

In the 21st century, little consideration has been given to the situation of the Lower Silesian German minority after 1945 (Aleksandra Kruk and Piotr Pochyła³¹). However, this issue became the domain of Upper Silesian researchers who studied the presence of this population in Opole Silesia after 1989. They sought to identify the social base of the German minority and the legalisation of its activities, the construction of field organisational structures and their position as co-managers of the region, with parliamentary representation (Michał Lis³²). The approach to the native population was also modified and the unequivocally pro-Polish interpretation of the attitudes of the local population was abandoned, with a deeper study of the attitude of the power apparatus towards them (Adriana Dawid³³).

An important role in the stimulation of undertaking research topics was played by anniversaries of historical events, such as the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, the centenary of the outbreak of World War I, the Plebiscite, the Silesian Uprisings and the incorporation of a part of Silesia to the Second Polish Republic, as well as of the outbreak and the end of World War II. These events inspired the creation of collective monographs, biographical dictionaries and editions of archival sources. Moreover, studies appeared, previously absent from historiography, dealing with the expansion of Protestantism in the age of Reformation and its attitude to authority in Lower Silesia (Gabriela Wąs³⁴) and Upper Silesia (Wacław Gojniczek, Ryszard Kaczmarek³⁵), as well as architectural

³⁰ E.g. Józef Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku*, Vol. 1–4, Warszawa 2005–2015.

³¹ *Mniejszość niemiecka*, ed. Aleksandra Kruk, Piotr Pochyły, Zielona Góra 2015.

³² Michał Lis, *Mniejszość niemiecka na Śląsku Opolskim 1989–2014. Z bagażem przeszłości w realiach współczesności*, Opole 2016.

³³ Adriana Dawid, *Niepolskie Opolskie. Władze polityczne i administracyjne oraz aparat bezpieczeństwa wobec proniemieckich postaw mieszkańców województwa opolskiego (1950–1956)*, Opole 2020.

³⁴ Gabriela Wąs, *Reformacja i władza. Reformy chrześcijaństwa w nurcie reformacji a spory o władzę na Śląsku w XVI i w pierwszym dwudziestolecu XVII wieku*, Kraków 2017.

³⁵ *500 lat Reformacji na Górnym Śląsku*, ed. Wacław Gojniczek, Ryszard Kaczmarek, Katowice–Bytom 2017.

assessments of this heritage (Łukasz Galusek³⁶), whereas the outbreak of the World War I and the problems of the first global conflict were presented in collective editions through the prism of ideology, politics, economy, culture, and also the private lives of individuals (Grażyna Barbara Szewczyk, Ryszard Kaczmarek³⁷). Studies on the uprising period of Upper Silesia after the end of the World War I³⁸ did appear few times, but reconstructions of the organisation of the Upper Silesian Plebiscite and the course of the Silesian Uprisings disappeared from the research horizon. A synthesis was produced (Ryszard Kaczmarek³⁹), which placed the problem in the context of supra-regional Polish–German relations and defined the significance of the conduct of their main actors, pointing to Wojciech Korfanty and Otto Hörsig. It was also discussed how the events of 1919–1921 in Upper Silesia influenced later political conflicts, after a part of this region was incorporated into the Second Polish Republic. This context of the events was also adopted in collective studies which presented individual fates of people who were socially and politically active during the Plebiscite and the Silesian Uprisings. In some of them, attention was paid to the attitudes of the Catholic clergy at the time (Jerzy Myszor, Henryk Olszar⁴⁰).

The social perception of the Plebiscite period and the manner in which it was presented to the inhabitants of Silesia⁴¹ have served as the basis for undertaking research into historical memory, classified as metahistory. In this case, “[h]istorians in the role of memory researchers deal with what happened afterwards in relation to a given event (or set of events). [...] They inquire [...] into the senses and meanings attributed to it ‘ex post’. [...] In this way, they can determine how (and why?) it was remembered by future generations, and they can also determine which artefacts, activities, ideas, and values were referred to in the practices of its

³⁶ Łukasz Galusek, *Wszystko osiąga się przez nadzieję... Kulturowe dziedzictwo Reformacji na Śląsku*, Katowice 2017.

³⁷ *I wojna światowa na Śląsku. Historia – literatura – kultura*, ed. Grażyna B. Szewczyk, Ryszard Kaczmarek, Katowice 2016.

³⁸ E.g. *Słownik Powstań Śląskich*, Vol. 1–3, ed. Ryszard Kaczmarek, Maciej Fic, Katowice 2019–2021.

³⁹ Ryszard Kaczmarek, *Powstania śląskie 1919–1920–1921. Nieznana wojna polsko-niemiecka*, Kraków 2019.

⁴⁰ E.g. *Korfanty i inni...: rok 1918 na Górnym Śląsku*, ed. Jerzy Myszor, Henryk Olszar, Katowice 2018.

⁴¹ E.g. *Powstania śląskie i plebiscyt górnośląski w przestrzeni publicznej: kinematografia – muzyka – literatura – publicystyka*, ed. Maciej Fic, Mirosław Węcki, Katowice 2020.

commemoration”.⁴² Previously, commemoration had been an object of interest not only for historians and not only for Silesian questions,⁴³ yet it had not been considered in terms of the so-called second level of history”.⁴⁴ Ryszard Kaczmarek’s team from the University of Silesia introduced the issue of the Plebiscite and the Silesian Uprisings into this area of methodological considerations. The exploration of Upper Silesian issues led them to develop new research issues, not yet covered by syntheses, concerning the Upper Silesian contexts of the past. This resulted in a comparative study of German regions and Upper Silesia⁴⁵ in the era of the Plebiscite and the Uprisings, as well as of the fate of Poles in the Wehrmacht⁴⁶ and the attitudes of the region’s population during World War II.⁴⁷ The study was conducted within the framework of traditional classical methodology, with a full scientific and bibliographical apparatus. Among historians from Katowice, a similar approach to research was also represented by Jerzy Myszor, who reconstructed the history of the Catholic Church in Upper Silesia, especially in the Katowice diocese.⁴⁸ Owing to the innovative initiatives of the above-mentioned people and their collaborators, the Katowice centre has made its academic mark among historians of Silesian studies associated with other research centres.

Another important reason was a general decline in interest in historical research on the part of the state authorities supervising the functioning of research institutions. A top-down imposed reduction in the number of teams working on these issues forced some of the staff to change their places of employment. This led to reorganisation and lowering of the budgets of research institutions, forcing them to move to other centres and change the profile of their previous research. These factors resulted in a decrease in the number of cross-sectional publications

⁴² Tomasz Pawelec, *Metahistoria miejsc pamięci*, [in:] *Powstania śląskie w pamięci historycznej. Uczestnicy – pomniki – rocznice*, eds. Maciej Fic, Ryszard Kaczmarek, “Szkice Archiwalno-Historyczne”, 2011, 8 (special issue), p. 11.

⁴³ As part of the Oral History Archive, audio documentation of memoirs from the communist period was carried out, including accounts by representatives of the German minority.

⁴⁴ Pawelec, *Metahistoria*.

⁴⁵ Ryszard Kaczmarek, Maciej Kucharski, Adrian Cybula, *Alzacja/Lotaryngia a Górny Śląsk. Dwa regiony pogranicza 1648–2001*, Katowice 2001.

⁴⁶ Ryszard Kaczmarek, *Polacy w Wehrmachcie*, Kraków 2014.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej. Między utopią niemieckiej wspólnoty narodowej a rzeczywistością okupacji na terenach wcielonych do Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Katowice 2006.

⁴⁸ Jerzy Myszor, *Kościół na Górnym Śląsku. Od diecezji wrocławskiej do archidiecezji katowickiej*, Katowice 2008, 2009, 2010; *idem*, *Duchowieństwo katolickie na Śląsku 1742–1914. Z dziejów duszpasterstwa w diecezji wrocławskiej*, Katowice 2011.

focused on the entire area of historic Silesia. Fragmentation of research took place – investigations were generally limited to the region from which a given historian came, or which was formally associated with the institutions to which their publications were affiliated. At the same time, the research attractiveness of the Silesian subject matter has visibly increased, as it has been noticed in other national university centres, e.g., in Lublin,⁴⁹ Kraków and⁵⁰ Toruń,⁵¹ and in the generation of researchers beginning their professional career.

2. Ahistory

It has already been mentioned that the first two decades of the 21st century saw the emergence of a wide current of publications about Silesia written by people without historical education.⁵² An example of a subjective history can be the work of Andrzej Hanich titled *The Martyrdom of the Clergy in Opole Silesia in the Years of the Silesian Uprisings and World War II*. It constitutes a modified version of a book published in 2009⁵³ and contains a discussion of the circumstances of the deaths of clergy persons who tragically died during the Upper Silesian Plebiscite Campaign and the Silesian Uprisings. In the part concerning World War II, it discusses the repressions of the Nazi authorities against the priests coming from Opole Silesia; the author provides also a list of monks of Opole origin conscripted into Wehrmacht who died or were lost on the Eastern Front, or died after the war in Soviet camps. He also describes the death of nuns in Nysa after the Red Army entered the city. It is surprising, however, that the work also contains documentation concerning the circumstances of the deaths of clergy members killed by Japanese soldiers in the Far East and by Communists in Albania. The title of the edition – *The Martyrdom of the Clergy in Opole Silesia* – is therefore misleading and does not correspond to its factual content. This problem may stem from the intention to

⁴⁹ Agata Mirek, *Siostry zakonne w obozach pracy w PRL w latach 1954–1956*, Lublin 2009 – mostly about nuns from Silesia.

⁵⁰ Michael Morys-Twarowski, *Wójtowie na Śląsku Cieszyńskim 1864–1918. Studium propograficzne*, Vol. 1–3, Kraków 2018.

⁵¹ Mateusz Hübner, “Polskie dziecko w polskiej szkole”. *Polityka wojewody Michała Grażyńskiego wobec niemieckich szkół mniejszościowych na polskim Górnym Śląsku w latach 1926–1939*, “Dzieje Najnowsze”, 2019, 1, p. 77–98.

⁵² Werner, *Antropologia wiedzy*.

⁵³ Andrzej Hanich, *Martyrologium duchowieństwa Śląska Opolskiego w latach II wojny światowej*, Opole 2009.

include all the people mentioned in the publication into a “martyrologium”, a kind of a book with a short description of martyrs’ stories known in the Catholic Church.⁵⁴ In Polish scientific publications, however, the term “martyrology” is used exclusively with reference to the suffering and martyrdom of the victims of Nazi terror and mass extermination. Thus, the use of the term “martyrology” to describe the reasons for deaths of victims of various criminal systems is questionable and seems to be a kind of abuse. In the discussed publication, not all descriptions of the deaths of the victims could be the basis for such an ecclesiastical distinction.⁵⁵ Hence, the use of the term “martyrology” in the title of the aforementioned book should be regarded as an example of giving events a subjective meaning.

An example of other unprofessional activities is the book by retired Citizens’ Militia [Milicja Obywatelska] officer Wiesław Długosz devoted to the history of Groszowice,⁵⁶ formerly a village near Opole and now a district of the city. The publication was issued with the financial support of the Opole Municipal Office, but without being assessed by a reviewer, who would certainly have pointed out the need for annotations and indicated gaps in the narrative that needed to be filled. At present, it gives the impression that the author reached all the information contained in it by himself and personally conducted research, e.g., into the Middle Ages. On the other hand, as far as Polish history is concerned, he did not include important information about the long-standing existence of an active Polish minority group in Groszowice. Its representative acted in the town as a candidate for *Landtag* deputy, and the attitude of the Upper Silesian provincial authorities is evidenced by the fact that they did not approve of a Pole being elected *vogt* in this village. As regards the years of the World War II, the repressions applied to the local Poles and the deaths of some of them in concentration camps were omitted. The information not included can be found in the databases of the Silesian Digital Library. The author’s substantive deficiencies and mistakes cannot be ignored, for the book functions in a specific environment and may constitute informative material. It also enables the creation of selective history, oriented, contrary to the facts, towards disseminating the conviction of the suffering and material damage undergone by the inhabitants of Groszowice after the expulsion of Hitler’s troops.

⁵⁴ *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, Warszawa 1971, p. 456.

⁵⁵ Those mentioned were not included among the 108 Polish martyrs murdered during World War II out of hatred for their faith, beatified by Pope John Paul II in Warsaw on June 13, 1999.

⁵⁶ Wiesław Długosz, *Dzieje Groszowic. Od roku 1236 do czasów teraźniejszych*, Opole 2017.

Historical studies, characterised by subjective evaluation, sometimes prove that they were created out of the need to build the identity of their authors and readers with a sense of connection to German culture.

For some authors, the inspiration for the historical description came from the photographs, which were turned into a source and a reason to refer to the cultural heritage. Often, this form of generating interest in history is chosen by people who are not familiar with source works of a scientific nature, so the results are rarely successful. They act out of a need to participate in the creation of the history of their own close area. A positive example of such involvement are the works of Ryszard Kasza, a retired journalist from the company press, who, using old photographs, presented in three books the history of the town of Prudnik and the Prudnik Powiat (county) in Opole Silesia.⁵⁷

3. Latest stage of research

References to the findings of historians who research Silesian history have recently appeared in publications authored by specialists in various fields. This process has a developmental character, including descriptions of historical investments and economic contacts, as well as demographic and social transformations. These issues have attracted the interest of architects (Monika Ewa Adamska,⁵⁸ Ryszard Nakonieczny,⁵⁹ Beata Kucharczyk-Brus),⁶⁰ economists (e.g., Marta Rostropowicz-Misko⁶¹), demographers (Brygida Solga⁶²), sociologists

⁵⁷ Ryszard Kasza, *Historia Prudnika fotografią pisana*, Prudnik 2017; *idem*, *Powiat prudnicki. Historia dawną fotografią pisana*, Prudnik 2018; *idem*, *Ulicami Prudnika. Z historią i fotografią w tle*, Prudnik 2020.

⁵⁸ Monika E. Adamska, *Transformacje rynków średniowiecznych miast Śląska Opolskiego od XVIII wieku do czasów współczesnych. Przerwane tradycje, zachowane dziedzictwo, nowe narracje*, Opole 2019.

⁵⁹ Ryszard Nakonieczny, *Oblicza modernizmu w architekturze. Paradygmat luksusu w architekturze modernizmu XX wieku. "Trójgłowy smok" – architektura dwudziestolecia międzywojennego na Górnym Śląsku (1922–1939)*, Katowice 2013.

⁶⁰ Beata Kucharczyk-Brus, *Mieszkanie w zabudowie wielorodzinnej – obraz ewolucji idei projektowej, uwarunkowań rozwojowych i sposobów użytkowania, na przykładzie Górnego Śląska*, Gliwice 2016.

⁶¹ Marta Rostropowicz-Misko, *Migracje ludności ze Śląska Opolskiego do Niemiec w latach 1989–2005. Aspekty demograficzne, społeczne i ekonomiczne*, Opole 2007.

⁶² *W poszukiwaniu tożsamości. Grupy mniejszościowe w Polsce i na Śląsku po 1989 roku*, ed. Brygida Solga, Piotr Pałys, Opole 2018.

(Lech M. Nijakowski,⁶³ Magdalena Lemańczyk, and Mariusz Baranowski⁶⁴), and political scientists (Marek Mazurkiewicz⁶⁵ and Andrzej Szczepański⁶⁶). References to the findings of historians of Silesian history also appear in publications on mining and geology (Stefan Gierlotka⁶⁷).

The use of the historical knowledge of researchers from other disciplines in explaining Silesian issues has become characteristic, especially in social science research and particularly in publications concerning recent history after 1956. These publications are distinguished by the methodology applied, in which the primary sources were materials generated by the author of the publication, i.e. surveys and in-depth interviews. References to Silesian history allow attention to be drawn to the continuity of certain processes of an economic nature (Maria Helena Kania, Dorota Schreiber-Kurpiers,⁶⁸ and Wanda Musialik⁶⁹). It is a pity that similar studies are not conducted for problems observed today. They would make it possible to point out the roots of current economic phenomena, and also to revise many of the common views about the consequences in Silesia of, for example, the “Prussian road to capitalism”.

A different attitude characterises research work and Documentation conservation, in which referring to the past is a well-established methodological principle. When applied in practice, such approach enables utilitarian activities, e.g., using the recipes of herbalists from the Kłodzko Valley for modern extraction of medicinal substances (Izabela Spielvogel⁷⁰). References to heritage are used in shaping

⁶³ Lech M. Nijakowski, *Dyskursy o Śląsku. Kształtowanie śląskiej tożsamości regionalnej i narodowej w dyskursie publicznym*, Warszawa 2002.

⁶⁴ Magdalena Lemańczyk, Mariusz Baranowski, *Mniejszość niemiecka w województwie opolskim jako wartość dodana*, Opole 2020.

⁶⁵ Marek Mazurkiewicz, *Regionalne uwarunkowania polityki polskiej wobec mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych na przykładzie województwa opolskiego*, “Studia Śląskie”, 2016, pp. 53–74; *idem*, *Partycypacja mniejszości niemieckiej w polskim życiu publicznym po 1989 r. – przypadek Śląska Opolskiego*, “Rocznik Ziemi Zachodnich”, 1 (2017), pp. 144–164.

⁶⁶ Andrzej Szczepański, *Aktywność społeczno-polityczna mniejszości niemieckiej na Śląsku Opolskim po 1989 roku*, Toruń 2013.

⁶⁷ Stefan Gierlotka, *Elektryfikacja górnictwa. Zarys historyczny*, Katowice 2016.

⁶⁸ Maria H. Kania, Dorota Schreiber-Kurpiers, *Bezpośrednie inwestycje zagraniczne w gospodarce Śląska Opolskiego w XIX, XX i XXI wieku*, [in:] *Programowanie rozwoju regionu: ład ekonomiczny i środowiskowo-przestrzenny*, ed. Krystian Heffner, Opole 2007, pp. 63–80.

⁶⁹ Wanda Musialik, *Obraz powstawania kapitału ludzkiego w okresie przed- i industrialnym (1740–1939)*. *Historyczne granice Śląska Opolskiego*, [in:] *Kapitał ludzki na Śląsku Opolskim. Przeszłość, teraźniejszość, przyszłość*, ed. Agata Zagórowska, Opole 2010, pp. 7–25.

⁷⁰ Izabela Spielvogel, *Etnomedyczna analiza działalności zielarzy z Karpacza – pierwszy cech fitoterapeutów w Europie*, [in:] *Rzemiosło – w wymiarze lokalnym, regionalnym i międzynarodowym. Craftsmanship – its local, regional and international dimension*, ed. Wanda Musialik, Roman Śmiećtański, Opole 2020, pp. 89–98.

a company's image. An example is the effect of cooperation between the Wrocław Museum of Architecture and the management of RealCo, thanks to which the monograph *Sacrum and Post-Industrialism* was published. The impulse for its creation was the location of the company's headquarters, i.e. the medieval Maria Mill in Wrocław, the reconstruction of which was associated with the restoration of the process of architectural transformations in milling and the creation of urban infrastructure, including bridges and crossings for navigation.⁷¹

Conclusions

In the last century in Poland, since 1945, historical research on Silesian studies has been conducted not only for cognitive, but also international and domestic political purposes, in order to emphasise the Polish character of Silesia. A departure from this political tendency has occurred in the last 20 years, following changes in European politics, and has resulted in publications by professional and non-professional historians. In the arising polyphony of statements, the number of amateur works by authors who refer to the past, but make little use of historical knowledge and methodology, rose sharply. Among them, a large part is formed by works created out of the need to present the author's beliefs and their subjective vision of the past. References to historical findings can be found in works from various scientific disciplines; they are also introduced in administrative and economic studies. Therefore, it is justified to divide Silesian historiography into classical (academic) history, subjective ahistory (non-classical, as well as applied historiography (conducted by authors from various scientific disciplines, who aim at utilitarian benefits, usually professional ones).

STRESZCZENIE / SUMMARY

W minionym stuleciu w Polsce, przez przeszło pół wieku tworzone historyczne publikacje śląskoznawcze nie tylko w celach poznawczych, ponieważ służyły celom założeń polityki wewnętrznej i podkreślać miały polskość Śląska. Odwrót od takiej politycznej tendencji nastąpił w okresie ostatnich 20 lat, jednocześnie zaznaczył się w opublikowanych pracach zawodowych historyków i nieprofesjonalistów. W powstałej polifoniczności wypowiedzi gwałtownie wzrosła liczba prac amatorskich, odwołujących się do

⁷¹ Maria Zwierz, *Sacrum i postindustrializm. Wschodnie wyspy odrzańskie we Wrocławiu. Historia zabudowy*, Wrocław–Warszawa 2018.

przeszłości, w niewielkim stopniu korzystających z metodologii historycznej. Wśród nich dużą część stanowią prace powstałe z potrzeby uzasadnienia przekonań autora, których skutkiem są subiektywne opisy przeszłości. Odwołania do ustaleń historycznych znajdujemy też w pracach z różnych dyscyplin naukowych, wprowadzane są również do opracowań prezentujących zagadnienia administracyjne i gospodarcze. Dlatego uzasadniony jest podział historiografii śląskoznawczej na klasyczną (akademicką), subiektywną ahistorię (nieklasyczną) oraz historiografię stosowaną, prowadzoną przez autorów różnych dyscyplin naukowych, mających na celu korzyści utylitarne.

REFERENCES

- 500 lat Reformacji na Górnym Śląsku, ed. Waław Gojniczek, Ryszard Kaczmarek, Katowice–Bytom 2017.
- Adamska Monika E., *Transformacje rynków średniowiecznych miast Śląska Opolskiego od XVIII wieku do czasów współczesnych. Przerwane tradycje, zachowane dziedzictwo, nowe narracje*, Opole 2019.
- Bahlcke Joachim, Gawrecki Dan, Ryszard Kaczmarek, *Historia Górnego Śląska. Polityka, gospodarka i kultura europejskiego regionu*, Gliwice 2011.
- Cuius regio? Ideological and Territorial Cohesion of the Historical Region of Silesia*, ed. Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik, Vol. 1–5, Wrocław 2013–2015.
- Czapliński Marek, *Najpilniejsze deficyty śląskich badań historycznych*, [in:] *Deficyty badań śląskoznawczych*, ed. Marek S. Szczepański, Tomasz Nawrocki, Andrzej Niesporek, Katowice 2010, pp. 19–30.
- Dawid Adriana, *Niepolskie Opolskie. Władze polityczne i administracyjne oraz aparat bezpieczeństwa wobec proniemieckich postaw mieszkańców województwa opolskiego (1950–1956)*, Opole 2020.
- Derwich Marek, *Kasaty klasztorów na obszarze dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i na Śląsku na tle procesów sekularyzacyjnych w Europie*, Vol. 2: *Kasaty na Śląsku Pruskim i na ziemiach zaboru pruskiego*, Wrocław 2014.
- Długosz Wiesław, *Dzieje Groszowic. Od roku 1236 do czasów teraźniejszych*, Opole 2017.
- Dolny Śląsk. Monografia historyczna*, ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 2006.
- Encyklopedia Wrocławia*, ed. Jan Harasimowicz, coop. Włodzimierz Suleja, Wrocław 2000.
- Galusek Łukasz, *Wszystko osiąga się przez nadzieję... Kulturowe dziedzictwo Reformacji na Śląsku*, Katowice 2017.
- Gierlotka Stefan, *Elektryfikacja górnictwa. Zarys historyczny*, Katowice 2016.
- Goliński Mateusz, *Ulica Żydowska we Wrocławiu w XV w.*, “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 67 (2012), 1, pp. 3–27; 2, pp. 19–39; 68 (2014), 1, pp. 37–58.
- Hanich Andrzej, *Martyrologium duchowieństwa Śląska Opolskiego w latach II wojny światowej*, Opole 2009.

- Herzig Arno, Ruchniewicz Krzysztof, Ruchniewicz Małgorzata, *Śląsk i jego dzieje*, Wrocław 2012.
- Historia Śląska*, ed. Marek Czapliński, Wrocław 2002, 2007.
- Historia Wrocławia*, Vol. 1: Cezary Buśko *et al.*, *Od pradziejów do końca czasów habsburskich*, Wrocław 2001; Vol. 2: Teresa Kulak, *Od twierdzy fryderycjańskiej do twierdzy hitlerowskiej*, Wrocław 2001; Vol. 3: Włodzimierz Suleja, *W Polsce Ludowej, PRL i III Rzeczypospolitej*, Wrocław 2001.
- Hübner Mateusz, *“Polskie dziecko w polskiej szkole”. Polityka wojewody Michała Grażyńskiego wobec niemieckich szkół mniejszościowych na polskim Górnym Śląsku w latach 1926–1939*, *“Dzieje Najnowsze”*, 2019, 1, p. 77–98.
- I wojna światowa na Śląsku. Historia – literatura – kultura*, ed. Grażyna B. Szewczyk, Ryszard Kaczmarek, Katowice 2016.
- Kaczmarek Ryszard, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej. Między utopią niemieckiej wspólnoty narodowej a rzeczywistością okupacji na terenach wcielonych do Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Katowice 2006.
- Kaczmarek Ryszard, *Polacy w Wehrmachcie*, Kraków 2014.
- Kaczmarek Ryszard, *Powstania śląskie 1919–1920–1921. Nieznana wojna polsko-niemiecka*, Kraków 2019.
- Kaczmarek Ryszard, Maciej Kucharski, Adrian Cybuła, *Alzacja/Lotaryngia a Górny Śląsk. Dwa regiony pogranicza 1648–2001*, Katowice 2001.
- Kamiński Artur, *Konferencja “Deficyty badań śląskoznawczych”*, *“Niemcoznawstwo”*, 17 (2009), pp. 341–343.
- Kania Maria H., Schreiber-Kurpiers Dorota, *Bezpośrednie inwestycje zagraniczne w gospodarce Śląska Opolskiego w XIX, XX i XXI wieku*, [in:] *Programowanie rozwoju regionu: ład ekonomiczny i środowiskowo-przestrzenny*, ed. Krystian Heffner, Opole 2007, pp. 63–80.
- Kasprzak Paweł, *Administracyjne i prawne formy organizacji wysiedleń ludności niemieckiej z Polski w latach 1948–1949*, *“Studia Lubuskie”*, 4 (2008), pp. 61–74.
- Kasza Ryszard, *Historia Prudnika fotografią pisana*, Prudnik 2017.
- Kasza Ryszard, *Powiat prudnicki. Historia dawną fotografią pisana*, Prudnik 2018.
- Kasza Ryszard, *Ulicami Prudnika. Z historią i fotografią w tle*, Prudnik 2020.
- Korfanty i inni...: rok 1918 na Górnym Śląsku*, ed. Jerzy Myszor, Henryk Olszar, Katowice 2018.
- Kruszewski Tomasz, *Gwałty na kobietach niemieckich w schyłkowym okresie II wojny światowej (październik 1944–8/9 maja 1945 roku) i w pierwszych latach po jej zakończeniu*, Wrocław 2016.
- Kucharczyk-Brus Beata, *Mieszkanie w zabudowie wielorodzinnej – obraz ewolucji idei projektowej, uwarunkowań rozwojowych i sposobów użytkowania, na przykładzie Górnego Śląska*, Gliwice 2016.
- Kuczyński Krzysztof A., *W kręgu Carla i Gerharta Hauptmannów*, Jelenia Góra 2018.

- Kwiatek Aleksander, *O Śląsku wymyślonym i wyobrażonym, czyli o śląskoznawstwie w ponowoczesnej narracji*, "Pogranicze. Polish Borderlands Studies", 3 (2015), 1, pp. 19–36.
- Lemańczyk Magdalena, Baranowski Mariusz, *Mniejszość niemiecka w województwie opolskim jako wartość dodana*, Opole 2020.
- Lis Michał, *Mniejszość niemiecka na Śląsku Opolskim 1989–2014. Z bagażem przeszłości w realiach współczesności*, Opole 2016.
- Mandziuk Józef, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku*, Vol. 1–4, Warszawa 2005–2015.
- Mazurkiewicz Marek, *Partycypacja mniejszości niemieckiej w polskim życiu publicznym po 1989 r. – przypadek Śląska Opolskiego*, "Rocznik Ziem Zachodnich", 1 (2017), pp. 144–164.
- Mazurkiewicz Marek, *Regionalne uwarunkowania polityki polskiej wobec mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych na przykładzie województwa opolskiego*, "Studia Śląskie", 2016, pp. 53–74.
- Mieszczanieństwo wrocławskie. Materiały sesji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Muzeum Miejskie Wrocławia w dniach 7–9 grudnia 2000 r.*, ed. Halina Okólska, Marzena Smolak, Wrocław 2003.
- Mirek Agata, *Siostry zakonne w obozach pracy w PRL w latach 1954–1956*, Lublin 2009.
- Mniejszość niemiecka*, ed. Aleksandra Kruk, Piotr Pochyły, Zielona Góra 2015.
- Modernizacja czy pozorna modernizacja? Społeczno-ekonomiczny bilans PRL 1944–1989 (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Dolnego Śląska)*, ed. Jędrzej Chumiński, Wrocław 2010.
- Morys-Twarowski Michael, *Wójtowie na Śląsku Cieszyńskim 1864–1918. Studium prozopograficzne*, Vol. 1–3, Kraków 2018.
- Musialik Wanda, *Obraz powstawania kapitału ludzkiego w okresie przed- i industrialnym (1740–1939) Historyczne granice Śląska Opolskiego*, [in:] *Kapitał ludzki na Śląsku Opolskim. Przeszłość, teraźniejszość, przyszłość*, ed. Agata Zagórska, Opole 2010, pp. 7–25.
- Myszor Jerzy, *Kościół na Górnym Śląsku. Od diecezji wrocławskiej do archidiecezji katowickiej*, Katowice 2008–2010.
- Myszor Jerzy, *Duchowieństwo katolickie na Śląsku 1742–1914. Z dziejów duszpasterstwa w diecezji wrocławskiej*, Katowice 2011.
- Nakonieczny Ryszard, *Oblicza modernizmu w architekturze. Paradygmat luksusu w architekturze modernizmu XX wieku. "Trójgłowy smok" – architektura dwudziestolecia międzywojennego na Górnym Śląsku (1922–1939)*, Katowice 2013.
- Nijakowski Lech M., *Dyskursy o Śląsku. Kształtowanie śląskiej tożsamości regionalnej i narodowej w dyskursie publicznym*, Warszawa 2002.
- Olejniczak Andrzej, *Obciążenia wojenne w zachodniej części Dolnego Śląska podczas kampanii napoleońskich 1806/07 i 1813 roku*, Bolesławiec 2009.
- Olejniczak Andrzej, *Wielka Armia na Dolnym Śląsku w 1813 roku*, Oświęcim 2014.
- Osiedla Wrocławia. Historia*, ed. Halina Okólska, Tomasz Kozubek, Wrocław 2021.

- Pańko Grażyna, *Wrocławska dzielnica czterech wyznań jako przykład roli religii w kształtowaniu stosunków między mieszkańcami jednego miasta*, [in:] *Od konfliktu do współistnienia i współpracy*, Vol. 2: *Sąsiedzi w historiografii, edukacji i kulturze*, ed. Teresa Maresz, Katarzyna Grysińska-Jarmuła, Bydgoszcz 2017, pp. 265–282.
- Pawelec Tomasz, *Metahistoria miejsc pamięci*, [in:] *Powstania śląskie w pamięci historycznej. Uczestnicy – pomniki – rocznice*, ed. Maciej Fic, Ryszard Kaczmarek, “Szkice Archiwalno-Historyczne”, 2011, 8 (special issue), p. 11–24.
- Perlak Bartłomiej, *Internowani na Dolnym Śląsku i Opolszczyźnie. Ośrodki odosobnienia podległe Okręgowemu Zarządowi Zakładów Karnych we Wrocławiu (1981–1982)*, Warszawa, 2017.
- Powstania śląskie i plebiscyt górnośląski w przestrzeni publicznej: kinematografia – muzyka – literatura – publicystyka*, ed. Maciej Fic, Mirosław Węcki, Katowice 2020.
- Roztropowicz-Misko Marta, *Migracje ludności ze Śląska Opolskiego do Niemiec w latach 1989–2005. Aspekty demograficzne, społeczne i ekonomiczne*, Opole 2007.
- Słownik Powstań Śląskich*, Vol. 1–3, ed. Ryszard Kaczmarek, Maciej Fic, Katowice 2019–2021.
- Spielvogel Izabela, *Etnomedyczna analiza działalności zielarzy z Karpacza – pierwszy cech fitoterapeutów w Europie*, [in:] *Rzemiosło – w wymiarze lokalnym, regionalnym i międzynarodowym. Craftsmanship – its local, regional and international dimension*, ed. Wanda Musialik, Roman Śmietański, Opole 2020, pp. 89–98.
- Surowiec Michał, *Osadnictwo polskie na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1947 na przykładzie podlegnickiej wsi Kunice*, Wrocław 2017.
- Szczepański Andrzej, *Aktywność społeczno-polityczna mniejszości niemieckiej na Śląsku Opolskim po 1989 roku*, Toruń 2013.
- Tragedia Górnośląska 1945. Konferencja, Warszawa, 22 kwietnia 2015 r.*, ed. Gabriela Zielińska, Warszawa 2015.
- W poszukiwaniu tożsamości. Grupy mniejszościowe w Polsce i na Śląsku po 1989 roku*, ed. Brygida Solga, Piotr Pałys, Opole 2018.
- Wąs Gabriela, *Reformacja i władza. Reformy chrześcijaństwa w nurcie reformacji a spory o władzę na Śląsku w XVI i w pierwszym dwudziestoleciu XVII wieku*, Kraków 2017.
- Werner Wiktor, *Antropologia wiedzy. Dylemat historyczności*, [in:] *Nauka i społeczeństwo w stulecie szczególnej teorii względności Alberta Einsteina (1905–2005)*, ed. Bożena Płonka-Syroka, Wrocław 2006, pp. 119–135.
- Wrzosek Wojciech, *Czy historia ma przyszłość?*, [in:] *Gra i konieczność. Zbiór rozpraw z historii historiografii i filozofii historii*, ed. Grzegorz A. Dominiak, Janusz Ostojka-Zagórski, Wojciech Wrzosek, Bydgoszcz 2005, pp. 11–16.
- Wrzosek Wojciech, *Historia, kultura, metafora. Powstanie nieklasycznej historiografii*, Wrocław 1995.
- Zamecki Stefan, *Na marginesie książki: Gra i konieczność. Zbiór rozpraw z historii historiografii i filozofii historii pod redakcją Grzegorza A. Dominiaka, Janusza Ostojka-Zagórskiego, Wojciecha Wrzosa*, Bydgoszcz 2005. *Oficyna Wydawnicza EPI-GRAM*, “Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki”, 52 (2007), 2, pp. 229–248.

Zarycki Tomasz, *Uciemiona forpoczta Zachodu. Wiktyalizacja i okcydentalizacja we współczesnym polskim dyskursie regionalnym*, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo", 49 (2005), 2, pp. 115–133.

Zwierz Maria, *Sacrum i postindustrializm. Wschodnie wyspy odrzańskie we Wrocławiu. Historia zabudowy*, Wrocław–Warszawa 2018.

ARTYKUŁY RECENZYJNE I RECENZJE REVIEWS

DOI: [10.34616/SKHS.2023.2.111.115](https://doi.org/10.34616/SKHS.2023.2.111.115)



Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka
Rocznik LXXXVIII (2023), 2
e-ISSN 2658-2082 | PL ISSN 0037-7511

PAWEŁ JAWORSKI
University of Wrocław
ORCID: [0000-0001-5256-1238](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5256-1238)

Adriana Merta-Staszczak, *Niechciane dziedzictwo. Nieruchomości zabytkowe na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1989*, [Unwanted heritage. Historical properties in Lower Silesia in the years 1945–1989], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR, 2018, pp. 394.

The end of World War II meant a fundamental political and social change for Lower Silesia, because, after two centuries of belonging to Prussia and then to the German Reich, it changed its state affiliation as a result of World War II. As a result of the decision of the Big Three, i.e. the United States, United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, made at the Potsdam Conference on August 2, 1945, German territories located east of the Oder and Lusatian Neisse rivers were temporarily, that is, until a future peace conference, put “under the administration of the Polish state”. This decision concerned Opole Silesia and Lower Silesia, Pomerania with Gdansk, and part of East Prussia. At the same time Poland lost its voivodships east of the Bug river, which were incorporated into the Soviet Union. The post-war border shifts meant huge population transfers, as Germans were expelled across the Oder, and Poles had to leave the Eastern Borderlands and move to lands unknown to them. These lands were characterised by a developed infrastructure of numerous cities and towns and the existence of many historic buildings, which were the result of the changing state affiliation of Silesia in the past: Polish, Bohemian, Austrian, Prussian, and German. Confessional and social changes took place at that time, which was evidenced by the presence of Catholic churches, Protestant and Lutheran parishes, castles and palaces, as well as government buildings. During the war, they often had been severely damaged and required reconstruction.

The monograph by Adriana Merta-Staszczak, a historian from Wrocław, known for her multiple scientific works on the history of Polish agriculture after 1945 and the fate of Lower Silesian mansions after World War II, focuses on the attitude of Poles towards the existing buildings, mainly residential and historic ones. Considering the tragic course of World War II and the huge losses suffered by the Polish population, the Author, as the obvious starting point of her analysis, observes in the new inhabitants a lack of a sense of “sentimental or aesthetic value that was linked to the traditions and history of the nation” (p. 9), which was the cause of this distress. Thus, aversion to everything “post-German” (i.e. of German origin) was visible. Architectural objects were assessed mainly in terms of their usability and less damaged ones were occupied; in the case of others, devastation or stealing them “piece by piece” was an everyday occurrence. The titular “unwanted” heritage was marked by the stigma of the enemy and gradually wasted, so the book analyses the process of destroying historical objects as culturally alien and burdened by war experiences.

The Author focused mainly on the legal aspects of preserving monuments and their protection after the war. The authorities supported it with the legislation of the pre-war Poland, although their organisation and political foundations were completely different from the pre-war German administration, so the monuments were taken from private hands and became the property of the state. The decrees of the new authorities firstly informed about the transfer of German property to the state treasury. However, the treasury authorities did not create regulations for securing the acquired buildings, so – as the Author demonstrated – the lack of responsibility for their protection was exhibited both by the state administration at the *poviat* (county) level and by the authorities of the Wrocław Voivodeship (p. 13), for they did not concern themselves with the way historic buildings were used and did not control their conversion or adaptation. There was also no conception of historic buildings’ protection and forms of their new use. In this lack of interest on the part of the central authorities and in the neglect of the duties of local authorities, in spite of the publicly declared reconstruction of the war damage, the Author rightly sees the genesis of much devastation and further losses on the territory of the so-called Recovered Territories.

Adrianna Merta-Staszczak documented the reality of the time and various processes occurring in Lower Silesia on the basis of the resources of the archives of Wrocław Voivodeship, especially those of the Department of Culture and Art and the Presidium of the Voivodeship National Council, stored in the State Archives

in Wrocław. Apart from these, the research was based on the collection of the National Museum in Wrocław, from where the Author obtained materials concerning the issues of securing works of art in the first post-war years. Due to the fact that these resources were largely destroyed or dispersed across the territory of Poland, a necessary supplement of recognising their present condition and fate was a search of materials produced by central administration. In the Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, there are official documents and oral accounts of witnesses, i.e. Lower Silesian conservators and art historians of that time. Through this research, A. Merta-Staszczak proved that, in fact, the protection consisted in the inventorying of property and the exportation of movables (in a manner rather chaotic and enabling looting on a mass scale) to other parts of Poland.

The work is divided into five chapters. In Chapter I, the Author made an assessment of the general legal situation of historic buildings in Lower Silesia in the years 1945–1989, i.e. until the beginning of the political transformation in Poland. Chapters II and III were devoted to the post-war institutions in Wrocław, namely the Provincial Department of Reconstruction and the Wrocław Directorate of Reconstruction, as well as the Department of Culture and Arts of the Voivodeship Office, which were statutorily responsible for the reconstruction of the capital of Lower Silesia and the management of its monuments. An analysis of the activity of the Provincial Conservation Office were presented in Chapter IV, and in the last chapter, Chapter V, the activity of social organisations which have been active in Lower Silesia for many years promoting knowledge about monuments and their protection were discussed.

In the introductory narrative to the monograph, the Author recalled the destruction of castles and residences as a result of military operations – such damage in various regions of Lower Silesia reached 50–80% of the discussed buildings. Wartime losses were aggravated by looting and arsons, especially by the Soviet army, which at first went unpunished because in the face of its omnipotence, the Polish administration was helpless, but even in the following years little was done to secure the historical buildings. The authorities gave the impression that they were not interested in preserving cultural heritage and protecting German monuments, convinced that after the years of war, they still aroused hatred. The subsequent attitude and change in approach was the result of the aforementioned lack of a treaty-based and definitive border with divided Germany. In view of this perspective, the main focus among the administration was on searching for traces

of Polishness of the region and Polish rights to it, and finding them in buildings which reminded of the Piast rulers of Silesia. However, due to the lack of certainty about the national status of Lower Silesia, according to the Author's research, even the latter monuments were not particularly cared for. The only idea to find a use for most of the structures was to designate them as warehouses, or office or residential buildings. The palaces and manor houses were usually handed over to the State Agricultural Farms (Państwowe Gospodarstwa Rolne – PGR), which usually resulted in their gradual devastation. A better fate was met by buildings fulfilling educational requirements, where a school could be created, or social facilities, i.e. a nursing home, a crèche, an orphanage, or a resort house. They were thus given a chance to survive, but no care was taken to preserve their valuable interior furnishings, furniture, and paintings. Parks and gardens were also devastated.

Adriana Merta-Staszczak meticulously compiled a list of the existing monuments and the conservation measures they underwent in particular years. A total of 32 tables have been included in this work; these data show that the care for historical monuments was at the end of the list of tasks financed by the state administration, even in situations when specific structures were specifically indicated by the conservation offices to be saved. Sometimes devastation proceeded in accordance with the law, as multiple buildings were simply dropped from the list of protected buildings without giving any justification (p. 85). The Author emphasises that this was not the fault of the conservation service, which undertook actions to save the monuments and carried out registration works (p. 92). However, the degradation continued and many monuments were simply gradually demolished, often in an uncontrolled manner, as the budgets of the local administration lacked funds for their renovation. In these circumstances, voluntary guardians of historical monuments, associated in the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Turystyczno-Krajoznawcze – PTTK), became very important. They carried out unpaid clearing of ruins, repaired historic buildings, and prepared appropriate documentation.

The dissemination of knowledge about the historical objects in their possession was statutorily the responsibility of the National Councils, i.e. local government units. However, the documentation discussed by A. Merta-Staszczak shows that the authorities were more concerned with popularising the Polish character of various objects, mainly to “counteract the revisionist propaganda of West Germany”. It indicates that there was an additional reason for the officials to be officially suspicious of individuals, organisations, and societies that worked to promote

knowledge about local monuments. These associations mainly involved representatives of the local intelligentsia, who – especially until 1956 – were considered a threat to the socialist system and as undermining the “worker–peasant alliance” (p. 287). The Author has no doubt that the National Councils, following the example of the central authorities, also failed to fulfil their tasks regarding the protection of historical monuments and did not make efforts to protect them from degradation. The only reason for their interest in old buildings was the possibility of their adaptation into residential buildings. The Author’s findings clearly show that in Lower Silesia, both the state administration (voivodeship and powiat) and the local government administration (National Councils) failed in the field of monument protection, and the only institution which took its duties seriously was the Provincial Conservation Office in Wrocław. However, the effectiveness of its small group of employees was limited and generally developed on a larger scale only in the late 1950s. The exceptions were churches, renovated for the needs of the faithful.

All in all, Adriana Merta-Staszczak’s findings do not come as a surprise, but they do confirm the tragic condition of Lower Silesian monuments after World War II. It was the result of a deliberate policy of the authorities to erase the heritage of its former German inhabitants. The attitude of the authorities, however, had wider negative effects, probably unnoticed, because it intensified the general disrespect for monuments in the society, so that even the “Polishness” of a building did not guarantee its protection. Therefore, the interest in historical monuments was casual, opportunistic, and often led to their “thoughtless and unreflective destruction” (p. 295). The Author explains intricate relations between the various organs of local authority in a lucid way, showing their indolence.

Against this background, a more interesting and encouraging theme presented in the book is the social movement for the protection of historical monuments, which has been emerging since 1956 and was gradually growing. By the 1970s, there were approximately 1,500 voluntary caretakers of historical monuments, in Lower Silesia. Their influence proved to be socially and politically significant because, together with Poland’s political stabilisation in Europe, it proved that the new population was gradually rooting themselves in the Western Territories and that local patriotism was gaining momentum. However, it was not until the systemic changes in Poland after 1989 and an increased sense of security in Europe that public interest in the former heritage of the Western Territories and concern for its preservation became stronger.



BERNARD LINEK
Silesian Institute Opole
ORCID: [0000-0001-5516-8650](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5516-8650)

Adriana Dawid, *Niepolskie Opolskie. Władze polityczne i administracyjne oraz aparat bezpieczeństwa wobec proniemieckich postaw mieszkańców województwa opolskiego (1950–1956)* [Non-Polish Opolskie. Political and administrative authorities and the security apparatus towards pro-German attitudes of the inhabitants of the Opole Voivodeship (1950–1956)], Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2020 (Studia i Monografie, 585), pp. 630.

In the immediate aftermath of World War II, the territories along the Oder River, from Upper Silesia to the Baltic, formerly Polish but lost to Prussia, were granted to Poland after the decision taken by the victorious Big Three in Potsdam on August 2, 1945. The Poles called them Recovered Territories in the belief that, after centuries, they had returned to their rightful owner – the Polish nation. This return came after catastrophic war damage and German crimes, and was also a compensation for the Polish Eastern Borderlands annexed by the Soviet Union and the martyrdom of Polish soldiers. In the former Regierungsbezirk Oppeln, which until 1945 was called Oberschlesien, the new name of the Regained Territories was propagandistically linked to the “regained” population, creating with this combination one of the founding myths of the Polish People’s Republic. The Upper Silesians were the largest “post-German” group, accounting for about 850 thousand people, among more than a million former citizens of the German Reich. Together with the so-called repatriates from the Polish Eastern Borderlands (in fact persons displaced as a result of Stalin’s decision) and settlers from central Poland, they were to form a new Polish society in the Western Territories. However, the Stalinisation of Poland at that time and the hasty Sovietisation of social life resulted in revealing German identity and rejection of the Polish state among

the “recovered Poles”. This process was started by Upper Silesian railwaymen already in 1949, as they did not intend to apply for a formal confirmation of their Polish nationality, whereas in 1952, when new identity papers were issued, some 70 thousand people objected and claimed to have German nationality/citizenship and to speak German in their daily lives. These sentiments were confirmed by the internal security organs, which identified the existence of German underground organisations aiming at the armed annexation of the area by Germany.

These phenomena and the explanation of their causes are the subject of Adriana Dawid’s work *Niepolskie Opolskie. Władze polityczne i administracyjne oraz aparat bezpieczeństwa wobec proniemieckich postaw mieszkańców województwa opolskiego (1950–1956)*. She gave it a very intriguing title, untranslatable into other languages.¹ In this way she referred to her earlier research and, in a way, built a counterpoint to the thesis of Edmund Jan Osmańczyk, a pre-war activist of the Polish minority in the German Reich, publicist and writer, who in one of his poems equated “Opole” to “Polishness” and believed in the return of the city to the motherland.

The book under review has become a basis for successful habilitation studies of the Author, who is associated with historical studies and scientific work at the University of Opole. She entered the circle of professional historians with her doctoral dissertation published in 2009, *Kośni z Chróścic. Dzieje rodu na tle przemian społeczno-politycznych Śląska w XIX i XX wieku* [The Kośnis of Chróścice. History of the family against the background of social and political changes in Silesia in the 19th and 20th century]. She presented there the fate of a Polish family living near Opole, who struggled in the German Reich to maintain their national identity and possessions, fought against the Nazi system and after 1945 did not let the Communist machine break them down. After the publication of her dissertation, Dr. Dawid for several years engaged herself in scientific supervision of the Oral History Archive, a project implemented by the House for Polish–German Cooperation, which brings together young people who engage themselves in collecting accounts from earlier generations as witnesses to history and everyday life under the totalitarian system.

The main protagonists of the study are more closely defined by its subtitle: *Władze polityczne i administracyjne oraz aparat bezpieczeństwa wobec proniemieckich postaw mieszkańców województwa opolskiego* [Political and administrative

¹ The translator of the German summary in the book expressed it descriptively as “Nichtpolnische Woiwodschaft Oppeln”, while the translator of the English summary gave it categorically and in a kind of Shakespearean manner as “Opole Voivodeship – Polish or not Polish?”.

authorities and the security apparatus towards pro-German attitudes of the inhabitants of the Opole Voivodeship]. Yet, the first part of the title seems incomplete and should also include the apparatus of propaganda, considering that the analysis of the press and other mass media occupies a prominent place in the monograph. If, for some reason, such an addition to the title was not possible, the enumeration should have been replaced by the general term “the apparatus of the Communist state”, as this is in fact the main protagonist of the monograph. The second protagonist, i.e. the inhabitants of the Opole region, are defined even more enigmatically in the title, as it announces only an account of their pro-German attitudes. In fact, if one is to believe the source material and the content of the study, we should rather talk about Upper Silesian Germans.

The main body of the author’s study consists of three problem-oriented chapters, each of which might be published as an independent monograph. Chapter I, titled *Problem zagrożenia niemieckim rewizjonizmem* [The problem of threat from German revisionism], discusses selected issues resulting from this revisionism towards post-war Poland and their perception from the perspective of the Communist apparatus. In this context, the Author mentions espionage, illegal German organisations, sabotage, (pro)German propaganda and the role of foreign German-language radio stations, contacts with both German states, i.e. the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), prohibited since 1949, and the fight against the so-called “whispered propaganda”, i.e. combating the system of Polish rule by means of rumours and gossip.

In Chapter II, under the title *Nastroje i deklaracje proniemieckie* [Pro-German sentiments and declarations], the Author changes the point of view of her analysis and takes into account the perspective of the examined group, i.e. the Upper Silesian population. It presents their attitudes towards key domestic events, such as the general census (1950) and the issuing of new identity cards (1952), towards elections to the Sejm (1952) and to national councils (1954), and their attitude towards calls to serve in the Polish Army. In this section, Adriana Dawid also discusses the antagonisms, arising after 1945, between the influx group and the locals, including the growing pressure on the latter to emigrate.

In Chapter III, titled *Kampanie polonizacyjne i antyniemieckie* [Polonization and anti-German campaigns], the Author focused her narrative on political interactions between the apparatus of the Communist state and the group subjected to its oppression. She gives examples of the authorities’ suppressing the use of the

German language and attempts to break the contact with German culture among the discussed group. The chapter presents also examples of long-term state operations in the cultural field, undertaken in the sphere of propaganda, mainly involving the press, but also related to education and pressure on the Catholic Church. All these measures were usually applied by the apparatus of the national state, so they seemed somewhat paradoxical in the period of copying the Stalinist system and methods. However, one should remember about the bottom-up pressure of the local Silesian group, which, by demonstrating pro-German attitudes, sought to force a state's consent for their departure from Poland.

The caesuras enclosing the narrative of this dissertation are, in a way, “natural” for the period of People's Poland. It is opened with the title “Opolskie”, i.e. the voivodeship of that name, created in 1950, after the administrative reform of the State, with its own state-party apparatus. The analysis concludes with the year 1956, known for the social explosion during the Poznań June. Such an outburst in Upper Silesia had already been expected by the Communists as early as 1953, due to the revolt of the Berlin workers, but it was not until October 1956 that a nationwide political breakthrough and correction of the Communist system took place. In principle, the years 1950–1956, adopted in the dissertation as boundary years, seem a defensible concept, although from the perspective of the second protagonist of the publication, i.e. the inhabitants of the Opolskie Voivodeship, I would consider it reasonable to start the narrative from 1949, pointing to the significance of the creation of two German states. The Author, albeit not explicitly, shares this reasoning on the significance of the caesuras of 1949 and 1955, as she has divided her core discussion into 5 chapters. She called the first one “Prologue” and discusses in it the situation in the region at the turn of 1949 and 1950. The last one is called “Epilogue” and presents the breakthrough of 1956 in the Opolskie Voivodeship and the new principles of internal policy introduced towards the Upper Silesians, which finally undermined the assumptions of Polish national policy towards the titular group of inhabitants of the Opolskie Voivodeship. As it seems, the policy was based on two interconnected assertions of the Communist authorities: the first and dominating one was the conviction that the Upper Silesian population who remained after the nationality verification procedure was ethnically, or at least in their origin, Polish. Germanness, on the other hand, was said to be only a covering patina, and the existing ties to German language and culture were expected to disappear as a result of confrontation with the scale of German crimes

committed during World War II. However, it should be noted here that although in the course of the verification procedure the group in question was in an overwhelming majority ethnically Polish, the inhabitants were not asked about their links to German culture, which were manifold: in the sphere of language, customs and habits, they identified themselves culturally as “German”.

In 1946, a group of about 60 thousand in the whole of Upper Silesia, mainly mothers and wives, despite being verified, wanted to leave for the occupation zones of Germany because their husbands or children were staying there. The Polish authorities did not allow these men to leave for their families, and it was clear that as former Wehrmacht soldiers, they would not be able to move to the other side of the Oder River. Therefore, those in Poland, in the hope to be punitively displaced, ostentatiously used the German language in and distanced themselves from the newcomers.

Furthermore, it turned out that knowledge of the Polish language was not widespread and rather associated with the older generation. In Warsaw, on the other hand, the prevailing belief was that with time, within a generation or two, pro-German attitudes would become marginalised and disappear. They pointed to Arka Bożek, a pre-war Polish minority politician, who together with the then activists of the Union of Poles in Germany backed the new regime in 1945. They considered that Germany, as the state that had caused the war and on account of the scale of the crimes it had committed, would not be as a recognised political factor in the foreseeable future, and therefore would not have an influence on the situation in Upper Silesia. In 1949, however, there was a marked change in local attitudes, caused by the entry of the FRG into the bloc of Western states. Although the GDR had also been created at the initiative of the Soviet Union, the Polish authorities became aware of the effects of the presence on the western border of a large and politically unstable group of people, who might turn against Poland if the “cold war” of that time turned into a “hot” one. This provoked a telling reaction from the Polish United Worker’s Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza – PZPR) Central Committee, which on 7 July 1950 passed the famous resolution on “intensifying work among the native population”, recommending that the wrongs be righted and that representatives of this group be included in the governing bodies. However, in the public perception it turned out that these recommendations of the Party authorities were boycotted by the local Party apparatus.

A much more hostile reaction came from the internal security apparatus, which accused the Upper Silesians of so-called West German revisionism, i.e. of aiming to separate Poland's western territories and incorporate them into Germany. It was therefore ordered to fight these attitudes and circles with methods and means characteristic of the political police. The Party authorities contented themselves with control, but their fear of the West German state and society increased, because the Iron Curtain, as A. Dawid bluntly demonstrates, was quite cracked – letter contacts lasted, parcels were received from there, and German-language radio was listened to. In the Opole region, however, the continued lack of direct contact with West Germany led to a mythologisation of its everyday life and to the creation of a “promised land” out of the “Reich”. The inefficient system of the Polish socialist economy could do little to counteract this vision.

In December 1954, a new political perspective unexpectedly appeared for the inhabitants of the Silesian region, as the Polish authorities, through the International Red Cross, decided to launch a family reunion project in cooperation with the FRG. The role of this caesura must be acknowledged, because for the Upper Silesian community it was the beginning of a time of uncertainty and asking themselves: Do we go there to build a new future – or should stay and try to find our happiness here? Further significant changes occurred only after an agreement was signed during Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's visit to Moscow in September 1955. Diplomatic relations were then established, and the last German prisoners of war were released from the Soviet Union. Warsaw realised that the Communists had a specific currency, in the form of humanitarian gestures, so it was used in the negotiations with the FRG. At first the aim was to achieve any form of recognition of the Yalta–Potsdam political reality, and ultimately recognition of the border on the Oder and Lusatian Neisse. However, the negotiations lasted a long time – until December 6, 1970, when Willy Brandt and Władysław Gomułka signed an official agreement allowing tens of thousands of people to emigrate. Only then was it officially admitted in the Government Information of the Polish People's Republic that the people discussed in Author's book were Germans. In the years of Edward Gierek's leadership (1970–1980), their departures were directly linked to financial transfers.

The government's internal practice since December 1955 no longer gave priority to the earlier policy of incorporating the Upper Silesian group into the Polish nation. The abandonment of this policy after 1949 was often in opposition to the expectations of regional circles, especially those associated with former members of the Union of

Poles in Germany. They argued that people who emigrated to Germany were Poles, and that Poland was losing an important part of its population. An example of this was the above-mentioned J. Osmańczyk, who had previously been one of the most faithful acolytes of the people's government, but after the Brandt–Gomułka agreement, began to contest the system. This gave him a senatorial seat from the Solidarity list in 1989. However, ignoring of these protests by the communist leaders, apart from the diplomatic game, should be attributed to the demographic changes of the Polish People's Republic and the growing number of inhabitants. Moreover, the conviction that it were ultimately Germans, i.e. groups hostile to Poland, who were leaving, became established, which can be seen as evidence that the security apparatus managed to impose its point of view on other institutions of the Communist state.

As far as research techniques of Adriana Dawid are concerned, it should be noted that her work is characterised by a traditional historical method of collecting available sources and their critical analysis, combined with an attempt to present them against the background of historical events and to explain their causes and effects. Supporters of various methodological “turns” in historiography and of a deeper adoption of impulses from social sciences, not so long ago from sociology or now from psychology, will therefore be disappointed. Undoubtedly, one has to acknowledge the consistency of the Author's method, adopted already in the introduction, to present her own research categories after analysing the state of research and then to be faithful to them in the historical narrative. She includes conclusions from her analytical work of the famous *lingua sovietica*, or Communist newspeak. Thus, under the titular pro-German attitudes or the central notion of West German revisionism, the Author revealed trivial issues, such as listening to German radio or receiving food parcels from Germany.

The author's traditional approach can also be seen in the bibliography that extends for 25 pages. This is a proof that the Author conducted extensive searches in eight central and regional archives (including several collections of files in the State Archive in Opole) and in several journals, and that she became familiar with many works of other authors. This second remark is somewhat misleading, since Bogdan Cimała and Stanisław Senft² wrote about the issue of pro-German attitudes among the Upper Silesian population in the first half of the 1950s, but in this case the emphasis is on the language of sources and the narration of the time, which

² See, e.g. Bogdan Cimała, Stanisław Senft, *Ludność rodzima na Śląsku Opolskim w polityce władz wojewódzkich w latach 1950–1956*, “Studia Śląskie”, 53 (1994), pp. 89–117.

gives the impression of criticism from within. These phenomena from a national perspective were analysed with more detachment in subsequent years by Czesław Osękowski,³ Zbigniew Romanow⁴ and, in the 21st century, by Piotr Madajczyk⁵; however all these studies were prepared before the source breakthrough caused by the Institute of National Remembrance (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – IPN) making available the files of the security apparatus, which – as I have already indicated – in this case was the main executor of the Communists’ will.

If we look at this discussion from this perspective, Dawid in many respects has a pioneering role. Although a few texts on pro-German attitudes in the Stalinist period were created by the IPN in Katowice, as Adam Dziurok and Adam Dziuba⁶ and, above all, Sebastian Rosenbaum⁷ wrote about this phenomenon, they focused on the Katowice/Staliność Voivodeship. A similar point of reference prevails in the studies of the undersigned,⁸ and Zbigniew Bereszyński,⁹ who explored the entire post-war history of Opole Silesia from the perspective of the secret police files, focusing on German issues in the 1980s. None of them, however, has made such a deep and diversified search for sources as the Author of the reviewed study did. By means of it, Dawid sets herself the task of showing the dynamics of pro-German attitudes among the population of the Opolskie Voivodeship, their determinants and the reaction of the Polish state to them (pp. 14–15). Apart from the formulation of research objectives, the extended introduction characterises and defines the area and group under study, as well as discusses the status of the research, the available sources and the construction of the study.

³ Czesław Osękowski, *Spółczesność Polski Zachodniej i Północnej w latach 1945–1956. Procesy integracji i dezintegracji*, Zielona Góra 1994.

⁴ Zenon Romanow, *Polityka władz polskich wobec ludności rodzimej ziem zachodnich i północnych w latach 1945–1960*, Słupsk 1999.

⁵ Piotr Madajczyk, *Niemcy polscy 1944–1989*, Warszawa 2001.

⁶ Adam Dziuba, Adam Dziurok, *Die Aufdeckung und Bekämpfung des “revisionistischen Element” in der Woiwoschaft Kattowitz in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren*, “Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas”, 5 (2003), 2, pp. 254–280.

⁷ Most comprehensively in: Sebastian Rosenbaum, *Partia i aparat bezpieczeństwa województwa katowickiego wobec proniemieckich postaw ludności rodzimej od lat pięćdziesiątych do siedemdziesiątych XX w.*, [in:] *Aparat bezpieczeństwa Polski Ludowej wobec mniejszości narodowych*, ed. Jarosław Syrnok, Warszawa 2009, pp. 57–102.

⁸ For a selection of several texts on this subject see: Bernard Linek, *Kwestia niemiecka na powojennym Górnym Śląsku (1945–1960)*, Opole 2020.

⁹ Among the first texts dedicated to this period see: Zbigniew Bereszyński, *Aparat bezpieczeństwa Polski Ludowej wobec Kościoła katolickiego, na przykładzie województwa opolskiego w latach 1950–1956*, “Studia Śląskie”, 84 (2019), pp. 151–178.

The main part of the work consists of three problem-oriented chapters, each of which could be published as an independent monograph. Chapter I, under the title *Problem zagrożenia niemieckim rewizjonizmem* [The problem of threat from German revisionism], discusses selected issues of German revisionism from the perspective of their perception by the Communist apparatus. From this perspective the following issues are discussed in sequence: espionage, illegal German organisations, sabotage, (pro)German propaganda, the role of German-language radio stations, contacts with both German states and so-called ‘whispered propaganda’, i.e. combating the system through the power of rumour. In Chapter II, called *Nastroje i deklaracje proniemieckie* [Pro-German sentiments and declarations], the Author changes the reference point of the analysis and it is carried out from the perspective of the examined group, the Upper Silesian population. Here she discusses the attitudes of this group towards the census (1950) and the issue of identity cards (1952), elections to the Sejm (1952) and to national councils (1954), and conscription to the Polish Army. In this section she also discusses the growing pressure to emigrate and the antagonisms that arose between the local and influx groups. Chapter III, presenting *Kampanie polonizacyjne i antyniemieckie* [Polonisation and anti-German campaigns], the Author focuses on interactions between the apparatus of the Communist state and the group subjected to its oppression. She presents examples of suppression in the cultural field, at school and through pressure on the Catholic Church. Such operations were usually carried out by the apparatus of nation states, which sounds somewhat paradoxical for the period of copying Stalinist methods, although, on the one hand, the issue of the “nationalisation” of the Communist state is not the subject of this research and, furthermore, it is necessary to remember about the grassroots pressure of the Silesian group, which, by displaying pro-German attitudes, wanted to force the authorities to allow them to leave.

In a short “Conclusion”, the Author reiterates her main theses and describes the processes that took place. As I have already mentioned, with regard to the adopted assumptions and objectives, the book by A. Dawid should be considered a successful project. On the basis of extensive research, it presents a comprehensive set of pro-German attitudes among the inhabitants of the Opolskie Voivodeship and the actions taken by the Communist apparatus to suppress them. It also identifies the social mechanisms of these phenomena and their coupling with other political processes in Polish People’s Republic and with Polish–German relations.

Some readers will probably perceive as lacking setting these reflections in the context of processes taking place among other “post-German” groups in post-war Poland (especially the Masurians). Sometimes it would be important to situate these actions in the background of the policy towards national minorities in the entire Soviet bloc. However, these were not the aims of this elaborate work; rather, there was a need to distinguish more clearly the third actor in this play, namely the German state and society, although I also understand the caution of A. Dawid. She did not conduct searches in German archives, nor did she analyse the German press in this respect. In view of the gradually opening German archives, this is a topic worthy of at least a doctoral dissertation, although not necessarily written in Poland.

The Author’s attention to detail at the local level translates into a permanent presence of her book in the literature on the subject, while addressing issues concerning small communities will also ensure appreciation of the book and a wide readership among those interested in their own past from smaller towns in the Opolskie Voivodeship. It is therefore a great surprise that such a little number of copies was printed, as 150 of them seem to be enough just for family and close friends. Let us hope that soon there will be a new edition of this book.



KAROL SANOJCA
University of Wrocław
ORCID: [0000-0001-8630-0589](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8630-0589)

Barbara Techmańska, *Szkolnictwo mniejszości narodowych na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1989* [Education of national minorities in Lower Silesia in the years 1945–1989], Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2019, pp. 379.

After World War II, Lower Silesia became an area of residence for various national and ethnic groups. The German population was predominantly resettled as a result of the Potsdam Agreements, and only a small portion remained. The majority of new residents were Poles coming from the central districts of the country and displaced people from the former eastern provinces of the Second Polish Republic – provinces which had been seized by the Soviet Union – as well as people coming from Western Europe. Also, Polish citizens of Jewish origin, who managed to survive the hell of war, settled here in large numbers. However, in the following years and in successive waves of migration, Jews (along with the wealth of their activities) left Lower Silesia, and their presence came to an end after the infamous anti-Jewish campaign unleashed by the communist authorities in 1968.

An important national group that arrived in Lower Silesia in the 1940s as a result of the top-down policy of forced resettlement from the eastern part of the country during the so-called Operation Vistula were (and still are today) the Ukrainians. A little later, a fairly large group of people connected to the communist partisans, Greeks and Macedonians, who had sought asylum in Poland because of the civil war in Greece, were also settled in this area. For a rather short period of time, the Polish–Czechoslovak borderland was also inhabited by Czechs. The historical literature on the history of national minorities in Poland after 1945 is already substantial. As a rule, however, those works concentrate on the history of

particular nationalities, and often they are of a contributory nature, since they focus only on selected aspects or problems. The situation is similar in the case of the education of children and young people from national minority communities. This is demonstrated by the extensive literature review in the *Wstęp* [Introduction] to the book under review and the References (pp. 347–370).

Barbara Techmańska, writing a work dedicated to the education of all national minorities living in the south-western part of post-war Poland, undertook a comprehensive and multifaceted discussion on this matter. The chronological timeline is appropriate, since it covers the period from the end of World War II to the democratic changes in Poland in 1989. This approach has enabled the Author to present minority educational issues during the entire period of domination of the communist ideology. The arrangement of contents is clear and logical. It includes an Introduction, 6 chronologically and substantially separated chapters, Conclusion, References, List of abbreviations and tables (there are as many as 43 of them), List of illustrations, and Index of persons. In the Introduction, the Author provided made a general description of particular national minorities living in Lower Silesia, i.e. Germans, Jews, Czechs, Ukrainians, and Greeks. In the initial part of the work, she discusses formal, legal, and economic foundations of minority education in Poland after 1945. Then, she described its organisational status and presented its educational and pedagogical dimension. In a separate part, the two basic groups for the functioning of schools – teachers and pupils – were characterised. The issue of social perception of minority education was presented an interesting way, taking into account both the reality of that time, i.e. the period of the Polish People's Republic (PRL), and the contemporary situation. A lot of information on this subject is provided in the last chapter, which is slightly different in content, as the Author made use of mainly memoir material.

Essentially, the work under review focuses on the problems of minority education, but the issue has been placed within several broader political and social agendas as well as different contexts. Because the analysis of the History of education in that period was carried out through the prism of minority communities, and not only their geographical distribution and state statistics, it enabled the Author to formulate a well-founded statement that schools played an important role in the consolidation of national minorities. Thus, despite the apparent uncertainty of everyday life and the often hostile environment, individual national communities gave education an important place in the preservation of their

language, religion, and culture, i.e. the markers of their national identity. This perspective of Barbara Techmańska, as it were “from the inside”, made it possible to present a targeted analysis of the content of teaching, the educational plans and programs in force, as well as the characteristics of the specific conditions of educational activity. Mostly, however, the members of the minorities were concerned with the material difficulties encountered because of the poor condition of buildings and equipment in minority schools. The schools suffered from lack of textbooks and experienced difficulties in teaching due to unstable numbers and rapidly changing composition of students and teachers resulting from various reasons. In addition, the teaching process was burdened with important (especially from the point of view of the authorities) propaganda and ideological content, including the potential use of minority education to deepen Polonization processes among the youth. Activities aimed at the integration of minorities into Polish society were undertaken, both through the layout of the curriculum and textbooks, as well as through the number of Polish language classes within a week.

By including a view from the “outside”, that is from the side of local and central authorities (both political and educational), Barbara Techmańska’s monograph allows for noticing a high degree of interference and pressure on the implementation of top-down formulated educational policy. This approach can be seen mainly in the presentation of Polish society’s reaction (often negative) to the creation and activities of minority schools. The internal relations between various minorities in the field of education were insignificant, perhaps due to the fact that the apogee of the activity of individual nations fell at different times during the times of the PRL. For them, moreover, relations with the Polish majority were of much greater importance. In these circumstances, it would be valuable to try to draw a picture of the place minority schools had in the de facto Homogeneous post-war Polish society. However, this issue would require further research, concerning not only the minority communities.

For them, an important task of schools for national minorities was to maintain the awareness of their historical roots and to preserve the ties with their own nation among young people, born outside of Poland and already integrated into other Communities. This process takes place, as the Author writes, through the transmission of own traditions, cultural heritage, history, language, and religion. The effectiveness of this transmission depends, among other things, on the qualifications of the teaching staff and their relationship with the pupils’ family environment. However, it

cannot be ignored that in the post-war period, the teachers' professional preparation left much to be desired. Among the teachers, there were many casual people who did not have sufficient education. Both this last problem and the difficult financial situation of the teaching profession resulted in a high level of staff fluctuation in schools. It should not be forgotten that parents' perceptions of school as an educational institution varied. In the realities of a socialist school, the goals of teaching and upbringing set for pupils were often at odds with the values professed by parents.

In principle, each of the national minorities living in Lower Silesia had the opportunity, although at different times and to a different extent, to receive education in their native language. As the Author writes, this is evidenced by the schools, departments, complementary classes, or teaching centres, which, depending on the needs, provided education in national languages. The degree and quality of this teaching was determined by the number of young people of a given minority and the level of its dispersion. Interesting in this respect are the findings of the Author who showed, on the basis of archival materials, the dependence of the perception of particular nations by state and Party authorities not only on the balance of power in the country but to a much greater extent on the international situation. The Author writes that Czech schools were opened in 1947 after the signing of the Polish–Czechoslovak agreement, whereas permission to establish German institutions was given in 1950, i.e. after the signing of the Polish–East German agreement in Zgorzelec. She also stressed that schools for this minority ceased to exist, along with the “family reunification” action and with the Germans leaving for East Germany and West Germany, in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was also important that in Lower Silesia, from 1945, the Jewish population was the first to obtain permission to establish minority schools. However, when the international situation changed and the state of Israel came into being, as well as the Stalinization of the country sharpened, after 1949 all of them were nationalised and lost their autonomy. In Lower Silesia, at the peak of the development of Jewish education, there were almost 30 educational institutions, which constituted 2/3 of all Jewish educational institutions in Poland. The end of the 1960s ended the functioning of those schools. The late 1960s ended the period of functioning of These schools ceased to function in late 1960s. Only 2 Czech schools, which existed in Lower Silesia since 1947, testified about small Czech population in Poland – and both closed at the beginning of 1960s, when pupils and their parents left for Czechoslovakia or Germany.

From the moment the first groups of Greek and Macedonian refugees arrived in Poland in 1948, the authorities made attempts to organise teaching for them, but the first classes were opened only in the school year 1957/1958. They ceased to exist in the mid-1970s, after a significant number of Greeks and Macedonians left for Greece, Yugoslavia, or Bulgaria. The authorities did not grant Ukrainians permission to teach in their own language until 1952 – and only in Lower Silesia and Western Pomerania. Ukrainian schooling continued until the end of the period discussed in the book and is operating also currently, with its own secondary school (4th High School of General Education in Legnica).

This very interesting monograph provokes questions about issues less represented in the work under review – for example, the problem of ideologisation of minority education and the broader national context, related to the introduced school reforms and several changes in curricula, would be an issue worth deepening. The need to broaden our knowledge about the role and significance of educational institutions in the lives of other national minorities living in post-war Poland is also noticeable. The use of press materials to a greater extent (both from specialist periodicals and those of a general nature) could yield more information about the presence of the minority educational segment in the public sphere.

Barbara Techmańska's work convinces us of the tremendous effort made by individual ethnic and national minorities to create own education – especially because the awareness of temporariness and uncertainty often accompanied them in their actions. The factual content of the book under review fully confirms the Author's statement that "[e]ven state-controlled and supervised education has contributed to the preservation of cultural identity by representatives of particular minorities and to the acquisition of education in their own language" (p. 17). The overview of all problems and achievements of Jewish, German, Czech, Ukrainian, and Macedonian education in the perspective of the post-war half-century provided in the monograph *The Education of National Minorities in Lower Silesia in 1945–1989* is a valuable scientific undertaking. Barbara Techmańska's monograph presents an in-depth and comprehensive picture of the education of national minorities in Lower Silesia, which is very important for recent Polish historiography.



GRZEGORZ HRYCIUK

University of Wrocław

ORCID: [0000-0002-1010-8491](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1010-8491)

Mariusz Patelski, “Czujni strażnicy demokracji” ludowej. Urząd cenzury w województwie opolskim 1950–1990 [Vigilant Guards of People’s Democracy. The Censorship Office in the Opole Voivodeship 1950–1990], Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2019, pp. 426.

The monopoly of information belongs to the basis of the functioning of totalitarian systems and is an indispensable mechanism of their oppressive power. That is because it ensures concentration of the media and social persuasion in the hands of the State apparatus (or the State Party), as well as effective takeover of preventive control of information introduced into the social circulation. In the so-called People’s Poland (regardless of the closeness of its political references to the ideal totalitarian model), this role was fulfilled from 1944 by the Press Control Office, later transformed into the Supreme Office for Control of Press, Publications and Spectacles. This institution, relatively small in terms of personnel, in the period of its greatest flourishing comprising just over 300 substantive employees, exercised supervision over almost the entire cultural and scholar life in Poland, as well as over the sphere of entertainment. Due to the competences and capacity for action given to them, censors became reviewers, editors and even to some extent – behind alphanumeric symbols – anonymous and hidden co-authors of individual texts. They thus occupied an important place in the creation of the world of ideological representations, persuasions and justifications.

This extremely important role played by the censorship in post-war Poland and in other “Real Socialist” states before 1989 certainly had to have aroused the interest of historians and press experts, especially since the political breakthrough of 1989/1990, which caused it to disappear. However, there remained a certain

nimbus of secrecy surrounding this structure (which did not apply to authors who were summoned to the Office and came into direct contact with its functionaries). Its tendency at that time to remain in the shadows and to conceal its interventions has largely been maintained and is also a result of a fairly thorough action of destroying its archives. This made it difficult and sometimes impossible for researchers to gain a fuller understanding of its history and the whole range of its control activities, especially its field agencies. These problems are reflected in the present state of research and in the lack of not only a comprehensive monograph on the existence of the Supreme Office for Control of Press, Publications and Spectacles in Warsaw, but also on its voivodeship structures. That is why research works, often interesting and valuable, usually cover only a fragment of the history of particular local offices.

This makes M. Patelski's attempt to show the functioning of censorship in Opole Silesia in the years 1950–1990 all the more important and scientifically valuable. The aforementioned periods in the monograph cover the functioning of a separate Office for Control of Press, Publications and Spectacles, from the creation of the Opole Voivodeship in 1950 to the dissolution of censorship structures in Poland in 1990. This does not mean that the Author omitted censorship activities in the years 1945–1950 in the Opole region – administratively subordinated to Katowice at that time. At that time, censorship offices and agencies of the Ministry of Information and Propaganda went under the name: Voivodeship Press, Publication and Spectacles Control Office and later as Voivodeship Office for Control of Press, Publication and Spectacles, or Voivodeship Office of Information and Propaganda.

A certain substantive problem of the book is the fact that the Opole Voivodeship was created only in 1950, by detaching several poviats from the Silesian and Lower Silesian Voivodeships. Moreover, in 1975, it changed its area and boundaries as a result of the administrative reform. Therefore, the Author correctly deals in the monograph with the censorship activity in Opole Silesia within its borders in 1950–1975. For this reason, he does not write about the functioning of the censorship organs before 1950 in Brzeg, but mentions Namysłów. The issue of censorship activity in Racibórz, which found itself in the Katowice Voivodeship, was not discussed regarding the period following the reform of 1975.

The source base for the work under review is – despite the above-mentioned action of destroying the records – the materials of the Opole Press, Publications

and Spectacles Control Office, preserved in the Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw. The files of the Opole censorship were transferred to Warsaw in 1990, and it turned out, as the Author writes in the Introduction to the monograph, that despite the official “disappearance” of the documentation (or rather deliberate concealment of its traces), the majority of monthly, quarterly and semi-annual reports on the activities of the Office in Opole in the years 1951–1960 and annual reports from the years 1961–1989 survived. It transpired that the nationwide character of the censorship system made it possible to use archival materials stored in Gdańsk, Poznań and Zielona Góra, Rzeszów, as well as in the collection of the Institute of National Remembrance. The substantive content of censorship files from various regions, combined with analyses of extensive literature on the subject, enabled the Author to establish the scope and specificity of the functioning of censorship in the Polish People’s Republic at that time, both on a national and a local – Opole – scale.

The research undertaken by Mariusz Patelski deserves attention as an effective and fruitful collection of evidence of censorship activities from the resources of the Archdiocesan Archives in Opole. They concern editorial materials of the local Catholic *Wiadomości Urzędowe Kurii Biskupiej Śląska Opolskiego* [Official News of the Episcopal Curia of Opole Silesia] and *Wydawnictwo Św. Krzyża* [The Holy Cross Publishing House], whereas evidence of the simultaneous political control of the editorial staff of the local cultural monthly *Odra* and the Regional Broadcaster of the Polish Radio in Opole was provided by documents stored in the State Archives in Opole. The scope of archival searches undertaken by the Author is impressive, but other information – albeit not fundamental from the point of view of his work – could be found in the collections of the State Archives in Wrocław and the State Archives in Olsztyn. In both cases, due to the similar specificity of the area – inhabited by a significant number of native people – M. Patelski also reached for extensive literature on the subject, including studies analysing the functioning of censorship in individual periods of the Polish People’s Republic, both on a national and local scale.

The work consists of three chapters, i.e. separate parts whose narration is conducted in a chronological and chronological-thematic order. Chapter I, titled *Zanim powstało województwo opolskie* [Before the Opole Voivodeship was established], is introductory and aimed to show the genesis of censorship in the initial post-war stage of the so-called Polish People’s Republic. It concerns the creation

of field structures of the Supreme Office for Control of Press, Publications and Spectacles in the western districts of the then Silesian Voivodeship (until 1950) and the activities of the Ministry of Information and Propaganda (until 1947), when it competed with the censorship units in the sphere of publishing control.

An extensive Chapter II titled *Wojewódzki Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk w Opolu – powstanie, struktury i kadra* [Provincial Office for Control of Press, Publications and Spectacles in Opole – Establishment, Structures, and Personnel] covers the process of creating organisational foundations and the formation and functioning of the censorship office in Opole during the 40 years of its existence (from 1950 to 1990). This issue is discussed in a broader context of the scope of the activities of Supreme Office for Control of Press, Publications and Spectacles, as well as changes this institution underwent during its existence. The Author attempted a comprehensive discussion of the scope and range of censorship interference, which served not only to ration information, but also to create a kind of ideal “world of representations”, as the literature on the subject refers to the reality created by propaganda. The discrepancy between the reality and the censored image of the Polish People’s Republic is documented by the content of censorship regulations and recommendations, discussed in detail in the monograph, which, in conjunction with the instructions for censors, often in the form of large prints, now inform about the content and media forms of reality falsification and distortion. The Author’s findings are also original and valuable as they allowed for a closer characterisation of the censorship staff in Opole, especially two of them – Stanisław Dąbrowski and Eugeniusz Kanioka – who headed the Office from 1960 to 1990. These findings made it possible to show the peculiar absurdities of the history of People’s Poland, such as the inclusion, in the 1970s, of Party officials from the Provincial Office for Press, Publications and Spectacles Control in the composition of the Polish United Workers’ Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza – PZPR) Basic Party Organisation at the Creative Associations in Opole, and even electing the head censor (in 1975) the First Secretary of the Basic Party Organisation at the Creative Associations, which could almost seem like an idea borrowed from the satirical works of Sławomir Mrożek.

The last, very voluminous Chapter III deals with the activity of censorship officials in the Opole Voivodeship and provides an analytical overview of the main areas of their concern. These included: control of the daily and periodical press (especially the party newspaper *Trybuna Opolska*), censorship of non-periodical

publications, and supervision of local publications and the Catholic and religious press. In addition, detailed control was exercised over library book collections, as well as the repertoire of theatres and artistic groups or cabarets, from the State Theatre in Opole to amateur groups in communes.

The annual specificity of the city since 1963 was the National Festival of Polish Song in Opole; therefore, the Author (correctly) dealt with the characteristics of the activity of the Opole censorship also in this context. The Provincial Office in Opole was entrusted with supervision of the proper ideological and political face of the events constituting the Festival; the authorities were aware that the influence of the event extends beyond the local area. While the song contest itself did not pose any major concerns for the censorship team and entailed no problems in detecting and attempting (more or less successfully) to eliminate any ideological or moral misconduct, the Kabareton (the event during which cabaret programs are presented), which accompanied the Festival, became a serious political challenge, especially in the 1980s. Its popularity stemmed from political accents, so the activities of the Provincial Office were monitored in Warsaw and assessed by the highest party and state authorities. One could get the impression that in those circumstances, for a short time, Opole became the capital of Polish song, including political and artistic one, subject to the vigilance of the local censors.

Mariusz Patelski tried to capture and highlight the specificity of the Opole censorship activities, which – due to the ethnic composition and historical experiences of the Opole Silesian population – manifested itself in a particular sensitivity to any content concerning the autochthonous (native) population and German issues. Censors in Opole were equally scrupulous in searching for “harmful content” in the provincial organ of the PZPR, *Trybuna Opolska*, as well as in the publications of the Episcopal Curia of Opole Silesia, i.e. weekly magazines *Katolik* (1954–1961) and *Niedziela*, the latter published in Częstochowa (1981–1990), but printed in Opole. Manifestations of “dissidence, opposition, and anti-Sovietism” were tracked down in them.

In this context, it should be added that the local censorship team, weak in terms of expertise, was generally unprepared for this politically responsible role. Nevertheless, it was also burdened with releasing for publication or banning scientific and scholar texts, including historical ones. With reference to these commitments, it should be noted that the monograph lacks information on the selection criteria of censorship employees, including their knowledge of foreign languages – especially

German. This matter was important, taking into account the specificity of the area in which they operated and the rank of the tasks to which they were engaged, including the inspection of book collections and the search for the presence in them of “forbidden works” in German. There were also other shortcomings in the source material which prevented Mariusz Patelski from characterising the activities of the censors in the periods of the well-known crisis events of the Polish People’s Republic, when the “protection of state secrets” was strengthened. For this reason, it was not possible to discuss the social range and methods of operation of the so-called *poviat plenipotentiaries* of the Office, which functioned until the administrative reform in 1975.

The title of the monograph *Vigilant Guards of People’s Democracy. The Censorship Office in the Opole Voivodeship 1950–1990* seems appropriate and adequate for the activities of its staff. The Author has successfully undertaken the equally ambitious as well as difficult task of reconstructing the history of the censorship office in Opole and characterising its activities. The ideological vigilance of the office was institutional and specific, concentrated in a small group of people nestling in a few rooms of the city’s offices. During the 40 years of Office’s existence in Opole, it changed its headquarters five times, constituting only 2% of the apparatchiks from the army of functionaries of political and ideological struggle serving the Polish People’s Republic. Compared to the Central Office and even some of its local branches, e.g., in Wrocław and Katowice, Opole could seem a marginal unit. However, it had its political value in the fact that it exercised control over an area where the problem of the native population was particularly evident. After 1963, due to the significance of several June days and nights, when Opole became the centre of national stage life, the local unit of censorship also probably gained in importance.

Despite the scarcity of local archival materials and the resulting information gaps concerning the Censorship Office in Opole, Mariusz Patelski has done his best to fill them. The result is an important and very interesting work about an oppressive political system, outlining the functioning of a crucial institution in the sphere of propaganda and politics of the time. Although it remained in the shadow of the extensive structures of the security apparatus, it was an extremely important and effective tool for controlling society and consolidating the omnipotence of the Party-State.



LATEST PUBLICATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF SILESIA

Prepared by: Wojciech Mrozowicz
Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego
ORCID: [0000-0002-4407-0698](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4407-0698)

Atlas Górnego Śląska 1919–1922. Wybór źródeł kartograficznych, oprac. Grzegorz Bębnik, Michał Mączka, Sebastian Rosenbaum, Mirosław Węcki, Warszawa–Katowice: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej. Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu. Oddział w Katowicach, 2022, ss. 21, 80 map, teka.

Bergemann Johann Gottfried, *Opisanie i dzieje miasta Mirska na Śląsku*, cz. 1: *Od zarania dziejów do roku 1740*, przeł. Marcin Wawrzyńczak, Chromiec: Wydawnictwo Wielka Izera, 2023, ss. 342, ill. (wydanie niemieckie: 1829).

Bębnik Grzegorz, Rosenbaum Sebastian, Węcki Mirosław, *Wojciech Korfanty*, Katowice: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu. Oddział w Katowicach, 2023, ss. 88, ill.

Bonek Tomasz, *Komando śmierci. Ostatnia tajemnica KL Gross-Rosen i Kloster Leubus*, Kraków: Znak Horyzont, 2023, ss. 367, ill.

Bulsa Michał, *Patronackie osiedla robotnicze*, t. 1: *Górny Śląsk*, Łódź: Księży Młyn Dom Wydawniczy, 2022, ss. 303, ill.

Cebulla Jerzy (Georg), *Zamki, pałace i dworki szlacheckie na Górnym Śląsku*, Bycina: Jerzy (Georg) Cebulla, 2023, ss. 181, ill.

Chorzów, t. 5: *W Polsce Ludowej (1945–1989)*, red. Jacek Kurek, Marek Masnyk, Chorzów: Muzeum Hutnictwa w Chorzowie, 2023, ss. 853, ill.

Dziedzictwo i misja Kościoła opolskiego. Wielkopostne wykłady otwarte 2022 – w roku jubileuszu 50. rocznicy ustanowienia diecezji opolskiej, red. Konrad

- Glombik, Opole: Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2022 (Z *Dziejów Kultury Chrześcijańskiej na Śląsku*, 115), ss. 214.
- Dziedzictwo kulturowe szlachty ziemi głogowskiej*, Głogów: Muzeum Archeologiczno-Historyczne w Głogowie, 2023, ss. 108, ill. (wydawnictwo towarzyszące wystawie).
- Dziedzictwo wydawnicze TPNP, TNL i WTN 1901–2022*, red. Grażyna Potężny, Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2022, ss. 124, ill.
- Gabrowski Marian, *Gmina Polkowice na mapach Ludwiga Wilhelma Reglera [zm. 1792]*, Polkowice: nakład własny autora, 2023, ss. 77, ill.
- Garbal Witold, *W 100. rocznicę utworzenia I Dzielnicy Związku Polaków w Niemczech. Informator wystawy*, Opole: Muzeum Śląska Opolskiego, 2023, ss. 16, ill.
- Gąsior Mariusz, *380 dni służby w świetle dokumentów. Wojska brytyjskie w Tarnowskich Górach w okresie powstań śląskich i plebiscytu / 380 days of service in the light of existing documentation. British troops in Tarnowskie Góry during the Silesian Uprisings and the plebiscite*, tłum. Rafał Drewniak, Tarnowskie Góry: Stowarzyszenie Miłośników Ziemi Tarnogórskiej, 2022, ss. 106, ill.
- Granica 1920 na ziemi wschowskiej i pograniczu wielkopolsko-śląskim*, red. Marta Małkus, Kamila Szymańska, Wschowa–Leszno: Stowarzyszenie Czas A.R.T., Muzeum Okręgowe, 2022, ss. 431, ill.
- Grzegorzycza Adam, *120 lat Kopalni „Knurów”*, Knurów: Jastrzębska Spółka Węglowa S. A. KWK „Knurów-Szczygłowiec”, 2023, ss. 110, ill.
- Hahn Jan, *Śląsk magiczny. Puszcze, knieje, lasy, drzewa. Fascynujące drzewa, zadziwiające puszcze, urokliwe uroczyska*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Kos, 2022, ss. 506, ill.
- Ein historischer Akt. 30 Jahre Vertrag über die Bestätigung der deutsch-polnischen Grenze an Oder und Lausitzer Neiße*, hrsg. von Jan Barcz, Krzysztof Ruchniewicz, übers. von Jan Obermeier, Wrocław–Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, 2022, ss. 117, ill.

- Hlavienka Lubomír, Kolář Ondřej, *Sbor národní bezpečnosti ve Slezsku a jeho podíl na řešení poválečných problémů regionu 1945–1948*, Opava: Slezské zemské muzeum, 2022, ss. 125, ill.
- Jan z Głogowa, *Wprowadzenie do Traktatu o sferze Johna z Hollywood*, oprac. Robert K. Zawadzki, Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, 2023 (Biblioteka Długosza, 5), ss. 444, ill.
- Jaworski Eugeniusz, *Człowiek, przedmiot, reguła. Studium kultury budowania na Górnym Śląsku*, podała do druku Ewa Kosowska, Katowice: Śląsk, 2022, ss. 256, ill.
- Kałuska Joanna, *Załęska Hałda i Osiedle Witosa w Katowicach. Zarys dziejów*, Katowice: Muzeum Historii Katowic, Śląskie Centrum Wolności i Solidarności, 2022, ss. 179, ill.
- Kawiarnia Artystyczna Pod Kalamburem Art Café. 40 lat*, red. Łukasz Plata, Wrocław: Ośrodek Kultury i Sztuki we Wrocławiu, Fundacja Kalambur, Fundacja Na Rzecz Kultury i Edukacji, 2022, ss. 266, ill.
- Konflikt, stabilizacja, asymilacja? Konsekwencje migracji w życiu mieszkańców Dolnego Śląska po 1945 roku. Ujęcie komparatystyczne*, red. Magdalena Gibiec, Robert Klementowski, Wojciech Kucharski, Marek Szajda, Wrocław: Ośrodek „Pamięć i Przyszłość”, Oddział Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej. Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu we Wrocławiu, 2022, ss. 585, ill.
- Krajczok Jan, *Gmina Kornowac. Widoki z przeszłości. W oparciu o monografie ks. A. Weltzla i L. Musioła oraz inne źródła historyczne*, Krzyżanowice–Kornowac: Oficyna Halegg, 2023, ss. 277, ill.
- Kronika miasta Ząbkowic Śląskich i Księstwa Ziębickiego*, przeł. z niem. Sobiesław Nowotny, oprac. i wstęp Kamil Pawłowski, Kraków–Ząbkowice Śląskie: Wydawnictwo Księgarnia Akademicka, 2023, ss. 311, ill.
- Kurpiers Dorota, Fikus Sebastian, *Bernhard Bogedain. Joseph von Eichendorff Konversationsroman*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2022, ss. 242, ill.
- Kwaśny Irena, *Skąd ci Włosi? O renesansowej i nie tylko architekturze cieszyńskiej rynku*, Cieszyn: nakład własny autorki, 2023, ss. 287, ill.

- Lenard Mieczysław OFM, *Kościół w Krynicznie. 75 lat posługi franciszkanów*, Opole: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Świętego Krzyża, 2022, ss. 423, ill.
- Ligarski Sebastian, Majchrzak Grzegorz, Węgrzyniak Rafał, *Nie samym teatrem. Teatr niezależny we Wrocławiu 1983–1987*, wstęp Kazimierz Braun, Warszawa: Instytut Teatralny im. Zbigniewa Raszeńskiego, 2022, ss. 96, ill.
- Linek Bernard, *Niemcy wobec Górnego Śląska (1918–1922). Szkice historyczne*, Opole: Instytut Śląski, 2022, ss. 305, ill.
- Łaborewicz Ivo, Szczerepa Wojciech, *Ratusze w cieniu Karkonoszy*, Jelenia Góra: Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu. Oddział w Jeleniej Górze, 2022, ss. 136, ill.
- Malicki Jan, *Dzieje Wydziału Filologicznego Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach (1973–2019)*, Katowice: Śląsk, 2023, ss. 213, ill.
- Nowosielska-Sobel Joanna, Strauchold Grzegorz, Czaja Dariusz Andrzej, *Kraina pól malowanych i bogatych złóż miedzi. Powojenne dzieje gminy Żukowice*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo eBooki.com.pl, 2023 (Historia Obok. Studia z Dziejów Lokalnych, 19), ss. 614, ill. (też on-line: <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/146875/edition/141301?language=pl>)
- Opavští Přemyslovci v dějinách a kultuře / Opawscy Przemysłidzi w dziejach i kulturze*, ed. Bogusław Czechowicz, Ilona Matejko-Peterka, Bogdan Kloch, Jerzy Sperka, Opawa–Katowice: Slezská univerzita v Opavě, Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach, 2022 (Opavská historická sympozia, 2), ss. 429, ill.
- Ormańczyk Aneta & Inessa, *O rycerzach, śmiertelnych intrygach i bajecznych majątkach. Zaskakujące historie ziemi średzkiej*, Środa Śląska: Gmina Środa Śląska, Demarczyk.com, 2022, ss. 206, ill.
- Panorama Raclawicka. Idea, kontekst, współczesność*, red. Romuald Nowak, Piotr Oszczanowski, Beata Stragierowicz, Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe, 2023, ss. 207, ill.
- Paruzel Przemysław, Stolarczyk Tomasz, *Bonus Campus, czyli Poszukiwania pola bitwy z 1241 roku. Katalog znalezisk*, Legnica: Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy, [2021], ss. 54, ill.
- Patalas Waclaw, *Opowieść o Wojcieszowie*, Łódź: Księży Młyn Dom Wydawniczy Michał Koliński, 2022, ss. 416, ill.

- Patschovsky Wilhelm, *Przewodnik po Lubawce i okolicy*, przeł., przedmową i przypisami opatrzył Marian Gabrowski, Polkowice: Marian Gabrowski, 2023, ss. 124, ill. (oryginał: *Führer durch Liebau i. Schles. und Umgebung*, 1925).
- Piaristé na Moravě a ve Slezsku. *Průvodce po lokalitách*, ed. Miroslav Myšák, Olomouc: Muzeum umění Olomouc, 2022, ss. 199, ill.
- Piecuch Joachim, *Reformacja na Śląsku w epoce Habsburgów i jej polityczne uwikłania*, Opole: Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego UO, 2023 (Z *Dziejów Kultury Chrześcijańskiej na Śląsku*, 120), ss. 220.
- Pielgrzymki Józefa Goja do Ziemi Świętej w 1902 i 1905 roku. *Edycja tekstów źródłowych. Studia i materiały*, red. Jerzy Myszor, Katowice: WueM, 2023 (*Źródła do Dziejów Kościoła Katolickiego na Górnym Śląsku*, 33), ss. 228.
- Polak Jerzy, *Poczet panów i książąt pszczyńskich*, t. 1–2, wyd. 2., popr. i uzupełn., Pszczyna: Muzeum Zamkowe w Pszczynie, 2022, ss. 463, 444, ill.
- Polonika wśród listów z zasobu dokumentowego dawnego archiwum miejskiego we Wrocławiu. *Katalog (do 1506 roku)*, oprac. Mateusz Goliński, Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2022 (*Folia Jagellonica. Fontes*, 6), ss. XII, 111.
- Powrót księcia. *Wokół portretu Guida Henckel von Donnersmarcka. Praca zbiorowa*, red. Marek Panuś, Tarnowskie Góry: Muzeum w Tarnowskich Górach, 2022, ss. 272, ill.
- Poźniak Grzegorz, *Johann Mathias Vinzenz Haas (1812–1899). Działalność organmistrzowska na Opolszczyźnie. Studium źródłoznawcze na podstawie zbiorów Archiwum Państwowego w Opolu*, Opole: Sindruk-DIMK, Diecezjalny Instytut Muzyki Kościelnej, 2023 (*Opoliensis Musica Ecclesiastica*, 11), ss. 292, ill.
- Primke Robert, *Kierunek Żagań. Przemków – Szprotawa – Żagań 1945*, [Kraków]: Ridero, 2023, ss. 43, ill. (też jako e-book).
- Rodak Jan, *Stara Wieś. U zarania osady oraz parafii pw. Podwyższenia Krzyża Świętego (in loco). Zarys monograficzny na tle dziejów ziemi oświęcimskiej oraz pogranicza śląsko-malopolskiego w średniowieczu*, cz. 1, Kraków: Wydawnictwo „scriptum”, 2022, ss. 487, ill.

- Rusnak-Kozłowska Agata, *Gotyckie kaplice przykościelne na Dolnym Śląsku. Fundator – funkcja – forma*, Wrocław: Yellow Point Publication, 2023, ss. 360, ill.
- Ryguś Piotr, *Tragedia górnicza w kopalni „Donnersmarckhuettengrube” („Abwehr”) w Mikulczycach z 1923 roku*, Zabrze: Wydawnictwo Illustris, 2023 (Tragedia Górnicza), ss. 48, ill.
- Schodami do góry. *Historie z Maciejówki*, red. Maciej Pichlak, Wrocław: 2rybypl, 2023, ss. 346, ill.
- Skarb srebrny z X wieku z Czarnkowa pod Legnicą / A tenth-century silver hoard from Czarnków near Legnica*, red. Borys Paszkiewicz, Tomasz Stolarczyk, Legnica–Wrocław: Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy, Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2022 (Bibliotheca Nummaria Leopoldina, 4), ss. 290, ill.
- Sobczyński Andrzej, *Lewin Kłodzki w dziejach trzech kultur*, Lewin Kłodzki–Płock: Gmina Lewin Kłodzki, R2 Print Adam Rytter, 2023, ss. 224, ill.
- Sobel Grzegorz, *Jarmark bożonarodzeniowy w dawnym Wrocławiu*, Łódź: Księża Młyn Dom Wydawniczy, 2022, ss. 327, ill.
- Štemberka Otto, Zahradník Pavel, *Cesty Vlachu. Mysterium Antonia z Florencie. Středověké rukopisy z počátků osídlování Krkonoš, Jizerských hor; Lužických hor a Jeseníků*, Vrchlábí: Green Mango, 2022, ss. 213, ill.
- Suma Tomasz, *Widoki Wrocławia. Katalog zbiorów dawnej pocztówki*, Wrocław: Muzeum Poczty i Telekomunikacji we Wrocławiu, 2023 (Pocztówki. Katalog Zbiorów, 2), ss. 259, ill.
- Szklarska Poręba na dawnej fotografii / Szklarska Poręba auf alten Fotos / Szklarska Poręba in an old photography*, red. Janusz Jaremen, Łukasz Kwietnicki, Julita Izabela Zaprucka, tłum. Iza Liwacz, Magdalena Mucowska, Jelenia Góra: Muzeum Karkonoskie, 2023, ss. 103, ill.
- Szybkowski Bogusław, *Fotografowie na Śląsku Opolskim w latach 1839–1944*, z. 1–8, A–P, Opole: Wydawnictwo MS, 2022, ss. 24, 44, 28, 20, 39, 40, 48, 24, ill.
- Szymik Konrad, „*Takich jak on na Śląsku był legion, większość z nich bezimienni to bohaterowie*”. *Pamiętnik Górnolęzaka*, wyb. i oprac. Krzysztof Kleszcz,

- Justyna Sowińska, Opole: Instytut Śląski, Archiwum Państwowe, 2022, ss. 178, ill.
- Śliż Jan, Musiolik Jolanta, Szotek Robert, *Jubileusz 800-lecia Iskrzyczyna* [pow. cieszyński], Iskrzyczyn: Sołectwo Iskrzyczyn, 2023, ss. 138, ill.
- Tak było. Turystyka studencka w środowisku wrocławskim* [w latach 1957–1983], red. Kazimiera Anioł, Nina Walny, Krzysztof Nowak, Wrocław: Fundacja Ogólnopolskiej Komisji Historycznej Ruchu Studenckiego, 2023, ss. 408, ill.
- Trzos Agnieszka, *Sarkofagi cynowe z grobów królewskich na Wawelu oraz mauzoleów rodzin Promnitzów w Pszczynie i Hochbergów w Świebodzicach. Konserwacja i restauracja, technika, technologia...*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2023, ss. 306, ill.
- Vogl Gero, *Klein-Wien – Eine deutsche Sprachinsel in Österreichisch Schlesien. Bielitz und sein letzter deutscher evangelischer Pfarrer*, Berlin: Frank & Timme GmbH, 2023, ss. 126 (też jako pdf).
- Weiß-Kobayashi Brigitte, *Friedrich Sadebeck – ein Schlesischer Baumwollspinner. Historisches Sachbuch als Roman*, Dülmen: Laumann-Verlag, 2023, ss. 216, ill.
- Wierne Miłości. Beatyfikacja siostry M. Paschalis Jahn i dziewięciu Towarzyszek ze Zgromadzenia Sióstr św. Elżbiety / Fedeli all'Amore. Beatificazione di suor M. Paschalis Jahn e nove Compagne della Congregazione delle Suore di Santa Elisabetta / Der Liebe treu. Seligsprechung von Schwester M. Paschalis Jahn und neun Gafahrtinnen aus der Kongregation der Schwestern von der hl. Elisabeth*, oprac. Rafał Kowalski, Michał Mraczek, Wrocław: Tum Wydawnictwo Wrocławskiej Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej, 2023, ss. 189, ill.
- Witecki Jacek, *Żydowska dusza. Skarby Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej we Wrocławiu*, Wrocław: Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska, 2022, ss. 223, ill.
- Wizyta Jana Pawła II we Wrocławiu w 1983 r.*, oprac. Adam Szymanowski, Wrocław: Adam Szymanowski, 2023, ss. 88, ill.
- Wolsza Kazimierz Marek, *Filozofia w opolskim środowisku teologicznym w latach 1949–2021*, Opole: Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2022 (Z Dziejów Kultury Chrześcijańskiej na Śląsku, 112), ss. 782.

- Wroński Marek, *Tarnowskie Góry 26 czerwca 1922 roku. W 100. rocznicę przyłączenia części Górnego Śląska do Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (1922–2022)*, Tarnowskie Góry: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Tarnogórskiego i Muzeum Instytutu Tarnogórskiego, 2022 (Zeszyty Tarnogórskie, 85), ss. 119, ill.
- Z(a) miedzią, oprac. wystawy i tekstu foldera Renata Matysiak, Aleksander Dobrowolski Elżbieta Wróblewska, Paweł Litwinienko, Głogów: Muzeum Archeologiczno-Historyczne w Głogowie, 2023, ss. 52, ill.
- Ziątkowski Leszek, *Żydowska dusza. Ha-neshmah ha-yehudit. Życie Żydów we Wrocławiu przedmiotami dokumentowane. Artefakty ze skarbca wrocławskiej gminy żydowskiej opowiadają o miejscach i ludziach*, Wrocław: Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska we Wrocławiu, 2022, ss. 132, ill.
- Zieliński Wojciech, *Stulecie Domu Tekstylnego Weichmanna w Gliwicach według projektu Ericha Mendelsohna / Hundert Jahre des Bestehens des Seidenhauses Weichmann in Gleiwitz aufgrund des Projekts von Erich Mendelsohn*, übers. von Irena Machura, Gliwice–Opole: Dom Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej, 2022, ss. 64, ill.
- Ziemia wodzisławska dziś i 100 lat temu*, red. Artur Marcisz, Arkadiusz Gruchot, Rafał Jabłoński, Racibórz: Wydawnictwo Nowiny, 2023, ss. 129, ill.
- Zmierzch epoki tytoniu. Kolekcja Marka Stanielewicza + fajka Adama Mickiewicza ze zbiorów Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu. Ossolineum, od 13 maja do 31 lipca 2022 roku*, Wrocław: Galeria Miejska we Wrocławiu, 2022, ss. 100, ill.

SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS

Słowo wstępne	5
ARTYKUŁY I STUDIA MATERIAŁOWE / ARTICLES AND STUDIES	
Paweł Jaworski, Teresa Kulak, From the past of the University of Wrocław (Outline of the history of the University up to 1945 and during the post-war years).....	7
Marek Zybura, Wrocław's cultural heritage in the city's historical policy...	31
Marcin Wodziński, Wojciech Tworek, Wrocław Jewish studies after the World War II	51
Joanna Wojdon, Public history entering Poland	73
Wanda Musiałik, Polish historiography on Silesia in the first two decades of the 21 st century.....	91
ARTYKUŁY RECENZYJNE I RECENZJE / REVIEWS	
Paweł Jaworski, Adriana Merta-Staszczak, <i>Niechciane dziedzictwo. Nie-ruchomości zabytkowe na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1989</i> , [Unwanted heritage. Historical properties in Lower Silesia in the years 1945–1989], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR, 2018, pp. 394	111
Bernard Linek, Adriana Dawid, <i>Niepolskie Opolskie. Władze polityczne i administracyjne oraz aparat bezpieczeństwa wobec proniemieckich postaw mieszkańców województwa opolskiego (1950–1956)</i> [Non-Polish Opolskie. Political and administrative authorities and the security apparatus towards pro-German attitudes of the inhabitants of the Opole Voivodeship (1950–1956)], Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2020 (Studia i Monografie, 585), pp. 630	116
Karol Sanojca, Barbara Techmańska, <i>Szkolnictwo mniejszości narodowych na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1989</i> [Education of national minorities in Lower Silesia in the years 1945–1989], Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2019, pp. 379	126
Grzegorz Hryciuk, Mariusz Patelski, "Czujni strażnicy demokracji" ludowej. <i>Urząd cenzury w województwie opolskim 1950–1990</i> [Vigilant Guards of People's Democracy. The Censorship Office in the Opole Voivodeship 1950–1990], Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2019, pp. 426.....	131
Wojciech Mrozowicz, Latest publications on the history of Silesia	137

ŚLĄSKI KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY SOBÓTKA

Informacja o kwartalniku

Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny „Sobótka” wydawany jest we Wrocławiu od 1946 r., początkowo jako półrocznik i rocznik pod tytułem „Sobótka”, a od roku 1957 jako kwartalnik pod obecnym tytułem. Należy do najstarszych w Polsce regionalnych czasopism naukowych o profilu historycznym, pozostając ważnym elementem polskiej humanistyki. Uchodzi za jeden z najważniejszych periodyków śląskoznawczych, ale jego łamy pozostają otwarte również na materiały o innym zakresie tematycznym. Służy prezentacji wyników badań nad dziejami Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej – ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska, sąsiednich regionów i krajów, zarazem refleksji nt. dziejów regionalnych. Przez wiele lat pismo znajdowało się w gestii Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Miłośników Historii (Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego), obecnie ukazuje się pod auspicjami Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. Dodatkowe informacje o czasopiśmie znajdują się na stronie: <http://sobotka.uni.wroc.pl>, na której można znaleźć jego bieżące i archiwalne numery.

Na łamach „Śląskiego Kwartalnika Historycznego Sobótka” publikowane są materiały (rozprawy, artykuły, miscellanea źródłowe, recenzje, polemiki i inne) w językach polskim, czeskim oraz kongresowych. Materiały należy nadsyłać drogą elektroniczną na adres redakcji: skh.sobotka@uwr.edu.pl. Składane teksty należy przygotowywać według instrukcji znajdującej się na stronie: <http://sobotka.uni.wroc.pl>. Nadsyłane teksty są recenzowane przez dwie osoby wskazane przez Redakcję i na tej podstawie kwalifikowane do druku. Procedura recenzowania jest opisana na wyżej wymienionej stronie internetowej. Redakcja zastrzega sobie prawo do proponowania zmian lub skrótów w tekstach.

e-ISSN 2658-2082

PL ISSN 0037-7511