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# Transformations of Regional History in the Polish “Western Territories” since 1945: Legitimization, Nationalization, Regionalization

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## ABSTRACT

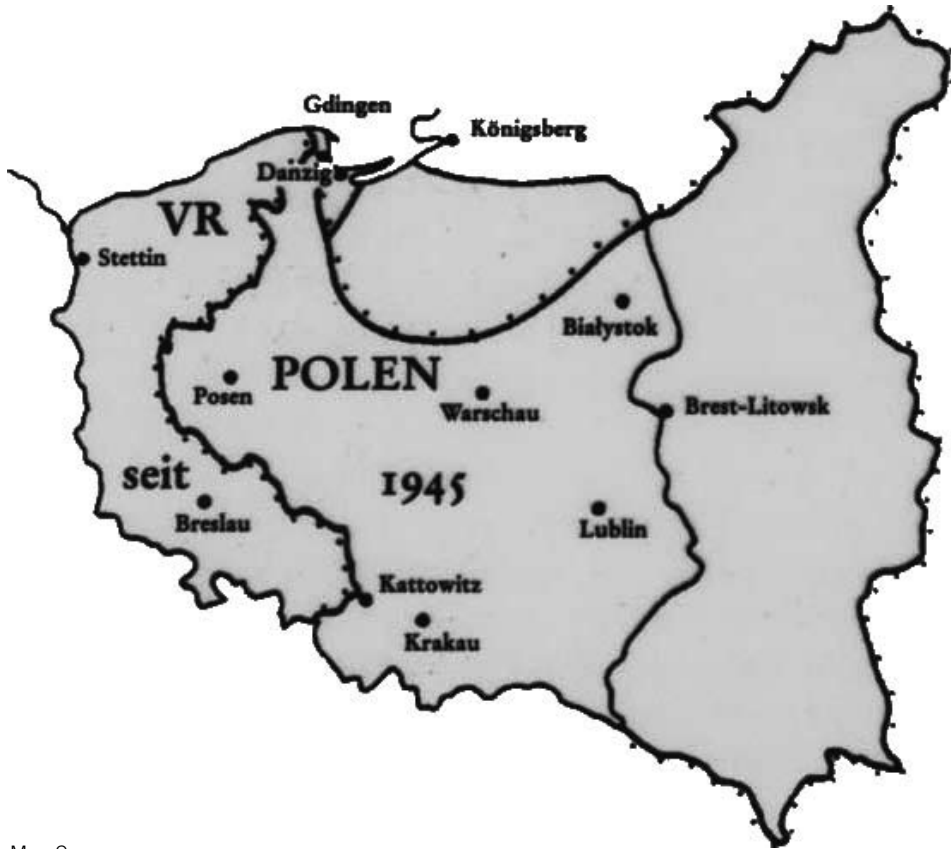
The present chapter analyses developments in Polish historiography in the regions which were incorporated into the Polish state after the Second World War (Outer Pomerania, Silesia, parts of East Prussia, and others). The “historical character” of these territories had, since the 19th century, been disputed by Germans and Poles. After 1945 the central task of Polish historical work there was to legitimate the new territorial changes, to prove that the lands concerned had always been Polish. In the 1950s and 1960s, large syntheses of their past began to be conceptually prepared, discussed and later also published, accompanied by a rapid development of monographic research. Especially in the 1970s and 1980s, the previous orientation towards Polonity and Polishness in the past receded into the background, and the formation of a new Polish regional history or *Landesgeschichte* took place. Since the 1990s, such features as the ‘European’ or ‘multicultural’ character of the territories have been emphasised.

*Príspevek sa zabyvá formováním a vývojem polské historiografie na tzv. “znovuzískaných zemích” od roku 1945, tj. na těch dříve německých územích, která se v důsledku druhé světové války stala součástí polského státu (Slezsko, Kladsko, části Lužice, Lubušsko, Zadní Pomořany, Pomoří, Varmie, Mazursko). Předmětem zájmu jsou jak cíle a úkoly historiografie v souvislosti s politickými a teritoriálními změnami, tak i základní rysy vývoje metodologie, konceptualizací, tematických preferencí a institucionálních podmínek. Pozornost je přitom věnována nejen samotné historiografii, ale částečně také politické legitimizaci prostřednictvím dějin, historické popularizaci, veřejnému a kulturnímu traktování historie, historické paměti a politice paměti. Základní rys dlouhodobého vývoje v perspektivě padesáti let po druhé světové válce je spatřován v cestě od politické a historické legitimizace připojení jmenovaných zemí k Polsku přes postupné etablování národně orientovaných regionálních a zemských dějin Pomořan, Slezska atd. až po multikulturalizaci a europeizaci historického dědictví v 90. letech 20. sto-*

letí. Přitom jsou rozlišeny čtyři základní fáze. V první, bezprostředně na konci druhé světové války a v nejbližích poválečných měsících, byly položeny institucionální základy polské historické práce a cíleně připraveny první stručné publikace o polském charakteru minulosti těchto zemí, regionů a měst. Od konce 40. let lze sledovat orientaci na plánovanou historiografickou práci formou monografií, přičemž vůdčí ideou a hlavně centrální tematickou orientaci stále představovalo zapojení sledovaných oblastí do kontextu (celo)polských národních a státních dějin. Polský charakter minulosti a polonita jako předmět studia a východisko zůstávaly nadále markantními, i když ne vždy a za všech okolností zcela dominujícími rysy. Zároveň byly zahájeny přípravné práce a konceptualizace budoucích rozsáhlých syntéz dějin zemí a měst, doprovázené institucionálním rozvojem. Od konce 60. do 80. let pak lze pozorovat částečný ústup primárně národní a zejména legitimizační perspektivy, a to jak v souvislosti s monografickými studii, tak i v kontextu dlouhodobé realizace obsáhlých syntézních záměrů (dějiny Pomořan, Gdaňsku aj.). Do popředí tak silněji vstoupila dříve přehlížená témata německé kultury apod., zároveň však se posilovala orientace na dějiny daného regionu bez prioritního použití národně dějinné perspektivy. Dějiny těchto regionů se tak do určité míry začaly osvobozovat od národního narativu, takže lze nejpozději pro 80. léta mluvit o formování pomořanských, pomořských či slzeských zemských dějin jako oboru. Od 90. let pak v souvislosti s novými politickými, společenskými a kulturními jevy nastal zejména v oblasti politické a intelektuální reflexe dějin, ale i v samotné historiografii obrat k hodnotám multi-kulturality a evropanství, jež pak byly nacházeny také v minulosti regionů a měst jako jejich určující motivy. Zvláště markantním způsobem se tento trend projevil v Gdaňsku, ve Varmii a Mazursku, částečně ale i ve Štětíně, Slezsku, Vratislavi a jinde.

One of the most important territorial changes after the Second World War was the ‘Westward Shift’ of Poland. For the loss of its pre-war eastern territories, partly or predominantly Ukrainian, Belorussian or Lithuanian, to the Soviet Union, in the post-war settlement Poland was compensated with western territory. Predominantly German-speaking regions in south-eastern Prussia (Masuria, Warmia), Danzig/Gdańsk, eastern Pomerania, the Lebus Country (Lebuser Land, *ziemia lubuska*), Silesia, parts of Lusatia and the Glatz Country (Glatzer Land, *ziemia kłodzka*) in the south became Polish. These regions were formally transferred to Poland by the 1945 Treaty of Potsdam<sup>1</sup>, and have gained acceptance both internally and by the international community as integral parts of the Polish state. As recently as 1990, in the context of German reunification, the Federal Republic of Germany formally acknowledged the post-war Polish-German frontiers, along the rivers Neisse (Nysa Łużycka) and Oder (Odra), from Zittau to Wisłoujście. Thus international recognition of the “Western Territories” as Polish has been asserted definitively.

The incorporation of the new western territories was accompanied by large-scale population change, amid a drive by the state to impose a Polish identity on the areas. Many of



Map 9

Poland's 'Shift to the West' after 1945.

The continuous black line marks the post-World War II boundaries; the eastern and western boundaries between World War I and II are marked with dotted lines.

From: R. Fuhrmann, *Polen: Handbuch. Geschichte, Politik, Wirtschaft*, Hannover 1990, p. 183.

the indigenous, predominantly German-speaking inhabitants, had fled or been killed in the last months of the war: most, however, were transferred to Germany in the months and years after the war. At the same time, “repatriations” of Soviet and Polish citizens took place, with Poles from the east of the country – now ceded to the Soviet Union – re-settled in former German-speaking western regions, along with a sizeable contingent of Poles from central Poland. In the western areas, new local societies were gradually formed. A long-term process of re-socialising peoples of various languages and dialects, origins, cultures and traditions, confessions and outlooks took place – often tense and complicated by shifts in the state’s ideological, social and religious agendas<sup>2</sup>.

Germans and Poles were not the only national groups affected by post-war political and demographic changes. A large group of Ukrainians was violently transferred and

settled in northern Poland as a result of the so-called Action Vistula in 1946, an attempt to forestall nationalist resistance in south-eastern Ukraine. However, acquiring western territory proved easier than imposing a uniform sense of Polish identity. There remained a heterogeneous contingent of native inhabitants that to this day remain difficult to define in ethnic or even national terms. The autochthonous population included some Germans who had not (yet) been ejected, Poles, and other Slavs with a less developed sense of Polish identity – referring to themselves as Warmians, Masurians, Kashubians, Slovincs, Silesians, or even *Wasserpolaks* (in Upper Silesia, an initially negative designation). These groups were either forced to move to Germany, or were subjected to so-called “repolonization”<sup>3</sup>. This latter policy was based on the idea that large parts of the population in these regions were Germanized Slavs who had lost their Polish consciousness, adopted German or Polish dialects as a result of centuries of ‘foreign’ rule – but still had the potential to reawaken their Polish identity. It was not always successful; and as a result migration from Poland continued in the 1950s to the 1970s. Thus, for several decades, an exodus of ethnically-specific and ambiguous groups took place, which resulted in the extinction of groups like the Warmians, Masurians and Slovincs from northern Poland. Only the Kashubians succeeded in defending their ethnic identity and redeveloping it to embrace both ethnic and territorial aspects, particularly after 1956. The survival and new identification trends among the two groups of German-speaking and Polish-speaking Silesians, especially in the Opole region, remained evident as late as the 1980s and 1990s<sup>4</sup>.

#### PRE-HISTORY: NATIONALIZATION OF HISTORY SINCE THE 19TH CENTURY

The Polish-German struggle over the ‘historical’ character of Poland’s post-war western acquisitions was almost as old as the process of nationalization which took place in these regions from the 19th century. It was more pronounced in those regions with significant contingents of both Germans and Poles, and where there was a vigorous Polish elite: above all in Greater Poland (*Wielkopolska*), with its centre in Poznań, and in Western Prussia with Gdańsk, Toruń and other cities, and gradually also in Silesia or later Masuria, but rather less in Outer Pomerania, Lebus or Glatz Country. Disputes on the structure of the population and the cultural character of the lands were accompanied by attempts to prove the corresponding “historical character” of regions and cities. This tendency deepened significantly in the inter-war period. During the Versailles Conference, which was to settle the Polish-German frontier, both sides advanced historical arguments in support of their competing demands. Professional Polish and German historians, geographers and sociologists issued brief statements in English or French in order to achieve this. Scholarly disputes continued in the 1920s and 1930s<sup>5</sup>. Institutions were founded with the task of proving Polish territorial claims. The most important of these were the Silesian Institute at Katowice (*Instytut Śląski*, founded 1934) and the Baltic Institute at

Toruń (Instytut Bałtycki, founded 1925, opened 1927; from 1931 also in Gdynia), the task of which was to document the Polishness of the relevant regions.

Popular societies – similar to the groups which sought to mobilise support in the West for Poland in 1944–45 – were also active in the inter-war period. As early as 1921 and 1922, as the Polish and German states competed for Upper Silesia, the Union for the Defence of the Western Borderlands (*Związek Obrony Kresów Zachodnich*) was founded. It called for the legitimization of the Polish western borders as well as the “repolonization” of the borderlands’ population. Renamed the Polish Western Union in 1934, branches of the society sprang up across the country. On the eve of the Second World War, the Union boasted 45,000 members.

In academia, so-called “Western Studies” became an important part of inter-war Polish national scholarship – its preoccupation with asserting the Polish character of disputed territory made it an official school of thought in science and politics after the foundation of the Polish Republic. It was not a regional perspective: Western Studies was supposed to reinforce the interests and claims of the greater Polish state and nation. Toruń historians were severely criticised at the Polish Historians’ Congress in Warsaw in 1930 because of their regional and local interests<sup>6</sup>. Polish Western Studies, formulated in the 1920s and 1930s, was to be influential in the period after 1945.

## HISTORICAL JUSTIFICATIONS AFTER 1945

After the Second World War the Polish state needed to legitimize her western annexations. Generally, both natural and positivist modes of argumentation have been used to cast the annexations as a just and logical historical development. The annexations have commonly been presented not as the incorporation of German territory, but as a re-incorporation of “old Polish lands”. Given this line of argument it was necessary to confront the un-Polish ethnic character of many of the inhabitants of these historic “old Polish lands”. It was argued that Pomerania or Lower Silesia had been Slavic or explicitly Polish in the past, but that this Slavic character had been considerably weakened due to medieval German colonization. According to this interpretation, the presence of a German-speaking majority in these regions was attributable also to the Germanizing policy of the Prussian monarchy, along with colonization and oppression of the native Poles. Thus, a partial or dominant German ethnic character could be explained as an illegitimate, unnatural state which did nothing to alter natural Polish territorial claims. The Germans were to be regarded as colonists, foreigners, immigrants or as Germanized Slavs, denuded of their Polish identity. Even if they spoke a Slavic dialect, they were not aware of their Polishness and regarded their speech not as Polish (as it was regarded from the point of view of the Polish national elites). The policy of re-polonization of Kashubians, Silesians, Masurians and others was therefore legitimized.

The idea that the new Western regions were rightfully subject to Polish nationalizing efforts was signified by their official designation in Polish politics – the “Recovered Lands” (*ziemie odzyskane*). A ministry was even established for the integration of the new regions, with Władysław Gomułka as its administrator. Several societies and institutions addressed the Polonism of the Recovered Lands. The above-mentioned Western Union experienced a renaissance after 1944, becoming a mass organisation with over 100,000 members. Its post-war scope was broader: the society concerned itself with the national verification of the “autochthonous” population. Besides this, propagandist activities even concerned some problems beyond the Polish frontiers: the Union supported the idea of the incorporation of the Upper-Silesian Region *Zaolzie*<sup>7</sup> from Czechoslovakia into Poland; it also encouraged the secessionist movement among the Sorbs in German Lusatia. In 1951, the Polish Western Union was integrated into the Sea League (*Liga Morska*).

Between 1957 and 1971, the activities of the Polish Western Union were continued by the newly established *Towarzystwo Rozwoju Ziem Zachodnich* (TRZZ) [Society for the Development of the Western Countries]. The TRZZ was concerned not only with sustaining Polish claims to the western lands, but also with the further integration of the regions into the Polish state and society. This meant – besides administrative and economic activities – that it also attempted to shape identity by informing both the new inhabitants and Poles from the “central” parts of the state about the Polish heritage of the western territories. It was hoped that this would help to consolidate the territory, and to encourage those new arrivals from the former eastern part of Poland to take an active role in the repolonization of this ancient Polish territory. Their removal to the west was not to be seen as the loss of their country. This “internal” facet of Polish propaganda concerning the Western Territories has been little studied by historians, and would bear further research in the future.

To recapitulate, historical arguments played a crucial role in the legitimization of post-war Polish territorial expansion: the Polish population was a minority in large parts of the regions concerned, and in many cases it was indifferent to the nationalist perspective of the Polish state. History could be used to explain away these obstacles. In particular, a so-called “Piast” notion of Polish statehood could be mobilised, whereby historians concentrated on the rule of the Polish Piast dynasty. For particular periods during the middle ages, the western territories had been under Piast rule. In the case of Silesia, even after the region had been lost by Poland, it had remained under the rule of Piast branches<sup>8</sup>. In some cases – Pomerania, for instance – there had been other ruling dynasties of Slavic origin. Therefore, it was possible to depict the era from the later middle ages to 1945 as an interlude of foreign rule in an otherwise continuous narrative of Polish identity in the western regions<sup>9</sup>. In the context of the late 1940s, the Piast idea offered two other political advantages for the Polish communist authorities. First, it diverted public attention from territorial losses in the east towards gains in the west,

and thus was most convenient in the context of Polish-Soviet relations. Second, it constituted an alternative to the so-called Jagiellonian idea of Polish statehood, based on the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and represented by the inter-war (“bourgeois”) political state establishment.

Use of the Piast idea can be seen as early as the arrival of Polish troops and administrators in the new territories. In March 1945, reporting on the capture of Kolberg (Kolobrzeg) in Outer Pomerania by the Polish army, the “Polish Film Journal” (“Polska Kronika Filmowa”) stated:

The Germans lost the war. They lost the country they had considered their own for centuries. Strengthened by the friendship of the U.S.S.R. and the alliance with the Red Army, the Democratic Poland returns to the territories of the Bolesławs [Polish Dukes and Kings of the Piast Dynasty]. This land, paid for with the blood of the best sons of the nation [...], no force can take from us.

And in a report about Breslau/Wrocław in the same year:

After six centuries of German rule, Wrocław, the old capital of the Silesian Piast Dynasty has returned to the Fatherland. [...] We shall destroy the signs of German rule in Silesia. We shall rebuild the Polish Wrocław. [...] Wrocław is a Polish city again! The German penetration of Silesia is definitively over!<sup>10</sup>

Thus, the Polish occupation of Pomerania and Silesia was painted as a form of historical redress, a re-establishment of normality and justice by claiming a continuity between the middle ages and the present day. (Interestingly, even Bohemian sovereignty over Silesia was regarded as part of “German penetration”).

Polish historiography responded to the challenges presented by westward expansion. First, historians began to place the “regained” territory on the national historiographical agenda. As early as 1946, historical accounts of, for instance, Gdańsk, Wrocław, Masuria and Western Prussia emerged in the form of booklets and short monographs<sup>11</sup>. Some authors were connected to the towns and regions concerned, others came from other parts of Poland. In certain areas – such as Gdańsk and parts of Western and Eastern Prussia – there was a strong tradition of Polish historiography since the inter-war period or even the 19th century. Other parts, like Outer Pomerania (in German, *Hinterpommern*), the Lebus-Country or the Glatz/Kłodzko-Country, had a far less developed place in Polish historiography. These early works dealt not only with the Polish history of specific places, but explored their historical connections with Poland, the Polish language and literature. The purpose was to impress upon locals – and Poles in general – their Polish character, and to incorporate the new territories into the Polish national consciousness. The later 1940s can thus be regarded as the first stage of Polish historiography in the new territories. These initial efforts presented the lands as genuinely Polish.

## THE ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN THE RECOVERED LANDS (1950s)

From the later 1940s, but especially after 1950, the second historiographical stage began, characterized by wider and more programmatic approaches both to the academic and popular treatment of the history of the regions. New museums, institutions and journals were founded. New research took place and numerous monographs were published. Efforts were made by historians to formulate a cohesive approach to writing the history of the new territory, and scholars planned large-scale works of synthesis on the history of certain regions<sup>12</sup>.

The establishment and re-establishment of local and regional museums was a characteristic development of this period. In larger cities like Wrocław, Gdańsk and Szczecin/Stettin, as well as in towns like Brzeg and Kłodzko, existing museums could be taken over or rebuilt after 1945: in other areas new museums had to be founded. In addition, special institutions were set up for various reasons dealing with research, teaching and the popularization of history. These bodies were relatively well financed by the state, which viewed them as representing national interests in the territories. Perhaps a typical example is the Research Centre in Olsztyn/Allenstein, competent for the part of the former East Prussia which became Polish in 1945. Its predecessor, the Masurian Institute, was founded by the Polish underground in 1943 and moved to Olsztyn just after the war. There it was transformed into an Olsztyn branch of the Poznań Western Institute, but soon subordinated to the Polish Historical Society. The new institute was organized in 1961. It was eventually named after Wojciech Kętrzyński (1838-1918), born Adalbert von Winkler, a historian from eastern Prussia, who identified himself as a Pole and polonized his name. He became an enthusiastic representative of Polish historical perspectives. The institute at Olsztyn undertook wide-ranging activities in research and in public interaction<sup>13</sup>. Fellows of the institute took part in public and educational activities in the context of a cultural “repolonization” of the regions. The first head of the institute, Emilia Sukertowa-Biedrawina (1887-1970), described the beginnings and the development of the institute’s work very impressively in her memoirs, emphasizing the national relevance of the institute’s tasks<sup>14</sup>.

In political terms the most important institute was probably the fore-mentioned Western Institute of Poznań (*Institut Zachodni*). This institute was founded in Warsaw in 1944 and moved to Poznań a year later as a central scientific authority dealing with Polish-German relations and the new western territories. Although it was an interdisciplinary institution, historiography played a prominent role in it<sup>15</sup>. However, during the period of the Stalinization of Polish science in the first half of the 1950s, even the Western Institute faced severe criticism for the nationalist orientation of its publications. A rapid reduction of its resources followed, as Polish historiography in general became more centralized<sup>16</sup>.

After the foundation of the Polish Academy of Sciences (*Polska Akademia Nauk*, PAN) – which was an important, but not fully successful step towards the centralization of science in the Stalinist period, according to the Soviet model – Gerard Labuda established a Pomeranian History Research Institute (*Zakład Historii Pomorza*) as the Poznań branch of the Historical Institute of the Academy in 1953. This organization played a most important role in evaluating Pomeranian and Southern Baltic historiography, subject, since the 1950s, to opposing national and regional approaches<sup>17</sup>. In 1955, a branch of the Poznań establishment was founded in Gdańsk by Edmund Cieślak (1922-2007) with the task of preparing a large-scale synthesis of the history of Gdańsk<sup>18</sup>.

This period is also notable for the proliferation of scientific journals dedicated to the study of the Recovered Lands. The "Przegląd Zachodni" (Western Overview) in Polish (since 1945, initially published monthly), the "Polish Western Affairs" in English (since 1960), as well as the "La Pologne et les Affaires Occidentales" in French (1965-1981) represented the official Polish line with regard to "Western ideas" as well as Polish-German relations. The "Zapiski Historyczne" [Historical Notices] originally "Zapiski Towarzystwa Historycznego w Toruniu" [Notices of the Historical Society of Toruń], was renewed in 1945 in Toruń. It was devoted to the Baltic region history, including the Polish territories. New reviews dealt with the history of cities and regions, for example the Silesian historical review "Sobótka" since 1946, and the "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" [Masurian-Warmian Communications] published in Olsztyn since 1961.

The relevance of the Recovered Lands in the greater historiographical context is also highlighted by the series of important conferences and events devoted to the subject. Already from July to October 1948, the large propagandistic exhibition of the Recovered Lands, "Wystawa Ziem Odzyskanych", took place at Wrocław in order to document the successful repolonization in the western and northern "ancient Polish lands"; but the exhibition was dominated by a rather present-centred perspective on the new development<sup>19</sup>. In the same year the first post-war Congress of Polish Historians took place in Wrocław – the choice of venue was a powerful demonstration of the importance of the city within the new Poland and its normalized status as centre of science in Poland. The first session of the Congress dealt with the history of the Recovered Lands. In 1947 the Scientific Society of Toruń organized the "First Polish Meeting of the Historians of Pomerania and Prussia", where a future research agenda was discussed (ideas included the Baltic Slavs as a factor of regional unity in the history of the "new Polish North")<sup>20</sup>. A "Pomeranian Conference" took place in Gdańsk in late October 1954. On the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the "recovering of Pomerania by Poland"<sup>21</sup>, the conference had to implement Marxist historical materialism in the historiographical research of the North. The present Polish *raison d'état* remained one of the major problems of such meetings then as well as in the years following (for example at the International Conference of Pomeranian Studies at Szczecin in September 1960, organized by the Polish Ethnographical Society (*Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze*) and well attended

also by historians). The 550th anniversary of the battle at Tannenberg/Grunwald that year – interpreted as a famous victory of the Poles over the Germans – provided an ideal opportunity for the state to encourage Polish identity in the northern regions<sup>22</sup>.

The activities of museums and local and regional societies were directly connected to the popularization and propagation by the state of Polish identity. There was a drive to research and communicate a historic Polish national movement in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Even in regions where the national movement enjoyed little success, its local representatives became symbols of the eternal struggle for the Polish interest. This was certainly the case in Masuria, where the large majority of the Slavic-speaking people had opted to be in Germany in the referendum after the First World War, identifying themselves as Prussians or – later and regardless of their speech – Germans in the 1920s and 1930s<sup>23</sup>. State policy at a regional level, however, ignored this. In the official version, the Polish national movement was a central aspect of Masurian history. This was reflected by the polonization of place names. Several Masurian towns were named after the representatives of the Polish national movement there, despite the relative obscurity of the men commemorated. Rastenburg (Rastembork in Polish) was renamed Kętrzyn, after Wojciech Kętrzyński; Mehlsack became Pieniężno, after Seweryn Pienięzny Jr. (1890-1940), the publisher of the Polish newspaper “Gazeta Olsztyńska”, who died in a concentration camp; Wartenburg in Warmia became Barczewo, after the priest and historian Walenty Barczewski (1856-1928)<sup>24</sup>. The roots of Polishness were sought for in the folk culture of the regions<sup>25</sup>. Folk music was of primary importance here. Folk groups came to represent the old Polish culture in the territories and in the wider national context. This concentration corresponded neatly with the communist myth of people and folk culture. Perhaps the most popular example of this trend was the state ensemble of music and dance, *Śląsk*, founded in 1953 in Katowice with the task of cultivating Silesian folk culture<sup>26</sup>.

During this period the first substantial monographs, methodological conceptualizations and syntheses emerged. In the late 1940s a series of official scientific and statistical monographs on the new western territories was published by the Western Institute of Poznań, entitled *Ziemie Staropolski* [The Lands of Ancient Poland]<sup>27</sup>. Unsurprisingly, the Polish dimension of the regions, cities and towns was central, and there was an attempt made to relate the local to the broader “national” narrative by stressing past connections with Poland. The centralist (in the national and state sense) perspective dominated the vision of the regional past, resulting in concepts which included “Poland at the Baltic”, and “a city [Gdańsk] true to the [Polish-Lithuanian] Commonwealth”<sup>28</sup>. An abundance of monographs and surveys on the history of Silesia, Pomerania, Masuria and Warmia, of Wrocław, Gdańsk, Szczecin, Elbląg and many more<sup>29</sup> appeared, especially in the 1960s, which sought to establish their place in the Polish grand narrative.

Historians made no bones about the one-sided nature of their endeavours. Zygmunt Wojciechowski (1900-1955)<sup>30</sup>, the first director of the Western Institute of Poznań, wrote in the first volume of *The Lands of Ancient Poland*:

We do not attempt to write a so-called objective history on this place. Our task is to present the Polish history of those lands and to project the present-day Polish reality of them onto the historic background. Such a consideration of the problem is imposed not only by present-day demands, but also by our conviction that the Polish past of those lands is the most important one<sup>31</sup>.

In terms of new historiographical concepts and methodologies, the case of Pomerania and the Baltic area is of particular importance. In the immediate post-war period Karol Górski (1903-1988), Gerard Labuda (born 1916) and Marian Biskup (perhaps the most prominent representative of northern Polish historiography), developed a general historiographical concept of the so-called "Greater Pomerania", a well-defined and coherent historical region in the southern Baltic, including Pomerania and East Prussia. In the 1950s and 1960s, this concept was subject to further elaboration and application, particularly by Gerard Labuda<sup>32</sup>. Thus was constructed a historically-united northern territory which was not only incorporated into the Polish state but also extended (according to the designation "Pomerania") into the German Democratic Republic (Western Pomerania) and the Soviet Union (the Kaliningrad region, and parts of Lithuania). The most important aspect of this concept was the fact that while Polonity remained an important perspective, it was not central: historians tended instead to conceptualize Pomeranian history in terms of its regional specificity, and not primarily as a part of the Polish state or its national history. At the same time, Polish historians regarded rather critically the older Polish and German tradition of specific local history (*Heimatgeschichte*) and postulated – not only under Marxist influence – a more holistic regional historical approach which would focus attention more on general historical problems. One could say that the concepts of Labuda marked a decisive turn toward a Polish *Landesgeschichte* and regional history.

As in the inter-war period, tendencies towards an autonomous, specific conception of these regions as having discrete histories were regarded with hostility by a part of the academic establishment, which condemned such practitioners as particularist or even separatist. A prominent example of this was the Kashubian movement in Northern Poland, suffering under the pressure of the central authorities especially before 1956, but also between the 1960s and 1980s<sup>33</sup>. Any attempt at conceptualizing Kashubian history was confronted by these problems, as Kashubian activists aroused the interest of the Polish state police<sup>34</sup>. Only in the late 1950s and the 1960s did relatively open and critical public discussions on regionalism become possible in the Polish press. Leading spokesmen of the Kashubian movement (such as Lech Bądkowski, Tadeusz Bolduan) spearheaded new regional approaches, looking beyond the mainstream preoccupation with folk culture<sup>35</sup>. But even if regionalism attained more respectability from the late

1950s, it still needed to remain within and contribute to the national culture. Nevertheless, for some scholars, historical argumentation continued to emphasize specific regional characteristics.

### TOWARDS A POLISH “LANDESGESCHICHTE”?

The late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s represent the third period of regional history in the Western territories. In this period the historical legitimization of the post-war acquisitions lost its dominant role, though it remained important. *Détente* both in the general international scene and in Polish-German relations, in the context of the new West-German *Ostpolitik*, as well as the long-term integration of the Western territories into the Polish state, made it possible to consider them as integrated and ‘normal’ parts of Poland. Nevertheless, the Federal Republic of Germany refrained from acknowledging unambiguously Polish claims to the Western Territories, referring to the regions as “territories under Polish administration” in official discourse. Moreover, it was still considered necessary to enter into polemical debate with revisionists as well as German expatriates. An increasingly important consideration, however, was the “interior” propaganda of the Communist authorities: the modernization and improvements in the Western Territories since 1945 were to be presented not only as a Polish achievement, but as an achievement of the socialist political and economic system.

Unlike other communist countries of Eastern Europe such as Czechoslovakia or the GDR, in Poland science – including history – gained a fair measure of methodological autonomy from the late 1950s<sup>36</sup>. The national perspective continued to dominate the historical narrative, more so than in some neighbouring countries. On the other hand, the official Marxist perspective ceased to be an obligatory methodology even at the official level after October 1956, and the state and Party authorities did not dare to impose it again. The 1960s to the 1980s saw the establishment of new academic and educational institutions in the Western Territories. Since the inter-war period only two Polish academic institutions had paid attention to the problems of the Western Territories – the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań and the Pedagogical Academy in Katowice. Immediately after the war, the University of Wrocław had been taken over by the Polish state, while the University of Lwów had been ceded to the Soviet Union. Around the same time the Nicholas Copernicus University of Toruń and the Pedagogical Academy of Gdańsk were founded, followed by the Pedagogical Academy at Wrocław in 1950, which was moved to Opole four years later. Further institutes of higher education were not established until the late 1960s, among them pedagogical academies at Olsztyn, Bydgoszcz, Szczecin, Słupsk (all 1969) and Zielona Góra (1971); but universities remained at the forefront of historical research. As late as 1968 the University of Silesia at Katowice was founded, followed by the University of Gdańsk (1970) and the University of Szczecin only in 1984.

Political circumstances and institutional development went hand-in-hand with new tendencies in historiographical research and production. Regional history's time had come, and there was an outpouring of works on the histories of regions and cities – works which had been discussed and planned for decades. Small towns and modern-day administrative units were addressed; but the most important and extensive works of synthesis were devoted to larger territories, including Silesia, Pomerania, Western Prussia, Masuria and Warmia<sup>37</sup>. The first major works were published on Silesia and Gdańsk, and in the 1990s were themselves subject to revisions with new conceptual ideas<sup>38</sup>.

There is strong continuity of the persons involved in the historiography of northern Poland, with many of the historians who had set the agenda in the post-war period were still active in the 1980s and even in some cases in the 1990s, such as Marian Biskup (born 1922) and Gerard Labuda. The older generation of historians was not swept away: indeed they took part in conceptual and methodological innovation. The most important of these innovations – at least in the context of the history of the Western Territories – was regionalization and partial denationalization. Those tendencies were expressed in two ways. First, the regional perspective came to rival the primacy of the national. Although the role and place of those regions within Polish national history still remained prominent, it had ceased by the 1970s and 1980s to be the central point of historical reflection. While issues such as contacts between Wrocław and Poland from the 14th to the 20th centuries, attitudes of the East Prussian elite towards Poland in the 17th century, and "Polish Gdańsk" were still studied, they were no longer essential. Already at the Congress of Polish Historians at Wrocław in 1948, Stanisław Zajązkowski (1890-1977), who specialised in the Teutonic Order in medieval Prussia, had argued against projecting present-day territorial realities onto the history of "Recovered Lands"<sup>39</sup>. But it was not until decades later that this idea was widely adopted. In the 1970s and 1980s monographs on Silesia, Prussia or Pomerania (but much less Warmia and Masuria) focused on the "internal" phenomena and processes in those lands, without a primary contextualization within Polish history or as a regional part of the national past.

Perhaps the best example of the boom in regional history is the multi-volume *Historia Pomorza* [History of Pomerania], edited by Gerard Labuda, and still in progress<sup>40</sup>. Based on the concept of Greater Pomerania (discussed above), an extended synthesis of the history of that region was first discussed in the 1960s, and today seems to be the most rigorously prepared and self-critical work of synthesis devoted to a region in Polish post-war historiography<sup>41</sup>. However, the concept of regionalization of Pomeranian history could only partly be realized in the volumes published since the late 1960s. Whereas some chapters regarded Pomerania and related territories (such as Outer Pomerania, Eastern Prussia, and so on) as autonomous historical subjects, other sections reflected the former Polono-centrism. Nevertheless, the *History of Pomerania* and the

concept itself have continued to influence Polish regional historiography, particularly – but not only – in the North, up to the present day<sup>42</sup>.

The second, interrelated, expression of the autonomization of regional history was the increased attention to the German aspects of the history of the Recovered Lands, and on past relations between Germany and the territories. While these problems had never been entirely overlooked, they were emphasised much less than Polish national themes. The first signs of this development came as early as immediately after the war, from Jan Rutkowski (1886-1949), a leading historian in Poznań and one of the most important organizers of Polish historiography in the Western Territories since 1945. Rutkowski urged that his fellow Polish historians should not neglect or deny the presence and importance of German culture in those lands, and so avoid repeating the faults of their German counterparts<sup>43</sup>. Confronting issues such as the German-speaking urban elites, and relations between German cultural centres became, by the 1980s, well established as topics of inquiry in Polish historiography. Moreover, such topics and problems have increasingly become regarded not in terms of those regions and “Germany”, but as an integral part of their past. In this sense, we may describe the recent trend as the formation of a Silesian, Pomeranian, Masurian *Landesgeschichte* in Polish historiography<sup>44</sup>.

In terms of changing concepts of ethnic and minority groups in the western regions, the Kashubians represent a special case. Since the beginning of the Kashubian movement, the history of the group has been important to Kashubian intellectuals interested in reflecting on senses of identity, especially during the 20th century; but it was not until the 1980s that the Polish medievalist Gerard Labuda adopted a more sophisticated approach, considering the history of the ethnic group from a national, state and regional perspective<sup>45</sup>. The newly-founded Kashubian institute at Gdańsk (1996) continues this work, although it veers towards topics such the Kashubian movement and Kashubian literature.

#### AFTER THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION

All these trends continued in the 1990s under the new political, cultural and ideological circumstances<sup>46</sup>. While the national perspective remains predominant in the public domain, there has nonetheless been an acceleration of the shift away from the national lens over the past twenty years. Alongside these trends, the historiography of the Recovered Lands has also been subject to the programmatic application of ‘European’ and ‘multicultural’ perspectives. The most prominent example of this is undoubtedly Gdańsk. The city – whose ‘national character’ in the past and present has been the subject of Polish-German dispute since the 19th century – was gradually recast as a theatre of Polish-German co-existence, and even as a city with great multicultural and European traditions. Thus, a new image of the city could be forged, important, amongst other things, for tourism. Polish-German contact and European integration in the general Baltic region could be legitimated through references to the past. Historians and

intellectuals as well as local and state representatives took part in this new appraisal of historical culture in Gdańsk, which culminated in the city’s millennium in 1997<sup>47</sup>. The cultural ‘melting pot’ became a very popular metaphor in the 1990s. Even the leading Polish medievalist and former Polish education minister Henryk Samsonowicz<sup>48</sup> used the character of the bishop of Prague and martyr St Adalbert (died 997) – whose *Vita* (by Johannes Canaparius) mentioned the city for the first time 1000 years ago – to point out the European dimension of the city’s history. By emphasizing the pilgrimage of Adalbert from Bohemia via Rome, France, Germany and Poland to old Prussia, Samsonowicz accentuated the international dimension of the patron saint. A German author, Reinhold Lehmann, wrote expressively: “Adalbert was completely European. How else could a Bohemian have become a Polish patron saint? Should a lobbyist for Polish access to the EU be sought for, this profile would suit him perfectly”<sup>49</sup>. Focus on the international and multicultural history of Gdańsk was not confined to the millennial celebrations: historians continue to explore these aspects and today they are prominent topics in both academic and popular historical production<sup>50</sup>.

A similar tendency can also be observed in former Outer Pomerania, with Szczecin as its centre<sup>51</sup>, or in Silesia and Wrocław<sup>52</sup>, where German-Polish cooperation or even trilateral German-Polish-Czech cooperation has become very fashionable among historians. In Warmia and Masuria, younger scholars have since the 1990s begun to emphasise the “multicultural roots” of the regional tradition. Such a form of consciousness was certainly conditioned by the fact that its propagators were the second or third generation of Polish post-war settlers in the region. Therefore they had a sense of Masurian and Warmian identity, but were also keenly aware of pre-war society and culture in the regions. Such notions as border, multiculturalism, and cultural transfer have become fashionable watchwords in the new perception of Warmian-Masurian traditions. It was little wonder that one of the most prominent speakers of this cultural and intellectual movement, the historian Robert Traba, depicted Masuria as a “landscape of a thousand borders”<sup>53</sup>. Moreover, the “repolonization” policy of the early post-war period as well as the myth of the “Recovered Lands” has been considered rather critically.

We are aware of the cultural and multi-ethnic past [of the region]. Representing Polish identity, we discover the local Prussian, German, native heritage at the same time, in order to show – remembering the tragedies of the 20th century – that we strive for a democratic Fatherland and appreciate the good of other nations.

So stated, in 1991, the first volume of the review “Borussia” which was connected with this cultural movement in Masuria<sup>54</sup>. Warmia and Masuria’s diversity in ethnicity, religion, language and culture has been embraced by recent intellectual movements as a positive aspect regional identity, even if the new tendency has yet to percolate completely among the general public<sup>55</sup>.

The re-orientation of historical reflection towards regions and cities has been directly connected with general political demands for state decentralization. An ideological

support has been provided by the identity policy of the so-called *mała Ojczyzna* [small Fatherlands], something akin to the German *Heimat*, but which is completely absent from the vocabulary of other neighbouring political languages, such as Czech and Slovak. Since the 1990s the *mała Ojczyzna* has become a significant political concept, legitimizing regional and political identities within – though seldom against – the national state.

## CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen, Polish historiography and historical reflection on the “Recovered Lands” underwent a continuous and significant alteration. From the inter-war focus on the Polish character of the regions, historiography after 1945 was concerned with legitimizing the recent territorial changes: history had a national “social mission”. From the 1950s, while the national perspective remained important, historians’ concepts and publications became more sophisticated and coordinated. This trend was amplified in the following two decades, as historians increasingly concerned themselves with ‘internal’ and specific aspects of regional and local history. In these decades the *Landesgeschichte* in the Western and Northern territories incorporated in 1945 came into existence. As a continuation of that development, but at the same time as the result of the political and cultural change of 1989, the 1990s saw a concentration on multiculturalism, internationalism and Europeanism, without a complete abandonment of the national perspective.

Although in some respects the recent trends in the historiography of the “Recovered Lands” bears comparison with other European examples, it may be argued that the shift towards *Landesgeschichte* and the post-1989 developments are almost unique in a Polish context – at least in terms of intensity. However, similar trends are observable in regions like the former Galicia. Clearly, today the historiography of the “Recovered Lands” no longer has to fulfil a prescribed task on behalf of the state; but recent developments are no less a product of contemporary concerns as well as the specific heritage of these regions.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> On the territorial incorporations, see for example E. Kaszuba, *Dzieje Śląska po 1945 roku* [History of Silesia after 1945], in M. Czaplinski, E. Kaszuba, G. Wąs, R. Żerelik (eds.), *Historia Śląska*, Wrocław 2002, pp. 423-462; P. Madajczyk, *Przyłączenie Śląska Opolskiego do Polski, 1945-1948* [Annexation of the Opole Silesia into Poland, 1945-1948], Warsaw 1996; J. Hackmann (ed.), *Stettin/Szczecin, 1945-1946: Dokumente – Erinnerungen/Dokumenty – wspomnienia*, Rostock 1994; K. Kozłowski, *Pierwsze dziesięć lat władzy politycznej na Pomorzu Zachodnim, 1945-1955* [The First Ten Years of Political Rule in the Outer Pomerania, 1945-1955], Warsaw 1994.
- <sup>2</sup> See a paradigmatical monography by M. Wagner, *“Wir waren alle Fremde”: Die Neuformierung dörflicher Gesellschaft in Masuren seit 1945*, Münster 2001; C. Osękowski, *Spółczesność Polski zachodniej i północnej w latach, 1945-1956: Procesy integracji i dezintegracji* [The Society of Western and Northern Poland: Integrative and Desintegrative Processes], Zielona Góra 1994; E. Kaszuba, *Między propagandą a rzeczywistością: Polska ludność Wrocławia w latach, 1945-1947* [Between Propaganda and Reality: the Polish population of Wrocław from 1945 to 1947], Wrocław 1997.
- <sup>3</sup> See J. Misztal, *Weryfikacja narodowościowa na Ziemiach Odzyskanych* [National Verification in the Recovered Lands], Warszawa 1990; J. Misztal, *Weryfikacja narodowościowa na Śląsku Opolskim* [National Verification in the Opole Silesia], Opole 1984; L. Belzyt, *Zum Verfahren der nationalen Verifikation in den Gebieten des ehemaligen Ostpreußen, 1945-1950*, in “Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands” 1990, 39, pp. 247-269; L. Belzyt, *Między Polską a Niemcami: Weryfikacja narodowościowa i jej następstwa na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu w latach, 1945-1960* [Between Poland and Germany: National Verification and its Results in Warmia, Masuria and the Vistule region], Toruń 1998, pp. 63-73, 142-154.
- <sup>4</sup> D. Berlińska, *Mniejszość niemiecka na Śląsku Opolskim w poszukiwaniu tożsamości* [The German Minority in Opole Silesia in Search of Identity], Opole 1999.
- <sup>5</sup> As examples for Pomerania, Gdańsk and Western Prussia: S. Askenazy, *Gdańsk a Polska*, Warsaw 1918 (2nd ed. 1923, revised ed. 1997; German version: *Danzig und Polen*, Warschau 1919, 2nd ed., 1930); J. Fürst, *Der Widersinn des polnischen Korridors: Ethnographisch, geschichtlich und wirtschaftlich dargestellt*, Berlin 1926; J. Kaufmann, *Das Verhältnis der Deutschen, Polen und Kaschuben in Westpreußen und Danzig*, Danzig 1919; E. Keyser, *Die Bedeutung der Deutschen und Slawen für Westpreußen*, Danzig 1919; W. Recke, *Die polnische Frage als Problem der europäischen Politik*, Berlin 1927; W. Sobieski, *Walka o Pomorze* [The Struggle for Pomerania], Poznań 1928; W. Recke, *Der Kampf um Pommerellen: Krit. Bericht über das Buch von W. Sobieski*, Danzig 1936; F. Znaniecki, *Socjologia walki o Pomorze* [The Sociology of the Struggle for Pomerania], Toruń 1935; E. Keyser (ed.), *Der Kampf um die Weichsel: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des polnischen Korridors*, Stuttgart - Berlin - Leipzig 1926; A. Zelle, *100 Korridorthesen. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Polen*, Berlin 1933.
- <sup>6</sup> M. Niedzińska, *Toruń jako ośrodek nauki historycznej* [Toruń as a Centre of the Historical Science], in A. Tomczak (ed.), *Dzieje historiografii Pomorza Gdańskiego i Prus Wschodnich, 1920-1939 (1944)* [History of the Historiography of Eastern Pomerania and Eastern Prussia, 1920-1939 (1944)], Toruń 1922, p. 9.
- <sup>7</sup> Zaolzie was a former part of Austrian Silesia in the Region of Cieszyn (Czech Těšín, German Teschen) on the right bank of the river Olza (Olše), which became Czechoslovakian after 1919. According to the census of 1910, a large part of the population was Polish-speaking. A short conflict between Poland and Czechoslovakia took place in the region of Cieszyn in January 1919. At the end, the Allies negotiated the Czech-Polish frontier on the Olza, which favoured rather Czech interests and gave rise to a relatively large Polish minority in Czechoslovakia as well as to long-term political tensions between the two states in the inter-war period. In October 1938, shortly after the Treaty of Munich and encouraged by Germany, Poland annexed the region and attempted to maintain it even after the war. At the same time (1945-1946), the Czechoslovak authorities claimed rights to parts of Lower Silesia and the Kłodzko-Country. As late

- as 1958 both sides signed a new treaty in Warsaw, which regulated definitively these salient problems and acknowledged the frontier from the inter-war period. See, for example, M.K. Kamiński, *Konflikt polsko-czeski, 1918-1921* [The Polish-Czech conflict, 1918-1921], Warsaw 2001; S. Zahradnik, M. Ryczkowski, *Korzenie Zaolzia* [The Roots of Zaolze], Warsaw 1992; D. Gawrecki, *Politické a národnostní poměry na Těšínském Slezsku, 1918-1938* [Political and Ethnic Relations in Teschen-Silesia, 1918-1938], Český Těšín 1999.
- <sup>8</sup> However, that was absolutely not true for the region of Glatz/Kłodzko. This part of medieval Bohemia and pre-modern Silesia always remained – except for two or three years under Bolesław I around 1000 – outside the territory of Poland or the Piast Duchies in Silesia.
- <sup>9</sup> See, for example, M. Řezník, *Das Königliche Preußen in den deutsch-polnischen Auseinandersetzungen um den "Historischen Charakter" Pommerellens in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, in D. Willoewit, H. Lemberg (eds.), *Reiche und Territorien in Ostmitteleuropa: Historische Beziehungen und politische Herrschaftslegitimation*, Munich 2006, pp. 311-328.
- <sup>10</sup> Quoted after the DVD edition *Ziemie odzyskane* [Recovered Lands] in the series "Propaganda PRL-u" [Propaganda in the Peoples' Republic of Poland], published by Wytwornia Filmów Dokumentalnych i Fabularnych (WFDiF), G. Ryby. Quoted after original subtitles in this edition.
- <sup>11</sup> E. Sukertowa-Biedrawina, *Polskość Mazurów i Warmiaków* [The Polishness of Masurians and Warmians], Olsztyn 1946; J. Mitkowski, *Pomorze Zachodnie w stosunku do Polski* [Farther Pomerania in Its Relation to Poland], Poznań 1946; K. Górski, *Polityczna rola Warmii w Rzeczypospolitej* [The Political Role of Warmia in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth], in "Przegląd Zachodni", 1949, 7/8, pp. 1-23; M. Pelczar, *Polski Gdańsk* [Polish Gdańsk], Gdańsk 1947; A. Wielopolski, *Elbag, dzieje i przyszłość* [Elbląg, Past and Future], Gdańsk - Bydgoszcz - Szczecin 1946; K. Piwarski, *Dzieje Prus Wschodnich w czasach nowożytnych* [History of Eastern Prussia in the Early Modern Period], Gdańsk 1946; W. Konopczyński, *Kwestia bałtycka do XX wieku* [The Baltic Question to the 20th Century], Gdańsk 1946.
- <sup>12</sup> For the historiography after the World War II, especially in the Recovered Lands, see J. Hackmann, *Ostpreußen und Westpreußen in deutscher und polnischer Sicht: Landeshistorie als beziehungsgeschichtliches Problem*, Wiesbaden 1996; M. Górny, *Przed wszystkim ma być naród: Marksistowskie historiografie w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej* [The Nation Shall Be Above All: Marxist Historiographies in East-Central Europe], Warsaw 2007; R. Stobiecki, *Historiografia PRL: ani dobra, ani mądra, ani piękna... ale skomplikowana: Studia i szkice* [Historiography in the People's Republic of Poland: Not good, not wise, not nice... but complicated: Studies and Sketches], Warsaw 2007.
- <sup>13</sup> See J. Sikorski, *Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im: Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego i jego rola w olsztyńskim środowisku humanistycznym* [Wojciech-Kętrzyński-Institute of Research and Its Role in the Humanities' Centre at Olsztyn], Olsztyn 1986. See also W. Wrzesiński, *Olsztyńskie regionalne badania historyczne, 1945-1997* [Regional Historical Research at Olsztyn, 1945-1997], in "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie", 1998, 1 (219), pp. 73-86.
- <sup>14</sup> E. Sukeertowa-Biedrawina, *Dawno i niedawno: Wspomnienia* [Long Ago And Not Long Ago: Memoirs], Olsztyn 1965.
- <sup>15</sup> Among the directors of the institute, leading Polish historians dealing with the Recovered Lands or the Polish-German relations have dominated: Zygmunt Wojciechowski 1945-1955 (the present-day Western Institute at Poznań is named after him), Kazimierz Piwarski 1956-1958, Gerard Labuda 1959-1961, Lech Trzeciakowski 1974-1978 and Antoni Czubiński 1978-1990.
- <sup>16</sup> Górny, *Przed wszystkim ma być naród* cit., p. 67.
- <sup>17</sup> See G. Labuda, *Zakład Historii Pomorza Instytutu Historii PAN* [The Centre of Pomeranian History of the Historical Institute of the Polish Science Academy], in "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 1953, 1, pp. 326-329.

- <sup>18</sup> P.O. Loew, *Danzig und seine Vergangenheit, 1793-1997: Die Geschichtskultur einer Stadt zwischen Deutschland und Polen*, Osnabrück 1997, p. 369.
- <sup>19</sup> J. Tyszkiewicz, *Sto wielkich dni Wrocławia: Wystawa Ziem Odkrzyszanych we Wrocławiu a propaganda polityczna ziem zachodnich i północnych w latach, 1945-1948* [Hundred Great Days of Wrocław: The Exhibition of the Recovered Lands at Wrocław and the Political Propaganda of the Western and Northern Lands, 1945-1948], Wrocław 1997.
- <sup>20</sup> Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., p. 267.
- <sup>21</sup> In 1454 a conflict between the Prussian estates and the Teutonic Order began. The nobility and towns withdrew their allegiance to the Order and asked the King of Poland to assume authority in Prussia. After some hesitation, Casimir IV supported the Prussian estates. At the end of the following Polish-Teutonic war and according to the Treaty of Toruń (1466), western parts of the Teutonic state including Gdańsk, Toruń, Elbląg and Warmia became Polish, and the Polish King obtained sovereignty over Teutonic East Prussia as a seignorial lord.
- <sup>22</sup> See for example the representative publication *Grunwald: 550 lat chwały* [Grunwald: 550 years of honour], ed. by J. St. Kopczewski, M. Suchniński, Warsaw 1960. In the same year, the famous novel of H. Sienkiewicz, "The Crusaders" was made into a film by Aleksander Ford. See L. Jockheck, *Ein Nationalmythos in "Eastman Color": Die Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410 im polnischen Monumentalfilm Die Kreuzritter von Aleksander Ford*, in D. Albrecht, M. Thoemmes (eds.), *Mare Balticum: Begegnungen zu Heimat, Geschichte, Kultur an der Ostsee*, Munich 2005, pp. 133-168.
- <sup>23</sup> R. Blanke, *Polish-speaking Germans? Language and National Identity among the Masurians since 1871*, Cologne - Weimar - Vienna 2001.
- <sup>24</sup> In Silesia, the town Reichenbach (Rychbach in the polonized version) was renamed Dzierżoniów after the Polish priest Jan Dzierżoń (1811-1905), who was one of the most important persons worldwide in the development of beekeeping.
- <sup>25</sup> W. Gębik, *Pieśni ludowe Mazur i Warmii* [Folk Songs in Masuria and Warmia], Olsztyn 1956; E. Su-kertowa-Biedrawina, *Świadomość narodowa na Mazurach i Warmii w pieśni ludowej* [National Consciousness in Masuria and Warmia in Folk Songs], in "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie", 1962, 1 (75), p. 11.
- <sup>26</sup> The only larger monograph of the ensemble is J. Myrcik, *Pół wieku „Śląska”: Zarys monograficzny Zespołu Pieśni i Tańca „Śląsk”* [A Half Century of "Śląsk": A Monographical Outline of the Song and Dance Ensemble "Śląsk"], Koszęcin 2004.
- <sup>27</sup> "Ziemie Staropolski", vol. 1-6. Poznań 1948-1959.
- <sup>28</sup> E. Cieślak, *Miasto wierne Rzeczypospolitej (Szkice gdańskie, XVII - XVIII w.)* [A City True to the Commonwealth (Gdańsk Sketches, 17th - 18th cent.)], Warsaw 1959.
- <sup>29</sup> G. Labuda (ed.), *Dzieje Szczecina* [History of Szczecin], Warsaw 1963 - Szczecin 1998; S. Gierszewski (ed.), *Dzieje ziemi bytowskiej* [History of the Bytów/Bütow Land], Poznań 1972; G. Labuda, S. Hoszowski, *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza* [Sketches on the History of Pomerania], vol. 2, *Pomorze nowożytne* [Early Modern Pomerania], Warsaw 1956; S. Matysik, *Dzieje Gdańska* [History of Gdańsk], in *Gdańsk, jego dzieje i kultura* [Gdańsk, its History and Culture], Warsaw 1969, pp. 29-128; W. Łęga, *Grudziądz, dzieje i kultura* [Grudziądz, History and Culture], Grudziądz 1950; M. Biskup (ed.), *Dzieje Chełmna i jego regionu: Zarys monograficzny* [History of Chełmno and Its Region: A Monographical Outline], Toruń 1968; W. Długoborski, J. Gierowski, K. Maleczyński, *Dzieje Wrocławia do roku 1807* [History of Wrocław to the year 1807], Warsaw 1958; A. Wakar, *Olsztyn, 1353-1945*, Olsztyn 1971; M. Biskup (ed.), *Toruń dawny i dzisiejszy: Zarys dziejów* [The Old and The Present Toruń: An Outline History], Toruń 1983; J. Lindmajer, T. Machura (eds.), *Dzieje Łęborka* [History of Łębork], Poznań 1982; K. Górski, *Dzieje Malborka* [History of Malbork], Gdynia 1960.

- <sup>30</sup> Wojciechowski, a law historian and medievalist, propagated the idea of the Polish border on the Oder already in his monographs about Silesia and Prussia at the beginning of the 1930s: Z. Wojciechowski, *Ustrój polityczny Śląska do końca XIV wieku* [The political constitution of Silesia to the end of the 14th century], 1932; *Rozwój terytorialny Prus w stosunku do Polski* [The territorial development of Prussia in relation to Poland], Toruń 1933. His nationalist orientation and his connexions with the national democrats in the inter-war period provoked communist attacks on him and on the Western Institute in the Stalinist period. See M. Krzoska, *Für ein Polen an der Oder und Ostsee. Zygmunt Wojciechowski (1900–1955) als Historiker und Publizist*, Osnabrück 2003.
- <sup>31</sup> Z. Wojciechowski, *Słowo wstępne* [Introduction], in “Ziemie Staropolski” [The Lands of Ancient Poland], vol. 1, *Dolny Śląsk* [Lower Silesia], part 1, 2nd ed., Poznań 1950, pp. 10-11.
- <sup>32</sup> J. Hackmann, *Gerarda Labudy koncepcja historii Pomorza*, in “Przegląd Zachodnio-Pomorski”, 1994, 2, pp. 7-36.
- <sup>33</sup> C. Obracht-Prondzyński, *Kaszubi: Między dyskryminacją a regionalną podmiotowością* [The Kashubians: Between Discrimination and Regional Subjectivity], Gdańsk 2002, pp. 153-180.
- <sup>34</sup> A. Paczoska, *Oskarżeni o separatyzm: Działania tajnych służb PRL wobec działaczy kaszubskich w latach, 1945-1970* [Accused of Separatism: Activities of the Security Police Towards the Kashubian Activists, 1945-1970], in “Pamięć i sprawiedliwość”, Pismo IPN, 2004, 2 (6), pp. 205-233.
- <sup>35</sup> See “Życie i Myśl”, 1961, 3/4, pp. 75-119.
- <sup>36</sup> Stobiecki, *Historiografia* cit., pp. 163-183; J. Topolski, *Polish Historians and Marxism after World War II*, in “Studies in East European Thought”, 1992, 2, pp. 169-183.
- <sup>37</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Warmia i Mazury: Zarys dziejów* [Warmia and Masuria: Outline of History], Olsztyn 1985; W. Odyniec, *Dzieje Prus Królewskich, 1454-1772: zarys monograficzny* [History of the Royal Prussia, 1454-1772: A Monographical Outline], Warsaw 1972; W. Odyniec (ed.), *Dzieje Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego: Od VII wieku do 1945 roku* [History of the Vistule Pomerania: From the 7th Century to 1945], Gdańsk 1978.
- <sup>38</sup> “*Historia Śląska*” [History of Silesia], 3 vols., Wrocław 1960-1985. For Gdańsk: E. Cieślak, C. Biernat, *History of Gdańsk: Gdańsk 1988*, in E. Cieślak (ed.), *Historia Gdańska* [History of Gdańsk], vols. 1-2, Gdańsk 1978-1982 (other parts of this voluminous work followed in the 1990s).
- <sup>39</sup> S. Zajązkowski, *O periodyzacji dziejów Ziemi Odzyskanych* [On the Periodization of History of the Recovered Lands], in “Pamiętnik VII powszechnego zjazdu historyków polskich we Wrocławiu 19-20 września 1948” [Proceedings of the 7th Polish Historians’ Congress at Wrocław, 19th-20th September 1948], vol. 1, Warsaw 1948, p. 21.
- <sup>40</sup> Since 2000/2001, the editorial and scientific coordination have been taken over by Stanisław Salmonowicz.
- <sup>41</sup> J. Hackmann, *Gerarda Labudy koncepcja historii Pomorza* [Gerard Labuda’s Concept of the History of Pomerania], in “Przegląd Zachodnio-Pomorski”, 1994, 2, pp. 7-36.
- <sup>42</sup> Id., *Ostpreußen* cit., pp. 285-290.
- <sup>43</sup> J. Rutkowski, *Zadania nauk historycznych w procesie zespalania duchowego ziem odzyskanych z Polską* [The Tasks of Historical Sciences in the Process of Spiritual Integration of the Recovered Lands with Poland], in “IV sesja Rady Naukowej dla zagadnień ziem odzyskanych”, 18-21 XII 1946 [4th Session of the Scientific Council for the Problems of the Recovered Lands, 18th-21st Dec. 1946], Vol. 2, Kraków 1947, p. 68. See also Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., pp. 263f.
- <sup>44</sup> Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., pp. 290-304.
- <sup>45</sup> G. Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów na tle historii Pomorza* [History of the Kashubians on the Background of the History of Pomerania], Gdańsk 1992 (a simultaneous edition in Polish, Kashubian, English and German).

- <sup>46</sup> There were also significant developments at the institutional level. For example, since the 1990s several universities have been established, partly from the former high schools and pedagogical academies: the University of Opole in 1994, the University of Warmia and Masuria at Olsztyn in 1999, the University of Zielona Góra in 2001 and, most recently, the Casimir the Great University at Bydgoszcz in 2005.
- <sup>47</sup> R. Rexheuser, *Deutsche Geschichte als polnisches Problem: Beobachtungen zum tausendjährigen Jubiläum in Danzig 1997*, in M. Weber (ed.), *Deutschlands Osten – Polens Westen: Vergleichende Studien zur geschichtlichen Landeskunde*, Frankfurt 2001, pp. 253-276; Loew, *Danzig* cit., pp. 516-522.
- <sup>48</sup> In the 1989-90 cabinet of Tadeusz Mazowiecki.
- <sup>49</sup> Quoted by A. Krzemiński, Św. Wojciech, *Otton III i książę Bolesław/Der hl. Adalbert, Otto III. und Herzog Bolesław*, in "Dialog", 1997, 11, pp. 20f.
- <sup>50</sup> E.g. M. Dymnicka, Z. Opacki (eds.), *Tożsamość miejsca i ludzi: Gdańszczanie i ich miasto w perspektywie historyczno-socjologicznej* [The Identity of Place and People: The Inhabitants of Gdańsk in the Historical-Sociological Perspective], Warsaw 2003, a volume published as a result of the First World Gdańsk Reunion, a great festivity which took place in May 2002.
- <sup>51</sup> See especially J. M. Piskorski (ed.), *Pomorze Zachodnie poprzez wieki* [Pomerania Through the Centuries], Szczecin 1999 (the German version of this common work of Polish and German historians: *Pommern im Wandel der Zeiten*, Szczecin 1999); J.M. Piskorski, B. Wachowiak, E. Włodarczyk, *Szczecin: Zarys historii* [Szczecin: An Outline History], Poznań 1993.
- <sup>52</sup> Z. Kłodnicki (ed.), *Dziedzictwo kultury Dolnego Śląska* [Cultural Heritage of Lower Silesia], Wrocław 1996; Wrocław. *Dziedzictwo wieków* [Wrocław. Heritage of Centuries], Wrocław 1997.
- <sup>53</sup> R. Traba, *Kraina tysiąca granic: Szkice o historii i pamięci* [Landscape of a Thousand Borders: Sketches on History and Memory], Olsztyn 2003.
- <sup>54</sup> "Borussia", 1991, 1.
- <sup>55</sup> E.g. S. Achremczyk, *Historia Warmii i Mazur* [History of Warmia and Masuria], 2nd ed., Olsztyn 1997; E. Kruk, *Warmia i Mazury* [Warmia and Masuria], Wrocław 2004.

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