
WITH A ZEST AND IN A REFINED FORM...



THE 7TH INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL
SCIENCES IN WARSAW, 1933

Edited by KRZYSZTOF A. MAKOWSKI, MACIEJ MICHALSKI, TOMASZ SCHRAMM
(in collaboration with KAROLINA FILIPOWSKA)



XXIII
INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS OF
HISTORICAL SCIENCES
POZNAN 2020 / 2022

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The 7th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Warsaw, 1933



Logo of the 7th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Warsaw,
designed by Edward Manteuffel-Szoegé (1908-1940).

Inside cover page: Reproduction of the map of Warsaw, 1933 (Biblioteka Narodowa - National Library in Warsaw, file no. ZZK 5972).

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UNIWERSYTET IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA W POZNANIU
Wydział Historii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	7
Krzysztof A. Makowski, Maciej Michalski, Tomasz Schramm	
Rafał Żebrowski	
WARSAW: THE HOST OF THE 7TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES	13
Krzysztof A. Makowski, Maciej Michalski, Tomasz Schramm, Krzysztof Zamorski	
7TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES: GENESIS, COURSE, RECEPTION	31
Krzysztof Zamorski	
THE WARSAW CONGRESS: A HISTORIOGRAPHIC REFLECTION	109
Iwona Dadej, Maria Solarska	
VISIBLE PERSONS, INVISIBLE PERSONS: THE GENDER ORDER AT THE 7TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES IN WARSAW	147
Krzysztof Zamorski	
SOURCE APPENDIX:	169
CONGRESS PROGRAM	169
LIST OF CONGRESS PARTICIPANTS	219
Marceli Handelsman: REPORT ON THE 7 TH CONGRESS OF HISTORIANS	254
Henri Hauser: REPORT ON THE COURSE OF THE WARSAW CONGRESS FOR THE FRENCH MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION, ANATOLE DE MONZIE	258
ADDENDUM	265
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES: CHANCES AND CHALLENGES – AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCUSSION by Karolina Filipowska	
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	280
BIBLIOGRAPHY	284
INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES	294
NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS	306



Fig. 1. Opening Ceremony at the auditorium of the Warsaw University of Technology, with Prime Minister Janusz Jędrzejewicz at the rostrum, and the President of Poland, Ignacy Mościcki, sitting in front of the Presidium.

INTRODUCTION

The 23rd International Congress of Historical Sciences in Poznań (Poland) – scheduled for 2020 and regretfully postponed to 2022, *nomen omen* due to another global (and quite formidable) historical event – continues the tradition of international meetings of the trade of historians that dates back to 1898. Its longevity is validated not only by the high numeral of its latest edition but also by the 120 years that have passed since the first such meeting in Paris.

As the organizers of the Poznań Congress, we have been cognizant of the weight of this tradition from the onset of our preparations. Looking back at the long procession of people and venues, we have been especially mindful of the 7th edition of the Congress, held between August 21 and 29, 1933 in Warsaw and Cracow. The 1933 Congress directly inspired the organizers of the Poznań meeting, at the same time revealing a number of similarities between our approach and mode of operation, on the one hand, and that of our predecessors, on the other.

It should be mentioned at this point that prior to the Congress in Warsaw seven such meetings had taken place, and an institution had been established that continues to support the global *ecumene* of historians to this day.¹ The history of the congresses before 1933 can be divided into two different eras. The first era ended with the 4th Congress in London (1913), which was preceded by the 1898 meeting in The Hague (where the idea of an international agreement of historians was born), the 1st Congress in Paris (1900), the 2nd Congress in Rome (1903), and the 3rd Congress in Berlin (1908). From the perspective of the 1933 Warsaw meeting, the first editions of the Congress must have seemed like a world of yesteryear, in which it was

¹ We are deliberately referring to Karl Dietrich Erdmann's, *Die Ökumene der Historiker. Geschichte der Internationalen Historikerkongresse und des Comité International des Sciences Historiques* (Göttingen, 1987); extended edition: K.D. Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community of Historians. The International Historical Congresses and the International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1898-2000*, eds. J. Kocka, W.J. Mommsen (New York-Oxford, 2005).

not only one's academic degree that mattered but – as it sometimes seemed – also still one's noble title, with the latter painstakingly entered in the congress documents registers and, in some cases, added to the title pages of scholarly works at the time. The early editions of the congress were also an epoch of special care for ladies who came to congresses with their learned husbands, as expressed in the programs of dedicated events. The number of women arriving as accompanying parties far surpassed that of the female scholars participating in the congress. It was also a time in which the congress formula was being worked out, with French, Italian, English, and German adopted as the working languages, much to the chagrin of some participants. For instance, during the 1913 London Congress Nikolai Bubnov of Kiev University objected to the omission of Russian and delivered his paper partly in French, and partly in Russian. Bubnov's protest was not devoid of overtones, given Russia's designation as the host of the subsequent Congress, scheduled for 1918 in Saint Petersburg, and cancelled for obvious reasons.

The second era of the congresses falls on the interwar period. The first meeting after World War I took place in 1923 in Brussels, which hosted the 5th International Congress of Historical Sciences. The Brussels Congress was hardly an "ecumenical" one, as the tragedy of Great War had tapped into national resentments. In case of the meeting in Brussels these resentments found their outlet above all in the exclusion of all Central Powers' historians from the Congress. Another tendency was equally noticeable, namely – as in other areas – the increasing prominence of the United States in the global community of historians. It was the American scholars who most fervently canvassed for a peaceful settlement of international relations and the expulsion of the demons of war. It was also at the behest of the American Historical Association that the pre-war idea to appoint a permanent body overseeing the organization of the future congresses was popularized. It bore its first fruit at the Brussels meeting. Representatives of the American Historical Association, most notably James T. Shotwell and Waldo G. Leland, obtained funds from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation for the office of such an organization. As a result of their efforts (and those of historians from many different countries), on May 15, 1926 the Comité International des Sciences Historiques/International Committee of Historical Sciences (hereinafter abbreviated as the "CISH"²) was established in Geneva.

The newly appointed Committee immediately began to organize the subsequent 6th Congress, which was to be held in the previously recommended Oslo. As per some observers, it was in Norway that the idea of historians' *ecumene* experienced the first symptoms of the

² Granted, the abbreviation stands for the Committee's French name, but given its widespread use, we decided to follow suit and adopted it throughout this book.

new threats. The Oslo Congress was host to the peculiar phenomenon of "national representations," partly due to the fact that a number of states subsidized their historians' participation in the Congress. As a consequence – at least to some governments – sending contingents of scholars to Norway became a "matter of national importance." Thus, to a lesser extent than before, the Oslo Congress was the doing of the scholars themselves.

Before the Warsaw Congress, the threat posed to the realization of the idea of the *ecumene* of historians was even greater than in Oslo, mostly due to the growing nationalist and fascist tendencies worldwide, and the attendant politicization of historiography. Attempts to uphold the spirit of dialogue were nonetheless made, at least officially, which considerably benefited the Polish organizers. The Warsaw Congress was anticipated by historical profession with intense curiosity, as succinctly put by the American historian Fred Morrow Fling, who wrote, "The historians, as historians, were desirous of seeing first-hand this newly resurrected nation."³

In view of the aforementioned, we decided to release a publication to accompany the Poznań Congress, which would detail the events that transpired nearly 100 years ago. The idea seemed all the more justified given the fact that, despite its academic and social stature, the Warsaw Congress has failed to attract major interest among historians. Suffice it to say that, prior to the premiere of this book, as few as one (relatively concise) article had been published on the Warsaw Congress. The said text was written by Tadeusz Kondracki for the 1989 issue of *Kronika Warszawy*.⁴ Aside from Kondracki's study, the Congress has been featured in just a handful of publications, above all in two monographs on the history of the Polish Historical Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne) in the interwar period: one written by the aforementioned Tadeusz Kondracki, the other – on the Cracow branch of the Society – by Bartosz Tracz.⁵ The Warsaw Congress was also covered, albeit succinctly, in Karl Dietrich Erdmann's monograph on the history of the international congresses invoked at the beginning of this chapter. Moreover, the 1933 Congress was quite extensively featured in Jerzy Różewicz's and Stefan Guth's respective studies of the relations between Polish and Soviet, as well as Polish and German historians at the time.⁶ Finally, we should also mention the recently published Krzysztof Zamorski's monograph devoted to the participation of the

³ F.M. Fling, "Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences Warsaw, August 21-28, 1933", *The American Historical Review* 39 (1934), p. 269.

⁴ T. Kondracki, "Święto Klio nad Wisłą (za kulisami VII Międzynarodowego Kongresu Historyków w Warszawie 1939)", *Kronika Warszawy* 1989, no. 2, pp. 55-80. Interestingly, Kondracki mistakenly places the Congress in 1939.

⁵ T. Kondracki, *Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne w latach 1918-1939* (Toruń, 2006); B. Tracz, *Krakowski Oddział Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego i jego członkowie 1913-1945* (Kraków, 2013).

⁶ J. Różewicz, *Polsko-radzieckie stosunki naukowe w latach 1918-1939* (Wrocław-Warszawa, 1979); S. Guth, "Between Confrontation and Conciliation. German-Polish Historiographical Relations and the International Congresses of Historians in the 1930s", *Storia della Storiografia* 47 (2005), pp. 113-160 (later in a monograph *Geschichte als Politik. Der deutsch-polnische Historikerdialog im 20. Jahrhundert* [Berlin-Boston, 2015]).

Polish historians in congresses of historical sciences in the years 1898-1938, in which the Warsaw Congress found a significant place.⁷

While the following sections of this volume focus on different aspects of the Congress itself, our overarching intention was to demonstrate its temporal context, while also examining its impact on the progress of historical sciences and the global community of historians. Rafał Żebrowski's introductory chapter outlines Warsaw of the 1930s as a capital city of a state resuscitated from non-existence less than fifteen years earlier. Hinting at the city's prior and subsequent history, Żebrowski outlines the *mise-en-scène* of the 1933 Congress. In the first substantive chapter of this volume, Krzysztof A. Makowski, Maciej Michalski, Tomasz Schramm, and Krzysztof Zamorski, at first, recount the genesis of the Congress, i.e., the several years of preparations conducted by Polish historians overseen by the Polish Historical Society. The subsequent section of the said chapter depicts – from various points of view – the course of the eventful Congress, held between August 19 and 29, 1933. The chapter concludes with the authors examining the responses to the Congress, not only of academic milieu but also with respect to its political and social resonance.

Complementing the above discussion are two studies comprising the second part of this book. Krzysztof Zamorski dissects the impact of the respective Congress sections and sessions (sometimes individual papers) and discussions on the development of historiography. Conversely, Iwona Dadej and Maria Solarska investigate the role of women in the Warsaw Congress as a vital academic and social aspect of the changing awareness of the historical milieu at the time. The Congress was a watershed event in this regard.

The third section of this publication contains a selection of source materials, which both illustrate and complement the issues discussed in the book. Included in the appendix are the Congress program, the list of its participants, as well as two post-Congress reports, one by Marcei Handelsman, the other by the French historian Henri Hauser. The volume ends with an addendum containing account of the discussion on the role of the world historical congresses in the past and today, held at the Faculty of History of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań during the CISH Board's visit in June 2018.

The authors of this book have made their best efforts to ground their texts in source materials. Our research included comprehensive queries of publications related to the Congress, among others a range of brochures, prints, professional journals, and press. Aside from these, we have also made the most of the available archival records, chiefly in Poland (in particular the Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences in

7 K. Zamorski, *Przez profesjonalizację do międzynarodowej ekumeny historyków. Historiografia polska na międzynarodowych kongresach nauk historycznych w latach 1898-1938* (Kraków, 2020); on the Warsaw Congress on pages 99-170.

Warsaw and Poznań, as well as the Archives of Science of Polish Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow), but also – whenever possible – outside of the country. The results of our queries are reflected in the following sections of this book.

The texts and sources featured in this book are complemented with a number of illustrations, with the hope of conveying the *Zeitgeist*, mainly the pictures of Congress participants and photographs of various Congress events. The book also showcases over a dozen various reprints, mostly of the title pages of the publications and prints released for the Congress. The iconography comes from different Polish and foreign collections, above all from the National Digital Archives in Warsaw. The sources of the illustrations are given in a separate list at the back of the book.

Last but not least, we wish to extend our sincerest gratitude to everyone who contributed to the creation of this book, in particular the institutions and individuals who aided us in our extensive and painstaking source queries, including the Supreme Directorate of State Archives in Warsaw. We are also grateful for the courtesy of the institutions that permitted us to reprint the illustrations from their pictorial collections – in particular the Director of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences – and for the personal commitment of Ms. Laura Saggiorato of the Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire in Lausanne, and Ms. Kazimiera Wereszko of the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.

Our special thanks go to Dr Magdalena Heruday-Kielczewska, who lent her archivist expertise to the selection of sources and illustrations for this book, and to Prof. Joel Harrington of Vanderbilt University, who kindly took time to proofread the manuscript.

Krzysztof A. Makowski, Maciej Michalski, Tomasz Schramm

Rafał Żebrowski

WARSAW: THE HOST OF THE 7TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES

When speaking of Warsaw as the host city of the 7th International Congress of Historical Sciences, one should keep in mind that the first five congresses were held in Western Europe. It was only the 6th Congress in Oslo in 1928 that saw the community of historians convene in a country whose traditions may have dated back to the Middle Ages, but the history of its modern statehood had only just begun. In turn, the 7th Congress in Warsaw was a manifestation of the aspirations of the “new” states, established after World War I.

One should also remember that the Polish edition of the Congress was held in two cities, Warsaw (the administrative center of Poland) and Cracow (the country’s oldest academic hub). However, in the Congress tradition and the collective memory of its participants, the event has been associated with the Polish capital.

Fig. 2. Courtyard at 15 Nalewki Street in Warsaw, 1934.

The Congress in 1933 was hosted by a city whose history dates back to medieval times.¹ Archeologists trace the first fortified settlements in the area to the 9th century A.D. Warsaw was granted incorporation charter in the 13th century. In the subsequent century, the city served as the seat of the princes of Mazovia. The so-called New Warsaw, which began to take shape in the 14th century, north of the original city, received its location privilege in 1408 and became the principal seat of the Mazovian princes in 1413, during the reign of Janusz I. The medieval period of Warsaw's history ended in 1526 with the death of the last ruler in the Mazovian Piast line, which was followed by the incorporation of both Warsaw and Mazovia in the Kingdom of Poland.

Established at the Sejm of 1569 in Lublin, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth chose Warsaw as the host of the General Sejms of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Starting in 1573, the city served as the venue for the Polish royal elections. Finally, in 1596, after the castle in Cracow burned down, King Sigismund III Vasa (Zygmunt III Waza) moved to Warsaw, and then settled at the previously rebuilt local castle (1611). Thus, Warsaw began to function as the capital of the state.

In the second half of the 18th century, the reign of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (Stanisław August Poniatowski) marked the downfall of the Commonwealth which, despite reformatory efforts, gradually yielded to its neighbors, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who subjugated Poland in the course of three partition treaties (1772, 1793, and 1795). In 1770, new earth embankments were built around the entire city of Warsaw, including the right-bank Praga (which was then a separate city), demarcating its borders for the next 150 years.

¹ It would be difficult to provide a comprehensive list of subject literature on the history of Warsaw. Notable examples include two encyclopedias: B. Kaczorowski, ed. *Encyklopedia Warszawy* (Warszawa, [1994]); S. Herbst, ed. *Encyklopedia Warszawy* (Warszawa, 1975); several extensive monographs, e.g.: J.S. Bystroń, *Warszawa*, introduction by R. Kołodziejczyk (Warszawa, 1977); M.M. Drozdowski, A. Zahorski, *Historia Warszawy* (Warszawa, 2004); K. Móraski, *Warszawa. Dzieje miasta* (Warszawa, 2017); and a multi-volume history of the city in the successive eras (*Dzieje Warszawy*, vols. 2-6 [Warszawa, 1976-1991]). The keenly anticipated monumental bibliography of the Polish capital, compiled under the auspices of the Museum of Warsaw, failed to live up to the expectations (J. Durko, ed. *Bibliografia Warszawy. Druki zwarte*, [Warszawa, 1958]; J. Durko, ed. *Bibliografia Warszawy. Wydawnictwa ciągłe*, vols. 1-6, [Warszawa, 1964-2006]). Among the anthologies of source texts, the sole comprehensive issue published so far has been J. Kazimierski and R. Kołodziejczyk's, *Dzieje Mazowsza i Warszawy. Wybór źródeł* (Warszawa, 1973). Noteworthy academic syntheses of the history of Warsaw's Jewish community include: J. Szacki, *גזעשיכטע פון יידן אין וואַרשע*, vols. 1-3 (New York, 1947-1953); E. Ringelblum, *Żydzi w Warszawie*, vol. 1: *Od czasów najdawniejszych do ostatniego wygnania w r. 1527* (Warszawa, 1932); H. Nussbaum, *Szkice historyczne z życia Żydów w Warszawie* (Warszawa, 1881); I. Schiper, *Cmentarze żydowskie w Warszawie* (Warszawa, 1938); R. Żebrowski, *Żydowska Gmina Wyznaniowa w Warszawie, 1918-1939. W kręgu polityki* (Warszawa, 2012). Last but not least, Warsaw's history has been chronicled in several monographic journals, in particular: *Rocznik Statystyczny m.st. Warszawy* (published in the interwar period); *Kronika Warszawy* (published before and after World War II); *Rocznik Warszawski*; *Stolica*; *Skarpa*.

Despite the calamitous turn of events for Poland, the city itself continued its dynamic growth, *inter alia* thanks to the impact of the Enlightenment currents and the royal patronage. Over the decades, Varsovians formed a diverse religious and ethnic community. People coming from Prussia and other German states, as well as the French, Italians, Scots, Russians, Greeks, Czechs, Hungarians, and Armenians found a new homeland here. Warsaw's Jewish community strove to fully legalize its stay in the city.² The population of Warsaw reached 100,000 before the end of the 18th century.

At the state level, Poland's final effort to retain its independence came with the Kościuszko Uprising,³ quashed after the capture of the right-bank district of Praga (incorporated in the city in 1791) and the subsequent slaughter of its residents. After this event, the left-bank city surrendered. With the capital transferred to Prussia following a year-long Russian occupation, Warsaw seemed doomed to stagnation,⁴ with its population dwindling to 60,000.

Warsaw caught a second breath with the founding of the Duchy of Warsaw by Napoleon I in 1807. The fall of the God of War and the decisions of the Congress of Vienna, under which Warsaw, as the capital of the Kingdom of Poland, came under Russian rule, did not cause a long-term depression. With the city groomed to serve as one of the official capitals of the Romanov Empire, a construction boom ensued, spiking Warsaw's population to 140,000 residents. There was also considerable promise of economic growth, thwarted by the occupant's violations of the relatively lenient constitution of the Kingdom of Poland (drafted by the Russian authorities themselves) and the resultant November Uprising (1830-1831), which had Warsaw at its epicenter.⁵

In the wake of the uprising, Field Marshal Ivan Paskevich was named the new Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland.⁶ In 1833, the Russians declared a 25-year martial law, lifting it in 1856. To keep the disobedient city in check, the Tsar ordered to erect a citadel, with a number of houses demolished on the left bank of the Vistula in order to clear the new fortress' foreground. The demolitions resulted in the growth of the so-called northern district that was populated

² Z. Borzymińska, *Non tolerandis...? Meandry obecności Żydów w Warszawie u schyłku I Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 1: 1764-1788, vol. 2: 1788-1795 (Warszawa, 2019).

³ W. Tokarz, *Insurekcja warszawska (17 i 18 kwietnia 1794 r.)* (Warszawa, 2017); W. Tokarz, *Warszawa przed wybuchem powstania 17 kwietnia 1794 r.* (Oświęcim, 2018); A. Zahorski, *Warszawa w powstaniu kościuszkowskim* (Warszawa, 1985); E. Ringelblum, *Żydzi w powstaniu kościuszkowskim* (Warszawa, [1938]).

⁴ J. Kosim, *Pod pruskim zaborem. Warszawa w latach 1796-1806* (Warszawa, 1980).

⁵ I. Tessaro-Kosimowa, J. Skowronek, *Warszawa w powstaniu listopadowym* (Warszawa, 1980); T. Łepkowski, *Warszawa w powstaniu listopadowym* (Warszawa, 1965); I. Schiper, *Żydzi Królestwa Polskiego w dobie powstania listopadowego* (Warszawa, 1932); A. Eisenbach, *Ludność żydowska Królestwa a powstanie listopadowe* (Warszawa, 1976).

⁶ Field Marshal Ivan Paskevich commanded the army which captured Warsaw in 1831. In recognition of the feat, he was named the "Prince of Warsaw" and the Viceroy of the Tzar in the Kingdom of Poland.

chiefly by the Jewish minority, which comprised ca. 1/3 of Warsaw's population (a proportion that would remain stable for much of Warsaw's future).

The coming of the Post-Sevastopol Thaw marked the liberalization of the Russian Empire, but with no major concessions from the Tsar in sight, Warsaw entered a period of unrest and patriotic demonstrations.⁷ All of the adopted countermeasures – repressions, shooting at the protesters, declaring a state of siege (October 14, 1861), or the overtures of compromise – failed to appease the population. Even the appointment of a Pole, Margrave Aleksander Wielopolski, as the Head of the Civil Government of the Kingdom of Poland proved to be counterproductive, as it was precisely Wielopolski's repressions against the patriotic youth that catalyzed the outbreak of next rising in 1863, known as the January Uprising.⁸ One of the Wielopolski's few long-term successes was the emancipation of Jews in the Kingdom of Poland in 1862.

Having suppressed the January Uprising, the Russians lifted the autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland (1867). Warsaw lost its capital status, although it retained it at a symbolic level among Poles across the three partitions. The attendant enfranchisement of peasants marked the coming of a new era, conducive to industrialization and urbanization. Warsaw became its chief beneficiary, with its population climbing to over 380,000 by 1882 (a 50% growth within only two decades). Even before the January Uprising, railroads connected Warsaw with Vienna and St. Petersburg. Industry flourished. The city continued to modernize, developing its waterworks and sewage system, as well as its infrastructure (from street lighting and paving to public toilets and a telephone network). Warsaw's skyline changed correspondingly, and was now dominated by spacious tenements.⁹ All of the aforementioned changes were limited to the area inside the late 18th century city walls, which effectively hampered Warsaw's territorial sprawl.

At the same time, the occupiers stayed the course of their repressive Russification policy, hoping to remodel Warsaw's social and cultural tissue. The percentage of Russians in the city's population, however, failed to grow exponentially, rising from 3.5% in 1882 to only 4.2% at the brink of World War I. The Russian minority was chiefly comprised of administrative, judiciary, and legal officers, as well as the military garrison.¹⁰ Nonetheless, the Russian authorities continued to dissolve Polish cultural, academic, and educational institutions, including the Main School (1862-1869), replaced by the Russified Imperial University of Warsaw (1870).¹¹ This was accompanied by intensive Russification of the school system, triggering an underground

education network and the subsequent establishment of an underground university, known as the Flying University (1882).

On the eve of the 20th century, Warsaw's population reached 700,000. The city was a major industrial center with numerous intelligentsia descending among others from the *déclassé* nobility. Jewish residents constituted roughly 1/3 of the population. Apart from the orthodox circles, such was their emancipation that it was here that the foundations were laid for the leading center of modern Jewish culture, not only for the Russian Empire but also the entire globe. It should be mentioned here that aside from Poles and Jews in Warsaw still lived Russians, Germans and representatives of many other nations.

Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese war led to an internal crisis known as the Revolution of 1905-1907.¹² In Polish historiography, the revolution has been described in the vein of the local insurgency tradition. Interestingly, staying in Warsaw just at the time was Nicolae Iorga, a future professor, Prime Minister of Romania, and participant of the Congress in 1933, who recounted the turbulent period in an article titled *Szaniec warszawski (The Warsaw Rampart)*.¹³

Liberalization, constrained by revolutionary events as well as numerous strikes and demonstrations, forced the Russian occupier to allow teaching in Polish in state schools (albeit limited only to Polish language and religion classes). The secret Flying University evolved into the open Society of Science Courses, subsequently renamed the Free Polish University in 1918, thus becoming Warsaw's first private college (and its second higher education institution after the public University of Warsaw). Censorship was softened, including the legalization of Yiddish in cultural life, which encouraged *inter alia* the establishment of high-circulation Jewish dailies in Warsaw, and which – together with developing publishing houses and theaters – acted as the driving force of modern Jewish culture.

Warsaw was thrust into World War I as a city with a population of 900,000.¹⁴ The conflict caused a revival of social initiatives. After the capture of Warsaw by the Germans (1915), the social and political relations continued to liberalize. Thanks to the decisions of the Governor-General of Warsaw, Hans Hartwig von Beseler, the "Greater Warsaw" project was finally implemented by incorporation of the adjacent suburbs. As a result, included in the city limits were poorly urbanized areas and even patches of arable land.

On November 5, 1916, the authorities of the Central Powers announced the establishment of the Kingdom of Poland, which spanned the areas of the Russian Empire occupied by their

⁷ See, among others, J. Komar, *Warszawskie manifestacje patriotyczne 1860-1861* (Warszawa, 1970).

⁸ See S. Kieniewicz, *Warszawa w powstaniu styczniowym* (Warszawa, 1983); A. Eisenbach, D. Fajnhauz, A. Wein, eds. *Żydzi a powstanie styczniowe. Materiały i dokumenty* (Warszawa, 1963).

⁹ See, among others, A. Łupienko, *Kamienice czynszowe Warszawy 1864-1914* (Warszawa, 2015).

¹⁰ V. Wiernicka, *Rosjanie w Polsce. Czas zaborów 1795-1915* (Warszawa, 2015).

¹¹ T. Kizwalter, ed. *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1869-1915* (Warszawa, 2016).

¹² H. Kiepuska, *Warszawa w rewolucji 1905-1907* (Warszawa, 1974); S. Kalabiński, F. Tych, *Czwarte powstanie czy pierwsza rewolucja. Lata 1905-1907 na ziemiach polskich* (Warszawa, 1976).

¹³ H. Korotyński, "Godzina z prof. Jorgą", *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 236, p. 22.

¹⁴ K. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Warszawa w pamiętnikach pierwszej wojny światowej* (Warszawa, 1971); K. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Warszawa w 1914 r.* (Warszawa, 2004); K. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Pamiętnikarstwo warszawskie 1914-1918* (Warszawa, 1970).

armies. Warsaw began to prepare for the role of a future capital. The seeds of the prospective central authorities of sovereign Poland – the government and the Parliament (even though controlled by the occupiers) – were planted. At the same time, constitutional and legal framework was being set for the future Republic of Poland, which was born on November 10-11, 1918, alongside Józef Piłsudski's return from German internment.

The chaos of the first days of Polish independence and the attendant shortages of provisions nourished the “specter of revolution,” which walked the streets of Warsaw hand in hand with the influenza pandemic, known globally as the Spanish Flu, and locally as the Odessa Fever. During the war, Warsaw also sheltered droves of refugees, including many Jews who together with the local diaspora comprised nearly half of the city's population. As the war ended, the refugees left for their old (or new) homes, bringing Warsaw's nationality ratio back to its “traditional” proportions.

Re-established as a sovereign state, Poland was in a severely depleted condition, since most of its new territory had served as a theater of World War I and the post-war borderland conflicts. Plunder reigned supreme along the frontlines; the country's army was created *ex nihilo*; its economy was savaged by war, and its territory – which had long been governed by different political entities – was a heap of social and economic problems.

The lack of political stability in the first years of independence culminated in the so-called May Coup (May 12-15, 1926), a military takeover staged by one of the main architects of Poland sovereignty, Marshal Józef Piłsudski (the armed combats took place in Warsaw). The short-lasting stability that ensued was interrupted by the global crisis, to which Poland was particularly vulnerable as a country with a relatively weak and war-oriented economy (its military expenditure eating up over 30% of the state budget). By 1933 – the year of the Warsaw Congress – the recession had gone into full swing, exacerbated by austerity imposed by the successive cabinets.

In the wake of World War I, Warsaw was the sole Polish city on a par with major European agglomerations. Poland's cities rarely exceeded 100,000 residents. Its capital showed unbridled potential that was soon reflected by the incremental growth of its population, which rose from 700,000 in 1918 to 1,200,000 in 1939. Only ¼ of this growth followed from a higher birth rate, while the rest was a consequence of migrations. Warsaw was a magnet not only for aspiring bureaucrats, who were in demand in the newly established state, and of whom most came from the former Austrian partition, but also for the people lured by the (oft-illusory) prospects of good jobs, and representatives of the intelligentsia, including people of culture. As a result, Warsaw was “rejuvenated” demographically, with as few as 7.7% of residents aged over 60. On top of that, 140,000 commuters shuttled back and forth between Warsaw and the neighboring towns and villages.

Assuming the role of a future capital in the final days of the German occupation was marred by numerous hardships, not the least of which was the acute lack of institutional infrastructure. Warsaw simply begged for appropriate buildings. Initially, the central authorities of the re-established state were deployed in Warsaw's palaces and mansions, converted into seats of administrative entities. After all, their satisfactory condition was sometimes achieved with a considerable delay, e.g., the Brühl Palace, in very heart of Warsaw, was finally modernized for the purposes of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs only in the years 1932-1938. Convening for its first session in February 1919, the Parliament occupied the building of the former Alexander and Mary Institute of Education for Young Ladies, whose proper renovation did not begin until 1925. It was only in 1928 that a state-of-the-art convention hall was launched, with ongoing renovation works in the complex continuing to this day. Scattered around the city, the governmental buildings were developed on the fly, depending on the circumstances. The seat of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education was built between 1927 and 1930; the new home of the Ministry of Public Works was erected between 1929 and 1931; the General Inspectorate of the Armed Forces waited for its seat until 1930, outpacing the Polish Navy Management (1936) and the Office of the Warsaw Voivodeship (1938).

Warsaw's potential for development was also triggered by its stature as a dynamically growing academic center, whose origins dated back to the period of partitions. Even before Poland regained its independence, Warsaw boasted a resilient and numerous intelligentsia. Granted, its activity was often muzzled by the Russian occupiers, in particular by the post-1863 Russification policies. The city made up for the lack in higher education institutions with its buoyant social institutions. Prior to 1914, the Imperial University of Warsaw was virtually a Russian college, including the conducted historical research. Re-polonized in 1915, the university was soon joined by the Warsaw University of Technology, which replaced the Tsar Nicholas II Warsaw Polytechnic Institute (est. 1898) after the German capture of Warsaw in 1915. A little earlier, at the behest of private patrons, the Wawelberg and Rotwand Secondary Mechanical-Technical School was established in 1895, later transformed into the state-owned Wawelberg and Rotwand Government School of Machine Construction and Electrotechnics. Similarly, the August Zieliński Private Trade Courses for Men (est. 1906) was renamed the Higher School of Commerce (1915), eventually becoming known as the Warsaw School of Economics (1933). The beginnings of the Higher Agricultural School (est. 1916; renamed the Major School of Rural Economy in 1919) were connected with the loosening of the Russian policy after the revolution of 1905-1907. Conversely, 1904 saw the establishment of the privately owned Warsaw School of Fine Arts, eventually elevated in 1932 to the rank of the Academy of Fine Arts.

With Poland regaining its independence, Warsaw established itself as a resilient and dominant academic hub of Poland, among others thanks to the influx of “immigrant” faculty. Aside from the aforementioned colleges, Warsaw was home to such educational institutions as the Dental Academy, State Pedagogical Institute, Higher School of Political Science, Central Institute for Physical Education, Warsaw Conservatory, State Institute of Theatrical Arts, High School of Journalism, and War School of the General Staff (from 1922 Higher War School). In total, Warsaw boasted a 20,000-strong student population, and was widely regarded as Poland’s foremost academic center.

A capital of the revived state, Warsaw took on the mantle of its major cultural hub. Sadly, the city’s main book depository, the National Library (first established in the 18th century), took a decade to formally reopen due to the protracted repossession of its collection, which had been looted by the Russians. Initially, it was based at the building of the newly erected Library of the Warsaw School of Economics. In 1933, the collection was officially estimated at “approximately” 500,000 volumes, on a par with the University of Warsaw Library. In 1935, the National Library relocated to the Potocki Palace.

In the arena of fine arts, Warsaw continued to expand its Museum of Fine Arts (est. 1862), which had been its property since 1916. Renamed the National Museum of Warsaw, it took the gallery nearly two decades to move in to its new seat (erected between 1927 and 1938 and shared with the subtenant Polish Army Museum, assigned a section of the building in 1933).

We would be remiss as historians if we failed to mention Warsaw’s expanding central archives. Keeping the city’s records were the Central Archives of Historical Records and the Military Archives (since 1930 the Central Archives of Modern Records), as well as the Treasury Archives and the Archives of Public Education (both burnt down in 1944). The Central Archives of Historical Records, which occupied the building of the former Customs House since 1831, also lost its seat during World War II. The collection of the Archives, which was rescued by Poles, in 1944 was set on fire by the Germans. It resulted in the loss of much of the records. In the interwar period, the Central Archives of Modern Records kept its files in several outlying locations (including postindustrial buildings), rendering them available at the reading room of its sister institution, the Central Archives of Historical Records.

In 1933, Warsaw was still waiting for a presentable railway station. Congress participants arrived at the temporary Central Station, erected in 1919-1920 as a stopgap. The construction of the Warsaw Main Station – worthy of this name – began as late as 1932 and dragged until the outbreak of World War II (concluding with the demolition of its ruins in 1945). The case was very much similar with Warsaw’s airport. At the time of the Congress, the city used a makeshift airfield at Pole Mokotowskie, which proved to be convenient in so far as the conference was hosted by the nearby Warsaw University of Technology. It was only in 1934 that the long-awaited Okęcie Airport was finally put into operation.

Warsaw entered the interwar period as a city with extensive and poorly developed suburbs. Their much needed modernization was impeded by the lingering financial problems (by 1931, Warsaw’s deficit had become exorbitant), and the private ownership of the said areas. To make matters worse, the country’s poor social and economic situation and excessive statism presented the local government with insurmountable challenges.

Conversely, the private construction sector continued to operate through the toughest of times, even if it failed to fully cater to the demands of Warsaw’s growing population. Housing shortages stimulated an intricate subletting system, from rooms (or even sections thereof) to kitchens. Many apartments were unbearably overcrowded. Another problem was the rising number of the homeless, for whom estates of makeshift container homes and lodgings were erected, the largest of which was – *nomen omen* – nicknamed the “Circus.”¹⁵ Another way to address homelessness was to erect barrack estates for those left with no roof over their heads. The estates were developed in the outskirts of Warsaw, in the districts of Bródno, Żoliborz, and Annopol (where in 1938 hosted between 11,000 and 12,000 residents across 113 barracks). Completing the real estate picture were small houses haphazardly assembled and inhabited by the poorest Varsovians.

In the early interwar period, Warsaw was dominated by horse-drawn transportation. Stables and outbuildings for farm animals were a common sight before their gradual elimination accelerated in the 1930s. The main means of individual transport were the hackney cabs. Taxi cabs, referred to as “motor hackney cabs,” were on the rise throughout the first decade of independence, before the outbreak of the global crisis, which saw the demand for their services plummet. Conversely, the tramway network continued to evolve over time, along with the municipal bus service, whose development quickened in the 1930s. Shortly before the war, the total number of automobiles and trucks in Warsaw was estimated at 5,000 and 2,000, respectively.

From the urban-planning perspective, Warsaw was not exactly a paragon of a modern metropolis, in particular with regard to its central district called Śródmieście (Downtown), which would routinely be drafted as the parlor of a state’s capital. Warsaw Śródmieście lacked the typical broad thoroughfares and was dominated by narrow streets densely built-up with massive tenements. Many boasted richly decorated facades, as if to disguise the gloomy yards, which were mostly devoid of greenery. The rare exceptions included the so-called Royal Route (which led south of the Old Town, along Krakowskie Przedmieście and Nowy Świat streets), Ujazdowskie Avenue and Marszałkowska Street (traced out parallel to each other alongside

¹⁵ See, among others, “Kłęska bezdomności w Warszawie jest coraz groźniejsza,” *Nasz Przegląd* 1933, no. 240, p. 17.

the North-South axis of Warsaw), which were crossed perpendicularly by the Jerozolimskie Avenue (home to posh boutiques with tall show windows). Due to the nature of the Warsaw's development, this element of metropolitan architecture featured less frequently in the rest of Śródmieście.

South of the center lay the developing district of Mokotów, where the "straitjacket of ownership relations" of building plots did not restrict developers so much, and the suburban palaces did not determine the character of this part of the city. The land was cheaper and its price dropped along with the distance from the city center. Mokotów boasted numerous swanky villas hidden amidst the green, as well as a plethora of differently fashioned tenements. Its main thoroughfare was Puławska Street, which soon became Warsaw's longest boulevard, running all the way up to Unii Lubelskiej Square, which served as a terminus for suburban buses and marked the beginning of Marszałkowska Street. Mokotów saw a boom in construction in the 1930s, with its main artery attracting top-notch tenement architects. At the southernmost end of Puławska Street lay the State Horse Racing Track, relocated from the centrally located Pole Mokotowskie, roughly at the same time as the aforementioned airfield. The two facilities went into operation in 1939, but were still works-in-progress at the time of the German invasion in September that year.

A poorer area was Czerniaków, home to the destitute and criminal underworld, whose exploits were celebrated in various rogue ballads. West of the center lay the plebeian districts of Wola and Ochota, whose easternmost neighborhoods began to gentrify and boasted spanking-new tenements, while their westernmost regions were still built-up with wooden cottages. The neighborhood of Narutowicz Square hosted the first student dormitory complex in Poland (erected between 1922 and 1930), which included the flagship Akademik residence, offering nearly one thousand beds to the students of the Warsaw University of Technology.

The most unkempt among Warsaw's districts was Praga, situated on the right bank of the Vistula. Aside from its central areas of New and Old Praga, large chunks of the borough were incorporated in its territory as late as 1916, following the retreat of the Russian forces, which left behind a military compound and Orthodox Church. Further away from the Vistula and its bridges, one could find quite neglected, and even rural, wooden buildings, not to mention cabbage fields. Nonetheless, the exuberant demand for new housing rendered it attractive to new residents and investors. Interestingly, local and migrant Jews steered clear of the suburban parts of Praga, concentrating instead in its old sections. The development of right-bank Warsaw was hindered by the numerous railway tracks that sliced through the district since the 19th century. A major impulse for eastward development came with the electrification of the suburban rail route to Otwock and the neighboring summer resorts, and the subsequent direct connection of right-bank areas via a new railway bridge and tunnel. It seems doubtful,

however, that the guests of the Congress in 1933 were enticed to venture beyond the more affluent part of the city.

The largest minority of interwar Warsaw were its 300,000 Jews, who amounted to 30% of the city's population. Despite the abolishment of settlement restrictions, imposed on the Jewish population of the Russian Empire until 1862, the majority of Jewish residents of the Polish capital preferred to remain to themselves. Jews were the dominant ethnic group in the district of Powązki, incorporated in Warsaw in 1916. Most Jews, however, settled in the so-called "northern district," at the heart of which lay Muranów, a quarter with an 80% Jewish population. Nalewki Street and its vicinity were the commercial center of Warsaw. Sitting at the beginning of the street was the Simons Passage, groomed to take over and modernize a chunk of commercial activity. It turned out, however, that no new solution was able to contain the vitality of this center of the Jewish quarter. Muranów was dominated by several-story tenements with annexes and several sets of backyards extending alongside entire blocks. Such edifice, or rather architectural module, was something between a separate street and a small town. Many apartments no longer served as domiciles, and were converted into shops, warehouses, and factories. Signboards reigned supreme, having supplanted display windows.

Work in Muranów began early in the morning and continued into late evening hours. The hustle and bustle subsided during the Sabbath (on Saturdays) and on traditional Jewish holidays. To fulfill their religious duties, many followers of the Mosaic religion stopped in at some of the synagogues to say prayers but had to wait their turn, following quickly on the heels of the previous *minyán* (a group of at least 10 believers) still saying the words prescribed in the ritual.

The houses in Nalewki Street may have seemed stately, but they were in fact neglected. Many (albeit not all) of them had Jewish owners. Major renovations were few and far between, with most of the limited to the repainting of the outer façades. Further away from Nalewki, the housing conditions were even poorer. Cases were reported in which elevation pieces came off the walls, hurting passers-by and street vendors. According to research commissioned by the magistrate, the district was by far the most congested, its air quality the poorest, and the noise omnipresent. The neighborhood was almost completely devoid of greenery (save for the Krasiński Garden), and saw frequent outburst of contagious diseases along with reports of social negligence, including abject poverty, and avoidance of compulsory schooling. The high rate of traffic accidents was eventually brought down towards the end of the 1930s as a result of a stricter policy adopted by Warsaw municipal authorities and the police.

The neighborhood closer to downtown Warsaw, around Bielańska and Tłomackie streets (the latter with the progressive Great Synagogue), had a different character. Some of the Jewish stores here remained open even on the Sabbath and during some Jewish holidays. As a rule,

they were only closed on the so-called Days of Awe, mainly in Rosh Hashanah (New Year) and Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement). Already by the 1930s, some of the Hassidic shop assistants put on ties and dropped their traditional dress because it helped business.

North of the “northern district” lay the borough of Żoliborz. With the regaining of Polish independence, all construction restrictions were lifted that had been in force due to the presence of the Russian citadel. The first new arrivals in Żoliborz included members of the Warsaw intelligentsia, which led to the establishment of the Officers’ Żoliborz and Clerical Żoliborz housing estates. 1927 saw the unveiling of the first block of apartments developed by the Warsaw Housing Cooperative. This interesting urban and social experiment strove to combine functionalism with reasonable construction and maintenance costs while satisfying all of the residents’ needs, not only the material ones. Although the solution proved unaffordable to the poorest residents of Warsaw, it yielded an interesting effect by creating a specific culture with a left-progressive-intellectual coloring. The “race of people from Żoliborz” was remembered with great appreciation even after many years, and the nickname had a proud ring to it. Warsaw continued to grow northwards, in the districts of Marymont and Bielany, where among others the unique housing estate “Workers’ Achievement” was established, whose creation (in 1926) was inspired by the activists of the Polish Socialist Party. It could be argued that North Warsaw was the most resident-friendly part of the city, with its landscape abounding with villas and terraced houses, interspersed with copious greenery. Its single bottleneck was the imperfect mass transit, hampered by the railway lines that separated Żoliborz and Bielany from the rest of Warsaw. The long-anticipated overpass facilitating the local traffic was opened only two years before World War II.

As a whole, Varsovians were known for a strong sense of local patriotism and the attendant folklore, perhaps best epitomized by the popular dictum (and the title of a book written by a native son of Czerniaków, Stanisław Grzesiuk), “Barefoot, but in spurs.” Warsaw’s collective identity involved a plethora of local idiosyncrasies, habits, and linguistic regionalisms. The overarching features of this diverse conglomerate were its shared tongue-in-cheek attitude, sense of humor and, above all, its peculiar steadfastness and fancy. Warsaw’s *genius loci* resonated with its residents regardless of their backgrounds, religious denominations, or the city’s fortunes. It refused to be stifled even by Hitler’s rise to power. It was then that a certain Jewish citizen of Warsaw cruised about the local bars with a lapdog called Hitlerek (Little Hitler), warning all and sundry of the dog’s rabid tendencies. Another mentally unbalanced Varsovian Jew posed as a general and demanded that the authorities assign him a regiment of 5,000 soldiers to fight “a certain Abraham Hitler, operating under the false name of Adolf Hitler.”¹⁶

¹⁶ “Nie ruszać, bo Hitlerek gryzie!” *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 63, p. 4; “Niezwyczajny ‘general’ w ‘Adrii’,” *Nasz Przegląd* 1933, no. 233, p. 16.

Such was the Varsovians’ ingenuity that some local scammers offered to sell the capital’s landmark – the Sigismund Column – to visitors from heartland Poland (other fake classified ads included the sale of water in the Vistula or the sub-rental of the Main Railway Station for dancing).

At the time, Warsaw was occasionally dubbed “the Paris of the North.” Granted, the moniker was a gross exaggeration, but the city was indeed known for its fancy clubs and boutiques. Its most famed dance hall, Franciszek Moszkowicz’s Adria, boasted a revolving parquet floor, an outstanding music band, and a bill of top-notch artistic events, including high-brow performances. In 1933, a folk dance show was staged there for the participants of the Congress.¹⁷ The capital also had a rich café life, with numerous men and women of letters debating over coffee, surrounded by their admirers. Café tables were minute

institutions of culture, in particular at such venues as Ziemiańska, Mała Ziemiańska, and Instytut Propagandy Sztuki. Warsaw’s restaurants and eateries, some of which remained open round the clock, offered more mundane pleasures. Founded by the Polish branch of the acclaimed Fugger family, Fukier’s wine bar was hold in particularly high repute among oenophiles. It was there, by the way, that on August 19-20, 1933, before the Congress, the



Fig. 3 “Prudential” Insurance Company building before World War II.

¹⁷ Adria’s reasonably priced and diverse repertoire made it tremendously popular. See “Dlatego też cała elegancka Warszawa żyje pod znakiem Adrii” – Co się dzieje w Adrii?, *5 Rano* 1933, no. 245, p. 3.

unofficial part of the 2nd Conference of the Federation of Eastern European Historical Societies took place.¹⁸ One of Fukier's specialties was the Warsaw-style tripe, i.e., tripe served with meatballs or "saucepan tripe," a true cholesterol bomb that would leave any modern-day dietician speechless.

Numerous Warsaw cultural institutions gave the opportunity to experience art. The economic crisis put a lot of pressure on this sphere of life, but Warsaw "resisted." Although the number of movie theaters in the city dropped from over a hundred to around eighty, there was no downturn in the overall box office numbers. Incidentally, 1933 saw the premiere of the first Polish sound film, the musical comedy *Anybody Can Love* (dir. Mieczysław Krawicz and Janusz Warnecki). Vital contributions to the Polish cinematic and movie theater industries were made by Jews, with some of the films shot in Yiddish and screened in Jewish cinemas and the most outstanding among them hit also the screens of Polish cinemas.

Above all, however, it was the Warsaw-based (Polish and Jewish) theater companies that set the trends around the country with their world-class productions. Melpomene's abodes in Warsaw included, first and foremost, the Wielki, Narodowy, Letni, and Nowy theaters, which stayed afloat throughout the crisis largely thanks to governmental subsidies. Privately owned companies, including the major ones, such as the Polski, Mały, Ateneum, Kamiński, and Scala theaters, found it more difficult to survive, even if some of them (like the Yiddish-speaking Scala) recorded a slight upturn in their ticket sales.

Warsaw was the undisputed front-runner of modern Yiddish culture. While New York boasted the world's largest and most affluent Jewish community, Polish Jews who emigrated to the United States believed that the local cultural life paled in comparison with the metropolis on the Vistula River. The interwar period saw the opening of the PEN Club's Jewish (Yiddish) branch, which posed a procedural problem, as Warsaw had already been the seat of the club's Polish chapter. As a result, the nominal seat of the Jewish division of PEN Club was registered in Vilnius, but it was obvious that the club's members resided in Warsaw, convening at the Association of Jewish Writers and Journalists.

It ought to be noted that modern Yiddish culture – with its publishing houses, theater companies, cabarets, musical life, etc. – did not monopolize the market of high-brow Jewish culture in Warsaw. Orthodox Jews and the Hasidim made their contributions in the religious and spiritual departments, too. The city was home to a number of tzaddiks, including the foremost religious authority at the time, the Ger Tzaddik (the Tzaddik of Góra Kalwaria), affiliated with the largest Talmudic school in Warsaw, the Yeshiva Mesivta

Religious Seminary, which ran its own peer-reviewed journal. The Yiddish and Hasidic currents towered over the Hebrew culture, whose center was already in Palestine. However, it was clearly distanced by the Polish-Jewish culture, that is, the one created in Polish by Jews and for Jews.

Polish Jews constituted a major portion of artists and consumers of Polish culture. It was only fitting, then, that the 1933 International Congress of Historical Sciences saw the debut of its Jewish section.¹⁹ After all, Warsaw was host to such institutions as the historical seminary at the Jewish Dormitory in Praga, which published its own periodical *דיסטערקער היסטאריקער* (*Junger Historiker*), the Warsaw section of the Vilnius-based Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO), the Institute for Judaic Studies, the seminaries at the University of Warsaw and the Free Polish University, and groups of Orthodox scholars.

Warsaw made meticulous preparations to duly host the 7th International Congress of Historical Sciences. As was the case with events of similar stature at the time, orders were made to move beggars and peddlers off the streets.²⁰ Such steps were taken earlier and later but always with limited effectiveness. Information that the renovation of the Royal Castle was to begin just in August 1933 seems particularly interesting.²¹ The esteemed edifice had long cried for an overhaul, with little success given the perennial shortages of funds during World War I and the turbulent years of early independence. As per official press release, the castle was to be closed for visits, even though reports indicate that the venue was, after all, rendered available to the Congress participants. The authorities seem to have announced the renovation simply to decrease the number of tourists who swarmed the castle every summer, thus effectively reserving the privilege for the visiting masters of historiography.

Participants of the 7th International Congress of Historical Sciences could choose freely from the aforementioned assortment of entertainment. "Foreigners," wrote a reporter of Warsaw's most popular daily, "may join guided tours of the city on the Vistula or idle about its streets by their lonesome, with or without a map, unaided by their hosts, enjoying unfettered access to everyday life in 'the Paris of the East.' They will etch in their memories and notebooks the impressions from their week-long stay in Warsaw; upon returning to their homelands, they will pass these remarks to their fellow countrymen – some will, perhaps, portray Poland in writing. One Dutch historian has already pledged to record his perceptions on Lelewe's motherland (foreigners often mention our great historian). His visible animation,

¹⁹ For more on that, see the subsequent sections of this book – eds.

²⁰ "Zakaz handlu okrężnego w śródmieściu," *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 215, p. 9; "Obława na żebraków," *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 231, p. 5; "Kłopoty władz z żebrakami," *Nowiny Codzienne* 1933, no. 248, p. 2.

²¹ See *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 193, p. 3.

¹⁸ "Przed kongresem historyków," *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 230, p. 4; "Federacja Towarzystw historycznych Europy Wschodniej," *Nowiny Codzienne* 1933, no. 246, p. 1.

accompanied by a kind smile, seems to indicate the man had no regrets about the arduous journey from The Hague to Warsaw.”²²

Among the members of the public attracted to the Congress were the representatives of the underworld, led by Warsaw’s infamous pickpockets. The press reported on, and warned against, individuals snooping around of the University of Technology, offering to sell periodicals banned by Polish censorship. The “hunters” tailored their bait to the “hunted,” as such documents were no doubt tempting to the visiting historians. The report also referenced that fountain pens, perhaps expensive ones, were stolen, but I do not lose hope that they were souvenirs of this important event.²³

The Congress guests departed. Meanwhile, Warsaw was going through one of its best periods. While its all-time great mayors included such individualities as Ignacy Wyssogota Zakrzewski, who was at the helm of the Polish capital towards the end of the 18th century and throughout the Kościuszko Uprising,²⁴ there is no doubt that its greatest steward was Stefan Starzyński,²⁵ appointed the Receivership President of Warsaw on August 2, 1934. The position helped Starzyński override the political ebbs and flows, enabling him to systematize the city, catch up with the outstanding mayoral obligations, and lay out bold plans for Warsaw’s future development. However, the war came soon and turned Starzyński into the legendary civil commissioner of the defense of Warsaw. The city was ruthlessly bombed by the Germans in September 1939. Upon its capture, the occupiers planned to transform Warsaw into *Die neue Deutsche Stadt Warschau*, ten-times smaller and populated almost solely by Germans upon the end of its projected demolition. Shortly thereafter (November 16, 1940), the Germans established the so-called “Closed District,” i.e., the Jewish ghetto (whose area roughly overlapped with the pre-war “northern district”), which was surrounded by a wall. The extermination of its population (approximately 500,000 Jews, including deportees from the Polish province and foreign countries), was conducted in two stages: indirectly (through poor living conditions, hunger, and diseases), and directly (in the course of deportations to death camps, chiefly to Treblinka, which began on July 22, 1942). On April 19, 1943, the final liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto sparked an uprising of the Jewish resistance, which lasted until the first days of May that year, after which the entire area of the “closed district” was razed to the ground,

later serving as an execution site of Polish civilians.

The rest of the city was a site of unprecedented terror, too, with its residents rounded up and turned into forced laborers (52,000 of whom died), sent to concentration camps (45,000 casualties), and shot in public and secret executions (82,000 dead). On August 1, 1944, the Warsaw Uprising broke out against the occupiers. The Germans used all available means to suppress the Uprising and committed unprecedented crimes. The city continued to fight until October 3, 1944. In the meantime, the Soviets took hold of the right-bank Warsaw, waiting for the Germans to complete the annihilation of the city. The Warsaw Uprising claimed ca. 16,000 soldiers of the Polish Underground and no less than 150,000 civilian casualties. After the capitulation of Warsaw, the Germans deported all of its citizens and began to systematically level the remainder of the city to the ground.

Warsaw was rebuilt after World War II, with the new communist authorities ordering numerous new demolitions in the process.²⁶ In total, World War II claimed the lives of almost 740,000 Varsovians, i.e., more than every second resident (over half of the dead were of Jewish background). And yet, not all inhabitants expelled from the city were to return to Warsaw after the war.²⁷

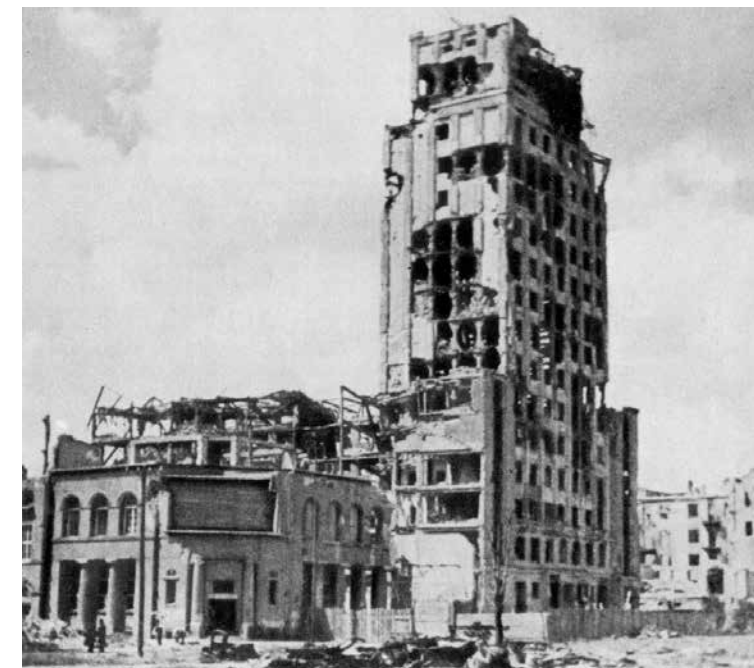


Fig. 4. Ruins of the “Prudential” Insurance Company building after World War II.

²² “Prace kongresu historyków,” *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 234 – evening issue, p. 9.

²³ “‘Doliniarze’ okradają historyków,” *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 235, p. 4.

²⁴ A. Zahorski, *Ignacy Wyssogota Zakrzewski – prezydent Warszawy* (Warszawa, 1963).

²⁵ S. Starzyński, *Warszawa. Wczoraj, dziś, jutro: przewodnik i plan wystawy, Warszawa w liczbach* (Warszawa, 1938); S. Starzyński, *Warszawa przyszłości* (Warszawa, 1936); J. Kulski, *Stefan Starzyński w mojej pamięci* (Warszawa, 1990); M.M. Drozdowski, *Stefan Starzyński, prezydent Warszawy* (Warszawa, 1980); P. Janus, *W nurcie polskiego etatyzmu. Stefan Starzyński i Pierwsza Brygada Gospodarcza 1926-1932* (Kraków, 2009); G. Piątek, *Sanator. Kariera Stefana Starzyńskiego* (Warszawa, 2016).

²⁶ A. Bojarski, *Z kilofem na kariatydę. Jak nie odbudowano Warszawy* (Warszawa, 2013).

²⁷ *Report on the wartime losses of Warsaw* (Warszawa, 2004), http://www.um.warszawa.pl/sites/default/files/Report_o_stratach_wojennych_Warszawy.pdf [accessed: March 20, 2020].



Fig. 5. Congress Presidium during the Opening Ceremony of the Congress, at the rostrum the envoy of Pope Pius XI, Bishop Michał Godlewski.

**Krzysztof A. Makowski, Maciej Michalski,
Tomasz Schramm, Krzysztof Zamorski**

7TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES: GENESIS, COURSE, RECEPTION

GENESIS

Poland's reappearance on the map of Europe stimulated the inclusion of Polish scholars in the international community of historians, which was striving to reactivate the tradition of its international congresses, interrupted by the outbreak of World War I. The 5th International Congress of Historical Sciences (the first post-war edition of the event), held in 1923 in Brussels, was attended by the Polish delegation. What is more, when it came to choosing the host city of the subsequent congress, Warsaw was nominated as one of the candidates. In his fundamental study, Karl Dietrich Erdmann states that "the sharpest competition for Oslo was Warsaw. But since the Polish capital was scarcely a neutral city, it was rejected by both the Americans and the Britons."¹

¹ K.D. Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community of Historians. The International Historical Congresses and the International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1898-2000*, eds. J. Kocka, W.J. Mommsen (New York–Oxford, 2005), p. 83.

The host of the subsequent congress was not decided in Brussels, but later on, upon appointment of the CISH on May 15, 1926 in Geneva. The established Committee promptly initiated the selection process. Referring again to Erdmann's work, we can read that

the invitation to Oslo, for which the Scandinavian countries, the United States, and Germany had been pushing against strong French reservations, was vying with another from Warsaw, since Athens, which the French and Italians had favored, had been dropped because no Greek was present to advocate the invitation to Athens. An agreement was made in the sense that Warsaw should withdraw its invitation for 1928. This decision was probably influenced by the news of Marshal Pilsudski's military coup. After this, the vote for Oslo was unanimous. At the same time, upon Koht's motion the assembly – the Germans abstaining – resolved to consider Warsaw as the site of the 1933 Congress.

Erdmann adds that “this happy solution to a difficult question came about thanks to Waldo Leland.”²

It may thus be argued that the entrustment of the 7th Congress to Warsaw was a result of perseverance with which the candidacy was put forward by Polish historians, recognition of their efforts³ and the support of influential individuals, including the aforementioned American Waldo G. Leland – who was among the main CISH organizers and its first treasurer – or the Norwegian Halvdan Koht, the first President of the Committee.

Held in 1928 in Oslo, the 6th Congress was considered vital to the fate of the subsequent edition of the event for several reasons. The most important was the answer to the question if the previous agreements regarding entrusting the organization of the 7th Congress to Poland would be upheld. The second factor was the activity of the Polish delegation, which could be described as representative and diplomatic, i.e. establishing new contacts, increasing the Polish historians' visibility in the capital of Norway, etc. Thirdly, the Poles strove to make crucial observations on the very organization of the meeting, its program, etc. in order to draw from them appropriate conclusions that could be used by the Polish organizers of the Congress in Warsaw. These issues were underscored in the report submitted to the General Board of the Polish Historical Society by the chair of the Polish delegation, Wacław Sobieski. This is what Sobieski wrote of the future Congress:

² Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 109.

³ As the Secretary of the League of Nations' International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Oskar Halecki collaborated with Waldo Leland on an international organizational framework for historical congresses (Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 80), while Bronisław Dembiński was a member of the Presidium of the 5th International Congress of Historical Sciences and a member of the first CISH Board, appointed in 1926.

The sixth Congress of historians in Oslo saw the passing of a solution important for favoring Poland. The Congress determined that the forthcoming Convention of the world's historians would be held in Warsaw (its due date: 1933). This is no mean feat in respect of both science and politics, all the more so since the decision was reached at the first post-war Congress attended by a German delegation (absent from the previous Brussels Congress). Our success may be attributed partly to the number of scholars (37) and the number of compelling papers (32!) delivered in Oslo by the Polish delegation, and in general to our contingent's prominence at the Congress, which seemed equal in stature to that of its French and German counterparts.

In retrospect, those voting in favor of a strong Polish representation in Oslo at the preparatory conference in Warsaw were proven right.

With regard to the final resolution to appoint Warsaw as the host of the future Congress, it ought to be noted that, in spite of the efforts made in Geneva in 1926, Poland did eventually yield to Norway. What is more, even now in Oslo overtures of alternative locales (Madrid, Athens?) were made, too. It was only during the Convention that the balance began to tip in our favor, specifically so at the introductory conference, at the recommendation of Dembiński and with Lhéritier's and Koth's⁴ support. The definitive decision, however, was not reached until August 18, which saw the meeting of the executive committee after the Congress, with professors Dembiński and Handelsman in attendance, pass the verdict favorable for us, unanimously and to a roaring applause.

It was on that occasion that the Congress president, prof. Koth of Norway, loyally commended Poland on its noble withdrawal that had favored Norway two years prior and appealed for Poland's approval as the only candidacy. Koth then asked prof. Dembiński to validate his invitation, and Dembiński in a long address invited all nations to the Congress on behalf of the Polish government and the Historical Society. He also stated that we would be faithful to the spirit of Oslo, and to the national and universal spirit. As mentioned, the proposal was greeted by a thunderous applause; the Germans joined the general voting with no reservations.

It was further agreed that the future Convention would be organized by the incumbent International Committee (thus, prof. Dembiński would not act as the chairman, but rather still prof. Koth of Norway), while prof. Dembiński would join the Committee as its vice-president).⁵

⁴ Throughout the length of the cited report, the author misspells Koht's surname as “Koth.”

⁵ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VI Kongres Historyków w Oslo, file no. 139: Report of the Polish Delegation President 1929, sheets 7-10.

The Oslo Congress was analyzed in detail in a study of the General Secretary of the CISH, Michel Lhéritier, dated February 25, 1929 and published in 1935.⁶ The study contained a range of organizational comments. A more general address was made by Halvdan Koht at the CISH General Assembly which took place on May 2, 1930 in London.⁷ As could be inferred, his address was based on Lhéritier's aforementioned study. Speaking on behalf of the organizers of the Congress and as the President of the CISH, Koht stated the following:

Après le Congrès d'Oslo, on a entendu la plainte que les communications avaient été trop nombreuses et aussi les sections. Voilà le grand problème de tous le Congrès de trouver le juste milieu entre le trop et le trop peu. En fait, le Bureau du Comité International avait déjà réduit par son règlement le nombre des sections prévues pour le Congrès, et le Comité organisateur local avait réussi à réduire encore plus le nombre des séances tenues aux mêmes heures. Ainsi on a pu constater un progrès à cet égard au Congrès d'Oslo en comparaison des Congrès antérieurs. Néanmoins, on a certainement eu raison de se plaindre de trop grand nombre de communications d'un caractère trop spécial. Comment trouver le remède?

Pointing to the delicate situation of the Organizing Committee, comprised exclusively of Norwegians (aside from the General Secretary of the CISH), Koht abstained from taking a decisive stand on the "expectations and proposals" of the respective national committees, and concluded that,

On a pensé qu'il ne serait ni pratique ni même possible de renvoyer les questions de cet ordre à la décision du Bureau, et par suite qu'il sera désirable de renforcer l'autorité du Comité organisateur en y adjoignant un plus grand nombre de membres internationaux. D'accord avec les représentants polonais, le Bureau est convenu de nommer comme membres du Comité organisateur du Congrès de Varsovie son président, ses deux vice-présidents, son secrétaire général et encore les secrétaires nationaux des Congrès de Bruxelles et d'Oslo.

⁶ M. Lhéritier, "Organisation des Congrès internationaux des Sciences historiques, à propos des Congrès d'Oslo (1928) et de Varsovie (1933)," *Bulletin du Comité international des Sciences historiques* 1935, no. 28.

⁷ H. Koht, *Le Comité International des Sciences Historiques. Son activité, ses Congrès, son organisation, ses collaborateurs* (Washington, 1932), a section: *L'organisation scientifique des Congrès futurs, particulièrement du Congrès de 1933*, pp. 19-24.

Moreover, on top of that, Koht emphasized the role that the national committees should play in the preliminary selection of proposals.

The experience of the Oslo Congress also provided an impulse for the establishment of CISH-affiliated commissions. In contrast to the internal, task-oriented commissions, their CISH-affiliated counterparts were to group scholars working in specific fields – four relatively general (comparative historical demography, history of science, history of modern literature, historical geography) and a number of specialist domains (*inter alia* history of enlightened absolutism, history of great geographical discoveries and exploration, history of banking).⁸

Thus, the 1928 and 1933 Congresses, and the period between them, were jointly approached as a ground for the gradual development of their new formula, both as a result of cumulative experience and the novelty that was the CISH.

The institution entrusted with the organization of the Warsaw Congress was the Polish Historical Society, which remained in close contact with the CISH. The latter (in accordance with articles 2 and 3 of its statute) was comprised of named delegates of the member states. Poland was represented by Bronisław Dembiński and Marceli Handelsman, designated by the Polish Historical Society (Handelsman as the Society's Board delegate for international affairs).⁹

The framework of the Polish Congress was established during the 5th General Congress of Polish Historians in Warsaw. On November 29, 1930 a meeting was held, in which CISH was represented by invited to the Congress its General Secretary, Michel Lhéritier, and the President of the Organizing Committee of the Oslo Congress, Haakon Vigander. The Polish side was represented by Stanisław Zakrzewski (the-then President of the Polish Historical Society, residing in Lvov), Bronisław Dembiński of the University of Poznań (who served as the Vice-President of the CISH at the time), Marceli Handelsman of the University of Warsaw (for several years the Polish Historical Society's delegate for international relations), and Kazimierz Tyszkowski (acting General Secretary of the "Congress delegation"). Last but not least, Poland was represented by Tadeusz Manteuffel, whom the Polish Historical Society had appointed the General Secretary of the Warsaw Congress. The topics of discussions recorded in the minutes from the November 29 meeting include the draft of the Congress program which – as the document indicates – must have been in place by then, as well as the first programmatic circular, which was to be sent to all national committees.¹⁰

⁸ Koht, *Le Comité International des Sciences Historiques*, pp. 22-23.

⁹ Aside from these, the list of the CISH members includes the category "Collaborators and Correspondents," in which Poland was represented by the aforementioned duo and seventeen other members (Koht, *Le Comité International des Sciences Historiques*, pp. 48-49).

¹⁰ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 13.

June 22, 1931 saw a meeting of the General Board of the Polish Historical Society, with a large portion of the agenda devoted to Congress-related matters. Marcelli Handelsman reported on the discussion held at the CISH General Assembly. According to the minutes,

Prof. Handelsman reports on the matters of the International Congress and presents the resolutions of Convention of the International Historical Committee in Budapest. Together with the Presidium of the PTH [Polish Historical Society – eds.], Handelsman submitted a request to the Ministry of WRiOP [Religious Denominations and Public Education – eds.] for a subsidy for the Congress, which will cover the costs of the Congress publications, including guides to Poland and Warsaw, edited by Mr. Arnold and Mr. Nowakowski. The president stipulated that the introduction to the guide be written by Dr Charewiczowa. Prof. Handelsman then reported on the Congress papers, a portion of which was assigned to Poland. Some papers will be delivered during trips across Poland, organized for the Congress participants, for example in Cracow, possibly Gdynia, Lvov, and Vilnius. With regard to the Congress, the president presented a motion adopted by the Executive Committee of the General Board to establish the *Executive Committee of the Organizing Committee of the International Congress in Warsaw* for the scientific and technical organization of the Congress.¹¹

The Committee was presided over by the CISH Vice-President, Bronisław Dembiński of the University of Poznań, aided by Vice-Presidents Marcelli Handelsman and Oskar Halecki of the University of Warsaw, Waclaw Sobieski of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, and Stefan Ehrenkreutz of the Stephen Báthory University in Vilnius. Tadeusz Manteuffel of the University of Warsaw was appointed the General Secretary. The Executive Committee also included Franciszek Bujak, Kazimierz Tyszkowski and Stanisław Zakrzewski of the John Casimir University in Lvov, Stanisław Kętrzyński of the University of Warsaw, and Stanisław Kutrzeba of the Jagiellonian University of Cracow, aided by the CISH so-called assistant-members, Halvdan Koht and Haakon Vigander (Norway), Alfons Dopsch (Austria), and Michel Lhéritier (France).¹²

That same meeting saw the establishment of fourteen thematic sections responsible for the preparation of the academic agenda of the Congress. The selection of Polish presenters

¹¹ Minutes from the meeting: Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, Protokoły posiedzeń Zarządu Głównego PTH 1925-1932, file no. 3, sheets 99-101. Since the Committee was later called the Executive Department of the Organizing Committee, we will use this name throughout the rest of this book.

¹² See *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Liste des membres* (Warszawa, 1933), p. 6.



Fig. 6.
Michel Lhéritier.



Fig. 7.
Tadeusz Manteuffel.

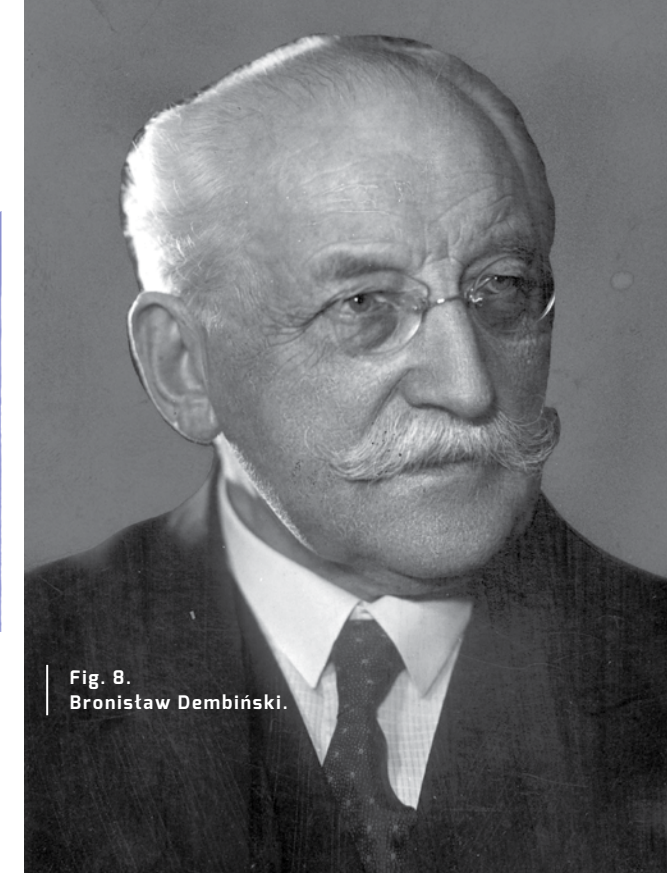


Fig. 8.
Bronisław Dembiński.

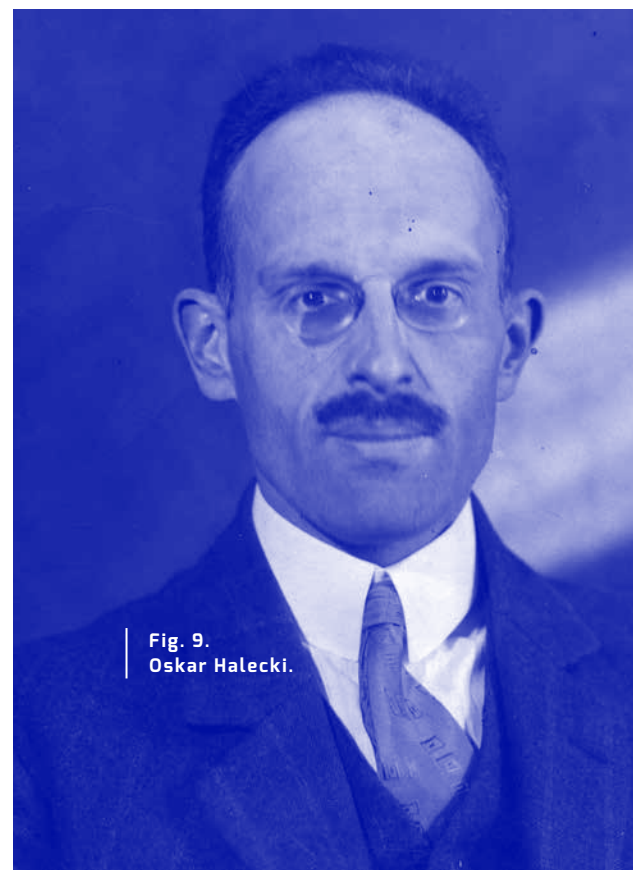


Fig. 9.
Oskar Halecki.



Fig. 10.
Halvdan Koht.



Fig. 11.
Marcelli Handelsman.

and the appointment of chairs of the respective thematic sections were entrusted to the Polish Historical Society. However, according to the preserved letter posted by the Society's delegate for international affairs, Marcelli Handelsman, to its president at the time, Franciszek Bujak, it appears that while the preparations in this regard began shortly after the Warsaw convention, they turned out to be rather painstaking due to the frequent refusals and the necessary reshuffles accompanying the organization of the respective segments of the agenda.¹³ Władysław Semkowicz's candidacy as chair of the medieval history section can serve as a case in point. Semkowicz was appointed the curator of the planned exhibition of historical geography, thus vacating his seat as the chair of the medievalists' section. The submitted candidacies occasionally caused confusion between the Polish Historical Society and the Organizing Committee of the Congress. To make matters worse, the General Board of the Polish Historical Society was based in Lvov, while the Organizing Committee resided in Warsaw. The aforementioned letter also suggested personal changes with respect to the chairs of some sections. Prior to the said letter, Handelsman had also asked the Board of the Society for recommending speakers for the section on history of Poland prior to the 1931 CISH General Assembly in Budapest.

Presentations at the Congress were also divided into clear categories. The most highly regarded category was that of reports (*rapports*), i.e., presentations of research devoted on specific problems. These papers were to be printed by the CISH in the *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*. Conversely, the Organizing Committee undertook to publish the abstracts of communications (*communications*). The third category of presentations was to be comprised of comments (*interventions*), which – as per Erdman – “were to be announced in advance but did not have to be submitted in writing.”¹⁴ In the aforementioned letter, Handelsman even wrote that

it is high time we decided on the presenters of the Polish papers, which I am submitted on behalf of the P.T.H. [Polish Historical Society – eds.] in Budapest. The topics of these papers could possibly be changed, considering that they were originally submitted first and foremost to ensure a proper number of seats for Poland; however, decisions should be made in the upcoming days. The submissions should include not only the title but also the subtitle of each report, along with the surnames of its projected authors. For the record, the original submissions had the following tentative titles: *Renaissance in*

*Poland, The Polish Question from the Middle Ages to the 17th Century, and The Impact of the West and the East on the Political Systems of Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages.*¹⁵

All of the proposals oscillated between Polish history in the context of its specific location between the East and the West, on the one hand, and Eastern European history, on the other. However, none of them made it to the final program in the original version.

Handelsman also endeavored to use the Board of the Polish Historical Society to expedite the drafting of regulations for the sessions of the respective Congress sections. In a letter dated February 10, 1932, addressed to the President of the Society, Franciszek Bujak, Handelsman recounted his stay in Cracow, pointing to the lack of updates on the course of Congress preparations and acceptance of membership in the Organizing Committee. Handelsman believed the Society should participate in the dissemination of such updates, and noticed an evident shortage of information among the Cracow-based historians. He also renewed his request for suggestions concerning the topics of the papers.¹⁶ In his reply letter, President Bujak limited the Society's role to the appointment of candidates recommended by the Organizing Committee. Bujak added that when it came to searching for speakers and drafting regulations for the sections, the Board of the Society was in no position to relieve the Organizing Committee of the Congress.¹⁷ The shape of the Congress program seemed to have reached a highly advanced stage by April 1932, although not without some lingering question marks, above all the differences in the research interests of the designated researchers or their outright refusals.¹⁸ For instance, Władysław Konopczyński adamantly refused to present on the topic of *The Origins of the Baltic Question and Its Development in Poland*.

The Congress itself was also a theme of the subsequent session of the General Board of the Polish Historical Society, held on May 29, 1932. The Congress preparations were drawn out comprehensively and with precision. Reporting on the “Matter of the International Convention,” as it was referred to in the minutes, Marcelli Handelsman brought up a number

¹⁵ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, Korespondencja w sprawach organizacyjnych 1931-1932, file no. 143: Handelsman's letter to Bujak, dated January 25, 1932, sheet 20.

¹⁶ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, Korespondencja w sprawach organizacyjnych 1931-1932, file no. 143: Handelsman's letter to Bujak, dated February 10, 1932, sheet 22.

¹⁷ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, Korespondencja w sprawach organizacyjnych 1931-1932, file no. 143: Bujak's letter to Handelsman, dated February 11, 1932, sheet 21.

¹⁸ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, Korespondencja w sprawach organizacyjnych 1931-1932, file no. 143: Handelsman's letter to Bujak, dated April 5, 1932, sheet 31.

¹³ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, Korespondencja w sprawach organizacyjnych 1931-1932, file no. 143: Handelsman's letter to Bujak, dated January 25, 1932, sheet 20.

¹⁴ Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 149.

of points. The first issue that came up was the “final constitution of the Polish presidia of the Convention sections.” Upon amendment of the previous establishments, the final list of the Congress sections was comprised of the following points:

section I. Auxiliary sciences, archives, organization of historical research (Chair: Stanisław Kętrzyński, Vice-Chair: Eugeniusz Barwiński, Secretary: Antoni Rybarski);

section II. Prehistory and archeology (Chair: Józef Kostrzewski, Vice-Chairs: Włodzimierz Antoniewicz and Leon Kozłowski; Secretary: Józef Żurowski);

section III. Ancient history (Chair: Tadeusz Zieliński, Vice-Chairs: Ludwik Piotrowicz, Tadeusz Wałek-Czernecki, and Stanisław Witkowski, Secretary: Kazimierz Zakrzewski);

section IV. Middle Ages and Byzantium (Chair: Jan Dąbrowski, Vice-Chairs: Teofil Modelski and Fr. Józef Umiński, Secretary: Olgierd Górka);

section V. Modern and contemporary history (Chair: Władysław Konopczyński, Vice-Chairs: Adam Szelągowski and Leon Wasilewski, Secretary: Józef Feldman);

section VI. History of religion and Church (Chair: Władysław Abraham, Vice-Chairs: Jan Fijałek, and Stefan Czarnowski, Secretary: Fr. Aleksy Klawek);

section VII. History of law and legal systems (Chair: Przemysław Dąbkowski, Vice-Chairs: Józef Rafacz, and Józef Siemieński, Secretary: Zygmunt Wojciechowski);

section VIII. Economic and social history, colonization (Chair: Jan Rutkowski, Vice-Chairs: Roman Grodecki, Stanisław Kościałkowski, and Kazimierz Tymieniecki, Secretary: Stanisław Arnold);

section IX. History of philosophy and intellectual currents (Chair: Fr. Konstanty Michalski, Vice-Chairs: Władysław Heinrich, Władysław Tatarkiewicz, and Adam Żółtowski, Secretary: Marian Heitzman);

section X. History of sciences (science and medical sciences) (Chair: Samuel Dickstein, Vice-Chairs: Władysław Szumowski and Adam Wrzosek, Secretaries: Aleksander Birkenmajer and Ludwik Zembrzusi);

section XI. Literary history (Chair: Zygmunt Łempicki, Vice-Chairs: Ludwik Bernacki, Bronisław Gubrynowicz, Władysław Folkierski, Juliusz Kleiner, and Józef Ujejski, Secretary: Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski);

section XII. Art history (Chair: Władysław Podlacha, Vice-Chairs: Fr. Szczesny Dettloff and Vojeslav Molè, Secretary: Mieczysław Gębarowicz);

section XIII. Methodology and theory of history (Chair: Kazimierz Chodynicki, Vice-Chair: Jan Bystroń, Secretary: Łucja Charewiczowa);

section XIV. Teaching History (Chair: Stanisław Kot, Vice-Chair: Adam Kłodziński, Czesław Nanke, and Hanna Pohoska, Secretary: Bronisław Włodarski);

section XV. History of Eastern Europe (Chair: Ludwik Kolankowski, Vice-Chairs: Leon Białkowski and Stanisław Zajączkowski, Secretary: Henryk Paszkiewicz).¹⁹

The tasks of the respective sections were detailed in point two (albeit with certain terminological inaccuracies, as the sections were interchangeably referred to as “sections” and “organizing committees”):

In point 2 prof. Handelsman set forward the competences of the organizing committees. With respect to this motion, the General Board entrusts the presidia of the respective sections with the right of substantive approval of Polish papers submitted to the congress, and the right to submit to the Executive Department motions for their acceptance or, if need be, rejection. Upon acknowledgement of the remarks passed by prof. Tymieniecki, and the justifications submitted by the international delegate prof. Handelsman, it was settled that the Polish delegation would present three reports and forty-five papers, i.e., between two and three papers per section, which, however, shall not be a rigid determination, with some sections projected to attract more, and other less, than three papers. It should be ensured that no section be devoid of a Polish paper. However, it was considered of utmost importance that the respective section presidia must strive towards organized participation of Poles in the academic debates, i.e., supplement as many papers as possible with Polish so-called *interventions* in all five working languages of the congress. Last but not least, it was deemed appropriate for the respective presidia to prepare possibly additional Polish papers by January 1933, to be used at the last minute in the event of an insufficient number of foreign submissions (the last point shall not be announced).²⁰

The May 29, 1932 meeting also saw the passing of the following decisions:

- With regard to the Polish reports: The following topics were finally passed, along with the speakers: A. The East and the West in the History of Legal Systems of Central and Eastern Europe of the Middle Ages – Messrs. Dąbkowski, Ehrenkreutz, Estreicher and Wojciechowski, B. Renaissance in Poland – Messrs. Kolankowski, Komornicki, St. Kot,

¹⁹ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, Protokoły posiedzeń Zarządu Głównego PTH 1925-1932, file no. 3, sheet 111. Later on, significant changes occurred in the composition of the section presidiums, and some of the designated persons, according to the list of participants, did not even take part in the Congress.

²⁰ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, Protokoły posiedzeń Zarządu Głównego PTH 1925-1932, file no. 3, sheets 108-109.

St. Łempicki and Podlacha, C. The Baltic Question and its Development in Poland – Messrs. Bodniak, Konopczyński, Sobieski and Szelągowski [...]

– With regard to the roles of the branches [of the Polish Historical Society – eds.]: The tasks of the branches include organizing briefings on the preparations for the Congress, and obtaining Polish submissions and wiring them, through the Secretaries-General, to the presidia of the respective sections. It was decided to ask presidents of sections to assume a more active role in notifying the branches of the preparations for the Congress [...]

– With regard to the deadlines for the submission of Polish papers: All submissions should be sent in by September 1, 1932; paper manuscripts – by October 1; the print of the proceedings should commence on November 1.²¹

Aside from the above establishment, the following decisions were adopted with respect to the organization of the Congress: it was announced that the Congress would be held under the auspices of the President of the Republic of Poland; the Executive Department was recognized as an autonomous entity, reporting to the Polish Historical Society upon conclusion of its operations, i.e., after the Congress; the list of section presidia was finalized, it was decided to establish the Honorary Committee of the Congress, and set up the General Organizing Committee of the Congress, led by the president and general secretary of the Polish Historical Society.²²

The final makeup of the Honorary Committee of the Congress included: Kazimierz Świtalski (Marshal of the Sejm), Władysław Raczkiewicz (Marshal of the Senate), August Zaleski (former Minister of Foreign Affairs), Bronisław Żongołłowicz (Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education), Jan Szembek (Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Kazimierz Kostanecki (President of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences), Waław Sierpiński (President of the Warsaw Scientific Society), Franciszek Bujak (President of the Lvov Scientific Society), Józef Ujejski (President of the University of Warsaw), Stanisław Kutrzeba (President of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow), Kazimierz Opoczyński (President of the Stephen Báthory University in Vilnius), Adam Gerstmann (President of the John Casimir University in Lvov), Stanisław Pawłowski (President of the University of Poznań), and Witold Suchodolski (Director General of the Polish State Archives).

21 Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, Protokoły posiedzeń Zarządu Głównego PTH 1925-1932, file no. 143, sheet 109.

22 Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, Protokoły posiedzeń Zarządu Głównego PTH 1925-1932, file no. 143, sheet 109. For the exact makeup of these two entities, see *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Liste*, pp. 5-8.

The role of the sizeable Organizing Committee was primarily a representative one. Numerous replies to the extended invitations have been preserved, from courteous gratitude to polite refusals (on account of health issues and/or doubts raised by the somewhat ambiguous scope of responsibilities of the Committee and its members).²³ Among the latter part of the correspondence was Waław Tokarz's letter to Tadeusz Manteuffel:

Dear Colleague! I have received a letter from the General Board of the Polish Historical Society – presumably delivered through the agency of Warsaw – appointing me a member of the Organizing Committee of the International Congress of Historical Sciences. I have simultaneously learned that the role of the Committee shall be strictly formal. In view of these facts, I am hereby taking the liberty to refuse the aforementioned invitation on account of my inability to formally approve decisions made without my say. With sincerest respect and consideration, Waław Tokarz.²⁴

The eventual list of appointees to the Organizing Committee featured Franciszek Bujak (President), and Stefan Inglot (Secretary), along with over 170 other members, including such luminaries of Polish historiography as Michał Bobrzyński, Stanisław Estreicher, Józef Feldman, Władysław Konopczyński, Adam Skałkowski, and Waław Sobieski; but also historians representing ethnic minorities, e.g., Majer Bałaban and Mojżesz Schorr (Jewish), Miron Korduba (Ukrainian), Alfred Lattermann and Paul Zöckler (German); eminent representatives of other humanities, including sociologists Stefan Czarnowski and Ludwik Krzywicki, literary scholar Stanisław Pigoń, and philosopher Władysław Tatarkiewicz; and two historians from abroad: Hungarian historian and professor of the University of Budapest, Adorján Divéky, and Slovenian art historian and lecturer at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Vojeslav Molè. The sole woman in the aforementioned group of men was the Lvov-based historian Helena Polaczkówna.

Vital to the course of the subsequent programmatic activities was a meeting between the representatives of the Polish committee and those of the CISH. The meeting took place in early June 1932 in The Hague, where Halvdan Koht, Alfons Dopsch, and Michel Lhéritier convened for negotiations with Bronisław Dembiński, Marcell Handelsman, Oskar Halecki, and Tadeusz Manteuffel. The group set the final deadline for the submission of papers

23 Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, Korespondencja w sprawach organizacyjnych 1931-1932, file no. 143, sheet 109.

24 Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Akta Delegata PTH do stosunków międzynarodowych, file no. 267, dossier VI 501-600, sheet 587.

for December 1, 1932, scheduling another meeting (*inter alia* to follow up on the discussed matters) for mid-December.

The above establishments lay the foundations for the October 2, 1932 meeting, held in Poland between the Executive Department and the chairs of the sections of the Congress. The adopted December 1 deadline was also binding for the Polish speakers (for whom a different deadline had been planned originally), who were requested to submit their texts to Oskar Halecki. It was also agreed that the final selection of papers will be made by the presidia of the respective sections. As of the date of the said meeting, the Organizing Committee had received 50 foreign and 200 Polish papers.²⁵

One of the substantial hurdles tackled by the organizers of the Congress was the issue of its working language. A contentious matter since the beginning of the congresses, the working language was debated at an important meeting of the Executive Department, held on October 2, 1932. Marcei Handelsman proposed to have one paper delivered in Polish as a peculiar show of patriotism. The idea was welcomed so warmly by a number of Committee members that Franciszek Bujak and Stefan Ehrenkretz motioned to include Polish as a working language of the Congress discussions, much to the chagrin of Oskar Halecki and Bronisław Dembiński, who advised caution in such matters and proposed to submit them for the CISH Board's approval.²⁶ Actively engaged in the CISH activities, both scholars were perfectly aware of the importance the Committee attached to avoiding the exacerbation of relations between its member states, and the CISH policy to sidestep potential disputes on the grounds of nationality and language. It was eventually decided that the Polish National Committee would consult the CISH on the matter.²⁷

The same meeting also saw a discussion on the substance of the historical geography exhibition, to be mounted in Warsaw by the Cracow milieu. Building on the animated discussions at the Oslo Congress, the participants deemed the exhibition an opportunity to showcase their work on the historical atlas of Poland. A truly unique and meticulously executed project, which has remained in use in Polish historical sciences and didactics of history to this day, certainly deserved to be popularized. It was established that the preparations

for the exhibition would be overseen by a special committee led by Władysław Semkowicz, with Stanisław Arnold appointed as its secretary.²⁸ On another note, Tadeusz Manteuffel offered to organize all submitted papers proposals into a project of the Congress agenda by December 12, 1932.²⁹

The surviving minutes from the aforementioned October 2, 1932 meeting between the Executive Department and the leaders of the organizing committees of each Congress section indicate the session was not an amicable one.³⁰ Władysław Konopczyński was irate with the late date of the meeting and the limited competences of the sections' chairs. Stefan Ehrenkretz bemoaned the fact that the chairs and the secretaries of the respective sections were not coming from the same cities. Ehrenkretz was also critical of the overall state of preparations, remarking that "with respect to the Polish participation in the Congress, one ought to choose between the impressive quality of reports and their sheer quantity," adding that "the list in its current version fails to comply with either criterion." The pervading intention to activate the broadest possible spectrum of Polish historians was less than successful. The failure to devise programs of respective sections did not, indeed, make the matters any easier. There was considerable doubt as to the scope of responsibilities assigned to respective section chairs. For instance, Fr. Konstanty Michalski³¹ considered the idea of inviting Lithuanian historians a dubious one, while Władysław Tatarkiewicz raised similar concerns with respect to the members of the Russian émigré delegation. The latter issue seems to have been a valid one, given the expected presence of a Soviet contingent in Warsaw (a fact known since the Oslo Congress) and their possible backlash in this regard. However, in light of the presence of the Russian émigré historians at each of the post-war congresses, including the Oslo Congress, such concerns were marginal.

Also worrying were the colliding dates of the Warsaw Congress and other major international meetings. Władysław Tatarkiewicz, for example contemplated doing away with Section XII (Art History) in view of the congress of the art historians scheduled for 1933 in Stockholm. Addressing Tatarkiewicz's doubts on behalf of the Executive Department, Marcei Handelsman assured him that the matter had been considered by the CISH, which eventually sustained its

25 Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 12.

26 Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 19.

27 Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 19.

28 Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 19/20.

29 Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 21.

30 Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheets 23-28.

31 Fr. Michalski served as the President of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow in the academic year 1931/2.

decision to hold the art history section. In the course of the meeting, some historians voiced critical remarks on the quality of some of the submitted thematic proposals. Their concerns were mitigated by Oskar Halecki, the editor of the Polish Congress proceedings. Halecki petitioned the chairs of the respective sections to divide the proposed papers into those to be presented and printed, those considered solely for publication, and those entirely rejected from consideration. The organizers would have a month to reach their verdicts, following which the Executive Department would decide for the respective section chairs. The participants of the meeting were in favor of such a solution.

Another issue addressed at the meeting was the progress of preparations in the individual sections. Thus, section IV (Middle Ages and Byzantium) seemed far from satisfactory. Speaking on behalf of the section, Jan Dąbrowski deplored the lack of scholars willing to deliver papers. Pressed by his colleagues, Franciszek Bujak offered to contribute a paper titled *Boleslaus the Brave (Bolesław Chrobry) and His Contemporaries*. Another paper proposal (*Le rang de l'œuvre du nommé Gall, premier chroniqueur polonais dans la littérature occidentale des XI^e et XII^e siècles*) came from Karol Maleczyński. Conversely, Władysław Konopczyński of section V (Modern and Contemporary History) lamented the plethora of incoming paper proposals and motioned for Marcelli Handelsman's report to be moved to section XV (History of Eastern Europe). Konopczyński's proposal was very likely driven by his aversion to Handelsman, caused by the latter's high-profile role in the organization of the Congress. Konopczyński also requested that the texts submitted by the younger researchers: Wiśława Knapowska, Juliusz Willaume, and Ludwik Widerszal, be considered as communications. It is worth adding here that Knapowska had been a participant of the Oslo Congress as a gymnasium teacher from Poznań. Jan Rutkowski covered section VIII (Economic and Social History) and special symposia A, D, E, and F. Rutkowski emphasized that the more detailed papers should be reclassified as communications. The somewhat autonomous section X (History of Science) was discussed by its Chair, Samuel Dickstein. The papers presented in this section were to be published in a separate volume. In turn, Kazimierz Chodyncki briefed the committee on the state of affairs in section XIII (Methodology and Theory of History). In the ensuing discussion, Franciszek Bujak motioned for the inclusion of an additional paper, submitted by the Lvov-based scholar Łucja Charewiczowa, entitled *Is It Justified to Write a Separate History of Women?* Section XV revealed still more shortcomings. The number of submitted papers had been scarce, but there was promise of new proposals with the upcoming meeting of the teaching section of the Polish Historical Society, scheduled for the following day

(October 3).³² What was likely the most constructive suggestion came from the Chair of section XV, Ludwik Kolankowski. He assigned to the foreign papers from his section an equal number of comments by Polish scholars. However, he refused to accept the contributions in English and suggested moving them to section V, led by Konopczyński, which prompted a discussion between Kolankowski and Konopczyński. The two were eventually advised to settle their dispute with Handelsman acting as the mediator. The next point on the agenda was the question of the sections that had failed to attract any Polish paper, but it was assumed that, in principle, such a situation should not occur at the Warsaw Congress. It was decided that a special meeting would be held to prevent such a scenario.

Towards the end of the year (December 16-17, 1932), the members of the Executive Department met with the President and General Secretary of the CISH. The principal topic of discussions was the organization of the Congress panels. On this occasion, the Polish side inquired about including Polish as one of the working languages, to which Halvdan Koht replied that "it would be quite appropriate to allow speakers to present their papers in Polish at the opportune panels."³³

The print of the Polish papers drafted mostly in French and partially in German commenced in December 1932. As mentioned before, their substance was reviewed by Oskar Halecki. On the technical side, the procedure was rather complicated. The collection was proof-read (with "Mrs. Wortmanowa of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Pióro of the French Institute" charged with the task).³⁴ The first volume of the proceedings was projected at 30 publisher's sheets. At that time, the editors considered supplementing the volume with illustrations whenever substantially necessary. The plan was to distribute the volume among all registered participants who had duly paid their fees. The second volume was to be printed in August 1933. It would contain the remaining texts, along with a study on the history of Polish historiography. The Organizing Committee and the CISH Board decided to publish the foreign papers (by the end of 1932, 60 such papers had been submitted) in the *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*.³⁵ The Polish side also assumed the

³² Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 27.

³³ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Korespondencja w sprawach organizacyjnych 1931-1933, file no. 143, sheet 72.

³⁴ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 14.

³⁵ *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 1933, nos. 18-20.

responsibility of printing the abstracts of all communications presented at the Congress. Initially projected at 40 publisher's sheets, the planned publication was to be printed shortly before the Congress, upon taking draconian editorial measures (in particular dispensing with linguistic and authors' revision). In the end, the print of the collection of abstracts began on March 15, 1933, ending a mere several days before the Congress.³⁶ The publication was to be distributed to the Congress participants free of charge. The only publications available for a fee were the aforementioned foreign papers printed in the *Bulletin* (on sale in Poland at the Gebethner&Wolf bookstore).³⁷

The release of the book *La Pologne au VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques* was recounted by Oskar Halecki at the session of the Executive Department, held on June 29, 1933. Preparations for the release of the first volume proceeded as scheduled, with the book nearing its completion. There were, however, some problems with the second volume, due to delayed submissions of texts. Despite these issues, the August deadline seemed reachable thanks to the timely work of the editors.³⁸ In the end, the second volume was printed as a work-in-progress, with the provision that the late submissions would be printed after the Congress and delivered to its registered participants.³⁹ In view of the abundant submissions, the original plan to supplement the volume with an outline of the history of Polish historiography was abandoned (the outline was to be printed as a separate brochure). Exposure to Poland's history was to be ensured by its outline in French drafted by Oskar Halecki, who offered to contribute several hundred copies for the Congress participants.⁴⁰

One of the talking points of the June 29 meeting was the report on the preparations for the Cracow installment of the Congress. The report was presented by the-then President

of the Jagiellonian University, Stanisław Kutrzeba, appointed as Chairman of the local organizing committee in lieu of Władysław Konopczyński. Secretarial duties of the Cracow committee were assigned to Józef Feldman. Another issue discussed was the shortage of lodgings in Cracow. The city lacked sufficient hotel infrastructure, and its student dorms were not up to scratch as makeshift accommodation for the Congress guests. Kutrzeba also delineated the preliminary agenda and reported on the state of preparations for the special exhibitions, including the collection of keepsakes from the reign of King Stephen Báthory, or the showcase of early physical and astronomical instruments kept by the Jagiellonian Library.⁴¹

Unsurprisingly, another major question discussed before the Congress was that of finances. Financial matters were covered in the course of ongoing reports, without signaling any pressing issues. According to the general secretary of the Executive Department, as of May 1, 1933, i.e., nearly four months before the Congress, its finances amounted to a total of 24,000 zlotys.⁴² Less than two months later, however, the situation must have changed. During the Executive Department's late June session, the decline of the US Dollar caused some perturbations, resulting in a significant decrease of the Congress fee (after conversion to the Polish zloty), and thus dealing a "severe blow"⁴³ to the Organizing Committee.

The picture of the Congress preparations that emerges from the sources seems to indicate that they were conducted expeditiously and efficiently; the key role was played by a tandem composed of the vital and well-connected Marcelli Handelsman and an excellent organizer Tadeusz Manteuffel.

COURSE

Before reviewing the course of the Congress, we should first settle the matter of its participants. Their exact number is difficult to determine, since the figures vary across different studies and should thus be quoted with a large measure of latitude. In the aforementioned monograph

³⁶ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 29.

³⁷ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 14.

³⁸ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 32.

³⁹ See Oskar Halecki's introduction to the second volume of *La Pologne au VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques Varsovie 1933*, dated August 20, 1933. Halecki lists Anna Drużbacka, Halina Mrozowska, Helena Radlińska, Stanisław Arnold, Czesław Chowaniec, Jan Dąbrowski, Stefan Ehrenkreutz, Kazimierz Hartleb, Stanisław Kot, Adam Lewak, Franciszek Jan Pułaski, Waław Sobieski, and Julian Stachiewicz as the authors whose papers were not published.

⁴⁰ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 32.

⁴¹ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 33.

⁴² Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Materiały Tadeusza Manteuffla, file no. 33, sheet 44.

⁴³ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne. Protokoły i sprawozdanie Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów, wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 31: Minutes from the meeting of the Executive Department of the Organizing Committee of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, held at the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Humanities in Warsaw on June 29, 1933.



Fig. 12. Tadeusz Manteuffel's Congress participant card.

appearance brought the overall number down to 972 participants representing 33 countries. As per other sources, however, it appears that at least several more scholars did not make it to Warsaw, among them the Jewish historians from Germany (see below). On the other hand, some of the Congress members registered at the last minute, and as such they were not included in the official list of participants. Still others made their appearance at the Congress without official registration.

Among the 972 participants, the largest contingent was that of 431 Polish delegates (44.3% of all participants). In comparison, the Belgian quota at the Brussels Congress amounted to 24% of registrations, and the Norwegian delegation at the Oslo Congress constituted a mere 8% of all participants. Second in the tally was France with 99 delegates (10.2%), third Italy with 83 delegates (8.5%), followed by Germany (47), Great Britain (43), the USA (40), Czechoslovakia (33), Belgium (30), Hungary (24), Romania (21), Norway (14), Spain (13), Holland (10), Denmark and Switzerland (9 delegates each), Latvia (8), Austria, Finland, and the USSR⁴⁵ (7 delegates each), Yugoslavia (5), the Free City of Danzig and Sweden (4 delegates each), Egypt, Estonia, and India (3 each), Algeria, Brazil, Canada, and Malta (2 each), as well as Argentina, Ireland,

on the history of the congresses, Karl Dietrich Edrmann lists the number of participants at 1,031; Tadeusz Kondracki estimates it at 1,100; in turn, Kazimierz Tymieniecki's report mentions a total of 1,240 registration cards.⁴⁴ This last number presumably refers to all persons registered at the Congress. As per official record, i.e., the aforementioned *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Liste des membres*, the Congress attracted at total of 1,018 scholars.⁴⁵ However, as of the moment of its publication, 46 persons were marked as "absent," most notably from France (10) and Great Britain (9). Their non-ap-

Mexico, and the Vatican (1 each). Only 54 of the Congress participants (5.6%) hailed from outside of Europe, with as many as 40 coming from the USA. The remaining 14 came from Egypt and India (3 from each country), Canada, Brazil, and Algeria (2 delegates each), and Mexico and Argentina (1 delegate per country), amounting to a total of 6 from America, 5 from Africa, and only 3 from Asia. With the cancellation of the expected arrivals from three countries included in the official list of participants, Greece, Portugal, and Turkey were not represented at all. According to Kazimierz Marian Morawski, "there were, naturally, no Lithuanians in attendance" (Morawski referred to the extremely tense relations between Poland and Lithuania in the interwar period).⁴⁷

In three cases, the national affiliation of the delegates was left blank. These included two Jewish historians based in Germany: the founding father of modern Jewish historiography, Simon Dubnow, and the Lithuanian-born Julius Brutzkus (both of whom were, after all, absent from the Warsaw Congress), and Abbot Franciszek Sokołowski of Paris. It should be added that state affiliation did not always overlap with the participants' nationality, in particular in the Polish delegation. Marcelli Handelsman and Tadeusz Manteuffel made their best efforts to ensure the representation of different ethnic minorities living in Poland. They were primarily Jews, including the aforementioned elder historians, among others Majer Bałaban and Mojżesz Schorr, as well as historians of the younger generation, such as Filip Friedman, Rafał Mahler, Emanuel Ringelblum. Also represented at the Congress were Ukrainian historians, including the aforementioned Miron Korduba, along with Mykola Czubyaty, Józafat Skruteń, and Ilarion Svientsitsky as well as German historians, for example Alfred Lattermann. The Polish delegation also included French scholar Pierre David, a Benedictine abbot lecturing at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. The Czechoslovakian delegation to the Congress included its own ethnic minorities, among others Dmytro Doroshenko (Dorošenko) of the Ukrainian University in Prague, along with the aforementioned Josef Pfizner of the German University in Prague, the Jewish sociologist and demographer Jacob Lestschinsky, as well as a few Russian émigrés, e.g., Nikolai Lvovich Okunev or Petr Nikolaevich Savitskii.

Noteworthy was the considerable Italian delegation. As per Andrea Mariani, the Warsaw conference saw the largest Italian contingent in the history of the international congresses, save for the 1903 Rome Congress. Mariani surmises that the reason behind the high Italian turnout in Warsaw was not only the long-standing tradition of Polish-Italian relations, but

⁴⁴ Kondracki, *Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne*, p. 331; K. Tymieniecki, "VII Międzynarodowy kongres historyczny," *Roczniki Historyczne* 9 (1933), p. 305; Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 150.

⁴⁵ *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Liste* (for a list of participants, see the source appendix). The official list is the primary point of reference for our ruminations on the Congress participants.

⁴⁶ Eventually, the Soviet delegation was comprised of 6 scholars (see below).

⁴⁷ K.M. Morawski, "Klio w gościnie u syreny," *Mysł Narodowa* 1933, no. 38, p. 559. The Prague-based historian Josef Pfizner deemed this fact to be laden with political overtones (J. Pfizner, "Gedanken über den 7. Internationalen Historikerkongress in Warschau," *Deutsche Hefte für Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung* 3/6 [1933], p. 279). Also noticed by the chroniclers was the absence of the Chinese and the Japanese – see e.g., W. Jabłonowski, "W przededniu kongresu historycznego," *Gazeta Warszawska* 1933, no. 253AB, p. 4.

also in the fascist policies towards the Central and Eastern European states. Benito Mussolini saw the region as a receptive ground for the spread of Italian influences.⁴⁸

One is tempted to take a closer look at the Warsaw Congress participants and the institutions they represented. It goes without saying that the conference was dominated by academics, mostly professors from Poland and abroad. The Congress attracted a constellation of star historians at the time, such as Henri Berr, Alfred Coville and Michel Lhéritier of France, Karl Brandi, Wilhelm Mommsen, and Gerhard Ritter of Germany, John Harold Clapham and Harold William Temperley of Great Britain, Pietro Fedele and Pier Silverio Leicht of Italy, Halvdan Koht of Norway, Nicolae Iorga of Romania, Waldo G. Leland of the USA, Jaroslav Bidlo of Czechoslovakia, Aage Friis of Denmark, Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta of Spain, Aleksej Jelačić of Yugoslavia, Hans Nabholz of Switzerland, Sándor Domanovszky of Hungary, or Viacheslav Petrovich Volgin of the USSR. These were joined by the eminent Polish historians – aside from the aforementioned greats of Polish historiography at the time, the Congress was attended by Kazimierz Chodnicki, Józef Kostrzewski, Stanisław Kutrzeba, Jan Rutkowski, Władysław Semkowicz, Adam Szelągowski, and Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska. On the other hand, there were some noticeable absences, including Marc Bloch, who distanced himself from the CISH in the wake of the Oslo Congress, Alfons Dopsch and Henri Pirenne. The most glaring absentee among the Polish historians was Szymon Askenazy. According to a columnist of the Jewish daily *הצופה* (*Haynt*), rumor had it that Askenazy's absence was a result of an intrigue of "certain circles."⁴⁹ Kazimierz Marian Morawski went a step further, calling out the said "circles:" "Missing from the Polish ranks was Askenazy, at loggerheads with Handelsman, as if Achilles angry at Atreides."⁵⁰ Yet another noteworthy omission was the aforementioned Wacław Tokarz.

Importantly, the Congress attracted a number of promising academic "rookies," many of whom hatched into eminent luminaries of Polish historiography after World War II, including Stanisław Borowski, Władysław Czapliński, Karol Górski, Stanisław Herbst, Stefan Kieniewicz, Karol Koranyi, Henryk Łowmiański, Wanda Moszczeńska, Janusz Pajewski, Kazimierz Piwarski, Marian Serejski, Henryk Wereszycki, Juliusz Willaume, or Mieczysław Żywczyński.

The second most numerous group of foreign guests after academics were archivists, followed (less voluminously) by librarians and museologists. Also notable were members of the clergy



Fig. 13.
Haakon Vigander.



Fig.14.
Jaroslav Bidlo.

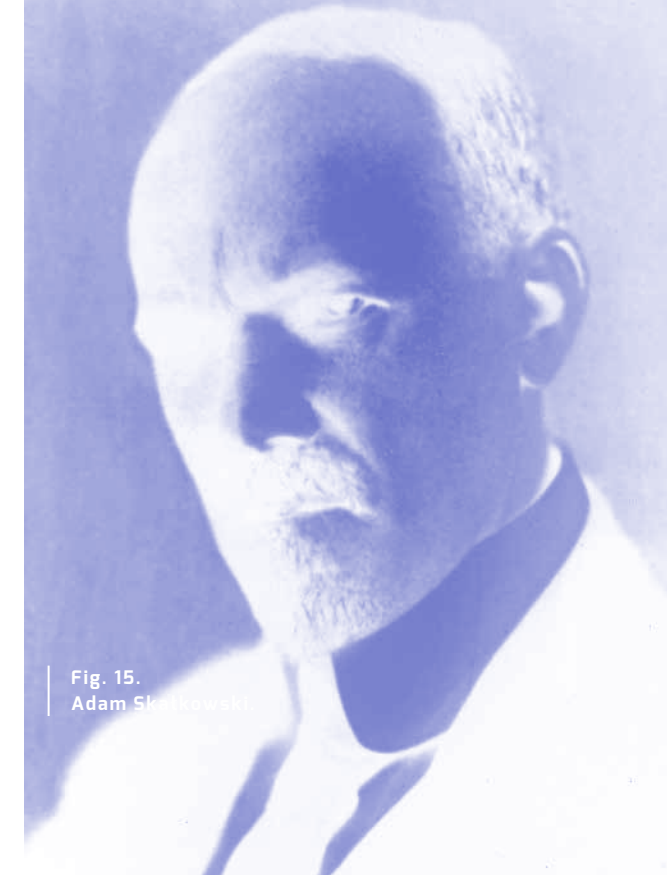


Fig. 15.
Adam Szelągowski.



Fig. 16.
Stanisław Kutrzeba.



Fig. 17.
Waldo G. Leland.



Fig. 18.
Nicolae Iorga.

⁴⁸ See Andrea Mariani's unpublished paper *Delegacja włoska na kongresie warszawskim. Między nauką a polityką*, 2017.

⁴⁹ "פיינערליכע ערעפנונג פון אינטערנאציאנאלען היסטאריקערקאנגרעס אין ווארשע," *הצופה* 1933, no. 194B, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Morawski, "Klio w gościnie," p. 559. It should be added, however, that from the early 20th century Askenazy was not particularly fond also of Bronisław Dembiński (See, among others, Z. Zielińska, "Polemika Szymona Askenazego i Bronisława Dembińskiego [1903-1904]," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 124/1 [2017], pp. 5-42).

(some of whom held academic positions), secondary school teachers and representatives of the military (partly retired), such as the French general Paul-Jean-Louis Azan of Tunis or the Italian colonel Mario Roatta. Students and doctoral candidates constituted a small group, with only several in attendance (mostly from Belgium and Denmark). Another category of note were diplomats, among whom were the Argentinian Minister Plenipotentiary to Warsaw, Roberto Levillier, or the Brazilian Minister Plenipotentiary to Warsaw, José Francisco de Barros Pimentel.

In terms of geographic whereabouts, the majority of the Congress participants came from the capitals of their home countries. The French mostly hailed from Paris (with a handful of scholars from Grenoble and Lille), the Italians from Rome (followed by Turin and Naples), the Britons from London (followed by Cambridge and Oxford), the Czechs – from Prague (including historians from the German and Ukrainian Universities), the Germans from Berlin (with 3–4 delegates from Munich, Breslau, and Göttingen each), the Romanians from Bucharest, the Hungarians from Budapest, the Spaniards from Madrid, the Danes from Copenhagen, the Belgians from Brussels, and the Norwegians from Oslo. One diverse exception was the US delegation, whose members were affiliated with a range of different academic centers.

As for the Polish attendees, they came from all over the Second Polish Republic, even though over 80% of them were affiliated with a mere five academic centers. The vast majority were based in Warsaw (227 participants, i.e., 53% of the Polish delegation), most of whom – as it was the case with other academic centers – were university professors. And yet, the Warsaw contingent was not devoid of archivists (led by the Director General of the State Archives, Witold Suchodolski), museologists, librarians (including the Director of the National Library, Stefan Demby), history teachers, lawyers, men of the frock (including the Catholic priest and professor at the University of Warsaw Zdzisław Obertyński and the protestant minister and Dean of the Faculty of Evangelical Theology at the University of Warsaw Edmund Bursche),⁵¹ students, politicians, members of the military (including Marshal Józef Piłsudski), as well as one industrialist and patron (Marceli Handelsman's father-in-law), Józef Kernbaum.

The second most-represented Polish city was Cracow, which sent 60 scholars to the Congress (14% of the Polish delegation). Most of them were academics (mainly university professors, but also young assistant professors and doctors), archivists (including the Director of the Archives of Historical Records of the City of Cracow, Adam Chmiel), students from the Scientific Circle of Historians, Minister Plenipotentiary Zygmunt Lasocki, and General Marian Kukiel. The cities of Lvov and Łódź delegated 24 representatives each (6% of the Polish contingent). The first group was dominated by professors, however, accompanied

by archivists and museologists (including the Director of the State Archives in Lvov, Eugeniusz Barwiński), and the representatives of the Ukrainian minority (including the Director of the Ukrainian National Museum, Ilarion Svientsitsky, and the Director of the Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Jarosław Pasternak). The relatively high turnout of the Łódź-based scholars (the most numerous among non-academic centers) was somewhat surprising given their complete absence at the prior congresses. The group was primarily comprised of teachers, including those of Jewish origin (e.g., Filip Friedman and Tadeusz Landau), accompanied by the Director of the Łódź City Archives, Józef Raciborski. Poznań sent 18 delegates (4% of the Polish representation at the Congress). Once again, the delegation was dominated by university professors, who were accompanied by the Director of the State Archives in Poznań, Kazimierz Kaczmarczyk, and the Director of the Raczyński Library, Andrzej Wojtkowski.

From other Polish cities and towns came only single delegates. Particularly stunning was the very poor attendance of the two remaining academic centers of the Second Republic. Vilnius sent 9 delegates, and Lublin designated a mere 4. Most of the remaining delegates hailed from Central Poland (18), the Eastern Borderlands and Great Poland (8 from each region), the former Galicia (7), Pomerania (5), and Silesia (4). They were mostly members of the clergy, teachers, and archivists, with a significant Jewish representation. Also arriving in Warsaw were the Polish scholars affiliated with other European research centers, e.g., the Paris-based literary historian and assistant professor at the University of Warsaw, Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski, who came in the company of his wife.

The list of the Congress participants featured 306 women.⁵² Of these, five were deemed “absent” (3 from Great Britain, 1 from Greece, and 1 from the USA). The eventual official number of female Congress participants thus rested at 301, or 31% of the entire assembly. The number of women attending the previous editions of the congress was significantly lower. In Warsaw, the group was dominated by Poland (163 participants, or 54% of all women at the Congress), which meant that the prevalence of Polish participants over their international counterparts was greater among women than men (40%). Other countries represented by women included France (29), Italy (21), Great Britain (20), the USA (16), Belgium (8), Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Romania (6 from each country), Spain, Holland, Norway, and Hungary (4 each), Finland (3), and Algeria, Denmark, India, Latvia, Switzerland, Sweden, and the USSR (1 from each country). This, however, begs the question: how many of the women participants registered solely as accompanying parties? Considering the shared surnames and domiciles of a portion of participants, it can be inferred that at least 137 (45%) of the women participants did, indeed,

⁵¹ On the presence of the Catholic clergy see Morawski, “Klio w gościnie,” p. 557.

⁵² VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Liste.

come as accompanying parties (most likely wives, sisters or daughters⁵³), chiefly from Poland (42), France (22), Italy (15), the USA (11), and Great Britain (10).

Who were the women who came to the Congress strictly for academic purposes? Having deduced the aforementioned accompanying parties, their number amounted to 164,⁵⁴ 125 (76%) of whom listed their professions, sometimes along with the academic degree, or/and institutional affiliation. Nearly 80% of them were Polish, mostly working in the academia, as was the case with Helena Willman-Grabowska (professor at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow), or Helena Radlińska, Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, and Natalia Gąsiorowska (all professors at the Free Polish University in Warsaw). As many as 42 were holders of doctoral degrees, although most listed no institutional affiliation, among others Łucja Charewiczowa of Lvov,⁵⁵ Wisława Knapowska of Poznań, Gryzelda Missalowa of Łódź, or Wanda Moszczeńska of Warsaw, and 14 held master's degrees. More than 20 participants were teachers at different levels of education, including gymnasium principals (e.g., Irena Posselt of Warsaw and Zofia Ligowska of Garwolin), director of the women's teachers' seminary in Płock (Julia Kisielewska), three school inspectors, five gymnasium teachers, and a teacher of the Women's School of Commerce in Cracow (Róża Landwirth). Rounding out the group were archivists, including Helena Polackówna of the Land Archives (Bernardine Archives) in Lvov and Janina Studnicka of the State Archives in Grodno, nuns (among others superior general of the Ursuline Order, Cecylia Łubieńska of Cracow), poet Anna Słonczyńska, journalist Wanda Romocka-Glińska, Zofia Kożuchowska of the Commuter Rail Office in Łódź, and two university students.

Singular women historians were delegated by the remaining participant countries. From France arrived three women affiliated with research institutions, including Christine Thouzellier (Professor of the French Institute in London); the US was represented by Esther Caukin Brunauer of the Institute of Education (who represented the American Association of University Women in Washington), and Gertrude Grether of the Academia Americana in Rome; from Great Britain came Helen Maud Cam of Cambridge's Girton College, Annie Izabella Cameron of the University of Glasgow, and Lillian Margery Penson (Professor of modern history representing the English Historical Association); Italy was represented by Maria and Marina Bersano-Beghey, affiliated respectively with the Museum of the Risorgimento

and the National Library (both in Turin), the USSR sent Anna Mikhailovna Pankratova of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Czechoslovakia designated Anna Vetterova-Becvarova (Member of the Czechoslovakian Parliament) and Alžbeta Göllnerova (gymnasium teacher from Bratislava), India was represented by Hedwige Nunes of the Indian Historical Research Institute at St-Xavier's College Bombay, Latvia deputized Herta von Ramm-Helmsing of the Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertum zu Riga, while Romania delegated Marie E. Holban (Professor at the Ecole d'Architecture in Bucharest).⁵⁶

Aside from the individual participants, the Warsaw Congress was also attended by institutional entities, including the Museum of Learning and Education affiliated with the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education (Warsaw), the National Ossoliński Institute (Lvov), the Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, the University of Madrid, and the Paris-based Société d'Histoire Moderne and Société des Historiens du Théâtre.

As diligently reported by the Czech historian Karel Stloukal, each Congress participant received a yellow envelope containing the Congress program, the list of participants, the bill of receptions, exhibitions, and excursions (which Stloukal referred to as the "blue booklet"), personalized invitations, several neatly printed publications, including a guide to Warsaw in French, as well as the Congress badge, in the form of a pin, designed by Tadeusz Manteuffel's brother, Edward Manteuffel-Szoegé (see Figure 19), who, *nota bene*, was also the author of the Congress logo.⁵⁷

The opening of the Congress was heralded by several notable events. August 19 (Saturday) saw the first session of the CISH Board. The following day, the Grand Hall of the Staszic Palace hosted the General Assembly of the Committee, attended by the representative of the 29 member states: Algeria, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Brazil,



Fig. 19. A badge for the participants of the International Congress of Historians in Warsaw, designed by Edward Manteuffel-Szoegé.

⁵³ For instance, Władysław Konopczyński arrived at the Congress accompanied by his wife Jadwiga and his daughter Halina. See P. Biliński, *Władysław Konopczyński 1880-1952. Człowiek i dzieło* (Kraków, 2017), p. 348.

⁵⁴ It must be emphasized, however, that some of the wives and daughters accompanying their husbands and fathers at the Congress were professional historians themselves, e.g., Halina Bachulska, the future author of a bibliography of the history of 19th-century Poland and the wife of librarian and archivist Aleksy Bachulski, or Helena Halecka, Oskar Halecki's wife.

⁵⁵ For more on Charewiczowa's participation in the Congress, see J. Suchmiel, *Jadwiga Łucja Charewiczowa (1897-1943). Życie i dzieło* (Częstochowa, 2001), pp. 78ff.

⁵⁶ The role of women at the Warsaw Congress is discussed in detail in Iwona Dadej and Maria Solarska's essay published in this book.

⁵⁷ K. Stloukal, "VII. mezinárodní kongres věd historických ve Varšavě," *Český Časopis Historický* 39/3-4 (1933), p. 538. See also W. Manteuffel, A. Rudziński, eds. *Edward Manteuffel. Grafika, rysunki, grafika użytkowa, dekoracje ścienne* (Warszawa, 1960), p. 24. At this point, we would like to thank Dr Agnieszka Chmielewska as well as Messrs. Jerzy Pawlikowski and Wiesław Czajka for the tips on Edward Manteuffel-Szoegé.

Canada, Denmark, the Free City of Danzig, Egypt, Spain, Estonia, the USA, Finland, France, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy, Latvia, Malta, Norway, Holland, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.⁵⁸ August 19-20 also marked the aforementioned Second Conference of the Federation of Eastern European Historical Societies, which saw the election of Jaroslav Bidlo of Prague as its president.⁵⁹

The ceremonial opening of the Congress on Monday, August 21 was preceded by a holy mass at the Catholic St. John's Archcathedral in Warsaw, celebrated by the Archbishop of Warsaw, Cardinal Aleksander Kakowski. The mass was attended by the entire Italian delegation, with a notable absence of the majority of the French delegation, who had reportedly received their invitations at short notice.⁶⁰

The Opening Ceremony – which was also the first plenary session of the Congress began at 11:30 a.m. at the Main Hall of the Warsaw University of Technology at 3 Polna Street. The opening session was attended by more than a thousand guests, including Poland's highest state officials, led by the President of the Republic of Poland, Ignacy Mościcki, who served as the honorary patron of the Congress, accompanied by Poland's Prime Minister, Janusz Jędrzejewicz (who also served as the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Education), and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Józef Beck. Also in attendance were the representatives of the Catholic Church (Cardinal Aleksander Kakowski, Nuncio Francesco Marmaggi, Papal Delegate Bishop Michał Godlewski), the President of the City of Warsaw, Zygmunt Słomiński, as well as the representatives of higher education institutions and learned societies, and Polish and international journalists.⁶¹ Adding to the rank of the event was the fact that the ceremony was broadcast live by the Polish Radio.⁶²

The first part of the opening session began with the inaugural speech in five languages (French, German, Italian, English, and Polish) by the president of the Executive Department,



Fig. 20. Opening Ceremony at the auditorium of the Warsaw University of Technology, view of the audience, with the President of the Republic of Poland, Ignacy Mościcki, sitting in the middle of the front row.

Bronisław Dembiński,⁶³ followed by the election of the Congress Presidium (adopted by acclamation). Marshal Józef Piłsudski was appointed the Honorary President of the Congress, with Dembiński named its active President, assisted by the Vice-Presidents: Jaroslav Bidlo (Czechoslovakia), Karl Brandi (Germany), Aage Friis (Denmark), Sándor Domanovszky (Hungary), Alfred Coville (France), Isaac Joslin Cox (USA), Halvdan Koht (Norway), Hans Nabholz (Switzerland), Nicolae Iorga (Romania), Viacheslav Volgin (USSR), Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta (Spain), Harold William Temperley (England), Georges Smets (Belgium), and Pietro

⁵⁸ See Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie Oddział w Poznaniu – Materiały Bronisława Dembińskiego, VII Międzynarodowy Zjazd Historyków – Warszawa: Instrukcje, zarządzenia, informatory 1933, file no. 62: Septième Assemblée du Comité International des Sciences Historiques Varsovie, du 20 au 25 Août 1933 – Compte-rendu succinct, sheet 7.

⁵⁹ See, among others, T. Kondracki, "Święto Klio nad Wisłą (za kulisami VII Międzynarodowego Kongresu Historyków w Warszawie 1939)," *Kronika Warszawy* 1989, no. 2, p. 67; D. Doroшенко, "Die osteuropäische Geschichte auf dem VII. Internationalen Historikerkongress in Warschau," *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte* 8 (1934), p. 77.

⁶⁰ Gustave Constant raised the matter in his report, "Le VIIe Congrès International d'Histoire en Pologne (21-30 août 1933)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Catholique de Paris* Ser. 2, 24 (1933), p. 282.

⁶¹ See, among others, "Uroczystość inauguracji kongresu nauk historycznych," *Gazeta Polska* 1933, no. 231; "Otwarcie kongresu historyków," *Gazeta Warszawska* 1933, no. 255A, p. 1.

⁶² "Stolica Odrodzonej Polski gości w swoich prastarych murach badaczy dziejów," *Nowy Kurjer* 1933, no. 192, p. 3; 5 *Rano* 1933, no. 234, p. 3 (here radio guide).

⁶³ Report from the ceremony *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès International des Sciences historiques (Varsovie, 1933)*, part 1, *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 1936, no. 32, pp. 363-372. See also *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Programme des Travaux du Congrès*, Varsovie du 21 au 28 août 1933, p. 10; "Otwarcie kongresu historyków," *Gazeta Warszawska* 1933, no. 255A, p. 1; K. Brandi, "Der siebente internationale Historikerkongress zu Warschau und Krakau, 21.-29. August 1933," *Historische Zeitschrift* 149/1 (1934), p. 216; Kondracki, "Święto Klio," p. 67.

Fedele (Italy). In turn, Tadeusz Manteuffel, Michel Lhéritier (France) and Haakon Vigander (Norway) were appointed the secretaries of the Congress. In the subsequent part of the ceremony, Prime Minister Jędrzejewicz delivered his address, followed by the representing the foreign delegations, envoy of Pope Pius XI, Bishop Godlewski. Concluding this part was the report on the ending term of the CISH Board, presented by its President, Halvdan Koht of Norway.

The second part of the opening session featured papers delivered by Charles Diehl of Paris (*Les problèmes actuels de l'histoire byzantine*), Nicolae Iorga of Bucharest (*Origine et développement de l'idée nationale surtout dans le Sud-Est européen*) and Stanisław Kutrzeba of Cracow (*Les principes de l'autorité et de la liberté dans l'histoire des Etats de l'Europe depuis l'époque du*

Moyen-Age jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine). There was, however, “a fly in the ointment” of the overwhelmingly positive accounts of the Opening Ceremony, with a number of chroniclers complaining about a loudspeaker malfunction and the abysmal acoustics inside the Main Hall.⁶⁴

The substance of the Congress was comprised of 15 thematic sections and 12 special sessions. All panels were held at the main building of the Warsaw University of Technology, with plenary sessions taking place in the ground floor auditorium, and sectional panels at the mezzanine, in rooms 2 through 8 (the mezzanine also hosted the office of the Congress President), and on the first floor, in rooms 9 through 15 (the first floor was also home to the exhibition and correspondents rooms, the Congress secretariat, information office, and the Wagons-Lits-Cook travel agency). Sectional panels were also held on the second floor, in rooms 16 through 20. The projection equipment was available in rooms

3 and 8 on the mezzanine level.⁶⁵ The building was also home to a post office and the Congress press office, led by Ryszard Przelaskowski.⁶⁶

With the exception of the first day, the panels were scheduled for mornings (9:30 a.m. – 1:30 p.m.) and afternoons (3:30 p.m. – 7 p.m.). The first eight panels were held on Monday, August 21, in the afternoon following the Opening Ceremony. Their number rose in the subsequent days. Tuesday, August 22, saw a total of 18 panels, as did Wednesday, August 23. 15 panels were held on Thursday, August 24, followed by 17 panels on Friday, August 25, and as many as 20 on Saturday, August 26. Some of the panels were scheduled as daylong events, while others were limited to morning or evening sessions. In total, the Congress saw 96 panels (out of the 102 announced in the Congress program).⁶⁷

In accordance with its agenda, the following thematic sections were held: I Auxiliary Sciences, Archives, Organization of Historical Research, II. Prehistory and Archeology, III. Ancient History, IV. Middle Ages and Byzantium, V. Modern History, VI. History of Religion and the Churches, VII. History of State and Law, VIII. Economic and Social History, IX. History of Ideas and Philosophy, X. History of Science (Science and Medicine), XI. Literary History, XII. Art History, XIII. Methodology and Theory of History, XIV. Didactics of History, XV. History of Eastern Europe. In four cases, the Polish chairs of the respective sections were replaced with their compatriots (Władysław Abraham of section VI was replaced by Stefan Czarnowski; Przemysław Dąbkowski of section VII gave way to Stanisław Kutrzeba; in section XII, Władysław Tatarkiewicz substituted for Władysław Podlacha, while in section XIV Stanisław Kot was superseded by Helena Radlińska).

The thematic sections featured a total of 73 panels. The modern section V was the most intensive one, with its 9 panels spanning nearly the full length of the Congress. Section VI, dedicated to the history of religion and the Churches, followed suit with a total of 7 panels (as did section VII on the history of state and law). Historians of antiquity (section III) held six panels, on a par with their colleagues from section VIII (economic and social history).⁶⁸

As mentioned above, the Congress also hosted 12 special sessions, marked A through N respectively. Session B (Nationalism and Nationality) was cancelled. The structure of these special sessions eventually shaped up in the following way (the name of chairperson and the number of panels in the parenthesis): A. Historical geography (Władysław Semkowicz – 2

⁶⁵ VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Programme, pp. 3-6.

⁶⁶ “Obrady kongresu historyków,” *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 232 – morning issue, p. 5.

⁶⁷ For reports on proceedings of all sections and special sessions, see *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès International des Sciences historiques (Varsovie, 1933)*, parts 1-2, *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 1936, no. 32, pp. 373-476; no. 33, pp. 491-580. See also VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Programme, pp. 8-57. A copy of the program is included in the source appendix.

⁶⁸ *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 1, pp. 373-476; part 2, pp. 491-538.

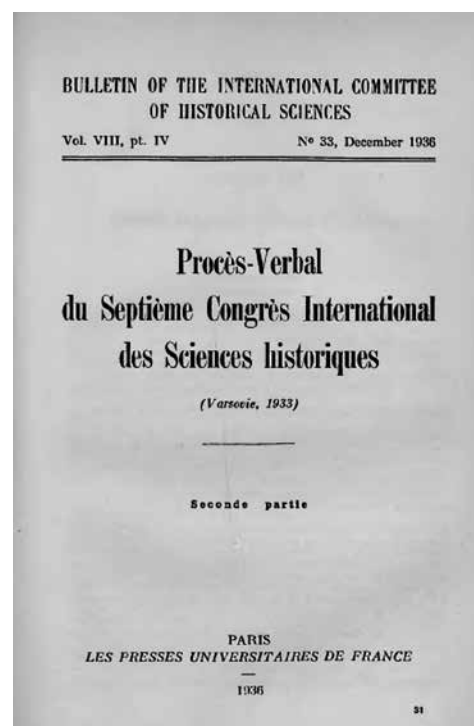


Fig. 21. Title page of *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès International des Sciences historiques*.

⁶⁴ See, among others, “Otwarcie kongresu historyków,” *Gazeta Warszawska* 1933, no. 255B, p. 1; S. Bednarski, “VII Międzynarodowy Kongres Nauk Historycznych Warszawa-Kraków 21-29 sierpnia 1933,” *Przegląd Powszechny* 1933, no. 200, p. 142.

panels), C. History of Enlightened Absolutism (Władysław Konopczyński – 2 panels), D. History of Great Geographical Discoveries and Exploration (Eugène Déprez – 2 panels), E. Colonial History (Stefan Czarnowski – 3 panels), F. Comparative Historical Demography (Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska – 5 panels), G. History of Banks and Bills of Exchange (Michel Lhéritier – 1 panel), H. History of Social Movements (Jan Rutkowski – 1 panel), I. Military History (Marian Kukiel – 1 panel), K. Feudalism (Marceli Handelsman – 1 panel), L. Humanism (Tadeusz Zieliński – 1 panel), M. Jewish History (Majer Bałaban – 2 panels), N. Oriental History (Mojżesz Schorr – 1 panel). In total, the special sessions featured 23 panels.⁶⁹

Each section and session had its *ad hoc* presidium. The Congress Bureau recommended that the panelists first present their respective report papers and communications, moving discussions to the end of each panel. Due to the high number of presentations, the submitted papers were to be presented solely in the form of short abstracts, introducing the discussions. Communications were not to be longer than thirty minutes each. Comments should not exceed five minutes each, and discussions on individual communications were projected at thirty minutes, with exceptions made for particularly compelling presentations.⁷⁰ In reality, these principles were sometimes compromised. Some among the chairpersons were so lenient that selected papers extended to as long as ninety minutes, and the discussion comments took even as much as half an hour. There were also reports of cases in which papers were moved to other panels or read out hastily. As a result, some of the sessions did not start on time. The afternoon panels usually began with a thirty-minute delay. The order of panels and debates was interrupted from the very beginning, effectively thwarting the original schedule. In view of these obstacles, some discussions, too, were largely limited.⁷¹

We do not have comprehensive data on the Congress attendance at our disposal. As per the available sources, attendance varied from several to over 80 participants per panel. Section I (Auxiliary Sciences, Archives, Organization of Historical Research) was by far the most popular one. One of the panels of section XIII (Methodology and Theory of History) also attracted over 80 participants, who turned up to discuss Henri Berr's paper on historical synthesis. Turnouts of 60 or more were also recorded at the panels of section VIII (Economic and Social History), section IX (History of Ideas and Philosophy), and the special session on the history of social movements.⁷²

69 *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 2, pp. 539-580.

70 *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Programme*, pp. 1-2.

71 See, among others, F.M. Fling, "Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences Warsaw, August 21-28, 1933," *The American Historical Review* 39 (1934), p. 271; Pfitzner, *Gedanken über den 7. Internationalen Historikerkongreß*, p. 280; Dorošenko, *Die osteuropäische Geschichte*, p. 81.

72 *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 1, pp. 373-476; part 2, pp. 491-580.

Moving on to the conference papers, it should be noted that the actual number of papers presented at the Congress was about 100 lower than the original projections. Some speakers cancelled with sufficient notice to be removed from the program, but a significant number (46 speakers) withdrew at the last minute and were asterisked "absent" in the official agenda.⁷³ On the other hand, the Congress did feature some late submissions. There are some discrepancies as to the eventual number of papers and communications delivered at the Congress. Josef Pfitzner, who published quite extensive reflections on the Congress, estimated them at about 350, while Kazimierz Tymieniecki recounted 330 papers.⁷⁴ The report presented at the post-Congress session of the Polish Historical Society mentioned a total of 447 papers and communications.⁷⁵

While a substantive assessment of the Congress is the subject matter of the subsequent section of this book, we should briefly discuss the presence of the most populous and captivating delegations. Unsurprisingly, the largest contingent of speakers came from Poland (89), followed by the French. A strong representation was also delegated by the Italians, with as many as 70 presenters hailing from the Apennine Peninsula.⁷⁶ In total, Italy ranked third in terms of panelists, before Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. The Italians flocked around the sections devoted to modern and contemporary history (14), history of state and law (9), and economic and social history (7). Three more Italian speakers presented their papers in the Central and Eastern European history section. Among the special sessions, the one that attracted the most Italians was the session on military history. The Italian delegation also monopolized the panel on the history of banking. In terms of their institutional affiliations, the Italian speakers hailed from different academic centers, most of which were based in Rome. The Italian capital was represented by as many as 15 speakers, 9 of whom were affiliated with the La Sapienza University of Rome. Other cities with significant representations of Italian speakers were Milan (6), as well as Turin and Bologna (5 each). One novelty was the

73 *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Programme*, pp. 8-57.

74 Pfitzner, *Gedanken über den 7. Internationalen Historikerkongreß*, p. 279; Tymieniecki, "VII Międzynarodowy kongres historyczny," p. 306.

75 Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Materiały Tadeusza Manteuffla, Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne: Protokoły posiedzeń Walnego Zgromadzenia, Zarządu Głównego i Stałej Delegacji Zjazdów, karty uczestnictwa T.M. oraz korespondencja dotycząca głównie zjazdów historyków krajowych (IV, V, VI) i VII kongresu międzynarodowego w Warszawie, 1925-1938, file no. 33: Opinions of selected foreign guests on the Congress of Historians and on Poland, sheet 67. Other sources list much lower numbers of Congress presentations, e.g., Henri Berr estimated them at 300 (see H. Berr, "Le VII^e Congrès international des sciences historiques [Varsovie, 21-27 août; Cracovie, 28 août] et la science de l'histoire," *Revue de Synthèse* 5/3 [1933], p. 193), while Karl Dietrich Erdmann counted 286 presentations (Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 150).

76 Our outline of the Italian delegation at the Warsaw Congress is based, above all, on the aforementioned unpublished study by Andrea Mariani (*Delegacja włoska*).

participation of Italian scholars affiliated with scientific institutions under the supervision of Catholic Church, in particular the Catholic University of Milan (5 speakers, including its President Agostino Gemelli).

As for the French delegation, it was – in the words of Kazimierz Marian Morawski – less “expansive” than its Italian counterpart. Morawski saw the French as an incoherent group of individuals. He bemoaned the fact that none of France’s star historians made it to Warsaw, with the leading role now assigned to Charles Diehl.⁷⁷ Morawski may have been too harsh, since the aforementioned Henri Berr, Alfred Coville, and Michel Lhéritier did, in our opinion, fit the bill.

The participation of German historians in the Warsaw Congress was vital chiefly for political reasons (although not exclusively). The Germans were the fourth most active contingent at the Congress, after the French, the Italians, and the Poles. With German named one of the five working languages of the Congress (a notch below French, but noticeably above English), Joseph Pfizner counted a total of 52 German papers delivered by non-Germans, including 20 read by Poles.⁷⁸

Although numerically modest, the six-person Soviet delegation attracted considerable attention at the Congress (see Figure 22). Warsaw was only the second Congress to host the Soviets, who were led by the secretary of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Viacheslav Volgin, accompanied by Nikolai Sevastyanovich Derzhavin (Director of the Institute of Slavonic Studies at the Soviet Academy of Sciences), Nikolai Mikhailovich Lukin (Director of the Institute of History at the Communist Academy), Pavel Osipovich Gorin (President of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences), Anna Pankratova (Editor-in-chief of the *Борьба Классов* journal), and Peter Fedorovich Preobrazhensky (Professor at the University of Moscow).⁷⁹ As per Pankratova’s and Lukin’s post-Congress reports, the Soviet delegates presented six papers and nine comprehensive commentaries on other papers, reportedly making vital contribution to the promotion of the Marxist approach to history. The Soviets did, indeed, leave their mark on the Congress discussions, most notably those held as part of the methodological section. They were also visible at the inaugural session of the newly-established Commission for Social Movements in 18th and 19th Century, which took place on August 24. The Commission appointed Halvdan Koht as its Chair, alongside Georges Bourgin and Nikolai Lukin (Vice-Chairs), and Natalia Gąsiorowska (Secretary). Also participating in the Committee’s proceedings were



Fig. 22. Arrival of the Soviet delegation: in the middle, from the right: Nikolai Mikhailovich Lukin (wearing a hat and carrying a walking stick), Anna Mikhailovna Pankratova, Pavel Osipovich Gorin (wearing a white cap), Viacheslav Petrovich Volgin (wearing glasses, looking into the camera), Nikolai Sevastyanovich Derzhavin (wearing glasses).

Volgin and Gorin. As recorded by many observers, the latter became greatly popular with his Polish peers as the sole foreign panelist to deliver his paper – in which he discussed the colonial policy of tsarist Russia in the Polish lands – in Polish.⁸⁰

A few words should be said on the special session on Jewish history and the behind-the-scenes activities that helped make it happen. As recounted by Emanuel Ringelblum in his report for *Miesięcznik Żydowski*,⁸¹ the Warsaw Congress was the first ever to host a delegation

⁷⁷ Morawski, “Klio w gościnie,” p. 558.

⁷⁸ For more on the subject, see S. Guth, “Between Confrontation and Conciliation. German-Polish Historiographical Relations and the International Congresses of Historians in the 1930s,” *Storia della Storiografia* 47 (2005), pp. 113-160.

⁷⁹ J. Rózewicz, *Polsko-radzieckie stosunki naukowe w latach 1918-1939* (Wrocław–Warszawa, 1979), pp. 153-155.

⁸⁰ A.M. Панкратова, “Седьмой международный конгресс исторических наук в Варшаве,” *Борьба Классов* 1933, no. 10, p. 16; Н.М. Лукин, “VII международный исторический конгресс в Варшаве,” *Историк-марксизм* 1933, no. 5 (33), pp. 126-128. See also L.-D. Behrendt, *Die internationalen Beziehungen der sowjetischen Historiker (1917 bis Mitte der dreißiger Jahre). Zur internationalen Wirksamkeit der sowjetischen Geschichtswissenschaft in ihrer ersten Entwicklungsperiode*, (Leipzig, 1977 [typescript]), pp. 223-237; И.А. Желенина, “Из истории международных конгрессов исторических наук,” *Вопросы Истории* 39/9 (1964), pp. 183-189; Rózewicz, *Polsko-radzieckie stosunki naukowe*, pp. 152-153.

⁸¹ E.R., “Historja Żydów na VII Międzynarodowym Zjeździe Nauk Historycznych w Warszawie (21-28 sierpnia 1933),” *Miesięcznik Żydowski* 1933, no. 11/12, pp. 258-260. See also E. Ringelblum, “דער VII-טער ליטערארישע בלעטער,” *אינטערנאציאנאלער קאנגרעס פון היסטארישע וויסנשאפטן און די יידישע היסטארישע וויסנשאפט* 1933, no. 34, p. 541.

of Jewish historians. The institution that “won” it was the Vilnius-based Jewish Scientific Institute (YIVO). Upon lengthy correspondence with its historical section, the CISH informally recognized a separate representation of the YIVO and the Institute for Judaic Studies in Warsaw, according to Artur Eisenbach largely thanks to Handelsman and Manteuffel’s efforts.⁸² The YIVO was represented by Ignacy Schiper, Rafał Mahler, and Emanuel Ringelblum, while the Warsaw-based Institute sent Majer Bałaban, Edmund Stein, and Mojżesz Schorr, who was also the representative of the Jewish Historical Society of England. Formally, however, the Jewish historians had to appear under the banners of their respective countries of origin.

On the eve of the Congress, the National Democratic *Gazeta Warszawska* cautioned: “Undoubtedly, the Jews shall strive to exploit the international congress of historians for their own purposes, arriving from all over the globe, in particular from Germany.”⁸³ These “fears” turned out to be unfounded, for according to Ringelblum’s report, the political events



Fig. 23. Special session on Jewish history – sitting from the left: Ignacy Schiper, Abraham Gordon Duker, Emanuel Ringelblum, Rafał Mahler, Salo Baron, Meyer Abraham Halevy (misspelled “Halery”), Majer Bałaban, Filip Friedman, Edmund Stein (misspelled “Stern”).

in Germany prevented not just the aforementioned Simon Dubnow and Julius Brutzkus but also Jacob Lestschinsky, Rachel Wischnitzer, and Elias Czerikower from participating in the Congress.⁸⁴ The first three were featured in the Congress program without the “absent” annotation, which means they must have withdrawn at the last minute. Nonetheless, they had each submitted theses of their papers, which were later published in the Congress proceedings. Conversely, the Congress was attended by established Jewish historians Salo Baron of Columbia University in New York and Rabbi Meyer Abraham Halevy of Bucharest. The papers on Jewish history were presented during two special panels dated August 22 and 27, respectively, reportedly also attracting a number of non-Jewish historians (approximately 80 scholars participated in the panels).⁸⁵ The proceedings were chaired respectively by Baron and Halevy (with Abraham G. Duker and Ringelblum appointed as their secretaries). Baron, Halevy, and Bałaban delivered their papers at the first panel. The August 27 panel opened with Baron reading a paper of the absent Solomon Zeitlin of Philadelphia, followed by Mahler, Schiper, and Ringelblum presenting theirs (see Figure 23). The discussion on Mahler’s paper included comments from Friedmann, Ringelblum, Halevy, Bałaban, Stein, and Baron. The remaining papers were not discussed for lack of time. Bałaban then summarized the panel, emphasizing the Jewish scholars’ contributions to the Congress, and expressing his disappointment with the absence of Dubnow and other German-based historians, caused by the events in Germany. Those in attendance unanimously agreed to send to Dubnow “their regards and wish him fruitful work.”

During the Congress, the Jewish delegates repeatedly counseled on the subsequent cooperation with the CISH and the establishment of a world association of Jewish historians. A longer discussion ensued on the project of establishing within CISH the Commission for Jewish History. Schorr was opposed to the idea, arguing that the history of Jews should only be considered as an integral part of general history. Just as there were no sections for the histories of other nation, so should there be no section for the history of Jews. In Schorr’s opinion, its establishment would be tantamount to the “ghettoization” of Jewish science. In light of Schorr’s remarks, it was decided that no further efforts would be made to this end. On the other hand, Friedmann stressed the need to establish a world organization of Jewish historians. First pitched in an article published by the *Miesięcznik Żydowski* monthly (3/3 [1933], pp. 275–284), Friedman’s idea sparked off a lively discussion. Mahler and Ringelblum subscribed to a strictly secular model of such an entity (comprised solely of historians).

⁸⁴ Majer Bałaban made the same point in his reflections on the Congress, “Po siódmym kongresie historyków w Warszawie (pokłosie historii żydowskiej),” *Chwila* 1933, no. 5191, p. 9.

⁸⁵ “די סעסיע פון יידישער געשיכטע אויפן VII טער אינטערנאַצ. היסטאָריקער-קאָנגרעס” 1933, no. 35, p. 559; Bałaban, “Po siódmym kongresie,” p. 10.

⁸² A. Eisenbach, “Jewish Historiography in Interwar Poland,” in *The Jews of Poland Between Two World Wars*, eds. Y. Gutman, E. Mendelsohn, J. Reinharz, Ch. Shmeruk (Hanover–London, 1989), p. 469.

⁸³ “Żydzi na kongresie historyków,” *Gazeta Warszawska* 1933, no. 254A, p. 3.

Schorr and Baron were in favor of expanding the spectrum to include all Jewish scholars verging toward history. As a result, an organizational committee of six (Bałaban, Schorr, Baron, Schiper, Halevy, Friedman) was appointed, which – together with other academic institutions (e.g., the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the YIVO) – was tasked with the “global organization of Jewish science.”

As we have mentioned, discussions throughout the Congress hardly ever proceeded according to the plan. On some occasions they went over the time limit due to lax discipline; in other instances, they were either shortened or virtually non-existent. Still, the atmosphere that pervaded those debates deserves to be mentioned. The participants’ feedback in this regard was unambiguously positive. No major clashes were recorded. To the contrary, a number of scholars emphasize the friendly, considerate, and sympathetic tone of the debates and the high discussion standards throughout the Congress. Granted, some discussions were particularly heated, as was the case with the history of imperialism or historical synthesis (for more on this, see Krzysztof Zamorski’s article in this volume), yet the debaters never breached the academic decorum. The character of these discussions was perhaps best summarized by a columnist of the Warsaw-based *ABC* newspaper, who recounted the polemics between Stefan Czarnecki and Oskar Halecki, which transpired during the panel on the history of religion and Churches, and concerned not only historical substance but also (a fact worth recalling especially today) the differences in the speaker’s worldviews. The said columnist reported that the dispute was conducted “supremely, in a brilliant fashion, with zest and in a refined form...”⁸⁶ No more needs to be said.

The activity of the Congress participants was not limited to their respective sections. On Saturday, August 26, the second General Assembly of the CISH was held at the Staszic Palace. In the course of its two sessions, the General Assembly resolved to accept two new member states, Ecuador and Indochina, in its ranks. The Assembly also adopted several amendments to its statute, among others moving the CISH seat from Washington to Zurich. Furthermore, the meeting saw the appointment of the new CISH Board (by unanimous decision). Harold William Temperley (Great Britain) was elected President; Dembiński (second term) and Karl Brandi were chosen Vice-Presidents, and Michel Lhéritier was renewed as General Secretary; Hans Nabholz (Switzerland) was voted Treasurer, with Hippolyte Delehaye (Belgium), Sándor Domanovszky (Hungary), Luis Nicolau d’Oliver (Spain), and Vincenzo Ussani (Italy) as members of the Board. Recognizing the contributions from the outgoing President (Halvdan Koht) and Treasurer (Waldo G. Leland), the Assembly appointed them advisors to the Board. Another key decision passed in Warsaw was the place and date of the subsequent Congress.

Switzerland was chosen from among three submitted candidacies (the other two were Egypt and Portugal) as the host country of the 8th Congress (which was to be held in Zurich). Last but not least, it was decided that the subsequent General Assembly of the CISH would take place in March 1934 in France.⁸⁷

The Congress saw two more meetings of the CISH Board (held on August 25 and 27, respectively). The second meeting was held with the newly elected makeup. Commissions affiliated with the CISH held their sessions and meetings parallel with the Congress, from August 22 to 25, and submitted their reports to the General Assembly on August 26, along with proposals to form new commissions for the history of historiography, numismatics, urban inventories in medieval Europe, history of international relations, the Maltese archives, and the edition of liturgical texts.

As mentioned before, the Congress was accompanied by a number of publications, first and foremost the three parts of the fifth volume of the *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* scheduled for release in 1933 (no. 18 in February, no. 19 in May, and no. 20 in July).⁸⁸ In total, the three releases contained over 800 pages of text with the materials of sections IV-XI and XIII-XV, as well as selected special sessions. Apart from these, the Organizing Committee published the two-volume *VII-e Congrès international des sciences historiques: Résumés des communications présentées au Congrès*, containing communications presented by the foreign speakers at the Congress – the 356-page volume one was dedicated to sections I-VII, while the 525-page volume II covered sections VIII-XV, special sessions A-N, and contained a supplement to both volumes.⁸⁹

In addition to the above, the Polish Historical Society released its three-volume *La Pologne au VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*, which contained 77 Congress reports and communications (published in alphabetical order) written by Polish scholars (a total of almost 1,000 pages), as well as the aforementioned short history (37 pages) of Polish historiography in the 19th and 20th century by Bronisław Dembiński, Oskar Halecki, and Marcei Handelsman (*L’historiographie polonaise du XIX^{me} et du XX^{me} siècle*). Thanks to the financial support of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education,

⁸⁷ For more on the CISH’s activity during the Congress, see Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Poznaniu – Materiały Bronisława Dembińskiego, VII Międzynarodowy Zjazd Historyków – Warszawa: Instrukcje, zarządzenia, informatory 1933, file no. 62: Septième Assemblée du Comité International des Sciences Historiques Varsovie, du 20 au 25 Août 1933 – Compte-rendu succinct, sheets 7-13. See also Kondracki, “Święto Klio,” p. 68.

⁸⁸ “VII^e Congrès international des Sciences historiques Varsovie (1933): Rapports présentés au Congrès, parts 1-3,” *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 1933, nos. 18-20.

⁸⁹ *VII-e Congrès international des sciences historiques: Résumés des communications présentées au Congrès*, vols.1-2 (Warszawa, 1933).

⁸⁶ “Kongres odjeżdża! Zamknięcie obrad Międzynarodowego Kongresu Historycznego,” *ABC* 1933, no. 248, p. 2.

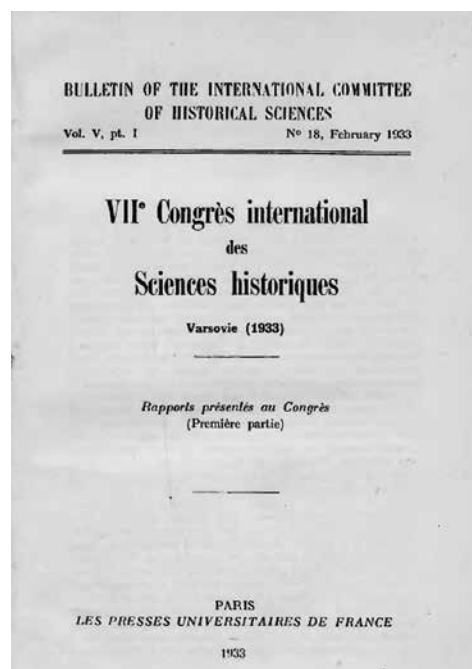


Fig. 24. Title page of *Rapports présentés au Congrès*.



Fig. 25. Title page of *Résumés des communications présentées au Congrès*.

the Lvov-based Shevchenko Scientific Society released a short (123 pages) collection of papers presented at the Warsaw Congress by Ukrainian scholars.⁹⁰

Other accompanying publications included Halecki's short synthesis of Polish history, titled *La Pologne de 963 à 1914* (with an introduction by Alfred Coville), as well as a range of catalogues, among others Józef Siemieński's *Guide des archives de Pologne*, and special issues of selected journals and periodicals, e.g., *Ruch Słowiański* and *Pologne Littéraire*.⁹¹ The latter contained pieces by the most esteemed of the Polish organizers of the Congress, such as Bronisław Dembiński, Marcelli Handelsman, and Tadeusz Manteuffel, and were supplemented by full-page, richly illustrated ads of the accompanying events (excursions, exhibitions, etc.).⁹² Moreover, according to Henryk Barycz, the Baltic Institute in Toruń distributed its

new release, Waław Sobieski's *Der Kampf um die Ostsee. Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig 1933).⁹³

Aside from the publications, the organizers inundated the Congress participants with a plethora of accompanying events. In charge of their organization was the specially appointed *Comité de Réception* (Reception Committee),⁹⁴ whose Honorary Committee included Cardinal Aleksander Kakowski, Bronisław Żongolowicz (Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education), Władysław Jaroszewicz (Governor of the Warsaw Voivodeship), Zygmunt Słomiński (President of Warsaw), Józef Ujejski (President of the University of Warsaw), Wiesław Chrzanowski (President of the Warsaw University of Technology), Bronisław Hełczyński (Head of the Civil Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland), Stanisław Michalski (Director of the National Culture Fund), and Karol Lutostański (President of the Józef Mianowski Fund). The Executive Department of the Reception Committee was comprised by as many as 42 members, led by its Chairman, Minister-Plenipotentiary Stanisław Kętrzyński, his deputy, Minister Plenipotentiary Karol Bertoni, and his General Secretary, Helena Więckowska of the National Library. Among the members of the Department were Stefan Demby (Director of the National Library) and Colonel Bronisław Gembarzewski (Director of the National Museum). Another body appointed on the occasion of the Congress was the Ladies' Committee (*Comité des Dames*), chaired by Kamila Kętrzyńska (wife of Minister Stanisław Kętrzyński), who was aided by Vice-Chairs Countess Władysława Zamoyska, Helena Halecka, and Jadwiga Łypacewicz, and General Secretary Stefania Morawska. The Ladies'

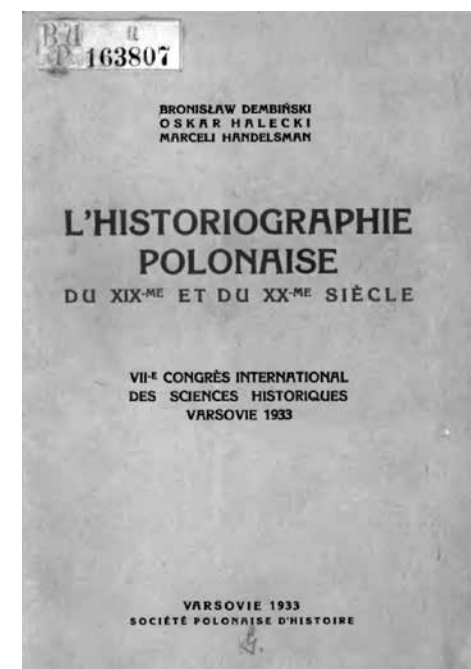


Fig. 26. Title page of *L'Historiographie polonaise du XIX^{me} et du XX^{me} siècle* by Bronisław Dembiński, Oskar Halecki and Marcelli Handelsman.

⁹⁰ M. Korduba, ed. *Contributions à l'histoire de l'Ukraine au VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Varsovie août 1933* (Léopol, 1933).

⁹¹ Dorošenko, *Die osteuropäische Geschichte*, pp. 80-81.

⁹² *Pologne Littéraire* 1933, no. 83.

⁹³ H. Barycz, *Historyk gniewny i niepokorny. Rzecz o Waławie Sobieskim* (Kraków, 1978), p. 326.

⁹⁴ For more on the accompanying events, see *VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Réceptions, Expositions, Excursions organisées à l'occasion du Congrès* (Warszawa, 1933), pp. 1-12.

Committee was comprised of three sections: social (led by Anna Szelągowska), artistic (headed by Jadwiga Handelsman), and reception section (run by Helena Pułaska). The Committee was tasked with providing “attractions” for the ladies arriving at the Congress. The offices of the Reception Committee and the Ladies’ Committee were based at the main building of the Warsaw University of Technology.

Among the flagship accompanying events at the Congress was the aforementioned international exhibition of historical cartography, showcased at the Warsaw University of Technology at the behest of the Commission for Historical Geography, appointed at the Oslo Congress and chaired by Fritz Curschmann of Greifswald (aided by Vice-Chair Władysław Semkowicz, and Secretary François-Louis Ganshof of Ghent). The exhibition was opened after the inauguration ceremony by the President of Poland, Ignacy Mościcki. Occupying five large exhibition rooms, the exposition featured three parts: I. *Die historische Entwicklung der Spezialkarte*, II. *Cartes historiques*, III. *Le développement territorial de villes* (each according to a country-by-country order). Supplementing the exhibition was a special catalogue.⁹⁵

Using their participant cards, the Congress guests were entitled to visit (every day from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m.) all of Warsaw’s archives, libraries, museums, and galleries free of charge. Some of these institutions had prepared special offers for the duration of the Congress. For instance, the National Library held an exhibition at the Warsaw School of Economics in Rakowiecka Street, showcasing several of its collections, including Polish historiography up to the 19th century, manuscripts on the post-partition history of Polish territories and legislation, as well as auxiliary historical sciences, in particular heraldry. Separate sections were dedicated to two individuals who were highly regarded for their work for the advancement of the Library: Józef Załuski and Józef Piłsudski. The Library, inspired by the proceedings of the special session on the great geographic discoveries and exploration also presented 16th- and 17th-century writings on America penned by Poles or published in Poland.⁹⁶

The National Museum presented an exhibition of decorative arts and historical keepsakes from the January Uprising. The Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts held an exhibit titled *The Soldier and the Horse in the 19th- and 20th-century Polish Art*, while the Institute of

Art Propaganda chipped in with the *Art and Tourism* exhibition.⁹⁷ With the Congress still underway, the Russian delegation held in the main building of the Warsaw University of Technology a presentation (in French) of historical books released by the Institute of History of the Communist Academy (in cooperation with the Soviet and Belarusian Academies of Sciences). The exhibition detailed the publications released in the first five-year plan in the USSR across three thematic groups: general history, history of Russia and the USSR, as well as histories of other countries. The showcase featured a total of 1,200 volumes, including several dozen journals. Complementing the showcase was an outline of the achievements of major Soviet research institutes, as well as the organizational layouts of historical research from 1913 and 1932, and a list of research projects conducted in the field of general history in the tsarist and Soviet Russia. Due to a delayed delivery of the books, the exhibition was brief but successful, attracting as many as 400 guests (according to Lukin’s account). Most of the showcased materials were subsequently given to the University of Warsaw and the Higher War School in Warsaw.⁹⁸ On another note, *Kurjer Warszawski* reported on two exhibitions held by the Czechoslovak delegation at the main building of the Warsaw University of Technology, devoted respectively to the history of science and the publications of the Institute of Slavonic Studies in Prague.⁹⁹

The Reception Committee offered a range of daily two-hour bus tours of Warsaw and the surrounding areas at 2 Polish zlotys each. The sightseeing route included the Royal Castle, the Łazienki Palace, the Central Institute for Physical Exercise at Bielany, and the Wilanów Palace. Other proposals featured visits of different social institutions (hospitals, social welfare centers, charities). A group of doctors from the history of science section took a guided tour (led by Ludwik Zembrzuski) of the former Zamoyski Academy library with its old manuscripts, incunabula and prints, also visiting the local museum and stopping by at the Warsaw Medical Society in Niecała Street, which held Poland’s richest medical book collection.¹⁰⁰

On Tuesday, August 22, at 7:30 p.m., art historian Juliusz Starzyński, who at the time lectured at the State Teachers’ Institute and the State Institute of Theatrical Art, delivered a lecture on the Wilanów Palace and its collections.¹⁰¹ In turn, on Saturday, August 26, Albert Depréaux – member of the French delegation and conservator of the Thiers Foundation Archives – gave an “immensely interesting lecture” at the grand hall of the Krasiński Library

⁹⁵ *Catalogus mapparum geographicarum ad historiam pertinentium quae curanto collegio historico-geographorum adiantibus viris congressui ordinando in polytechnico Varsoviensi exponantur* (Varsoviae, 1933). See also Mig., “Prezydent R. P. na wystawie geografji historycznej,” *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* 1933, no. 233, p. 2 (*Życie stolicy*).

⁹⁶ H. Korotyński, “Wystawa historyczna Biblioteki Narodowej (W dniu otwarcia),” *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 230 – evening issue, pp. 6-7; Mig., “Wystawa zbiorów Biblioteki Narodowej,” *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* 1933, no. 23 (*Życie stolicy*); Ф. Лебединская, “Польская выставка на историческом конгрессе,” *Борьба Класов* 1933, no. 10, p. 90.

⁹⁷ “Prace kongresu historyków,” *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 235 – morning issue, p. 5.

⁹⁸ Т. Райнов, “Выставка советской исторической книги на конгрессе,” *Борьба Класов* 1933, no. 10, p. 91; Behrendt, *Die internationalen Beziehungen*, pp. 224-225. See also Лукин, “VII международный исторический конгресс,” p. 129; Rózewicz, *Polsko-radzieckie stosunki naukowe*, p. 155.

⁹⁹ “Obrady kongresu historyków,” *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 234 – morning issue, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ “Obrady kongresu historyków,” *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 235 – evening issue, p. 9.

¹⁰¹ For more on the speaker, see M. Gradowski, “Prof. dr Juliusz Starzyński (1906-1974),” *Ochrona Zabytków* 28/2 (1975), p. 146.

on the history of the established by Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte Northern Legions in the years 1806-1808.¹⁰²

According to the insert attached to the program of accompanying events, the Board of the Didactic Section of the Warsaw-based History Lovers Society additionally appointed the History Educators Reception Committee, whose members were posted at the Warsaw University of Technology, with the view of assisting “visiting colleagues” and organizing study visits to schools and studios, as well as guided tours of the city.¹⁰³

Finally, the Congress saw a number of receptions and banquets, the first of which was thrown on Sunday, August 20 (at 9 p.m.) at Resursa Kupiecka (40 Senatorska Street) by the Polish Historical Society (see Figure 28). On the following day at 5 p.m., the Ladies Committee held an afternoon tea party for the female guests of the Congress at the Historians’ House (31 Rynek Starego Miasta) (see Figure 27), followed by a ceremonial gala held at 9:30 p.m. at the Namiestnikowski Palace at 66 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street under the auspices of



Fig. 27. Women Congress participants in front of the Historians’ House at Rynek Starego Miasta in Warsaw.

¹⁰² “Odczyt historyka francuskiego o walkach polskich,” *Gazeta Polska* 1933, no. 236.

¹⁰³ *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Réceptions*.

the Polish Prime Minister. Another afternoon event for the women participants was held on Tuesday, August 22 at 5 p.m. at the S.I.M. café (11 Królewska Street) at the behest of the Ladies’ Committee. On the same day at 9:30 p.m., the President of the City of Warsaw hosted a reception at the Warsaw City Hall in Teatralny Square. On Thursday, August 24 at 8 p.m., Dolina Szwajcarska (3 Chopin Street) hosted a banquet, during which the leader of the Italian delegation, Minister Pietro Fedele gave a “superb eulogy of Poland in Latin.”¹⁰⁴ On Friday, August 25, upon conclusion of the sessions, “the more eminent guests rushed to a series of receptions held concurrently at three embassies: English, French, and Italian, with the fourth one thrown by the Romanian legation,” wrote *Gazeta Warszawska*.¹⁰⁵ On top of that, all Congress guests received free tickets to the evening presentation of Stanisław Wyspiański’s *The Wedding* at the National Theater (8:15 p.m.), which, according to *Kurjer Warszawski*, was replaced at the last minute by Aleksander Fredro’s *Mister Jowialski*; the show featured a lineup of star actors, but was staged without any preface to its context. The performance was followed by a reception at the Raspberry Hall of the nearby Bristol Hotel.¹⁰⁶ Finally, on Saturday, August 26 at 1 p.m., the Ladies’ Committee held a women’s breakfast at the Officers’ Rowing Club at Wybrzeże Kościuszkowskie Street, before the closing gala at 9:30 p.m., held at the main ballroom of the Royal Castle under the auspices of the Polish President and featuring approximately 500 guests. The scholars were introduced to the President by Marceli Handelsman. The reception lasted until 1 a.m., with a number of participants complementing the lavish Royal Castle interiors.¹⁰⁷ At the end of the official gala, some scholars moved the festivities to the “finest dance halls in the capital.”¹⁰⁸

Not much is known of the lodgings of the participants of the Warsaw Congress. The Organizing Committee recommended six hotels with a total of 800 rooms. The offer included first rate establishments such as the Bristol and the Europejski at Krakowskie Przedmieście or the Polonia at Jerozolimskie Avenue (each room with bathroom charging at least 20 złotych/night); second rate hotels (Rzymski, Focha Street, 16.50 złotych/night) and Savoy (Nowy Świat, 21 złotych/night), and the third rate (“category IIb”) Terminus Hotel (Chmielna Street, rooms with shared bathrooms at 9-11 złotych/night). Aside from these, the Committee set aside around 400 more modest and cheaper quarters at Dom Poselski (hotel for Members of the Polish Parliament) in Wiejska Street (6.60 złotych/night), male and female student dorms at

¹⁰⁴ “Echa zjazdu historycznego,” *Gazeta Warszawska* 1933, no. 263A, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ “Zjazd historyków. Dzień piąty,” *Gazeta Warszawska* 1933, no. 259B, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ “Obrady kongresu historyków,” *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 234 – morning issue, p. 5; Kondracki, “Święto Klio,” p. 75.

¹⁰⁷ *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Réceptions*, pp. 7-8; “Kongres odjeżdża!,” p. 2; Kondracki, “Święto Klio,” p. 72.

¹⁰⁸ Kondracki, “Święto Klio,” p. 72.

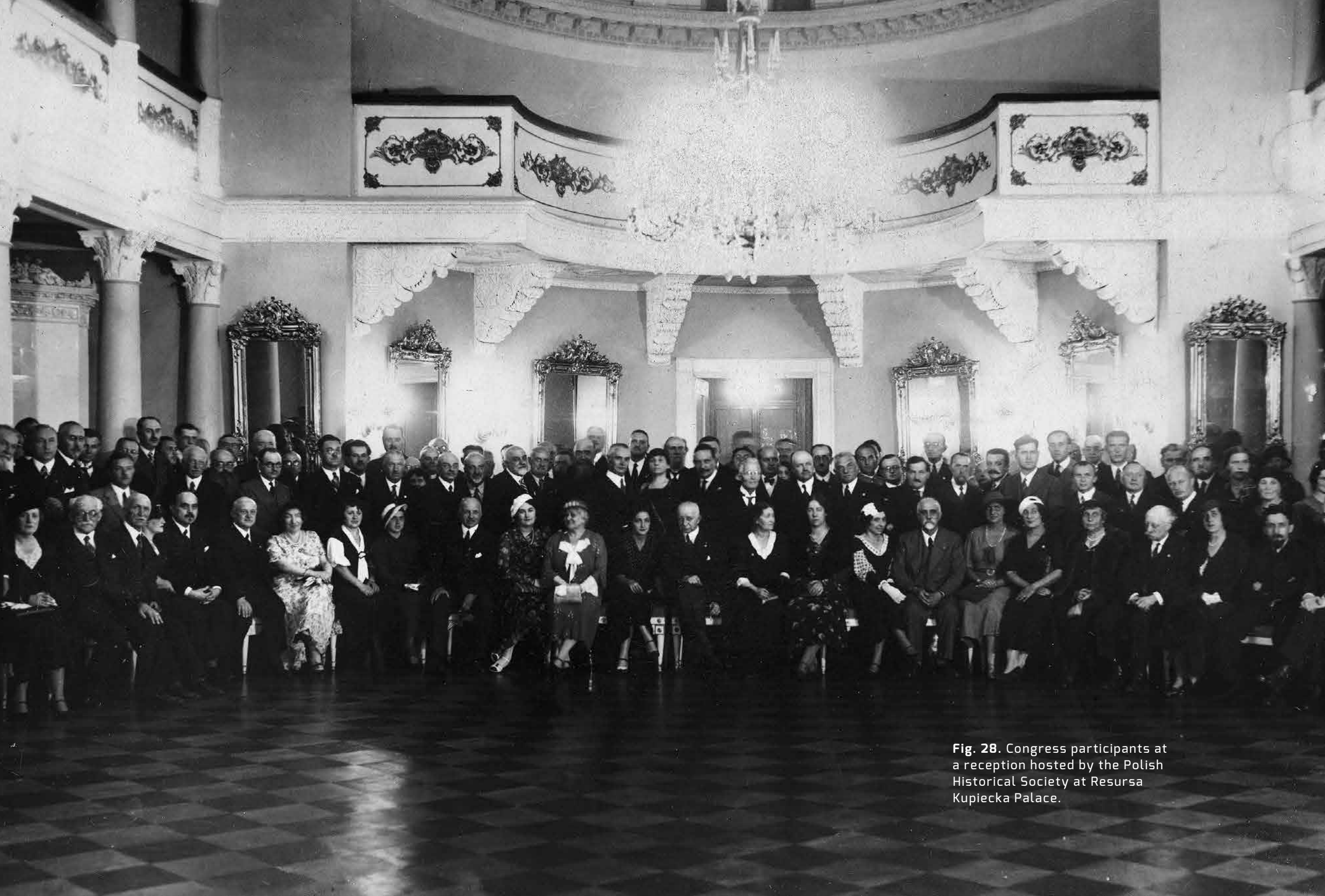


Fig. 28. Congress participants at a reception hosted by the Polish Historical Society at Resursa Kupiecka Palace.



Fig. 29. Invitation for Tadeusz Manteuffel to a banquet held by the President of the Republic of Poland at the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

Fig. 30. Application form for the accommodation in Warsaw.

Akademicka Street (2.20 złotych/night) and Górnośląska Street (5 złotych/night), respectively, as well as teachers' hostels. The entire operation was commissioned to Wagons-Lits-Cook.¹⁰⁹

It is worth noting that as many as 234 participants hailed from Warsaw or its immediate vicinity. As to the remaining 738 participants, only 267 (36%) recorded their lodgings in the official list of participants. Most of them (62, i.e., 23%) stayed at the Dom Poselski (including 14 guests from France, 9 from Italy, 8 from the USA, and 8 from Hungary). The second most popular lodging was the Polonia Hotel, which attracted 58 participants, i.e., 22% of the visiting participants (including 25 Italians, 9 French, and 8 British guests). The third lodging of choice was the Europejski Hotel with 51 guests (19%), mostly from Germany (17), followed by France (11), and Great Britain (8). The trendy Bristol ranked fourth with 38 guests (14%), including 11 guests from Germany and 7 from France. The list of the preferred choices was rounded off by the male dorm in Akademicka Street (19 guests, 7%), and the Brühl Hotel in Fredry Street, selected by 13 guests.

Several more participants stayed at the female dorm in Górnośląska Street (7), Angielski Hotel in Wierzbowa Street (4), Savoy Hotel (4), and the Rzymski

Hotel (3). Somewhat peculiar was the case of the Terminus Hotel at 28 Chmielna Street, which, despite a recommendation from the Organizing Committee, failed to attract a single visitor, likely due to its poor reputation. As opposed to the aforementioned establishments, the 1933 Warsaw address book did not rank the Terminus among the capital's luxury hotels or even "first-rate" hotels, relegating it to the "other hotels" category.¹¹⁰ As Bronisława Magdalena Suszczyńska-Ochman remarked eleven years later in her memoir of the Warsaw Uprising, "as a hotel, it was a third-rate establishment, known as a house of ill-repute with rooms rented by the hour."¹¹¹ This begs the question: why in fact did the Organizing Committee recommend it in its official materials?

As can be inferred from the above, Dom Poselski was the most popular lodging among the Congress guests, attracting almost every fourth member of the analyzed group. Interestingly, no German guest chose the place as their accommodation. A number of guests stayed at one of the three upscale hotels (Polonia, Europejski, Bristol), which hosted as many as 55% of the visiting participants. Aside from the Europejski and the Bristol, some Germans opted for the Brühl Hotel. The low number of guests staying at the student dorms (only 26 participants) seems to point towards a considerable material status of the visiting historians, although to be fair, the Organizing Committee did receive discounts from the major hotels.¹¹²

Aside from the above lodgings, eight scholars listed other addresses in Warsaw. For instance, Roberto Michels (Professor at the University of Perugia) stayed at the Yugoslavian Legation in Ujazdowskie Avenue; Petre P. Panaitescu (Professor at the University of Bucharest)



Fig. 31. Title page of *Particulars as to Travelling and Sojourn in Poland*.

¹¹⁰ Książka informacyjno-adresowa. CAŁA WARSZAWA (Warszawa, 1930), Section VII, pp. 4-5.

¹¹¹ B.M. Suszczyńska-Ochman: *Z pamiętnika pielęgniarki*, <http://lekarzypowstania.pl/osoba/bronislawa-magdalena-suszyńska-ochman-ps-anna/> [accessed November 6, 2018].

¹¹² *Le Congrès de Varsovie. Troisième circulaire. VI^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*, Varsovie, du 21 au 28 août 1933, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ VII-th International Congress of Historical Sciences: *Particulars as to Travelling and Sojourn in Poland*, (Warszawa, 1933), pp. 11-13.

chose a boardinghouse at 18 Bracka Street; Spanish Jesuit Henry Heras (Professor at Xavier's College's Bombay Branch) was put up by his brethren in Świętojańska Street.

Also inserted in the accompanying events program was the culinary guide. Three-course luncheons were served daily between 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. at the Europejski Hotel (5.50 złotych). Alternatives for the less affluent participants included the culinary schools at 14 Kredytowa Street and in Jerozolimskie Avenue (three-course lunches at 1.70 złotych and two-course meals at 1.50 złotych), or the food kitchen of the Women's Civic Work Committee at 23 Królewska Street (1.20 and 1.60 złotych, respectively).¹¹³ Reasonably priced meals were to be also available at the Lardelli café at 26-30 Polna Street, a stone's throw from the Warsaw University of Technology.¹¹⁴

The Closing Ceremony of the Warsaw part of the Congress (which also happened to be its second plenary session) began on Sunday, August 27 at 10:30 a.m. at the Polski Theater



Fig. 32. Congress Presidium at the Closing Ceremony held at the Polski Theater in Warsaw.

¹¹³ VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Réceptions.

¹¹⁴ VII-th International Congress of Historical Sciences: Particulars, p. 14.

(see Figure 32). The Congress Presidium took to the stage, led by Bronisław Dembiński, who chaired a series of papers delivered by Paul Kehr of Berlin (*Über den Plan einer Ausgabe der älteren Papsturkunden*), Pier Silverio Leicht of Bologna (*L'origine delle 'Arti' nell'Europa occidentale*), George Peabody Gooch of London (*Political Ideas of Thomas Hobbes*), and Viacheslav Volgin of Leningrad (in place of Anatoly Vasilyevich Lunacharsky), outlining the historical evolution of socialist idea, from utopian socialism to Marxism. As had been the case in Oslo, the plenary papers were followed by the presentation of propositions adopted by the respective sections of the Congress.

Towards the end, the floor was once more given to Dembiński, who briefly summarized the Congress, commending above all its "efficacy," and passed it over to the new CISH President, William Temperley. The Englishman made his inaugural speech in eight languages (English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and Polish), as if to recapitulate the international flair of the Warsaw Congress. He concluded his speech in Polish, adding, "my Polish friends, I would like to say that our meeting could not have been held in a place more opportune than this noble, history-laden country, nor could we have been received with such kind of hospitality anywhere else."¹¹⁵

On the afternoon of Sunday, August 27, the Congress participants boarded a special train heading for Cracow, where the Congress was scheduled to conclude.¹¹⁶ Before departure, they received guides to the city (in French) along with lodgings directions. According to *ABC* daily, the train carried about 400 delegates, a contingent of Congress staffers, and a considerable public comprised of members of the "academic milieu."¹¹⁷ The trip was not devoid of

Fig. 33. Application form for the accommodation in Cracow.

¹¹⁵ Minutes from the second plenary session in: *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 2, pp. 581-583 (for the quoted excerpt, see p. 583). See also "Kongres odjeżdża!," p. 2; Kondracki, *Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne*, p. 329.

¹¹⁶ Kondracki, *Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne*, pp. 329ff. See also H.K., "Otwarcie kongresu historyków," *Kurjer Warszawski* 1933, no. 231 – morning issue, p. 5; Tymieniecki, "VII Międzynarodowy kongres historyczny," pp. 305-306; Guth, "Between Confrontation," p. 139.

¹¹⁷ "W murach Akademii Jagiellońskiej żegna Polska Kongres Historyczny," *ABC* 1933, no. 250, p. 4.

commotion, as the number of issued tickets exceeded the available seats, which called for another carriage to be put on before the eventual departure.

A specially appointed Executive Committee was responsible for receiving guests in Cracow, made up of Jan Dąbrowski, Stefan Komornicki, Stanisław Kot, Edward Kubalski, Ludwik Piotrowicz, Tomasz Seweryn, Edward Windalewicz, and Józef Feldman (Secretary). The top hotels (Grand, Francuski, and Polonia, offering rooms with en-suite bathrooms at 15 złoty per night) could be booked via Wagons-Lits-Cook. Aside from these, the visitors could stay at one of the smaller hotels or boardinghouses (Bristol, Europejski, Saski), the Metropolitan Seminary in Podzamcze Street, the student dorm of the Medical College in Grzegórzecka Street, and the local branch of the YMCA in Krowoderska Street.¹¹⁸

The following day saw the final session (third plenary session) of the Congress at the auditorium of the Jagiellonian University (see Figure 34).¹¹⁹ Though the session was scheduled to begin at 10 a.m., the auditorium had filled with a few hundred guests long before the start, with the local professors and interpreters assigned by the reception committee greeting them at the door. All guests were presented an album on the University's history, with the foreign arrivals additionally receiving albums of the Silesian Museum in Katowice and an English folder of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. Moreover, the university vestibule opened its kiosk with albums, postcards, and pieces of Polish traditional art. The opening of the plenary session was attended by the consuls of France and Czechoslovakia, with the President of the Jagiellonian University, Stanisław Kutrzeba, making a welcome speech. The delegates then moved to the more spacious Catholic House in Straszewskiego Street, where the newly-appointed CISH President, William Temperley, chaired the plenary session featuring two papers by Hans Nabholz of Bern (who spoke on the relations between political and economic history) and Michael Rostovtzeff of Yale University in New Haven (who discussed the frescoes discovered in a synagogue in Dura Europos on the Euphrates).



Fig. 34. Congress participants at the auditorium of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

The session ended with a “breakfast intermission.” President of the Jagiellonian University Stanisław Kutrzeba received approximately 200 “preeminent scholars” (as dubbed by the *Czas* daily) at the Sary Theater.¹²⁰ At 4 p.m., the guests toured the Wawel Cathedral and Royal Castle, including an exhibit of “keepsakes” from the reign of King John III Sobieski (Jan III Sobieski). “The more assiduous” guests could also visit the exhibition of “scientific keepsakes from the Jagiellonian University” displayed at Collegium Chemicum, or a showcase of manuscripts, engravings, portraits, and old prints from the reign of King Stephen Báthory. In the evening, the editorial staff of the Jesuit periodical *Przegląd Powszechny* held a dinner for the members of the clergy participating in the Congress.¹²¹ At 9 p.m., the Sary Theater hosted a reception for 700 guests held by the Presidium of the City of Cracow, which concluded with a dance. Foreigners were reportedly captivated by the figures of the traditional Polish mazur, performed by eight dancing pairs.¹²²

¹¹⁸ On the Cracow part of the Congress, see Archiwum Nauki Polskiej Akademii Nauk i Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Oddział w Krakowie, VII Międzynarodowy Kongres Historyków – korespondencja, 1933, file no. KI-9, no. 26: Letter from the Chair of the Organizing Committee to the dean (likely of the Faculty of History – eds.) on the agenda of the Congress in Cracow, sheet 82; Letter issued by the Chair of the Cracow Committee, Stanisław Kutrzeba, on August 18, 1933 (no pagination) + enclosed Program of the stay of the participants of the 7th International Meeting of Historians in Cracow on August 28-29, 1933, sheet 92; *VII-th International Congress of Historical Sciences: Particulars*, p. 14. See also B. Tracz, *Krakowski Oddział Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego i jego członkowie 1913-1945* (Kraków, 2013), pp. 63ff.

¹¹⁹ On the Congress guests' stay in Cracow see the report of the German Consul General, August Schillinger. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin – I. Hauptabteilung, Kultusministerium, Der 7. Internationaler Historikerkongreß in Warschau und Krakau vom 21.-29. August 1933, file no. I. HA Rep. 76, Vc, Sekt I, Tit. XI, Teil 6, Nr. 13, Bd. 3: Deutsches Konsulat Krakau – Beendigung des VII Internationalen Historikerkongresses in Krakau, 31. August 1933, sheets 104-105; *ABC* 1933, no. 250, p. 4.

¹²⁰ “Zakończenie Kongresu Historyków w Krakowie,” *Czas* 1933, no. 196, p. 1; “Uczestnicy kongresu historyków w Krakowie,” *Naprzód* 1933, no. 196, p. 7.

¹²¹ Constant, “Le VIIe Congrès,” p. 286.

¹²² Tracz, *Krakowski Oddział*, p. 66.



Fig. 35. Hans Nabholz presenting paper at the Catholic House in Cracow, with the newly elected President of CISH Harold William Temperley sitting next to him.

On Tuesday, August 29, between 9 a.m. and 1 p.m. the delegates were offered a tour of Cracow, including the Jagiellonian Library, the National Museum, the Czartoryski Museum, and Saint Mary's Basilica. At lunchtime, the Cracow-based historians individually invited foreign colleagues for meals at their homes. According to Bartosz Tracz, the Piotrowicz family hosted participants of the ancient history section; the Konopczyńskis entertained the Scandinavian and Baltic delegations; the Dąbrowskis received a number of French, Italian, and Hungarian historians; Edward Kuntze (Director of the Jagiellonian Library) held lunch for the Soviet historians.¹²³

Moreover, the consuls of France (Gabriel Richard), Czechoslovakia (Antonin Maixner),¹²⁴ and Germany (August Schillinger) hosted their respective compatriots (the French lunch was held at the Stary Theater). The German consul addressed invitation also to President Kutrzeba, as well as the President of Cracow, the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy Zdzisław Jachimecki, and several Polish historians. At 4 p.m. a special train of some 500 participants departed for the salt mine in Wieliczka, where an exhibition of historic maps and old mining tools was set up to entertain the guests, who were also treated to afternoon tea as well as the Polish national dances show performed by children and lightening effects. At 9:30 p.m., the delegates were invited to a banquet at the newly reopened (after World War I) Pod Baranami Palace, hosted by Count Artur Potocki.

Adam Chmiel (Director of the Archives of Historical Records of the City of Cracow)¹²⁵ wrote that more than 20 Congress participants visited his institution on each of the two Congress days in Cracow, including Heinrich Schmid of Graz, Gioacchino Volpe of Rome, Jan Moravek

¹²³ Tracz, *Krakowski Oddział*, p. 66.

¹²⁴ See, among others, Stloukal, "VII. mezinárodní kongres věd historických," p. 561.

¹²⁵ Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie – Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie: Sprawozdanie z czynności Archiwum aktów dawnych m. Krakowa za czas od 1 stycznia do 31 grudnia 1933 roku, file no. 29/819/0/5/175, sheets 1-2.



Fig. 36. Congress participants at the courtyard of the Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow.



Fig. 37. Congress participants at the Cloth Hall at Rynek Główny in Cracow.

VII-e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES

BULLETIN D'ADHÉSION
FORM OF APPLICATION

Nom et prénom
Name and Christian Name

Adresse actuelle
Present address

Nombre de personnes
Number of persons

Je désire après la clôture du Congrès prendre part à l'excursion
After the close of the Congress I intend to join Official Tour

I. Kraków—Lwów—Truskawiec—Lwów
II. Kraków—Poznań—Gdynia
III. Kraków—Białowieża—Wilno
IV. Kraków—Zakopane—Kraków

(effacer les mentions inutiles) (unnecessary items should be crossed out)

Signature

Fig. 38. Field trip application card.

Poznań—Gdynia, 167 zlotys), and a five-day outing from Cracow to Białowieża and Vilnius (130 zlotys). Aside from the first trip, which attracted 80 delegates, the remaining tours did not enjoy considerable popularity. Apart from these four excursions, historians of antiquity paid a study visit to an excavation site near Sandomierz.¹²⁶

As mentioned before, the Congress saw a special issue of the *Pologne Littéraire* monthly, outlining the destinations of the four package trips and the region of Silesia. All articles were patriotic in tone, arguing for the ethnic and cultural Polishness of the host land, particularly in the case of the Gdynia trip. Still, it must be said that the confrontations of foreign guests with daily Polish reality did not always play out as intended, as was the case with Joseph Pfizner's observations on the traces of German culture in Poland, or Henri Hauser's comments on the backwardness of the Polish countryside. It seems, therefore, that the trips were counterproductive to the anticipated propagandist effects. We should add that while the German delegation refrained from the provocative idea of taking a trip for participants to the "Danzig Corridor," the Danzig-based German historians did fuel some controversy when they invited the Congress participants to their home city and pointed to its German character.¹²⁷

Several words ought to be said of the Congress finances. As stated in the final financial statement submitted to the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education by

and Karel Stloukal of Prague, Alžbeta Göllnerova of Bratislava, and Giuseppe Gerola of Venice. During a tour guided by director Chmiel and Mieczysław Niwiński, the visitors spoke highly of the Archives' organization and rich collections. In return, they were presented with publications released by the Archives.

On the morning of the following day, Wednesday, August 30, the foreign guests travelled away on four packaged tours organized by the Orbis travel agency, including a three day trip to Zakopane (105 zlotys), two four day trips (Cracow-Lvov-Truskawiec-Lvov, 145 zlotys; Cracow-

Tadeusz Manteuffel in October 1933¹²⁸, the eventual budget proved to be balanced, with a considerable surplus of nearly 22,000 zlotys. The Organizers had a budget of 136,430.15 zlotys at their disposal, out of which only 30,000 (23%) came from the Congress fees. Despite the raging Great Depression, the Congress was principally subsidized by the Polish state authorities, who propped its budget with nearly 100,000 zlotys. Of that sum, almost 86,000 zlotys was contributed by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education, while the remaining 11,500 was granted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Additionally, the Ministry of Communications granted the Congress delegates a 50% discount on journeys by the Polish railways in Poland, Belgium, Estonia, France, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, and Romania.¹²⁹ The Congress budget also included minor contributions from other sources, including a donation of 5,000 zlotys made by the delegates at the banquets held throughout the Congress. About 800 zlotys came from the interest accrued on the Organizing Committee's PKO Bank deposits.

The total Congress expenditure amounted to 114,492.63 zlotys, with the largest sum (over 50,000 zlotys) allocated to congress prints and publications, most of which covered the release of the Polish papers and abstracts of foreign presentations. Institutionally, the Congress cost short of 35,000 zlotys, a large part of which (10,000 zlotys) went into the lease and adaptation of the Congress venues, above all the edifice of the Warsaw University of Technology. The Congress Secretariat and office materials consumed nearly 10,000 zlotys, and another 6,000 zlotys were spent on correspondence. Moreover, 2,500 zlotys were allocated to three thematic sections, most of which went into section X (History of Science). Over 20,000 zlotys went into receptions and trips, while the accompanying exhibitions totaled at 5,000 zlotys.

In addition to the materials mentioned above, a number of records have survived that reveal the unofficial face of the Congress, particularly meetings between the Polish historians and the foreign delegates. The cordial relations with the French were specially emphasized, perceived by many as a manifestation of the Polish-French friendship.¹³⁰ After the Congress, Marcell Handelsman sent a report to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, detailing

¹²⁸ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny – VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie, Zestawienie Kasowe, 1933, file no. 144, sheets 1-6.

¹²⁹ Discount tickets could be purchased in all Wagons-Lits-Cook agencies upon presenting the participant's pass and a special certificate issued by the Congress Secretariat. See Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie – Ambasada RP w Berlinie, Kongresy, konferencje i zjazdy międzynarodowe, korespondencja, raporty placówek polskich, noty, sprawozdania, zaproszenia, 1933, sheet 1410: Note from the Political Department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to all diplomatic and consular outposts dated August 5, 1933, sheet 265; *VII-th International Congress of Historical Sciences: Particulars*, pp. 6-7.

¹³⁰ See, among others, Henri Hauser's post-Congress report for the French Minister of National Education, Anatole de Monzie, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve – Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, no. 417 QO, file no. 316, sheet 8. A full of Hauser's report can be found in the source appendix.

¹²⁶ *VII-th International Congress of Historical Sciences: Particulars*, pp. 15-24. See also Kondracki, "Święto Klio," p. 73.

¹²⁷ Guth, "Between Confrontation," p. 146.

the informal ties struck between the Polish historians and their foreign counterparts.¹³¹ According to Handelsman, the German delegation had initially planned to band together in order to “control” the Congress discussions, most uncompromisingly so in the cases of Hans Rothfels of Königsberg and Walter Recke of Danzig. Upon arrival in Warsaw, however, cooler heads prevailed. The more prudent representatives of the elder generation, for example Karl Brandi and Paul Kehr, kept a more balanced approach. On Wednesday, August 23, the German envoy to Warsaw, Hans Adolf von Moltke, hosted a reception for German and Polish historians. The Polish hosts also manifested their hospitality and sympathy to the German guests. Handelsman introduced the leader of the German delegation, Paul Kehr, to the Polish President, and its eldest member Heinrich Finke to the Polish Prime Minister. Speaking at the inauguration of the Congress, Dembiński interspersed his address with a few words in German, much to the delight of the majority of German delegation. Recounting the Congress, Envoy von Moltke emphasized that the Polish side abstained from exploiting the Congress to push an anti-German agenda. Brandi wrote of several private conversations with his Polish colleagues, while Handelsman’s report mentioned a Polish-German *Weinabend* at Fukier’s, which was well attended by the “visibly moved” Germans. The second bilateral meeting took place at the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow, where the scholars discussed different ways to mutually facilitate their access to Polish and German archives and stay in touch with the scientific achievements on both sides of the border through a series of reports published by *Historische Zeitschrift* and *Kwartalnik Historyczny*. Also debated was the matter of cross-border exchange of scholars and students, which was warmly received, especially by the junior members of the German delegation. Some commentators tamped down such enthusiasm, doubting the sincerity of the German stance, and noting that the Polish side seemed more determined to bring the idea to fruition.¹³²

¹³¹ Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie, Ambasada RP w Berlinie – Kongresy, konferencje i zjazdy międzynarodowe, korespondencja, raporty placówek polskich, noty, sprawozdania, zaproszenia, 1933, file no. 1410: Marceli Handelsman: Report on the 7th Congress of Historians, sheets 261-264. For a full version of Handelsman’s report, see the source appendix.

¹³² Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin – I. Hauptabteilung, Kultusministerium, Der 7. Internationaler Historikerkongreß in Warschau und Krakau vom 21.-29. August 1933, file no. I. HA Rep. 76, Vc, Sekt 1, Tit. XI, Teil 6, Nr. 13, Bd. 3: Durchdruck. Deutsche Gesandtschaft Warschau–Warschau, 30.8.1933 – An das Auswärtige Amt, sheet 93; Vertraulicher Bericht über das Comité international des sciences historiques und über die Tätigkeit der deutsche Delegation auf dem VII. Internationalen Historikerkongress zu Warschau und Krakau, 21. bis 29. August 1933, sheet 122; Bericht über die 8. Sitzung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Historikerausschusses am 9. März 1934 11 1/2 Uhr, im Reichsministerium des Inneren zu Berlin, sheet 131. See also S. Guth, *Geschichte als Politik. Der deutsch-polnische Historikerdialog im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin–Boston, 2015), pp. 58-60.

Handelsman’s report mentions two incidents involving German scholars at the Congress, whose secretariat received a protest from the English luminaries, condemning the Nazi academic policies and requesting that the address be distributed among the Congress participants. Handelsman wrote that he withheld the document, informing the English that it had reached him too late. On a different day, anti-Polish fliers in French, signed *Comité antifasciste*, were found in the Congress rooms before the commencement of the panels. Handelsman reportedly refused to publicize the matter and requested the police to cover up the case,¹³³ not quite successfully, given the subsequent press reports.¹³⁴ We should mention one more incident recounted in Brandi’s post-Congress report, which transpired shortly before the Opening Ceremony, when the German delegation noticed that, instead of the Nazi banner, a black-red-gold flag had been hung out in the plenary hall. It was only after Brandi’s intervention that this “oversight” was redressed, with the local hotels soon following suit.¹³⁵ According to Handelsman, the German delegation was universally impressed by the “great strength of the Polish science and state, which needs to be thoroughly *acknowledged*.”¹³⁶ Interestingly enough, Handelsman’s observations found their reflections in the German accounts. As per Martin Burkert, both Envoy von Moltke and Karl Brandi perceived the Warsaw Congress as a chance for Polish-German reconciliation.¹³⁷

Still, the importance of Polish-German relations at the Congress should not be overestimated. Similar meetings were organized for the representatives of other nations, most of all the Czechoslovakia and the USSR, with whom similar issues were discussed, in line with Poland’s policies towards its neighbors. Hence, these semi-official meetings should be treated as part of Polish diplomatic operations.

Handelsman found the meetings with the Soviet delegation the most interesting, largely thanks to their exceptionally cordial character. Handelsman arranged two meetings between the Polish historians and their Soviet counterparts. The first one – attended by Gorin and Lukin,

¹³³ Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie – Ambasada RP w Berlinie, Kongresy, konferencje i zjazdy międzynarodowe, korespondencja, raporty placówek polskich, noty, sprawozdania, zaproszenia, 1933, file no. 1410: Marceli Handelsman: Report on the 7th Congress of Historians, sheet 262.

¹³⁴ “Rozrzucali ulotki antypaństwowe,” *5 Rano* 1933, no. 244, p. 4.

¹³⁵ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin – I. Hauptabteilung, Kultusministerium, Der 7. Internationaler Historikerkongreß in Warschau und Krakau vom 21.-29. August 1933, file no. I. HA Rep. 76, Vc, Sekt 1, Tit. XI, Teil 6, Nr. 13, Bd. 3: Vertraulicher Bericht über das Comité international des sciences historiques und über die Tätigkeit der deutsche Delegation auf dem VII. Internationalen Historikerkongress zu Warschau und Krakau, 21. bis 29. August 1933, sheet 121.

¹³⁶ Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie – Ambasada RP w Berlinie, Kongresy, konferencje i zjazdy międzynarodowe, korespondencja, raporty placówek polskich, noty, sprawozdania, zaproszenia, 1933, file no. 1410: Marceli Handelsman: Report on the 7th Congress of Historians, sheet 262.

¹³⁷ M. Burkert, *Die Ostwissenschaften im Dritten Reich*, vol. 1: *Zwischen Verbot und Duldung. Die schwierige Gratwanderung der Ostwissenschaften zwischen 1933 und 1939* (Wiesbaden, 2000), p. 138.

as well as Arnolds Spekke of Latvia, Peter Treiberg of Estonia, and several Polish scholars, concerned the joint edition of the newest bibliography of Polish history. The second was devoted to general Polish-Soviet academic collaboration, among others the access to archives. Apart from the two meetings, Handelsman held a dinner for the Soviet delegation in Cracow. The Russian delegation declared its willingness to establish academic exchange between the two countries. It was further agreed that a negotiating commission would be appointed to facilitate the repossession of former Polish archives in the Soviet Union. The Soviet historians were also invited to hold public lectures at the Warsaw Housing Cooperative, founded in the district of Żoliborz by the Polish Socialist Party. In the course of these lectures, Lukin spoke on Karl Marx as a historian, Pankratova outlined the main problems of the Soviet proletariat, and Volgin gave a talk on the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the process of building socialism in the USSR. The lectures reportedly packed the auditorium to capacity with a “democratic and blue-collar audience.” Furthermore, Pankratova donated a set of history handbooks to the laboratory of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education. According to records, the heightened activity of the Soviet delegation did not go unnoticed, attracting the local press. The Polish Telegraphic Agency interviewed Volgin on the state of historical sciences in the USSR and Derzhavin gave an interview to Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński of *Wiadomości Literackie* on the role of Polish history and literature in the USSR. The hospitality extended to the Soviet delegation seems to prove that the signing of the Polish-Soviet non-aggression pact in July 1932 significantly improved the mutual relations on all planes, with the Warsaw Congress furthering the Polish-Soviet détente.¹³⁸ One of the few critical voices came from the Jesuit priest Stanisław Bednarski, who wrote a column for the Cracow-based *Przegląd Powszechny*, arguing that “on the whole, the Soviet delegation appeared somewhat alienated, and its views failed to obtain approval, save for a few polite claps and the oddly animated applause of the scant groups of Jewish youth, who evidently sympathized with historical materialism.”¹³⁹

In his post-Congress report, Handelsman mentions that, pursuant to the instructions received from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in response to the idea pitched by Jaroslav Bidlo, he held a meeting council with the Czech historians. On conclusion of the meeting, held on August 23, the parties resolved to tighten their mutual relations in the course

of bilateral conventions. To this end, a special commission was founded (featuring three representatives of each country), cemented by a luncheon hosted by the Czech delegation on the following day to celebrate the tightening of the Polish-Czech relations.

With regard to the Polish-Italian contacts, the first day of the Congress saw the delegation of the University of Padua present Bronisław Dembiński with a decorative book on the coats of arms of the Polish students in Padua, to be deposited in the collection of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (the presentation took place during a panel of section V, devoted to modern and contemporary history).¹⁴⁰ On Monday, August 28, at the end of the Congress sessions in Cracow, Giovanni Maver of Rome was named an honorary member of the Academic Circle of Friends of Italy, receiving a commemorative diploma at the Dean’s Office of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University.¹⁴¹

According to Handelsman, the Hungarian delegation received comprehensive support in all Congress-related matters. Members of the Hungarian delegation were included in the presidia of each thematic section, for which they expressed their gratitude. The Polish-Romanian relations were narrowed to Nicolae Iorga, who reportedly left Warsaw satisfied, having made a short conversation with the Polish President (together with Volgin), and a longer one with the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Józef Beck.¹⁴²

RECEPTION

Moving on to the reception of the 7th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Warsaw, some important points should be raised that help distinguish between modern scholarly world and its counterpart from a century ago. First, the rank of global scientific congresses used to be significantly higher, mostly because all types of academic meetings (congresses, conferences, symposia) were considerably less commonplace than today. Granted, the ongoing compartmentalization of research, which has triggered the proliferation of ever more specialist conferences, so typical of this day and age, was already noticeable back then. The very number of scholars per discipline was lower, as was the number of universities

¹³⁸ Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie – Ambasada RP w Berlinie, Kongresy, konferencje i zjazdy międzynarodowe, korespondencja, raporty placówek polskich, noty, sprawozdania, zaproszenia, 1933, file no. 1410: Marceli Handelsman: Report on the 7th Congress of Historians, sheets 262-263. See also A.M. Панкратова, “Советская делегация и польская общественность,” *Историк-марксист* 1933, no. 5 (33), pp. 134-135; Лукин, “VII международный исторический конгресс,” p. 129; Панкратова, “Седьмой международный конгресс исторических наук,” p. 16; Różewicz, *Polsko-radzieckie stosunki naukowe*, pp. 155-156.

¹³⁹ Bednarski, “VII Międzynarodowy Kongres,” p. 144.

¹⁴⁰ Z. Wojciechowski, “Warszawski kongres czterdziestu narodów,” *Kurjer Poznański* 1933, no. 391, p. 8. See also Bednarski, “VII Międzynarodowy Kongres,” p. 146.

¹⁴¹ “Zakończenie Kongresu Historyków w Krakowie,” *Czas* 1933, no. 196, p. 1.

¹⁴² Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie – Ambasada RP w Berlinie, Kongresy, konferencje i zjazdy międzynarodowe, korespondencja, raporty placówek polskich, noty, sprawozdania, zaproszenia, 1933, file no. 1410: Marceli Handelsman: Report on the 7th Congress of Historians, sheets 261-263.

and other research institutions. Thus, attending congresses would mostly involve actual, substantive academic debates between scholars who most often knew their peers personally and were intimately familiar with their research.

Second, as the principal organizer of the Congresses, the CISH enjoyed far greater esteem than today, associating all of the major national committees of historians. Aside from its substantive role, the CISH contributed to the integration of the international historical milieu. The Congresses were a safe haven in which recent mortal enemies could conduct intellectual exchange, while at the same time – as mentioned above – establish personal and diplomatic relations. The renown enjoyed by the CISH and its Congresses also followed from the fact that its associates were conscious of their important public roles as members of an elite group of academics, bound to follow and comment on the burning problems of the surrounding world.

Third, organizing the International Congress of Historical Sciences was considered a great honor and a privilege for the host country. Aside from the substantive committees, preparations for the Congress routinely involved the highest state authorities, with the host country's diplomatic corps providing essential publicity abroad.

Considering the above circumstances, the reception of the Congress can be examined from several angles. We shall first take a closer look at the ongoing press coverage as the most tangible and (given the role of the press at the time) important manifestation of the said reception. Our second goal is to present the participants' and commentators' feedback on the organizational aspect of the Congress, which seem meaningful inasmuch as they shaped the international image of Poland and Polish scholars at the time. The third facet of our analysis focuses on the overall substantive assessment of the Warsaw Congress based on the post-Congress reports published in a number of scientific journals.

Looking at the extent of the press reports at the time, one soon notices that the Congress was covered by nearly all of the major news outlets in Poland, regardless of their political and national sympathies. The Polish press covered the Congress comprehensively and from many sides, albeit with various frequency. As could be expected, the largest number of articles accompanied its opening and closing days. Reports from the Congress were published not only in the main Polish dailies from the major Polish cities but also in regional papers.¹⁴³ It should come as no surprise that the most extensive coverage was provided by the Warsaw- and Cracow-based newspapers. The first articles were published even before the Congress, expounding on the rank of the upcoming event, profiling the most illustrious Polish and foreign historians, and reporting on the Congress agenda. Also examined were the political

¹⁴³ One among those regional outlets was *Dziennik Kujawski*, published in Inowrocław and Włocławek. See, among others, "Kongres historyków w Warszawie," *Dziennik Kujawski* 1933, no. 191, p. 2.

CARICATURES OF THE CONGRESS PARTICIPANTS



Fig. 39. Halvdan Koht – President of the CISH during the Warsaw Congress.



Fig. 40. Harold William Temperley – newly elected President of the CISH.



Fig. 41. Henry Heras.



Fig. 42. Nicolae Iorga.

The caricatures were drawn by the well-known Warsaw-based interwar cartoonist and journalist, Jerzy Szwajcer, alias JOTES (1892-1967). Szwajcer worked for the Polish Telegraphic Agency and a number of Warsaw-based dailies and periodicals. Legend has it that Szwajcer, with his "discreetly concealed sketchbook and pencil," was a staple at every major event in the city at the time, yielding hundreds of caricatures published in the press or as separate albums. The caricatures reprinted in this book come from the Soviet academic journal *Борьба Классов*, which used them to illustrate its articles concerning the Warsaw Congress. It remains a mystery how they ended up in the USSR. (See J. Szwajcer Jotes, *Ze wspomnień karykaturzysty* [Wrocław-Warszawa, 1960]; M. Medyński, "Szwajcer Jerzy pseud. Jotes," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 49, 2014, pp. 417-449.



and diplomatic overtones of the congresses of historians, pointing to their prestige before World War I and their role as a platform for post-war reconciliation.¹⁴⁴ Articles dwelled on the long procession of star historians (and the offices they held) scheduled to arrive in Warsaw, possibly to ascertain the rank of the forthcoming meeting and paint Poland as a political entity recognized by the international academic establishment.¹⁴⁵ Surfacing in some articles was the inferiority complex of their authors, who wondered whether, and to what extent, the foreign historians were interested in Polish history.¹⁴⁶

Polish daily press also detailed selected delegations. For instance, *Gazeta Lwowska* published a note on the Soviet historians, listing their names and the titles of their papers. Another point of interest was the Congress agenda, its sessions and keynote speakers, as well as various trivia, for example the purchase of the participant's card by Marshal Józef Piłsudski.¹⁴⁷ The reports also mentioned the aforementioned Ladies' Committee.¹⁴⁸ With the Congress topics covered in the Polish weeklies, e.g., the National-Democratic *Mysl Narodowa*, its rank and recognition were picking up steam.¹⁴⁹

The first accounts were published with the Congress still in progress, offering general and specific insight into each day of debates, mostly with a focus on the contributions of Polish

¹⁴⁴ Such opinions were voiced in the Cracow-based *Czas*. See e.g., "VII Międzynarodowy Kongres Historyków," *Czas* 1933, no. 185, p. 1.

¹⁴⁵ "VII Międzynarodowy Kongres Historyków," *Czas* 1933, no. 185, p. 1. See also "Międzynar. kongres historyków w Warszawie będzie imponującą manifestacją świata naukowego," *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* 1933, no. 232, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ See, among others, "Polska w pracach zagranicznych historyków," *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* 1933, no. 237, p. 14.

¹⁴⁷ "Kongres historyczny w Krakowie. 28 i 29 sierpnia b.r.," "Marsz. Piłsudski uczestnikiem Kongresu historycznego," *Czas* 1933, no. 189, p. 1; "Przed Międzynarodowym Kongresem Nauk Historycznych w Warszawie," *Gazeta Lwowska* 1933, no. 220, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ "Przyjęcie Kongresu historyków w Krakowie," *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* 1933, no. 234, p. 7; "Uczestnicy VII. międzynarod. Kongresu Historyków w Krakowie," *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* 1933, no. 239 (supplement Z kraju od korespondentów I.K.C.).

¹⁴⁹ "Kongres historyków," *Mysl Narodowa* 1933, no. 36, pp. 535-536.

scholars.¹⁵⁰ Noticeable in this correspondence were the positive impressions of Poland among the foreign guests was stressed, and their praise for the efficient organization of the Congress.¹⁵¹ The coverage included the conference milestones, such as its opening (Warsaw) and closing sessions (Cracow),¹⁵² as well as the accompanying events and diplomatic receptions,¹⁵³ along with the recapitulations of debates conducted during the sessions. The reports also included the main theses of the respective papers, which sometimes sparked editorial polemics.¹⁵⁴ Some authors reproached the organizers for their shortcomings, in particular the aforementioned acoustics blunder at the Opening Ceremony. The Cracow-based *Czas* offered meticulous daily reports from the Congress,¹⁵⁵ with a focus on its Cracow part.¹⁵⁶ *Czas* also published summaries on the Warsaw part of the Congress, delighting in the academic expertise of the speakers, the number of people in attendance, or the heated debates.¹⁵⁷ An equally detailed account of the Cracow sessions was published by *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny*, which advertised all kinds of facilities available to the Congress guests in Cracow. In no chronological order, the

¹⁵⁰ “400 referatów na kongresie historyków,” *Nowy Kurjer* 1933, no. 193, p. 3.

¹⁵¹ See e.g., “Prace Kongresu Historycznego w pierwszych dwóch dniach,” *ABC* 1933, no. 243, p. 4; “Wielki dzień historii nowożytnej na Międzynar. Kongresie Nauk Historycznych,” *ABC* 1933, no. 247, p. 5.

¹⁵² See e.g., “Otwarcie VII Międzynarodowego Kongresu Nauk Historycznych,” *Czas* 1933, no. 190, p. 1; “Inauguracja Kongresu,” *Kurjer Poznański* 1933, no. 192, p. 2; “Otwarcie Międzynarodowego Kongresu Nauk Historycznych w Warszawie,” *Gazeta Lwowska* 1933, no. 231, p. 5; “Uroczyste otwarcie międzynarodowego kongresu historyków w Warszawie,” *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* 1933, no. 233, p. 13; “Kongres historyków w stolicy Polski,” *Nowy Kurjer* 1933, no. 191, p. 1; “Międzynarodowy kongres historyków w Warszawie,” *Orędownik Polski* 1933, no. 192, p. 2; “VII Kongres Nauk Historycznych,” *Mysł Narodowa* 1933, no. 37, p. 552; “Wielki kongres historyków rozpoczął swoje obrady w Warszawie,” *Słowo Pomorskie* 1933, no. 192, p. 8; “W murach Akademii Jagiellońskiej żegna Polska Kongres Historyczny,” *ABC* 1933, no. 250, p. 4; “Zamknięcie obrad VII międzynarodowego kongresu nauk historycznych,” *Kurjer Poznański* 1933, no. 198, p. 2; “Zamknięcie zjazdu historyków,” *Gazeta Lwowska* 1933, no. 237, p. 1; “VII. Międzynarodowy Kongres Historyków w Krakowie,” *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* 1933, no. 240, p. 5 along with a reproduction of a photograph taken at the Closing Ceremony of the Congress; “Uczestnicy kongresu historyków w Krakowie,” *Naprzód* 1933, no. 196, p. 7; “1000 osób na Zamku. Zakończenie kongresu historyków,” *Nowy Kurjer* 1933, no. 197, p. 3; “Zamknięcie kongresu historyków,” *Orędownik Polski* 1933, no. 197, p. 1.

¹⁵³ See, among others, “Kongres się bawi. ‘Pan Jowialski’ w Teatrze Narodowym,” *ABC* 1933, no. 246, p. 6; “Wystawa w Bibliotece Narodowej w Warszawie. Na Kongres Historyków,” *Czas* 1933, no. 189, p. 1; A. Skałkowski, “Z kongresu historyków w Warszawie,” *Kurjer Poznański* 1933, no. 193, pp. 2-3; “Wystawa polskiej książki historycznej,” *Gazeta Lwowska* 1933, no. 226, p. 5; “Wystawa zbiorów historycznych Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie,” *Gazeta Lwowska* 1933, no. 232, p. 5; “Pokłosie zjazdów warszawskich. Dwie bardzo ważne wystawy historyczne,” *Kurjer Poznański* 1933, no. 395, p. 8.

¹⁵⁴ “O kongresie międzynarodowym historyków w Warszawie,” *Mysł Narodowa* 1933, no. 39, pp. 582-583; “Obrady historyków,” *Słowo Pomorskie* 1933, no. 193, p. 6.

¹⁵⁵ See, among others, “Międzynarodowy Kongres Historyków w Warszawie,” *Czas* 1933, no. 191, p. 2; “Z Kongresu Historyków,” *Czas* 1933, no. 193, p. 3; “VII Międzynarodowy Kongres Historyków w Warszawie,” *Czas* 1933, no. 196, p. 1.

¹⁵⁶ “Kongres historyczny w Krakowie,” *Czas* 1933, no. 194, p. 2; “Na powitanie Kongresu historyków,” *Czas* 1933, no. 195, p. 1; “Zakończenie Kongresu Historyków w Krakowie,” *Czas* 1933, no. 196, p. 1.

¹⁵⁷ “Z obrad kongresu historycznego,” *Czas* 1933, no. 195, p. 1.

paper recounted a discussion that developed in section IV following the paper delivered by Ludvigs Adamovičs of Riga on the national and social tensions in the Protestant Churches of the Baltic region.¹⁵⁸ The nationalist-leaning Warsaw daily *ABC* covered the Congress discussions using a military rhetoric. Its correspondent wrote of “battles” and “scientific skirmishes” that broke out between the German and Soviet historians, on the one hand, and the rest of the academic world. Best efforts were made to faithfully recapitulate the major scientific arguments put forward in the course of the discussions, as in the paper presented by Erich Brandenburg of Leipzig, who confronted nationalism and imperialism, glorifying the former much to the chagrin of the Soviet scholars. Considerable press interest was also generated by Stefan Czarnowski’s paper delivered in section VI, in which the author pondered over the roles of nobility and Catholicism in the history of Poland, which provoked a critique from Oskar Halecki.¹⁵⁹

The pro-governmental *Dziennik Poznański* reported extensively both on the preparations for, and the course of the Warsaw Congress via its special correspondent, historian Adam Skałkowski of the University of Poznań. Skałkowski’s reports printed in the newspaper were coverage “from the inside”. Even before the start of the Congress, Skałkowski contended that electing Poland as its host was a tremendous prestige for the Polish state and science. Stressing the importance of Bronisław Dembiński’s role as the driving force of Poland’s efforts to land the Congress, Skałkowski also lauded a number of professors of the University of Poznań for their organizational and substantive contributions to the Congress.¹⁶⁰ In his subsequent report, Skałkowski reviewed an outline of Polish historiography, while his successive reports detailed the academic debates, which he found characteristically constrained with “courtesy.” The numerous discussions on the presented papers, he added, did not make the fullest of their potential, which was at times muzzled by the need to protect “self and national love of a distinguished scholars and kind guest.”¹⁶¹

The release of the accompanying publications was also the subject of a short note in *Gazeta Lwowska*.¹⁶² The daily also printed two photographs taken on the first day of the

¹⁵⁸ “Ostatnie dni międzynarodowego kongresu historyków w Warszawie,” *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* 1933, no. 238 (supplement *Z kraju od korespondentów I.K.C.*); see also “Zamknięcie obrad międzynarod. Zjazdu historyków w Warszawie,” *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* 1933, no. 239 (supplement *Z kraju od korespondentów I.K.C.*).

¹⁵⁹ “Kongres odjeżdżał,” p. 2. For more on the debates that transpired throughout the sessions, see Krzysztof Zamorski’s article in this volume.

¹⁶⁰ A. Skałkowski, “Przed powszechnym zjazdem historyków,” *Dziennik Poznański* 1933, no. 190, p. 2.

¹⁶¹ A. Skałkowski, “Polska na VII kongresie międzynarodowym nauk historycznych,” *Dziennik Poznański* 1933, no. 192, p. 2; A. Skałkowski, “Dookoła zjazdu w Warszawie,” *Dziennik Poznański*, no. 196, p. 2. The author of the cited article referred to a paper of the Czech historian Jaroslav Bidlo on the concept of Eastern Europe and the periodization of its history.

¹⁶² “Wydawnictwa z okazji zjazdu historyków,” *Gazeta Lwowska* 1933, no. 232, p. 5.

Congress. The first of them depicted the inauguration ceremony, while the second captured historians from “exotic” countries, specifically two delegates from the “British Raj” (one of whom was the aforementioned Jesuit priest, Henry Heras).¹⁶³ The most comprehensive illustrated reports were published by – *nomen omen* – *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny*. Aside from purely documentary pictures,¹⁶⁴ the coverage also included sensationalist snapshots, such as that of the Soviet delegation’s arrival in Warsaw. At the time, the Soviet scholars were just as much of a popular attraction as their counterparts from “exotic” countries, catching the eye of the Polish dailies, some of which followed their every footstep from the moment they left Moscow.¹⁶⁵

Some of the coverage was written in the form of Congress summaries, as in the case of the aforementioned Adam Skalkowski’s reports, or Zygmunt Wojciechowski’s correspondence for the National-Democratic *Kurjer Poznański*. The latter, previewed in a special editorial note, was published (interestingly enough) in the cultural section, and pointed to the peculiarly carnivalesque interlace of social, linguistic, and thematic facets of the Congress. The author provided a range of snippets that, in his opinion, amounted to the unique atmosphere of the event, driven by a mix of languages, themes, and views.¹⁶⁶ A similar feast of social, linguistic, and national colors was painted by the correspondent of another National-Democratic periodical, *Mysł Narodowa*, Kazimierz Marian Morawski. Morawski’s coverage also emphasized the high ratio of papers on the history of the Catholic Church, and – as we mentioned above – the high turnout of the clergy at the Congress.¹⁶⁷

Another topic covered by the Polish dailies, in particular *Czas* and *Gazeta Lwowska*, was the series of accompanying events, among others the various diplomatic events that were held on the occasion of the Congress. For instance, *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* reported that Nicolae Iorga had received a commemorative medal (the Kaniów Cross) in recognition of his contributions to the establishment of the 2nd Polish Corps in Romania in 1917.¹⁶⁸

The Congress was also covered in the Jewish and German press published in Poland. Printed in Polish and Yiddish, the Jewish papers made relatively rare mentions of the Congress, possibly due to the fact that its timeline overlapped with the 18th World Zionist Congress

held in Prague between August 21 and September 4, 1933, whose subject matter was more pertinent to the Jewish readership. For instance, on August 22, the Cracow-based *Nowy Dziennik* published as many as four reports from Prague in a single issue, which took up its entire front page.¹⁶⁹

One notable exception among the Jewish papers was the Lvov daily *Chwila*, which not only reported on the Congress preparations¹⁷⁰ but also covered its successive stages (Opening Ceremony, vernissages of exhibitions in Warsaw, Cracow sessions, etc.).¹⁷¹ On another note, an illustrated supplement to the Warsaw-based Jewish daily *Nasz Przegląd* printed two photographs of the Congress – one from its opening, the other depicting Russian-born French art historian and painter Georgiy (Georges) Kreskentevich Loukomski visiting Warsaw’s social activist and art collector Beniamin Mintz’s collection of Judaica (see Figure 43).¹⁷² A few days later, the same paper

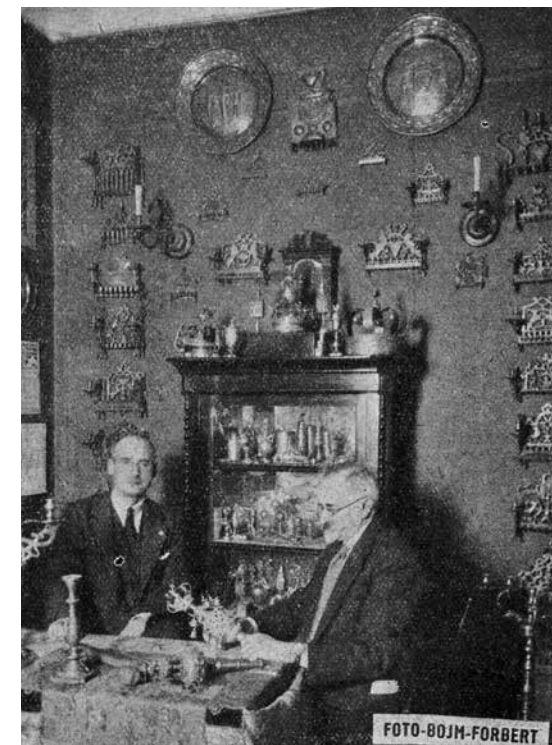


Fig. 43. Russian art historian and painter Georgiy (Georges) Kreskentevich Loukomski (misspelled “Łukowski” in the original caption) contemplating Warsaw-based collector Beniamin Mintz’s collection of ancient Jewish art.

¹⁶⁹ “W dniu otwarcia Kongresu;” “Obrady ugrupowań syjonistycznych;” “Sprawa żydostwa niemieckiego na Kongresie;” “Brednie hitlerowskie o Kongresie,” *Nowy Dziennik* 1933, no. 230, p. 1. See also *Nasz Przegląd* 1933, no. 235, p. 2; and on pp. 4–6, and 10 a detailed note on the 4th Congress of Jewish Craftsmen. The Prague Congress was covered extensively by the Yiddish press in Poland, e.g. *היינט* (*Haynt*). It was likely for this reason that the Warsaw Congress was almost completely overlooked by the Palestine press, with the notable exception of the *דאר דייטש* (*Do’ar Ha-Yom*) daily, which posted a short note on the opening of the Congress. See *דאר דייטש* 1933, no. 273, p. 1.

¹⁷⁰ “Przed kongresem historyków,” *Chwila* 1933, no. 5170, p. 4.

¹⁷¹ “Otwarcie VII. Międzynarodowego Kongresu Historycznego w Warszawie,” *Chwila* 1933, no. 5180, p. 8; “Zjazd historyków zamknięty,” *Chwila* 1933, no. 5186, p. 3.

¹⁷² “Otwarcie Wszechświatowego Zjazdu Historyków z udziałem p. Prezydenta R.P. w Politechnice Warszawskiej;” “Ze zjazdu historyków w Warszawie,” *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1933, no. 35, p. 2.

¹⁶³ “Uczeni z Indji angielskich w Warszawie,” *Gazeta Lwowska* 1933, no. 232, p. 5; “Międzynarodowy Kongres Historyków w Warszawie,” *Gazeta Lwowska*, no. 232, p. 5.

¹⁶⁴ See, among others, a three-column photograph of the Congress inauguration printed in *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* 1933, no. 234, p. 1.

¹⁶⁵ *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* 1933, no. 231, p. 2. On the arrival of the Soviet delegation see, among others, *Gazeta Lwowska* 1933, no. 220, p. 5 and “Delegacja sowiecka na kongres historyków w Warszawie,” *Nowy Dziennik* 1933, no. 226, p. 1.

¹⁶⁶ “Warszawski kongres czterdziestu narodów,” *Kurjer Poznański* 1933, no. 391, p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ Morawski, “Klio w gościnie,” pp. 557–560.

¹⁶⁸ “Prof. Jorga udekorowany Krzyżem Kaniowskim,” *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* 1933, no. 238, p. 11.

published a photograph of the members of the Jewish history session.¹⁷³ In the wake of the Nazi takeover of Germany and the radicalization of the Polish political scene, *Chwila*'s editorial note on the political undertones of the Congress seemed particularly interesting. The author aptly spotted the paradox of the Soviet delegation's presence in the building of the Warsaw University of Technology, which had been home to the General Staff of the Polish Army during the Polish-Soviet War of 1920, while also noticing that the memory of the Jewish architects of the edifice and other high schools in Warsaw had been erased from the popular memory of the university's students and Varsovians alike. Furthermore, the editor mentioned the religious prejudice against the Jewish youth, who found it increasingly more difficult to enroll in, and study at Polish universities.¹⁷⁴ Several days after the Congress, *Chwila* published its summary penned by Majer Bałaban, who reported on the two panels of the Jewish history special session.¹⁷⁵ Bałaban did not fail to mention that the events of the first half of 1933 had fueled considerable uncertainty among the Jewish scholars in Germany, with many of them forced out of the country. As a result, as has been mentioned above, some of the eminent Jewish historians failed to make it to the Warsaw Congress.

Reports from the Congress were also published in the German-speaking press released in Poland. For instance, the Poznań-based *Posener Tageblatt* daily published a short note on Bronisław Dembiński's inaugural speech, followed by a list of the members of the German delegation.¹⁷⁶ A similar short account was published in the Łódź daily *Neue Lodzer Zeitung*, likewise following it up with a list of some guests.¹⁷⁷ In the following days, the paper regularly featured Congress reports on its front page. Bronisław Dembiński was mentioned yet again by *Posener Tageblatt* in its subsequent report from Warsaw, which also recounted the rivalry between Egypt and Switzerland as the potential hosts of the 1938 Congress,¹⁷⁸ in which Zurich emerged victorious. Finally, *Posener Tageblatt* published a detailed, two-column summary of the Congress, mentioning its flagship sessions and star speakers.¹⁷⁹ Another title that published (scant) reports from the Warsaw Congress was the Bydgoszcz-based *Deutsche Rundschau in Polen*, which posted a short note from the Opening Ceremony at the Main Hall of the Warsaw University of Technology, while also previewing the Congress sessions and its Cracow finale.¹⁸⁰

In terms of general reception, however, it was the reports and summaries published in academic journals that were of crucial importance to the Warsaw Congress. Those interested in a substantive evaluation of the Congress in international historical periodicals may refer to Krzysztof Zamorski's text in the subsequent section of this book. Within the scope of this study, we shall deal with general post-Congress impressions and assessments published first of all in Polish journals.

The reports of the Congress delegates published in specialist periodicals stressed the fine atmosphere that informed the Warsaw and Cracow sessions. In a text for *Revue de synthèse*, Henri Berr appreciated the special dose of sympathy extended to the Francophone historians.¹⁸¹ Naturally, it was not Berr's intention to merely pay his compliments to the organizers, but rather to offer a comparative analysis of the Warsaw Congress against its two predecessors, which he had likewise summarized for his periodical. Focusing on the number of participants, Berr noticed an upturn in the number of reports and communications in comparison with the 1923 and 1928 events. In Berr's opinion, the absence of a number of anticipated speakers in Warsaw was a fortunate turn of events; he was also critical of their replacement with substitute presenters. Berr considered the overwhelming number of papers as inconducive to the free exchange of ideas. He also backed Tadeusz Manteuffel's critique of the rather vague distinction between papers and communications.¹⁸² As a consequence of these choices, Berr thought the majority of the Congress delegates had found it difficult to participate in unobstructed discussions. Berr was skeptical to the idea of holding events of similar stature in the future. He also deemed it unreasonable to organize plenary sessions, whose auditoria tend to be silent (save for the customary round of applause) and hesitant in engaging in critical discussions. On the other hand, Berr did appreciate the efforts to minimize the number of concurrent sessions in Warsaw, estimating them at between eight and nine per day, which was a marked improvement on the Oslo and Brussels Congresses.

Another French historian, Charles Edmond Perrin, joined the class of international commentators of the Warsaw Congress, commending the quality work of the organizing committee. He also mentioned the high substantive level of presentations, the abundant turnout of significant scholars, and their contributions to the discussions. Perrin also considered the Congress as an important meeting platform for Western and Eastern European historians. A number of delegates were impressed by the Cracow part of the Congress.¹⁸³ Others revealed in the accompanying events: François-Louis Ganshof (Belgium) gave a detailed review of the

173 "Z międzynarodowego Kongresu Historyków w Warszawie. Obrady sekcji żydowskiej," *Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1933, no. 36, p. 2.

174 "Polityka na Kongresie Historyków," *Chwila* 1933, no. 5185, p. 7.

175 M. Bałaban, "Po siódmym kongresie," pp. 9-10.

176 "Die deutsche Delegation auf dem Historikerkongress," *Posener Tageblatt* 1933, no. 191, p. 2.

177 "Beginn des Historiker-Kongress in Warschau," *Neue Lodzer Zeitung* 1933, no. 230, p. 1.

178 "Abschluss der Historikertagung. Nächste Tagung 1938 in der Schweiz," *Posener Tageblatt* 1933, no. 196, p. 1.

179 "Der Kongress der Historiker," *Posener Tageblatt* 1933, no. 197, pp. 1-2.

180 "VII. Internationaler Historiker-Kongress in Warschau," *Deutsche Rundschau in Polen* 1933, no. 192, p. 2.

181 Berr, "Le VII^e Congrès," pp. 191-203.

182 Berr, "Le VII^e Congrès," p. 193.

183 Ch.E. Perrin, L. Febvre, "A propos d'un Congrès: problèmes de rendement," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 6/25 (1934), pp. 69-72.

feature was the high number of women historians and their voluminous activity in a range of international historical associations, as best evidenced by the section of didactics of history at the Warsaw Congress.¹⁸⁸

A report from the section on didactics of history published in *Wiadomości Historyczno-Dydaktyczne* (the official journal for the teaching of history published by the Polish Historical Society) accounted for each of the aforementioned aspects. Moreover, it also considered the stances of scholars from other countries, who mainly engaged in discussions with Polish women historians delivering their papers. The report was likely written by Jadwiga Krasicka (hiding behind the initials), a Łódź-based history teacher and member of the Polish Historical Society. Her problem-based text considered four fundamental issues: the relations between teaching history, historical science, and pedagogy; the place and role of selected sections of history in school education; teaching history at the academic level; and the organization of international cooperation in the field of didactics of history.¹⁸⁹ Krasicka's article painstakingly discussed each of the four outlined areas, detailing the stances presented by the respective men and women researchers, and the attendant discussions.

A holistic and cross-sectional report was submitted by Kazimierz Tymieniecki to *Roczniki Historyczne*. On account of his institutional affiliation to the University of Poznań, Tymieniecki foregrounded the activity of the Poznanian historians before moving on to the respective Congress sections and delineated its accompanying events (exhibitions, concerts, field trips, etc.) and publications.¹⁹⁰

Yet another specialist summary of the Congress was Natalia Gąsiorowska's text on the social and economic problems contemplated during the Congress. Gąsiorowska identified several specialist themes discussed in the submitted papers and divided them into several groups. Her classification included the history of rural areas and the "agrarian system," the social and economic history of medieval and modern cities and burghers, the history of industry and industrialization, the problems of colonial politics, and the history of banking. Gąsiorowska's list of specific topics in the field of social history included the history of peasantry, the history of social movements between the 18th and the 20th century, the history of poverty, epidemics, and hygiene, as well as broad subject of historical demography. Unfortunately, aside from the

said enumeration, Gąsiorowska failed to recount the respective presentations, nor did she assess their academic value.¹⁹¹

A detailed report on the panels held as part of section I (Archives, Auxiliary Historical Sciences, Organization of Historical Research) can be found in Helena Polaczkówna's paper published in the *Archeion* journal. Referring to the aforementioned report by Kazimierz Tymieniecki, Polaczkówna enumerated all of the Congress papers, dividing them by country and substance. Such a mode of presentation enabled her to outline a broad panorama of archives in the major countries of the world, amounting to a unique guide to international archives and expert archivists.¹⁹² One could also mention Karol Górski's summary for the *Strażnica Zachodnia* quarterly, published by the Association for the Defense of Western Borderlands (Związek Obrony Kresów Zachodnich), in which he detailed the Polish-German debates that transpired throughout the Congress.¹⁹³

The presented overview of the public reception of the Warsaw Congress would be remiss if it failed to mention the diplomatic outcome of the conference. As has been mentioned above, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was heavily involved in the preparations for the Congress, publicizing it through the network of its diplomatic outposts, establishing contact with, and organizing the arrival of foreign scholars. This was especially vital with respect to the road map of the Polish diplomacy, as well as the projected networking of Polish historians with their foreign peers. Undoubtedly, one of the key goals of the Congress was to paint Poland as an active player in the international scientific network. In his post-Congress report, cited already several times, Marcelli Handelsman focused on these very aspects, deeming the Congress a great success in terms of both substance and organization. Handelsman also noticed that the Congress opened new, unprecedented planes of cooperation, such as the tightening of the Polish-Czechoslovak relations or the contacts between Polish historians and their Soviet and German counterparts, some of whom recognized the sophistication and professionalism of their Polish colleagues.

In his concluding remarks, Handelsman formulated some general theses on the impact of the Congress, which may be read as an overall summary of the event. According to the Warsaw historian, the Congress was a show of force of the Polish science, with Poland assuming the role of a mediator in the academic and cultural disputes in Europe. The Congress also helped popularize the problems of Polish history as an international research topic, and the Polish

¹⁸⁸ A number of such associations were mentioned – including the historical context – in an article initialed M.W., titled "Zagadnienie nauczania historii w świetle dyskusji na terenie międzynarodowym. Artykuł sprawozdawczy," *Przegląd Historyczny* 31/1 (1933-1934), pp. 91-100.

¹⁸⁹ J.Kr., "Dydaktyka na VII-ym międzynarodowym Zjeździe historycznym," *Wiadomości Historyczno-Dydaktyczne* 1933, no. 3-4, p. 140.

¹⁹⁰ Tymieniecki, "VII Międzynarodowy kongres historyczny," pp. 305-312.

¹⁹¹ N. Gąsiorowska, "Historia społeczno-gospodarcza na VII Międzynarodowym Kongresie Nauk Historycznych (Sprawozdanie)," *Ekonomista* 1934, no. 1-4, pp. 75-79.

¹⁹² H. Polaczkówna, "Prace Sekcji nauk pomocniczych, archiwów i organizacji pracy archiwalnej na VII Międzynarodowym Kongresie Nauk Historycznych w Warszawie," *Archeion* 12 (1933), pp. 201-212.

¹⁹³ K.G., "Zagadnienia polsko-niemieckie na VII międzynarodowym kongresie nauk historycznych w Warszawie (20-28 VIII. 1933 r.)," *Strażnica Zachodnia* 1933, no. 3, pp. 392-394.

language – at least in Handelsman’s (exaggerated) opinion – made a strong case for being permanently acknowledged as an official working language of the Congress.¹⁹⁴

Drawn shortly after the Congress, Handelsman’s conclusions are not significantly divergent from the assessments presented in the course of the event. An examination of the Polish daily press showed the Congress was a staple topic at the time, with columnists and reporters conjuring an image of a high-profile academic summit that would add to its international stature. Both the press and, above all, the delegates, stressed its impeccable organization, which they saw as a proof of the potential of Poland and Polish science. It was pointed out that, a mere several years after regaining independence, Poland’s research institutions and academics had ascended to a top-tier international level.

A different type of summary, with an emphasis on the socializing aspects of the Congress, was offered by the aforementioned Kazimierz Marian Morawski in *Mysł Narodowa*:

the suites of the Royal Castle, the Wawel, the Radziwiłł Palace, the Mniszech Palace, the “Barany” in Cracow, the tenement of the Mazovian Princes, and the Królikarnia Palace, the lavish hospitality and the innumerable toasts, the old alliances renewed, the glamour of Sobieski’s keepsakes in the castles of Wilanów and Wawel, the Poles speaking in French, which rang throughout the congress, the ancient French culture in Łazienki, the Polish dames, whose charm reportedly alleviated boredom of the Narodowy Theater rigmaroles, the dance nights at the “Adria” and the “Bristol”, the sights of the Pieniny Mountains and the Białowieża forest – all these do justice to the virtues, allure, and distinction of the 7th congress of the Muse of history...¹⁹⁵

It must be stressed here that the Congress had an international, global character. Thus, its impact should by no means be limited to the local perspective. From a global vantage point, the memory of World War I and its aftereffects was still alive across Europe at the time, not without consequences for the course of the Brussels and Oslo Congresses. As pointed out above, the preparations for the Warsaw conference were not devoid of political undertones, either. For this reason, it was vital that a proper decorum of academic debates be established, along with the tone of discussions between opponents, as well as the overall ambience of the Congress, both for its participants and commentators. Dissecting the historical sources, one may notice that after briefly “testing ground,” the delegates would quickly break the ice. As

such, the Warsaw Congress was another step towards the integration of the “humanist republic of scholars” that – as was hoped at the time – was setting the new standards for international cooperation. The summaries and plans laid out at the Congress disposed its participants optimistically towards the future. It seems that at least some of the delegates genuinely believed in the existence of the *ecumene* of historians and its impact on the normalization of international relations in the post-war world. This was especially the case with the confidential reports penned by Marcelli Handelsman and Karl Brandi, respectively, or Nikolai Lukin’s post-Congress lecture at the Institute of History of the Communist Academy.¹⁹⁶ To them, as to many other delegates to the Warsaw Congress, it seemed possible to shape the tone of political narratives and sway the key decision-makers. In retrospect, of course, their beliefs appear quite naïve. Unfortunately, they were not the ones who determined the future. Political authority in Europe had been claimed by dark powers well before the Congress, powers that not only disregarded scholarly opinions but were about to bring the world to ruin.

¹⁹⁴ Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie – Ambasada RP w Berlinie, Kongresy, konferencje i zjazdy międzynarodowe, korespondencja, raporty placówek polskich, noty, sprawozdania, zaproszenia, 1933, file no. 1410, sheets 261-264.

¹⁹⁵ Morawski, “Klio w gościnie,” p. 560.

¹⁹⁶ Лукин, “VII международный исторический конгресс,” pp. 118-129.

LA POLOGNE

AU VII-e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL
DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES

VARSOVIE 1933



VARSOVIE 1933
SOCIÉTÉ POLONAISE D'HISTOIRE

Krzysztof Zamorski

THE WARSAW CONGRESS: A HISTORIOGRAPHIC REFLECTION*

WARSAW 1933:
A STOP EN ROUTE TO THE SPIRITUAL
COMMUNITY OF HISTORIANS

The International Congresses of Historians can be regarded from several perspectives. In the context of the history of historiography, the most interesting tendency has been the professionalization of historical research, as recently noticed by Rolf Torstendahl.¹ The Congresses may also be examined through the lens of the endeavors undertaken by the International Committee of Historical Sciences (CISH, established 1926), intended as a means to shape the spiritual community of historians, in the words of Karl Dietrich Erdmann.² If these two perspectives intersect, then the Warsaw Congress appears as an important point on their respective routes. The former reveals how the firmly grounded 19th-century tradition of research conducted

* This article is a slightly modified version of a chapter of my recently published book on the contribution of the Polish scholars to the process of shaping of international *ecumene* of historians. See K. Zamorski, *Przez profesjonalizację do międzynarodowej ekumeny historyków. Historiografia polska na międzynarodowych kongresach nauk historycznych w latach 1898-1938* (Kraków, 2020), pp. 99-170.

¹ R. Torstendahl, *The Rise and Propagation of Historical Professionalism* (New York-London, 2015).

² K.D. Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community of Historians. The International Congresses and the International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1898-2000* (New York-Oxford, 2005).

in the spirit of historicism clashed with the proposals of historical synthesis. This tendency was strongly represented by the French historical milieu as an element of a broader process of modernization of history, in an effort to transform it into a social science. Dominant until the last quarter of the 20th century, the trend gained a new ally at the Congresses in Oslo and Warsaw, i.e., the Soviet historians working in the grain of rudimentary Marxism. As for the latter perspective, its progress was hindered by the problems faced by Europe and the world at the time. It was in this context that a country reinstated after an over-one-hundred-year hiatus hosted a conference of historians from around the globe.

Warsaw was also marred by the problems of daily life typical of interwar Europe. The German historians heading for Warsaw in the wake of Hitler's rise to power, were about to visit the capital of a state whose borders many of whom refused to recognize. The prospective visit of the Soviet delegation to a country whose founding myth involved a victorious war with the Soviet Russia in 1920 seemed just as risky. Moreover, the international milieu was stirred by the problems of liberal historians in Benito Mussolini's Italy, above all by the acutely painful for the CISH case of Gaetano De Sanctis, who was a founding member of the International Committee, and refused to swear the fascist oath of allegiance.³ Was Warsaw prepared to take on all these problems? Would the spiritual community of historians emerge victorious yet again? A number of efforts were undertaken in order to pave the way to such a victory. One result of these efforts was a range of academic publications, whose goal was to ready the respective national milieus (in particular the Polish one) for the upcoming Congress.

POLISH AND FOREIGN PRE-CONGRESS PUBLICATIONS

As we have learned by now, Poland planned to release a volume on the history of Polish historiography in order to familiarize the arriving guests with its traditions. The extensive preliminary blueprint eventually narrowed down to an intriguing, albeit understandably condensed text by Bronisław Dembiński, Oskar Halecki, and Marceli Handelsman.⁴ The publication deserves a closer look in the context of substantive preparations for the Congress. Its authors focused on dissecting the condition of Polish historiography in the 19th

and 20th century. Structurally, despite the well thought-out premises, the end result proved to be slightly underwhelming, as the authors failed to avoid certain repetitions. Dembiński was tasked with outlining the evolution of historiography in 19th-century Poland, accounting for the specificity of the main centers and the timeline of the respective historical schools. Halecki aimed to discuss the development of what we would presently refer to as historiographic infrastructure, recounting the major achievements with respect to the publication of the source materials to the history of Poland, and the role of selected scholarly institutions in the shaping of Polish historiography, with a special focus on the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow. Finally, Handelsman was to characterize the research trends, particularly important in the perspective of comparative history.

Although the book marginalized the evolution of Polish historiography in the first half of the 19th century (by necessity), it did account for the works written in the spirit of the Enlightenment, on the one hand, and the romantic and republican vision of Joachim Lelewel, on the other.⁵ It also presented the post-Lelewelian debate on Lelewel's vision of Polish history. Dembiński rightly pointed to the different narrative levels of the Enlightenment-style and Lelewelian historiographies, while also relocating the professional breakthrough in historical research to the second half of the 19th century, stressing its ties with the international research practice. He thus recognized the impact of Thomas B. Macaulay and Augustin Thierry on Karol Szajnocha, while also crediting the education of a representative of the Cracow historical school, Stanisław Smolka, to Georg Waitz (a student of Leopold von Ranke), and acknowledging Philipp Jaffé's influence on Ksawery Liske, who was instrumental to the rise of the Lvov historical school.⁶ All in all, these three publications sketched an intriguing vision of the birth and territorial growth of the major centers of historiographic research in Poland. The book contained a credible outline of the Cracow historical school and a novel assessment of its Poznań counterpart. It goes without saying that proper dues were paid to the Lvov and Warsaw schools. The latter was contrasted with the Cracow school, not so much with respect to the understanding of the role of professional historians, as with regard to the causes behind the disintegration of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the late

⁵ It should be added that, in retrospect, the state of research on the history of 19th-century historiography in interwar Poland left much to be desired. See J. Maternicki, "Początki i rozwój polskich badań historiograficznych," in *Złote lata historiografii polskiej we Lwowie* (Rzeszów, 2015), p. 280.

⁶ In fact, the impact of German historiography on Liske was more complex. As a gymnasium student, Liske came across Jan Kazimierz Plebański, Ranke's sole Polish student. During his studies in Berlin, Liske not only stayed in touch with Jaffé but also started working with Johann Gustav Droysen. Finally, his doctoral dissertation was supervised by Georg Ludwig Voigt in Leipzig. See O. Balzer, W. Zakrzewski, L. Finkel, L. Ćwikliński, H. Sawczyński, Z. Horodyński, "Xawery Liske," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 5 (1891), pp. 465-539; A. Knot, "Ksawery Franciszek Liske," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 18 (Warszawa-Kraków, 1972), pp. 462-464.

³ Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 140.

⁴ B. Dembiński, O. Halecki, M. Handelsman, *L'Histoire polonaise du XIX^{me} et du XX^{me} siècle. VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques Varsovie 1933* (Varsovie, 1933).

18th century. Interestingly, Dembiński also identified the differences of opinions within the Cracow school, recounting the disputes between Józef Szujski and Michał Bobrzyński against the backdrop of the German debate between the proponents of *politische Kulturgeschichte* and the advocates of *Kulturgeschichte*.⁷

Characterizing the changes in the late 19th- and early 20th-century professional historiography in Poland in the context of its achievements in the wake of the country's regained independence in 1918, Oskar Halecki pointed to a noticeable transition from analytical to synthetical tendencies, referring to the then popular idea promoted by Henri Berr and his Centre Internationale de Synthèse.⁸ One may wonder about the genuineness of Halecki's references to this peculiar and inherently complex idea. And yet, a detailed account of the recent developments in Polish historiography was justified, given that most of the scholars recounted by Halecki took an active part in the Warsaw Congress. His outline of modern historical research in Poland not only mentioned Franciszek Bujak's studies in social and economic history but also his then-young Lvov-based protégés. Halecki further stressed Jan Rutkowski's contributions to the development of the idea of the general economic history of Poland. The list of most influential achievements of Polish historiography also included Stanisław Kutrzeba's and Aleksander Brückner's research in the history of law and civilizations, the establishment of a research group working towards the publication of the Polish History Atlas, Władysław Semkowicz's impact on the synthesis of auxiliary historical sciences, Stanisław Arnold's work on a dictionary of historical geography, or Władysław Konopczyński's research group compiling a so-called "national biography," i.e., *Polish Biographical Dictionary* (*Polski Słownik Biograficzny*).⁹

Each of the three authors, in my opinion especially Marcei Handelsman, noticed the somewhat superficial interest in world history among Polish researchers,¹⁰ as opposed to comparative history, which fared considerably better, with the authors dwelling on the extensive Romantic traditions of Polish historiography in this regard (in particular the formative role played by Joachim Lelewel).¹¹ Handelsman also outlined the achievements of Polish historiography with respect to the history of rural areas, especially the general profiles of Polish feudalism, along with the significant developments in Polish ancient history, Byzantine studies, and the comparative historiography of modern Poland in the context of its bilateral relations with Russia, Sweden, or the Ottoman Empire. The emergence of a new generation of early medievalists, added Handelsman, showed a lot of promise, too, along

with the results of the archeological research conducted at the time.¹² It seems that the idea of introducing foreign historians into the specificity of Polish historiography was a worthy one. Aside from the aforementioned shortcomings (which were, to an extent, unavoidable, given that the booklet was a collaboration of three authors), the publication gave the foreign historians a clear and legible insight into the evolution of Polish historiography.

Another important and compelling publication by Oskar Halecki was his French release *La Pologne de 963 à 1914*,¹³ which aimed to popularize the history of Poland, accounting for the obstacles to its civilizational development, and profiling its specificity. The book helped non-Polish readers become privy to the degree of difficulties piling in front of the country, fresh-off its reinstatement after the Great War. Among others, Halecki discussed the political ideas determining the future borders of Poland. Although his narrative ended in 1914, the author managed to capture the essence of the competing histories of Jagiellonian Poland and the different aspects of historical imagination required to make sense of its boundaries following the fall of Russia.¹⁴ Halecki divided the history of Poland into four basic eras. Speaking of the first one – which fell from the formation of early Polish statehood to the end of the Piast dynasty – Halecki briefed his readers on the key civilizational trends and political periods, including the positive impact of German colonization and the possible threats it entailed for the Polish-German relations. He also discussed Poland's role in neutralizing the effects of Mongolian raids in the other parts of Europe. Halecki placed the second period in Polish history in the Jagiellonian era, stressing its special significance with respect to the unique character and political significance of the influential Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth created by the Jagiellons. With respect to the third period, Halecki took on the democratic experiment of the "republic of nobles," enumerating its historical highs and lows, with the latter concluding in the partitions of Poland. The fourth period discussed by Halecki was that of Poland during the epoch of partitions, with an emphasis on the era of Napoleonic wars, national uprisings, Polish Romanticism, and Organic Work. In the final chapter, Halecki recounted the preparations for the highly anticipated independence. The book contains a single, literally single, synoptic map.

Having the book written in French and published by a French publishing house was an informed decision. In the case of the Warsaw Congress, it was not merely about repeating what the Norwegians had done before the Oslo conference, releasing a booklet on their country's

7 Dembiński, Halecki, Handelsman, *L'Historiographie*, p. 8.

8 Dembiński, Halecki, Handelsman, *L'Historiographie*, p. 24.

9 Dembiński, Halecki, Handelsman, *L'Historiographie*, p. 27.

10 Dembiński, Halecki, Handelsman, *L'Historiographie*, p. 31.

11 J. Lelewel, *Historyczna paralela Hiszpanii z Polską w XVI, XVII, XVIII wieku* (Warszawa, 1831).

12 Dembiński, Halecki, Handelsman, *L'Historiographie*, p. 36.

13 O. Halecki, *La Pologne de 963 à 1914. Essai de synthèse historique* (Paris, 1933).

14 "Les uns estimaient que, sans rien abandonner de son ancien territoire, ne faisant qu'adopter ses traditions aux exigences modernes, il suffirait de donner à la Pologne restaurée une structure fédérative. Les autres croyaient préférable de se prononcer pour la Pologne ethnographique, plus étendue à l'Ouest et moins étendue à l'Est que ne l'avait été l'ancienne" (Halecki, *La Pologne*, pp. 343-344).

history. The decision may have been part of the efforts to preserve the idea of the Congresses as an academic *ecumene*, although it is difficult to assess its actual resonance in this department. In a way, the booklet aimed to mitigate what the German historians had considered to be strong anti-German undertones behind the 1931-1933 series titled *Problèmes politiques de la Pologne contemporaine*, which – according to Karl Dietrich Erdmann – provoked a German response in the form of a competing publication *Deutschland und Polen*.¹⁵ Halecki's book was thus tremendously important, considerate, and meaningful to the mental and propagandist preparations of the Polish delegates and their peers from the former occupiers of Poland (particularly from Germany) for the Warsaw Congress. The aforementioned *Problèmes politiques de la Pologne contemporaine* series contained materials resulting from the collaboration of Polish and French historians of Poland and its relations with Germany. The list of contributors was made up chiefly of the French historians who had presented their papers at the conferences held by the Polish Library in Paris.¹⁶ At the time, the library was a subsidiary of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow, as was the book's publisher, Gebethner&Wolf.

The political atmosphere in Europe before the Warsaw Congress showed certain symptoms of the looming disaster. According to Erdmann, the CISH was concerned with the changes within the German historical profession in the wake of the reports on the preparations for the 1931 conference of German historians in Koblenz and Bonn.¹⁷ The hosting cities were not selected by accident, with both of them located in the demilitarized Rhineland, controlled by the allied forces until 1930. The zone was to remain demilitarized until 1936, but the scope of the allied control had significantly dwindled. Luckily enough, the conference was cancelled due to financial difficulties. Erdmann also emphasizes the ongoing feuds between the French historians, who were staunch supporters of the Warsaw Congress, and their German colleagues. In fact, the relations between the two groups had been strained since the Brussels Congress, with the French scholars obstructing the accession of their German peers to the Academic Union. Citing their dire financial situation, the Germans contemplated withdrawing from the CISH. The eventual admission of the German delegation to the Warsaw Congress during a meeting held on August 5, 1932 in Göttingen posed a serious threat of a clash between the German and Polish delegations with respect to the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.¹⁸ In Erdmann's opinion, the very possibility of behind-the-scenes

discussions with Polish historians prompted the German delegation to launch thorough preparations for the Congress. A special *vademecum* was created, featuring the questions and answers submitted to the German delegates "for personal confidential information"¹⁹ by the director of the Prussian Secret State Archives in Berlin, Albert Brackmann. To this end, also a collection of essays was edited on the history of Polish-German relations, outlined from the German perspective.²⁰ As mentioned above, one of its rationales was to counter the Polish-French series on the topic. The more immediate cause was to boost the German preparations for the Warsaw Congress. Prefaced by an introduction by Karl Brandi (the German representative in the Board of CISH) and Albert Brackmann, the book was intended as "neither polemical nor defensive," with an overarching goal of presenting the mutual historical relations from a more universal perspective, transcending the constraints of national conflicts.²¹

According to Erdmann, Halecki reportedly passed a positive judgment on a range of articles (by Gerhard Ritter, Hermann Oncken, and Fritz Hartung) published in *Deutschland und Polen*. As per German sources, Halecki was supposed to consider it "the starting point for a scholarly, unbiased discussion."²² It is impossible to attribute Halecki's statements to a misunderstanding of his words or to his poor command of German, given that he had spent his formative years in Austria, thoroughly immersed in its culture and language, which he knew just as good, if not better than Polish, which he first learned as a student in Cracow. It seems, therefore, that if Halecki passed such opinions in the first place, he must have done so in the course of an informal conversation, without an in-depth knowledge of the entire publication, which was published in 1933 and failed to reach most of the Warsaw Congress delegates.²³ It seems so especially in view of Halecki's subsequent review of the

¹⁹ Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 145.

²⁰ Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 145. See also A. Brackmann, ed. *Deutschland und Polen. Beiträge zu ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen* (München-Berlin, 1933).

²¹ See Brackmann's circular to the German delegates to the Warsaw Congress, as cited in Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 145. More on the history of the book *Deutschland und Polen* see M. Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards. A Study of 'Ostforschung' in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 1989).

²² As cited in Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 145. We should point out, however, that the author is mistaken about the date of release of Halecki's book. As we have already established, it was published in 1933 rather than 1932, as Erdmann has it. Erdmann may have learned the date of Halecki's book premiere from the correspondence between Brandi and Brackmann (although it is not clear from the text).

²³ "The book purposefully avoids citation, having been addressed to a wider audience rather than academics per se, even though it was written on the eve of the last International Congress of Historical Sciences, and perhaps having the very Congress in mind. However, as of the Congress, the Polish delegates were usually unfamiliar with its findings, for such knowledge would undoubtedly have sparked discussions and reactions" (S. Zakrzewski, "Zamiast przedmowy," in "Niemcy i Polska. Z powodu książki zbiorowej p.t. 'Deutschland und Polen,'" *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 48/4 (1934), p. 777.

¹⁵ Erdman, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 160, footnote 29.

¹⁶ *Problèmes Politiques de la Pologne Contemporaine*, vol. 1: *La Pologne et la Baltique* (Paris, 1931); vol. 2: *La Silésie polonaise*, (Paris, 1932); C. Smogorzewski, *La Poméranie polonaise* (Paris, 1932); supplement to vol. 3: *Abrégé d'une bibliographie relative aux relations germano-polonaises* (Paris, 1932); vol. 4: *La Pologne et la Prusse Orientale* (Paris, 1933).

¹⁷ Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 143.

¹⁸ Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 144.

book published in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*,²⁴ in which he evaluated the representation of Polish-Austrian relations. So biting was Halecki's critique of the said representation that the national socialist German historians dubbed him the "leading spokesman of historio-political propaganda in Western Europe, with noticeable clerical tendencies."²⁵ Polish historians have not taken kindly to *Deutschland und Polen*.²⁶ To be fair, neither have non-Polish historians, including Donald Kelley, who has recently concluded:

[Having been – K.Z.] written with the usual invocation of Rankean truth and against contemporary errors of the French and others about "injustice" and Polish "liberty," these papers [...] celebrated and documented the geographical, cultural, and legal ties between Germany and Poland from prehistorical and medieval times down to the time of the "German Romantic," Adam Mickiewicz.²⁷

Erdmann suggests that in retrospect the said book deserves to be reassessed with greater equanimity, given that "it examined the history of the two neighboring peoples on a scholarly basis and tried to avoid the revisionist tendencies of the times."²⁸ Erdmann rightly points out that, even before the war, a number of Polish reviews of the book tended to disregard the academic intentions of its authors. Indeed, it would be difficult to agree that the authors saw Mickiewicz as a German Romantic poet (an allegation made against *Deutschland und Polen* both prior to, and after World War II in Poland). The above was certainly not suggested by Josef Nadler, who contributed a piece on the influence of German classicism and Romanticism on Mickiewicz's oeuvre. And yet, even decades after its premiere, it would be difficult to disagree with the accusations of German one-sidedness leveled by almost all of Polish reviewers of *Deutschland und Polen* – an opinion that seems to be shared by

a number of contemporary German historians.²⁹ Time will not help change the critical opinions voiced by the likes of the renowned medievalist Albert Brackmann, who wrote that "it was only the [1343 – K.Z.] Treaty of Kalisz that enabled the Polish state to progress, and the opportunity for the said cultural progress came via German intermediacy"³⁰.

Thankfully for the Warsaw Congress, the above preparations proved to be unnecessary and had nothing to do with the actual agenda and the events that took place in Warsaw and Cracow in August 1933, partly thanks to the abstemious and open stance adopted by the German historians (for which Karl Brandt later suffered the consequences), and partly as a result of the open, friendly, and hospitable attitude of the Polish partners. Also vital in this respect was the adoption of reasonable organizational measures. I have already discussed Oskar Halecki's substantive contributions to the Congress; these were mirrored in the actions undertaken by the Executive Department of the Organizing Committee, i.e., Marceli Handelsman and Tadeusz Manteuffel. The two spared no efforts to internationalize the event to the fullest extent possible, while also aforementioned ensuring the participation of Poland's ethnic minorities at the time. Noteworthy in this context was the invitation extended to the associations of German and Ukrainian historians based in Poland, and the establishment of a special session on Jewish history at the Congress.

In view of the mounting political tensions, the main theme of the Oslo Congress, namely the notion of nation and national states, was marginalized, albeit not completely removed from the Warsaw Congress. Eventually, it was featured at one of the specialist symposia for fear of unleashing the national tendencies at the Congress. The risk was real, given the proposals put forward at the Oslo Congress, where some delegates proposed to take on the issue of responsibility for the outbreak of the Great War. Similar suggestions resurfaced prior to the Warsaw Congress, on behalf of Austrian historians by Alfons Dopsch, before they were stifled by the joint effort of the CISH President Halvdan Koht and Waldo G. Leland. Still, clear programmatic guidelines were by no means missing from the Warsaw conference.

²⁴ O. Halecki, "Uebersberger Hans: Österreich," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 48/4 (1934), pp. 856-862.

²⁵ H.-J. Bömelburg, "Oskar Halecki i historiografia niemieckojęzyczna," in *Oskar Halecki i jego wizja Europy*, ed. M. Dąbrowska, vol. 1 (Warszawa–Łódź, 2012), p. 214.

²⁶ See the first reviews by F. Pohorecki, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 47/3 (1933), pp. 508-512; K. Tymieniecki, A. Wojtkowski, Z. Wieliczka, *Roczniki Historyczne* 9 (1933), pp. 280-304. More on reaction of Polish historians: S. Guth, "Between Confrontation and Conciliation. German-Polish Historiographical Relations and the International Congresses of Historians in 1930s," *Storia della Storiografia* 47 (2005), pp. 113-160; T. Kondracki, *Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne 1918-1939* (Toruń, 2006), pp. 360-365.

²⁷ D.R. Kelley, *Frontiers of History: Historical Inquiry in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, 2006), p. 98. The discussed book does, indeed, contain an article by Josej Rable (professor at the University of Vienna), titled *Adam Mickiewicz. Deutsche Klassik. Deutsche Romantik* (see. Brackmann, *Deutschland und Polen*, pp. 51-63). For the record, Kelley does not seem to hold the idea of the international congresses of historians in a particularly high regard.

²⁸ Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p.145.

²⁹ For instance, Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg regards *Deutschland und Polen* as a "controversial edited collection [...] propagating the idea of Germany as a vehicle of culture in Eastern Europe" (Bömelburg, "Oskar Halecki i historiografia niemiecka," p. 214).

³⁰ As translated and cited in Stanisław Zakrzewski's "Zamiast przedmowy," p. 781. Signed by Casimir the Great (Kazimierz Wielki) and the Teutonic Order, the Treaty of Kalisz granted the Polish king the right to Cuiavia and Dobrzyń Land, in return for relinquishing his claims to the Chełmno and Michałowo Lands, as well as East Pomerania. The treaty marked the end of a sixteen-year war between the Polish Kingdom and the Teutonic Order.

IN THE CONGRESS ROOMS

It is high time we looked into the substantive aspects of the Warsaw Congress, in particular the contributions made by the Polish contingent. Section I at the Congress covered auxiliary historical sciences and the organization of historical research. Featuring a strong delegation of foreign scholars, the session also saw a substantial Polish representation, including Władysław Semkowicz of Cracow, Helena Polackówna of Lvov, and Józef Stojanowski of Warsaw. While Semkowicz and Polackówna need no introduction as far as auxiliary historical sciences are concerned, Stojanowski was the Director of the Polish military archives at the time. Apart from papers strictly related to the practice of research of auxiliary historical sciences and their results, the section also considered a wide spectrum of problems in the field of international archival cooperation, emphasized in Polackówna's paper on the publication of Polish armorials, and strongly accentuated by Gaston Zeller of Clermont-Ferrand. Stojanowski's French counterpart, Camille Bloch, went so far as to propose the establishment of an international center for the documentation of modern and contemporary history.

Zeroing in on the problems of archeology and prehistory, section II saw a drop in the number of presentations compared with the previous editions of the Congress, save for the large contingent of Romanian scholars, who had been hard to find at the previous Congresses. The presented papers and ensuing discussions focused on comparative studies of selected East-Central European cultures. Highlighting the section was the paper delivered by Wolfgang La Baume of the Free City of Danzig, who spoke on the East German research of the Danzig city walls.

Conversely, the sessions of section III (history of antiquity) in Warsaw were more vivid than during the previous editions of the Congress, attracting such Polish scholars as Mojżesz Schorr of Warsaw, Stanisław Witkowski of Lvov, or Ludwik Piotrowicz of Cracow. The international contingent was dominated by Italians, while also seeing a strong presence of the Soviet delegation, most notably Peter Fedorovich Preobrazhensky, who presented two communications, in keeping with the Soviet strategy adopted at the Oslo and Warsaw Congresses, detailed in Erdmann's study.³¹ Preobrazhensky contemplated the ways in which the fascist ideology informed the Italian interpretations of the Roman past, along with the need to interpret ancient Rome's history through the lens of Marxism, unsurprisingly arguing for the superiority of such interpretations over the competing visions.³²

³¹ Erdmann pointed out that the key features of the presentation tactics adopted by the Soviet historians in Warsaw were a direct result of the analysis of their participation in the Oslo Congress. See Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community*, p. 141.

³² П.Ф. Преображенский, "История международных отношений на варшавском конгрессе," *Борьба Класов* 1933, no. 10, pp. 19ff.



Fig. 44.
Natalia Gąsiorowska.

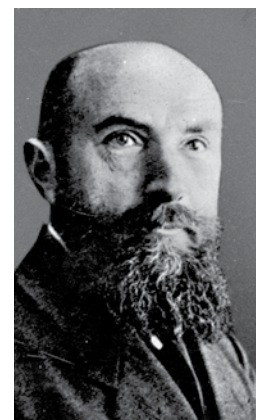


Fig. 45.
Franciszek Bujak.

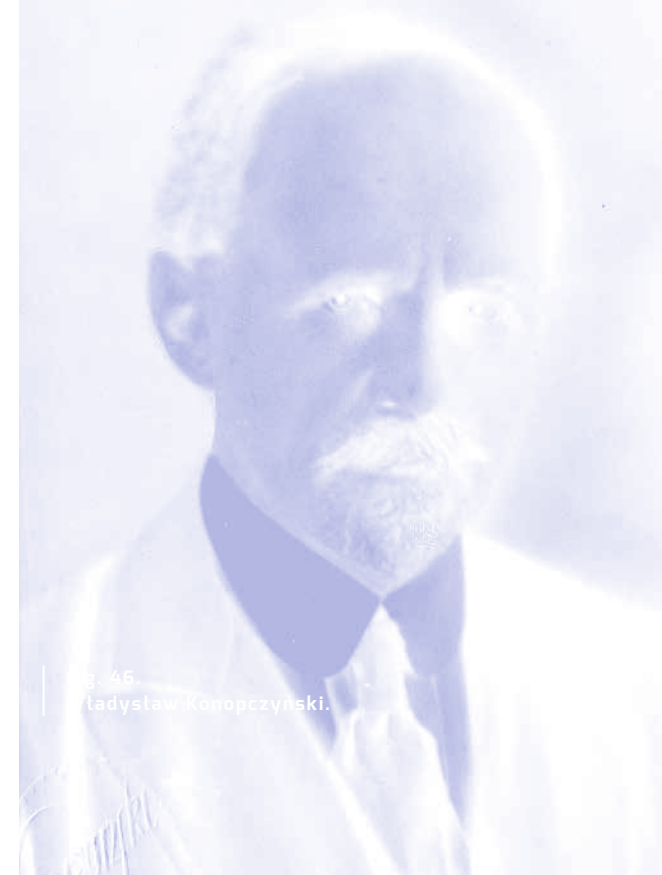


Fig. 46.
Władysław Koropczyński.



Fig. 47.
Henri Berr.



Fig. 48.
Jan Rutkowski.



Fig. 49.
Karl Brandi and
Austrian historian
Ludwig Bittner.

Covering the history of Byzantium and the Middle Ages, section IV boasted a strong lineup of participants, and was dominated by foreign historians (a rarity at the Warsaw Congress). Franciszek Bujak expounded on the Polish society during the reign of Boleslaus the Brave (Bolesław Chrobry), while Karol Maleczyński spoke on Gallus Anonymus' *Chronicles*. Represented by a number of medievalists and byzantologists, the German delegation included two scholars known for their participation in the aforementioned *Deutschland und Polen*, Hermann Aubin (Professor at the University of Breslau) and Albert Brackmann. It goes without saying that the section would be remiss if it had not included Russians, given the prominent place of Slavonic cultures in the history of Byzantium. A paper on this very topic – the relations between Slavic states and the Byzantine Empire in the 6th century – was delivered by Nikolai Sevastyanovich Derzhavin, who contemplated on the methodologies of research on the Slavic peoples in the Balkans, arguing for the prominence of social history and process-oriented approaches to this phenomenon. On top of these, Derzhavin also detailed the rise of feudalism in the region.

Poland was similarly underrepresented in section V (modern and current history), although it must be noted that a substantial part of its panels were devoted to relations between Poland and foreign countries (mostly those represented by the respective speakers). In total, section V attracted as many as 56 papers and commentaries (enough to comprise a small congress in their own right), 17 of which referred to various aspects of Polish history. The Polish side was represented by Bronisław Dembiński (*Stanislas-Auguste et ses relations intellectuelles avec l'Étranger*) and Kazimierz Marian Morawski. The latter devoted much of his attention to Andrzej Mokronowski, one of Poland's first freemasons, even though his paper (*Le 'secret du roi' en Pologne*³³) was nominally devoted to the history of diplomacy in the times of Stanislaus August Poniatowski (Stanisław August Poniatowski), with a focus on the Polish-French relations. Another contribution from a Polish scholar in the section came from Wisława Knapowska, whose communication and commentary concerned Klemens von Metternich's policies towards Poland before the Austrian occupation of the Republic of Cracow. Adding his two cents to the debate was Handelsman, who commented on a paper discussing Napoleon Bonaparte's foreign politics. As a whole, the section was dominated by the problems of political and cultural history, with significant contributions from social historians. The paper presented by the Leipzig-based historian Erich Brandenburg (*Begriff und Geschichte des Imperialismus*) was juxtaposed with the presentations of Anna Mikhailovna Pankratova and the aforementioned Preobrazhensky, who both jumped on the opportunity

to argue in favor of the Marxist take on the history of imperialism. In fact, Preobrazhensky's paper at the panel concerned the political history of the Russo-Japanese War and the origins of the Triple Entente.³⁴

Section VI focused on the history of religion and the history of the Churches. Not nearly as popular as section V, it nonetheless attracted a significant number of speakers, with a noticeable upturn in Polish papers. The order of presentations in this section was chronological, thus enabling the doyen of Polish participation in the Congresses to take the floor in the very first panel. Tadeusz Zieliński, an eminent classical philologist, former professor at the Saint Petersburg Imperial University and, starting in 1920, Professor at the University of Warsaw, recounted the latest tendencies in the research on the religions of ancient Rome. Another speaker, Tadeusz Silnicki of Poznań, spoke on the Benedictine order reforms in Poland in the wake of the Council of Constance. Silnicki's paper was directly tied to that of Heinrich Finke's, in which the Freiburg-based historian outlined Poland's reactions to the Council of Constance. Conversely, Fr. Zdzisław Obertyński contemplated the attitudes of Polish Armenians towards Rome, while Józefat Skruteń discussed a fifty-year period in the history of the Basilian monastery in Żółkiew. While these papers were firmly grounded in traditional event-based historiography, another Polish speaker, the outstanding sociologist and cultural historian Stefan Czarnowski narrowed down on the social conditions for the anti-Catholic impulse in 12th-century Poland. In a similar vein, Fr. Józefat Ostrowski of the Lubin cloister library considered the relations between secular and clerical power based on the reaction of the Catholic orders to the 1737 concordat of Wschowa, which dealt with abbeys. On another note, Karl Völker of Vienna presented a comparative study of tolerance in Austria and Poland between the 16th and 19th century, noticing a parallel development of the phenomenon in the 16th and 17th century, and marked differences in the 18th century.³⁵

Due to his obligations as the President of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow and the organizer of the Cracow installment of the Congress, Poland's most prominent historian of law of the interwar period, Stanisław Kutrzeba, did not deliver his paper in section VII (history of law). He was suitably replaced by the Roman law expert Ignacy Koschembar-Łyskowski of the University of Warsaw. Also active in the section were the younger, albeit internationally experienced scholars, Karol Koranyi of Lvov and Mariusz Skibniewski of Lublin. While the latter discussed the problems of Roman law, the former focused on the dominant theme of the

34 P.F. Preobrazhenskij, "La guerre Russo-Japonaise et son influence sur la formation de l'Entente," in *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés des communications présentées au Congrès Varsovie 1933*, vol. 1 (Warszawa, 1933), pp. 226-228.

35 K. Völker, "Der Toleranzgedanke in Oesterreich und Polen," in *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés*, vol. 1, p. 259.

33 K.M. Morawski, "Le 'secret du roi' en Pologne," in *La Pologne au VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques Varsovie 1933*, vol. 1, pp. 315-321.

section, i.e., medieval law. One of the more noteworthy and interesting Congress premieres was the paper delivered by the Ukrainian scholar Mykola Czubyat of Lvov, who presented a general outline on the history of Ukrainian law.

Section VIII (social and economic history) was especially interesting in the aftermath of the recent establishment of “*Annales d’histoire économique et sociale*” (1929), although the co-founder of the journal, Marc Bloch, was absent from the Warsaw Congress. Social and economic history was very much on the rise in Poland at the time, most importantly so at the University of Lvov (Franciszek Bujak) and the University of Poznań (Jan Rutkowski and Kazimierz Tymieniecki), followed closely by Warsaw (Natalia Gąsiorowska). Also participating in section VIII’s panels was Bujak’s protégé Roman Zubyk, who represented the Ukrainian historical milieu in Poland. Zubyk took on a tremendously interesting problem, which has remained largely uncharted to this day, i.e., the economic structure of the Galician countryside at the turn of the 18th and 19th century³⁶. Zubyk chose his subject with reference to one of the major issues discussed in the section VIII panels, namely the economic situation of peasants. The issue posed extraordinarily difficult analytical challenges, considering the fact that the majority of records on the history of rural areas had been limited to the gentry and its property. The aforementioned Marc Bloch was scheduled to present one of his famous *Annales* questionnaires, which initiated the international research on the transition from exploitative manorialism towards income from landed property,³⁷ but eventually failed to turn up at the Congress. In a similar vein, another member of the editorial board of *Annales*, Charles Edmond Perrin, presented manorialism through an analysis of an iconographic source (the polyptych of Prüm). The economic structure of the countryside also surfaced in the presentations of Tymieniecki (who spoke on peasants in late medieval Poland) and Rutkowski (whose paper directly referred to his own call for a sweeping synthesis of research on early modern economies, in the spirit of Henri Berr’s historical synthesis). Rutkowski’s paper focused on the distribution of income in feudal Poland. The second major theme in section VIII concerned cities, and saw a contribution from Handelsman’s student, Stanisław Arnold. The section’s third leitmotif was that of the history of economic thought.

In terms of attendance, section IX (history of ideas and philosophy) paled in comparison to the previous Congresses. Its sessions were dominated by the interpretation of the Aristotelian philosophy of state and its impact on different spheres of life. In contrast to this main thread,

the Polish representative in the section, Helena Willman-Grabowska, touched upon a slightly different issue. One of the first women professors at Polish universities (she had a tenured professor at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow since 1928) and an esteemed sanscritologist, Willman-Grabowska presented a paper on the idea of state in Ancient India. Also representing Poland was Pierre David of the Jagiellonian University, who discussed the Polish legation of a student of Yves of Chartres.

Much like section IX, section X did not attract too many panelists. Covering the history of science, its sessions chiefly involved the different aspects of the history of mathematics in various countries, including Hungary and Romania. Poland, which had sent its historians of science to the previous Congresses, did not fail to do so this time, too. Amelia Hertz (Assistant Professor at the Free Polish University in Warsaw) spoke on the origins of geometry in ancient Mesopotamia. Two Polish papers focused on Nicolaus Copernicus’ heliocentric theory (Aleksander Birkenmajer of the Jagiellonian Library and Jagiellonian University, and Edward Stamm of the Subcarpathian town of Strzyżów). The latter, whose presentation was devoted to the Copernican trigonometry, was an immensely intriguing figure. A known math history buff, he was also an expert in the *latina sine flexione* language, known more commonly as the *interlingua*, devised by the Italian mathematician Giuseppe Peano.³⁸

Section XI investigated the history of literature. One would struggle to determine its leitmotif, as the sessions were a peculiar mosaic of differently themed presentations, save for the recurring ruminations on the French influences in literature, detailed by Paul Merimé, Paul Hazard, Henri Bédarida, and Basile Menteano (all based in Paris, except for Bédarida, who came from Grenoble). Polish speakers followed up on this theme in various ways. Zofia Ciechanowska of Cracow discussed the Polish-German relations in the 18th-century Polish literature, inspiring a commentary from Juliusz Kleiner. Zygmunt Łempicki gave an interesting presentation on the ties between reader reception and literary movements, while Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski of Paris, mentioned above, (a true regular at congresses) spoke of direct literary criticism.

Devoted to art history, section XII attracted a score of papers by outstanding scholars in the field. Unfortunately, not all of them made it to Warsaw, on account of the concurrent art history congress in Stockholm. The section’s very first panel missed two papers by the French scholars André Blum and Paul-André Lemoine (who served as the curator of the Cabinet of Prints of the National Library of France). Poland was represented by Stefan S. Komornicki, who spoke on the artistic life in Poland of the Renaissance period. Polish accents were also

³⁶ R. Zubyk, “Die Wirtschaftliche Struktur des Dorfes in Galizien um die Ende des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *VIIe Congrès Internationale des Sciences Historiques. Programme des Travaux du Congrès*, Varsovie du 21 au 28 août 1933, p. 47.

³⁷ Bloch’s Warsaw paper was subsequently published in M. Bloch, *Mélanges historiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1963), pp. 670-674.

³⁸ Z. Pawlikowska-Brożek, “Edward Stamm,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 41 (Warszawa–Kraków, 2002), pp. 510-512.

pronounced in the presentations of several French and Italian art historians who discussed the Polish-French and Polish-Italian themes in the artistic histories of their respective countries. Still, there was no clearly delineated thematic thread that would unite the individual presentations. For instance, Kazimierz Michałowski pondered over the quality of art pieces in ancient and archaic Greece. One common theme was noticeable in the final panel, devoted to the features of East-Central European art, with an emphasis of Poland, Transylvania, and Ukraine (the last region was covered by the Lvov-based Ukrainian art historian Ilarion Svientsitsky).³⁹

Although it may have seemed modest in terms of numbers, section XIII (methodology and theory of history) proved to be noteworthy, featuring high-pitched debates over vital topics. In the spirit of the era, the fundamental point of reference was Henri Berr's theory of historical synthesis. Berr himself, along with the budding *Annales* School, was strongly influenced by scientism and believed unwaveringly that historical synthesis would enable researchers to perfect the art of historical science. This did not mean, however, that either the role of historians in shaping the idea of the past, or the limitations of nomological historiography, would be completely disregarded. An overview of the papers presented at the section XIII panels can serve as a case in point. The sessions began with Fred Morrow Fling's paper on the notion of synthesis. Fling's reasoning was predicated on the assumption that a number of problems concerning the understanding of history resulted from its definition. An adamant proponent of history as a (specific, but synthesis-based) construct proposed by historians,⁴⁰ Fling argued that publications involving a mere compilation of records, printed in an unedited form, should not be categorized as history. Without interpretation, added Fling, such sources were but raw materials to be used in the course of synthetical work, i.e., science. One distinctive feature of such synthesis was the ability to discern progress, which resulted from the changes and developments in the systems of values. At the same time, contended Fling, synthetical history was distinctively different from exact sciences, as it involved different epistemological methods.⁴¹

Fling's paper inspired an animated discussion. The first person to take the floor was the veteran participant of the international congresses, Aleksej Jelačić of Yugoslavia, who posited historical materialism as a method of historical synthesis, and enumerated its upsides and downsides. Jelačić's (and Fling's) arguments were thoroughly criticized by Camille Bloch. Firstly, argued Bloch, speaking of Marxist history – which, to his mind,

envisioned a competitive vision to the existent topics of historical research – made no sense whatsoever. Secondly, Bloch saw no capacity for historical synthesis in Marxist history, given its predetermined interpretation of multifarious phenomena. On the other hand, the Polish philosopher and freemason Władysław Mieczysław Kozłowski (who had also participated in the Oslo Congress), voiced his strong reservations as to the scientific claims staked by historical synthesis. Kozłowski reminded the panelists of Adrien Naville's question about the assumed existence of the laws of history, formulated at the international philosophical congress in Geneva in 1904. Personally, Kozłowski believed it was impossible to make such sweeping generalizations based on individual facts recounted by historiography, as they simply refused to be logically ordered in comparable chains of events that would enable one to notice their repetitive character and determine its specific variables. Kozłowski's contention was countered by American historian William Rose. To his mind, Fling's conviction about the possibility of arriving at historical synthesis by extracting the essence of a given phenomenon inescapably leads to the subjectivization of history, and gives rise to a number of different narratives on the very phenomenon. Rose found the basic fault in Fling's train of thought to lie in his departure from the notion of social fact in favor of a material interpretation of facts by historians. Fling's paper and the follow-up discussion were also addressed in the concluding commentary provided by Paulin Chomicz (President of the Józef Hoene-Wroński Society), who attached his address to the minutes from the session.⁴²

Following the aforementioned speakers was the paper submitted by Wilhelm Keilhau of Oslo (*Historischer Materialismus oder historische Synthesis?*),⁴³ in which the author juxtaposed the unilateral approach of historical materialism with the need to distinguish between different ideas and complex historical processes en route to historical synthesis (understood as explicative history). Staking its claim to comment Keilhau's paper was the entire Soviet delegation (Pavel Osipovich Gorin of Minsk, Nikolai Mikhailovich Lukin of Moscow, Viacheslav Petrovich Volgin of Leningrad, and Peter Preobrazhensky of Moscow). It turned out, however, that with Keilhau's unforeseen absence in Warsaw, his paper was reduced to an abstract, and as such was addressed by Preobrazhensky alone.⁴⁴

Another noticeable absentee in the section was Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin himself, who had submitted a paper addressing the aforementioned debate (*Zur Frage über die heutige Methodologie der Geschichtserkenntnis*). Bukharin's presentation was to be commented on

39 VIIe Congrès Internationale des Sciences Historiques. Programme, p. 56.

40 F.M. Fling, "Historical Synthesis," in VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés, vol. 1, pp. 168-169.

41 Fling, "Historical Synthesis," p. 170.

42 Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès International des Sciences historiques (Varsovie, 1933), part 2, Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences 1936, no. 33, p. 495.

43 VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés, vol. 1, pp. 166-168.

44 Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès, part 2, pp. 494-495.

by Karol Górski of Poznań.⁴⁵ Understandably, neither spoke at the panel, although records of Bukharin's main arguments have been preserved. The Soviet scholar aimed to outline the current tendencies in historical understanding and research, categorizing them as naturalistic (theories of race, environmental conditions, geopolitics) and non-naturalistic (formal sociology, Georg Simmel's individuality, Max Webber's sociology of understanding, Max Scheler's sociology of knowledge), before critiquing their ideological constraints and demonstrating Marxism's superiority in this regard.⁴⁶

Bukharin's take was thematically tied to the paper submitted by Claude Bouglé of the University of Paris, but he, too, failed to turn up in Warsaw. Substituting for Bouglé was the professor of medical sciences Maxime Laignel-Lavastine, who built on Paul Barr's doctoral dissertation *Essai psycho-pathologique sur Danton* to evaluate Danton's political activity in psychological terms.⁴⁷ His lecture served as an introduction to the problem of relations between history and social sciences, which was contemplated by the subsequent presentation, delivered by Istvan Hajnal of Budapest (*Schriftlichkeit und Intelligenzschicht als Wegbereiter der Neuzeit*). Addressing the original concept of the mutual relations between history and sociology, Hajnal spoke of the role of intellectuals in the process of modernization, making clear (albeit somewhat unwitting) references to the specific social aspects of modernization processes in East-Central Europe. The ensuing discussion focused not so much on the role of the intelligentsia as a social stratum, as it did on what modern-day social historians refer to as alphabetization, i.e., improving access to the art of writing and reading.⁴⁸ Another major voice in the session was Hans Nabholz of Zurich, who dwelled on the interdependencies between economic and political history. Polish ethnologist and social historian Kazimierz Dobrowolski went even further, stressing the significance of biological phenomena to history. Unfortunately, there is no surviving copy of the minutes from this session.

The discussion on historical synthesis concluded with Henri Berr's paper, which bore the same title as his Oslo submission (*Synthèse*). Having chaired the two previous section XIII panels, Berr took the floor towards the end of the third session, chaired by the aforementioned Fred Morrow Flinn. As had been the case with his Oslo paper, Berr revisited the notion of synthesis and its multifarious applications before he proceeded with a typology of scientific syntheses, which he classified based on rank (erudite and scientific, with the latter subdivided into formal and theoretical, on the one hand, and concrete and effective,

on the other), along with the changing approaches to the notion of synthesis.⁴⁹ Berr's paper invited a discussion prefaced by Oskar Halecki, who credited Berr for his achievements in the field of modern historiography, among others the foundation of the *Revue de synthèse historique* journal and the creation of the *L'Évolution de l'humanité* series. Halecki also commended Berr on his sympathetic stance towards Polish historians, some of whom had a chance to cooperate with his institutions. Viacheslav Volgin's comments were not limited to Berr's paper, but rather addressed the entire discussion on the notions of historical synthesis and the relations between sociology and history, held in the course of the session. Rejecting Heinrich Rickert's differentiation between natural and spiritual sciences, Volgin stressed what he thought was overlooked in the papers and the discussion that followed, namely the fact that any historian's statements should be read through the lens of the social class that they represented. Unsurprisingly, Volgin pointed to the significance of Marxist historiography, before he gave the floor to Nikolai Lukin, who similarly addressed the section's panels in their entirety. Much like his predecessor, Lukin strove to demonstrate that, despite the ostensible castigation of Marxism, many of his contemporaries were in fact influenced by historical materialism in their interpretations of historical phenomena, including, among others, Ernst Troeltsch, Marc Bloch, and François Aulard. Lukin also pointed out that Karl Marx did, as a matter of fact, synthesize historical materialism with historicism in his ruminations on the laws of historical progress, which enabled him to project the future course of history.⁵⁰ On a final note, Juliusz Kleiner criticized dialectical materialism using Joachim Lelewel's *Historyka* to demonstrate that the Polish Romantic historian was not alien to the idea of historical synthesis, and in fact saw history as an abstract notion towering over individual events.

Despite announcing his presence at, and submitting his abstract to the Warsaw Congress, the general secretary of Henri Berr's Centre international de synthèse, André-Daniel Tolédano, did not appear at the conference. Worn out by the initial heated discussion, the delegates glanced over the remaining papers in the session (Robert Bouvier's contemplation of the notion of civilization, and Frank T. Adkins' *The Approach to Citizenship Through History and Regional Surveys*). Still, the very presence of regional history in the panel deserves to be motioned.

Łucja Charewiczowa's paper on the methodological aspects of women's history sparked a short exchange of opinions between Polish scholars. In response to Charewiczowa's paper, Jadwiga Krasicka of Łódź argued that the specificity of women's history called for the inclusion of sources other than personal writings and documentation, i.e., works of art and, in particular,

⁴⁵ VIIe Congrès Internationale des Sciences Historiques. Programme, p. 20; VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés, vol. 2, pp. 165-166.

⁴⁶ VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés, vol. 2, pp. 165-166.

⁴⁷ Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès, part 2, p. 495.

⁴⁸ Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès, part 2, pp. 495-496.

⁴⁹ VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés, vol. 1, p. 178.

⁵⁰ Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès, part 2, pp. 498-499.

literature. Krasicka's comments indicated her considerable knowledge of the methodological facets of women's history, in particular the role of belles-lettres as a historical source.

The Warsaw Congress was the second one to have addressed the notion of teaching of history (section XIV), which in this case constituted one of the focal points on the agenda. Speaking as the first Polish Chair of the organizing committee of the section, Helena Radlińska asserted that its panels aimed to consider specific empirical problems, such as visualization in teaching history, or the exchange of didactic materials. The first session of section XIV saw the selection of its respective panel Chairs: Frans Van Kalken of Brussels, Wilhelm Mommsen of Marburg, and Arnolds Spekke of Riga. Assisting the chairs was the section's Secretary, Wanda Moszczeńska of Warsaw.

Following the two Polish women speakers (Secretary Moszczeńska and Halina Mrozowska of Warsaw), the floor was given to Natalia Gąsiorowska. Discussing the necessary changes in historical education, Gąsiorowska stressed the need to expose students to history as a tool furthering their understanding of the surrounding world. More specifically, Gąsiorowska argued against the domination of political history in teaching history across all levels of education. Instead, she emphasized the value of teaching social and economic history, while also bemoaning the lack of cultural history courses in educational curricula.⁵¹ Wilhelm Mommsen hit a similar note in his *Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichtsunterricht*. Mommsen's paper, along with that of Wisława Knapowska, was moved to the first session, despite being originally scheduled for later on. The findings of each of the above papers were debated together. The discussion involved postulates to recognize the weight of general didactics in ruminations on the didactics of history (Knapowska), and to account for objectivism in teaching history (Mommsen, Georg Hahn of Berlin). At the time, objectivism was considered in the context of the classical definition of truth, as a somewhat natural result of factographic representations of history. On the other hand, Georges Pagès of Paris argued that, given the intensive proliferation of didactic concretization, a greater emphasis should be placed on the teacher's intuition. In fact, the necessity of improved education of teachers, and the interdependence between the objectivization of narratives and teachers' educational background, was also touched upon by Mommsen. On a side note, Frans Van Kalken expounded on the differences in the understanding of concretization in historical education.

As per the amended version of the Congress program, the matters discussed during the successive panel of section XIV concerned the teaching of literary history, art history, and history. A wide-ranging discussion was triggered by Paul Van Tieghem, whose paper outlined

the problems in teaching the history of literature and civilization.⁵² The Polish side was represented by Halina Mrozowska, who detailed the practical difficulties entailed in teaching history and literary history due to the insufficient number of history classes, on the one hand, and the literary canon taught in Polish schools, on the other. The ensuing discussion stressed the need to coordinate the teaching of history and literature. Another Polish contribution came from Helena Radlińska, who made concluding remarks in the discussion on the mutual ties between teaching history and art history. Radlińska remarked that the fulfillment of the tasks outlined in the debate was dependent on the teacher's competence and preparation. She also identified a glaring contradiction between the role of historical education at the academic level (which strove to groom students into scholars), on the one hand, and its (more general and didactic) function in schools.

Chaired by Van Kalken, the third panel of section XIV began with a paper by the General Secretary of the CISH, Michel Lhéritier, who discussed the results of comparative research on the 19th century handbooks of history (especially those used between 1815 and 1830).⁵³ Lhéritier's talk opened the floor for a debate on the diffusion of didactic materials for history teachers. Following the CISH secretary was Anna Pankratova who, upon paying the due respect to Lhéritier's research results, blamed the differences in the interpretations of national histories on the weaknesses of bourgeois science, arguing for dialectical materialism as the only fully objective measure, devoid of such contradictory representations of the past.⁵⁴

Similar problems were discussed in the aftermath of Helena Radlińska's paper (*Collaboration de l'histoire et des sciences de l'éducation*), with the provision that, in this case, the delegates contemplated the extent to which other social sciences can help circumvent the problem of national interpretations of the past and their susceptibility to political indoctrination. For instance, Lhéritier favored sociology as a tool perfectly suited to the explanation of the processual origins of history. As a result a history that required a critical approach (what Mrozowska envisioned as remedy) could be taught at a higher educational level. A more realistic and sensible opinion came from Gerald Thornton Hankin of London, who saw the future role of the didactics of history as that which: 1. built on the themes that enabled students to make sense of the present through the intermediacy of history, 2. sensitized students to the problems of truth-seeking in history, 3. cultivated the ideas of honesty and objective

52 P. Van Tieghem, "L'enseignement de l'histoire littéraire dans le cadre d'histoire générale et de l'histoire de civilisation," in *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés*, vol. 2, pp. 113-116.

53 M. Lhéritier, "Étude comparée, pour l'histoire du XIXe siècle et plus spécialement pour l'histoire des années 1815-1830, de quelques manuels d'enseignement supérieur parus dans différents pays," in *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés*, vol. 2, pp. 187-190.

54 *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 2, pp. 511-512.

51 *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 2, pp. 502-504.

cognition among students, 4. promoted stances that would enable students to understand the history of other countries.⁵⁵

The final panel held as part of section XIV was entirely dedicated to teaching materials in historical education. The panel was dominated by Polish women delegates. Jadwiga Krasicka detailed the notion of an international exchange of teaching materials. On a similar note, Anna Oderfeld of Warsaw discussed the idea of an atlas of the world's civilizations. Much attention was paid to the role of materials devised by historical geographers, with a special mention of the Polish contributions to the field.

The most prominently featured among all the Congress sections was that on the history of Eastern Europe. The goal was both to repeat the "Oslo effect," i.e., to familiarize the foreign delegates with the historical context of the host country, and to open new avenues of research through the demonstration of the size and scope of the discussed problems. The selection of speakers and debaters revealed the Polish organizers' commitment to prepare and conduct the sessions of section XV to the best of their abilities. As had been the case in Oslo, the organizers made sure to include foreign historians of the region among the session speakers.

The session began with an address of its Polish Chair, Ludwik Kolankowski. In keeping with the adopted procedure, Kolankowski's address was followed by the selection of the respective panel chairs: Jaroslav Bidlo of Prague, Nikolai Derzhavin of Leningrad, Louis Eisenmann of Paris, Otto Hoetsch of Berlin, and Emerick Lukinich of Budapest. Similarly to the other Congress sections, the panel secretaries in section XV were predominantly Polish.

The first session of section XV began with Bidlo's paper *Was ist die osteuropäische Geschichte?* A familiar face in the Polish historical milieu, Bidlo laid the groundwork for the subsequent debate, preceded by Marcell Handelsman's paper (delivered as a paper rather than a communication), in which the Polish historian touched upon a number of implications behind the use of the term "Eastern Europe." Handelsman's polemic paper challenged some of Bidlo's theses, with the speaker emphasizing the variability of the notion of Eastern Europe depending on its temporal contexts. The Pole also stressed the significance (and the role) of the definition of a region, put forward by Halecki at the Brussels Congress. In a similar vein, he addressed his own methodological remarks in this regard, pointing to the differences in the understanding of Eastern Europe in the early Middle Ages and the modern period.⁵⁶ Handelsman contended that one could see the region as a distinctly different entity and attribute this difference to the specificity of the Slavic culture, just as one could argue for the impact of the natural environment on the transnational and transcultural cohesion across

the region. At the same time, Handelsman cautioned against perceiving these features as endemic to Eastern Europe, since similar regional specificities could be identified in the western part of the continent, too.

In the debate that followed, Derzhavin critiqued Bidlo's paper for the lack of references to the history of material culture. Echoing Handelsman's theses, Heinrich Schmid of Graz stressed the diverse nature of Eastern Europe, in which the Byzantine influences were interlocked with the Roman Catholic tradition. Schmid also argued against a reductive perception of Eastern Europe as a consistently Slavic region, for such a perspective overlooked the Baltic and Finno-Ugric peoples, which significantly contributed to its identity. At the end of the discussion, the floor was granted to Petr Nikolaevich Savitskii of Prague, who essentially eulogized the Russian domination of Eastern Europe. On another note, Stefan Przeworski of Warsaw insisted that the only feasible systematization of the region's history was to trace back the clashes of the Latin and Byzantine Christian traditions. Przeworski's vantage point was then backed by the Yugoslavian historian Vasili Popović of Belgrade.

In the second session, Oskar Halecki delivered his principal paper, covering Poland's Eastern policies between the reigns of Casimir the Great (Kazimierz Wielki) and John III Sobieski (Jan III Sobieski). Much like Jaroslav Bidlo's presentation in the first panel, Halecki's text provoked an intensive discussion. Aleksej Jelačić stressed the Polish influence on the shaping of the entire Eastern European region, listing the Polish-Lithuanian takeover of Veliky Novgorod in 1470, and Russia's subjection to the Polish reign upon election of Ladislaus IV Vasa (Władysław IV Waza) as Tzar of Russia in 1610. On the other hand, Petr Savitskii underscored the fundamental role of the Russian dynasties in the defending the western part of the region from the Tatar raids. Conversely, Przeworski emphasized the impact of the Brest Union on the religious landscape of Eastern Europe, arguing that, without taking its ramifications into account, it was impossible to comprehend the internal tensions in the region. Recapitulating the discussion, Oskar Halecki addressed the Tatar influences in the region, acknowledging their ties with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Another lively discussion followed the warmly received paper of the Romanian historian Konstantin Marinescu, who discussed the policies of Pope Callixtus III (1455-1458) and Alfonso V of Aragon towards the Turkish expansion in the region. Emil Panaitescu's paper on the economic ties of Poland with the Black Sea basin under Mehmed the Conqueror in the context of his policies in Moldavia was reviewed with similar enthusiasm. In both cases, most comments came from the Polish scholars. The session concluded with a paper on the formation of Ukraine, presented by the Warsaw-based Ukrainian historian, Miron Korduba.

One of the highlights of section XV was William Temperely's paper on the British-Turkish relations under Benjamin Disraeli (1876-1878). The Polish scholars had already been

⁵⁵ *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 2, pp. 513-514.

⁵⁶ *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 2, p. 520.

introduced to the British historian at the Paris Peace Conference and during the first sessions of the League of Nations, where Temperley spoke as the British governmental expert on the borders of Eastern European states. Temperley's presentation also inspired comments from the historians of colonialism. Marcell Handelsman's paper on the Romanian policy of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski⁵⁷ generated a number of comments, too, mostly from the Polish and Romanian scholars. Apart from another paper by Josef Matl of Graz, the session also included Pavel Gorin, whose presentation was moved as a result of the shifting Congress agenda. Delivered in Polish, Gorin's paper (*La politique coloniale de l'autocratie russe en Pologne dans la deuxième moitié du XIX^e et au commencement du XX^e siècles*) was interpreted into French by Handelsman, who complemented it with bibliographic references of his own.

The fourth panel of the section XV (contrary to the program) was begun by Adam Lewak, who presented the 19th-century policy of Poland in the East.⁵⁸ The speaker recounted all forms of Polish activity in Turkey between the November Uprising and 1870, which he saw as the watershed in the weakening of Polish influence at the Ottoman court. Lewak's paper was followed by a set of presentations on a heatedly debated topic, namely the Baltic Sea and its role in the history of Eastern Europe. The opening paper was presented by Arnolds Spekke (Professor at the University of Riga), who expounded on the Baltic question from the perspective of Latvia (*La question baltique au XVI^e siècle*) or, in his own words, "the most miserable of all states bordering on the Baltic Sea," which had played a key part in the disputes over *Dominium Maris Baltici*, given its strategic location between "the Mediterranean of the North and the Great Plains of the East."⁵⁹ The discussion also featured commentaries from Hans Rothfels of Königsberg and Kazimierz Tyszkowski of Lvov. The first speaker focused on Latvia's significance for Prussia, while the second emphasized the importance of the Baltic for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, at the same time delving into the causes of its failed policies in Livonia, also accounting for the religious differences and the lack of proper recognition of the role of the Baltic Sea among Polish nobles. The Baltic question recurred in the subsequent papers of the session, delivered by Peter Treiberg of Tartu, Karol Górski of Poznań, and Roman Lutman of Toruń.

The fifth panel of section XV concentrated on the Polish-Russian relations. Save for Alfons Michał Wodziński's paper, the session set aside the Polish-Prussian relations. Following

outline papers by Benedict Hamphrey Sumner and Kazimierz Tyszkowski was Petr Savitskii of Prague (*La conception eurasiste de l'histoire russe*⁶⁰). The very notion of "Eurasianism" refers to the research conducted in the 1920s by the Russian historians who investigated the origins of Russia as a state that encompassed Russia and the Asian republics between the 18th century and the fall of czarism. In fact, the panelists were mostly interested in the creation of the great, multinational Russian Empire. Savitskii's Warsaw paper contained copious references to the work of George Vladimirovich Vernadsky and Nikolai Sergeevich Trubetzkoy, both of whom had studied the origin of Russia in the context of, and in comparison with the Hun Empire. Savitskii also discussed the theories that attributed the formation of Imperial Russia to the unique lay of the land. Sparking vivid discussions in Poland at the time, the notion of "Eurasianism" may have been the reason behind the genuine interest generated by Savitskii's paper, whose presentation was fiercely criticized by Aleksej Jelačić of Yugoslavia, and the Cracow-based amateur historian Kazimierz Iwanicki (highly esteemed as an art collector and expert).

One of the distinctive features of the Warsaw Congress was the unusually high number of special sessions. The organizers hoped that, much like their CISH counterparts, the sessions would tap into the fashionable and grave research conducted on the international arena. In the context of professionalization of historical research, the themes of these sessions may seem somewhat dubious. Even at first glance, one would struggle to expect that the method and problems discussed in such special sessions as the military history (special session I) would differ from those developed in historicism. The session was dominated by the Italian delegation, with an active support from Marian Kukiel, to this day considered as the greatest Polish military historian. One of the highlights of the Oslo Congress, the session on nationalism was cancelled in view of the mounting political tensions and the belligerent stances of some delegations (detailed in the previous section of this book), which was, by all means, an informed decision on behalf of the organizers. To an extent, the ruminations on the state of research on enlightened absolutism (special session C) seemed warranted, although the problems considered in its course did not exert greater influence on the subsequent research methods in the field. The debates involved the differences in the enlightened absolutist practices in Europe, in particular the disparities between the French and Austrian model. Special session D on the history of great geographical discoveries and exploration was received with some reservations, in particular given its apportionment from the session on the history of colonialism (session E). Session D saw Bolesław Olszewicz's paper on Joachim Lelewel's hypothesis of the expedition of John Scolvus (Jan of Kolno), which was

⁵⁷ "La politique roumaine du prince Czartoryski (1831-1856)," in *La Pologne au VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques Varsovie 1933*, vol. 2 (Varsovie, 1933), pp. 199-243.

⁵⁸ "La politique polonaise en Orient de 1830 à 1870," in *La Pologne au VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques Varsovie 1933*, vol. 3 (Varsovie, 1933), pp. 15-41.

⁵⁹ A. Spekke, "La question baltique au XVI^e siècle," in *VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés*, vol. 2, p. 249.

⁶⁰ Spekke, "La question baltique au XVI^e siècle," pp. 210-214.

received with a good degree of skepticism. On a positive note, the session was accompanied by an aforementioned exhibition of early American Polonica from the Polish National Library collection. The debate on colonialism in session E may be of interest to the Polish readers, as it involved heightened activity from Stefan Czarnowski, in particular his discussion with René Maunier. Czarnowski found Maunier's paper on the relations of the colonizers and the colonized overly schematic, adding that it failed to account for the complex social relations that arose in those circumstances.

It is equally difficult to understand the isolation of special session J ("Feudalism") from the section on medieval and modern history. The decision may have made more sense had Marc Bloch, who was working on his seminal *La Société féodale* (released in 1939), appeared at the Congress. Session N (history of East Asia or, as it was referred to at the Congress, "histoire orientale") did not live up to the expectations, either, with merely a single paper presented in front of twenty listeners.

Staying with the theme of high expectations, the bar was set very high for session A (historical geography). Carefully prepared and accompanied by an international exhibition, the session made the fullest use of the opportunity to showcase the achievements of historical geography at the Congress, and present the field as more than just an auxiliary historical science, as noticed by Karol Buczek.⁶¹ The organizers' success relied on not just the exhibition itself but also the catalogue that accompanied it (see Figure 50).⁶² The maps were displayed in an order that revealed their historical evolution, at the same time demonstrating their significance as historical sources in different types of historical research. The maps were thus ordered into three material departments (old and new typographic maps and cadastral maps; historical maps; old and historical city maps).⁶³ The debate at the session began with the notion of borders. Per Olof de Törne of Turku and Jean-Médéric Tourneur-Aumont of Poitiers deliberated on the historical significance and changeability of the term. On the other hand, Jan Jakubowski's paper on the map of the Grodno County sparked off a serious methodological discussion. The listeners (among others Władysław Semkowicz) were not so much interested in the fact of the presence of Lithuanians in the city, as they were in the exact date and place of their arrival in a community dominated by Ruthenians, and in the techniques of creating maps with references to the names recorded in land cadasters.⁶⁴ And yet, this session, too,

⁶¹ K. Buczek, "Międzynarodowa wystawa geografii historycznej w Warszawie (21-28 VIII 1933)," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 47/2 (1933), p. 234 (*Wiadomości Historyczne* supplement).

⁶² *Catalogus mapparum geographicarum ad historiam pertinentium quae curanto collegio historico-geographorum adiuuantibus viris congressui ordinando in polytechnico Varsoviensi exponantur* (Varsoviae, 1933).

⁶³ Buczek, *Międzynarodowa wystawa*, p. 235.

⁶⁴ *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 2, p. 540.

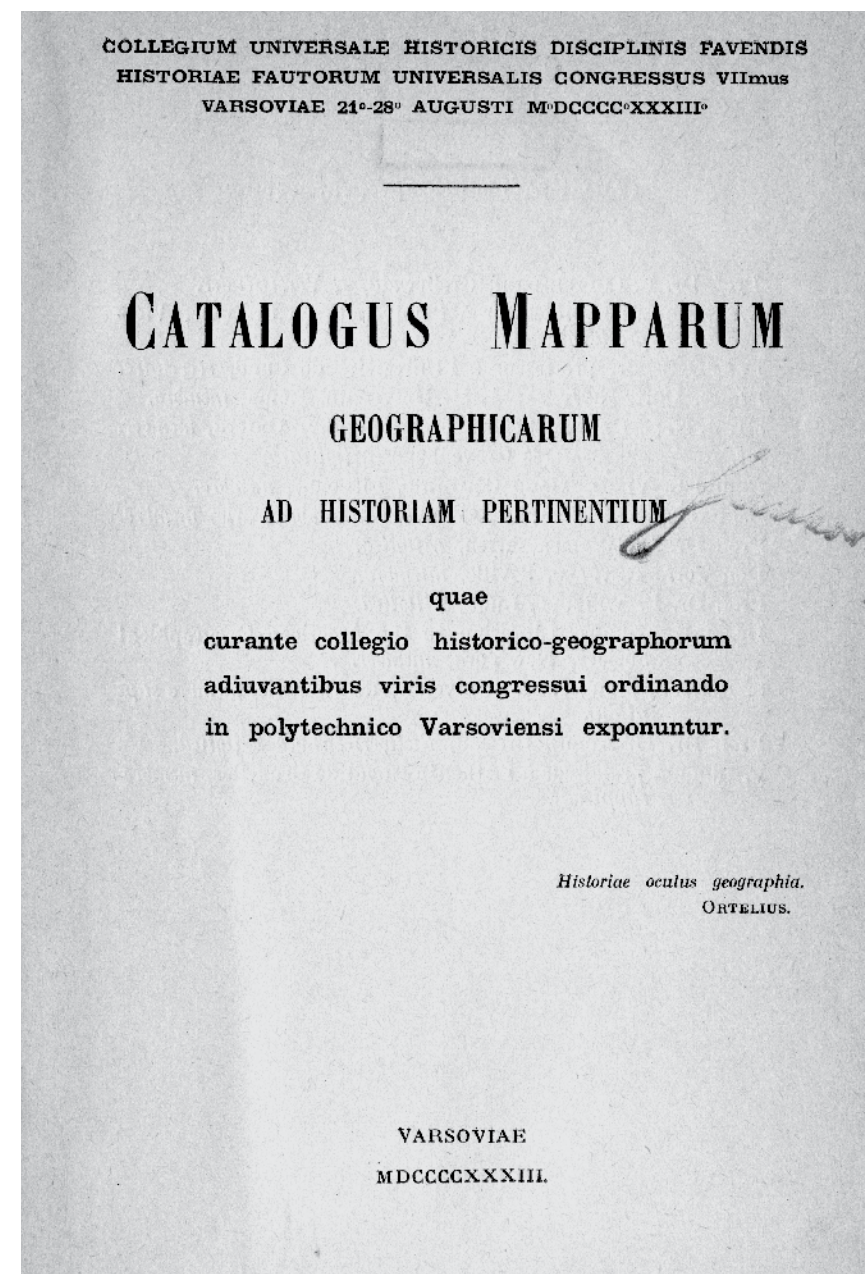


Fig. 50. Title page of *Catalogus mapparum geographicarum ad historiam pertinentium*.

did not avoid unexpected absences of the anticipated guests, as visibly demonstrated in its second panel, which considered the interesting problems of maps as works of art, and the contributions of Italian master painters to the art of map making, commissioned by various rulers and patrons across Europe.

In the wake of the satisfactory debates at the previous congresses, in particular in Oslo, the panels of special session F, dedicated to comparative historical demography and represented by a range of scholars from different countries, were highly anticipated, too. Indeed, the panels proved to be the most successful among the special sessions, not just in terms of attendance. Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska's success in Oslo involved not only a well-rounded and interesting paper but also the attendant petition for the appointment of an international commission on historical demography affiliated with the CISH, with Daszyńska-Golińska at the helm. In her introduction to the session, Daszyńska-Golińska admitted that, while the actual international cooperation in the field had not developed at a neck-breaking pace, there had been noticeable progress in the implementation of the international bibliography of historical demography, with contributions from France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Poland. Following the introductory address, which had turned into a full-fledged debate, the proper panels took their course.

The first among the signaled problems involved demographic estimates in the research on medieval and ancient history. The latter case saw a voluminous participation of Polish speakers, be it in the form of panelists (Tadeusz Wałek-Czernecki) or discussion comments (including the most vivid ones from Zdzisław Zmigryder-Konopka of Warsaw and Kazimierz Zakrzewski of Lvov). Another issue raised in the course of the debates was the demographic growth caused by migrations. The presented commentaries were preceded by a paper of the esteemed French statistician, Lucien March (*La croissance des populations progressives*). The list of commentators included Maria Biskupska and Maria Lipszyc-Balsigerowa (both from Warsaw). From the vantage point of Polish historical demography, the quintessentially substantive paper came from Daszyńska-Golińska (*L'accroissement de la population en Pologne à l'époque de partages*), who delivered a compelling presentation on the changing Jewish population across the three partition zones, coupled with a highly conventional outline of general demographic trends in the discussed territories. In retrospect, we know that Daszyńska-Golińska was wrong when she argued that the demographic growth in Galicia had been markedly lower than in the Prussian partition zone. Similarly, the supposed exponential demographic growth in the Kingdom of Poland (Russian partition) – while uncontested by some contemporary scholars – seems questionable in light of the latest research. Daszyńska-Golińska's paper induced a general discussion on transhistorical demographic tendencies in Europe. Noteworthy in the context of the subsequent developments in historical demography

was Jean Bourdon's paper invoking the abstract of Adolphe Lesage's paper on the relations between weather patterns and demographic crises caused by epidemics.⁶⁵ The post-war research in the field in France would eventually yield a theory of demographic crises during the *Ancien Régime*.

Historical demographers at the Warsaw Congress were undoubtedly interested in listening to Friedrich Burgdörfer's *Dynamik der europäischen Bevölkerungsentwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*.⁶⁶ As of its presentation, the theory of demographic transformation had not yet been formulated,⁶⁷ but the Berlin-based scholar nonetheless aptly pointed to a demographic slowdown in the most developed parts of Europe. In the course of the subsequent discussion, commentators discussed changes in mortality rate per age group, as well as a downturn in fertility rates. It should be pointed out, however, that although he was in possession of such data and accentuated it in the course of his commentary, the outstanding Polish demographer of the era, Stefan Szulc, failed to realize of the permanent character of the said changes, and their independence from the level of subsistence. From today's perspective, these changes seem to be determined by the changes in one's cultural environment. Burgdörfer defended his claims using his research findings, and tactfully suggesting that the lowering fertility rate would be more deep-seated and should not be reduced to economic fluctuations. To be fair, in light of the existing research at the time, Burgdörfer's paper was not exactly a scientific revelation, since it came after Alfred Landry's investigation into population typologies, which had accounted for the demographic features outlined by the German scholar; also, the very phenomenon discussed by Burgdörfer had been clearly articulated in a range of other studies.⁶⁸

A long and tempestuous discussion ensued following Erich Keyser's paper *Die Epochen der Bevölkerungsgeschichte Deutschlands*, which triggered a spirited critique from the Polish archeologist Józef Kostrzewski (University of Poznań) and his colleague, economic

⁶⁵ J. Bourdon, "L'influence de la méthodologie sur les épidémies d'après l'histoire," in *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 2, p. 559. See also: *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés*, vol. 2, pp. 351-353.

⁶⁶ *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 2, pp. 559ff; *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés*, vol. 2, pp. 359-366.

⁶⁷ As of now, the theory is attributed to Frank Notestein and his associates from the Office of Population Research at Princeton University. The origins of the theory dated back to the series edited by Notestein and his team between 1944 and 1945. See e.g., F.W. Notestein, "Population – the Long View," in *Food for the World*, ed. T.W. Schultz (Chicago, 1945), pp. 37-57.

⁶⁸ A. Landry, "Les trois théories principales de la population," *Scientia* 6 (1909), pp. 3-29; A. Landry, *La révolution démographique – Études et essais sur les problèmes de la population* (Paris, 1934); A.M. Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem: A Study in Human Evolution* (Oxford, 1922); A.M. Carr-Saunders, *World Population: Past Growth and Present Trends* (London, 1936); T.H.C. Stevenson, "The Laws Governing Population," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 88 (1925), pp. 63-90; W. Thompson, "Population," *The American Journal of Sociology* 34/6 (1929), pp. 959-975.

historian Franciszek Bujak. The two demonstrated that searching for Illyrian influences in the territory between the Elbe and the Bug was unfounded, with Kostrzewski additionally disproving the possibility of classifying the early Iron Age peoples as Germanic. Keyser's presentation was also countered by Karol Górski, who pointed out the inappropriateness of the term *Volksraum* with reference to the communities whose traces of existence were an object of archeological studies.⁶⁹ Present-day historians may be interested in the discussion provoked by the theses submitted by Marie-Thérèse Nisot of Brussels (*Historie internationale de la stérilisation humaine*), who was absent from the Congress, but whose abstract was nonetheless challenged.⁷⁰ While Nisot focused on the notion of birth control, the debate sidetracked into the role of the state and its policies in enabling, propagating, and prohibiting sterilization practices.

Probing into the history of banking and bills of exchange, special session G was a testament to the active search for new areas of research and new methodologies in the field of historiography. Unfortunately, the session failed to attract many Polish historians at the time and, consequently, the history of banking and bills of exchange in Poland was tossed aside for many years to come.

Advertised as one of the highlights of the Warsaw Congress, special session H (history of social movements) proved to be one of its most spectacular misadventures. Envisioned as a two-panel event featuring three report papers and three communications, the session ended up as a single panel featuring the lone presentation by Nikolai Lukin of Moscow, who discussed the history of the International and the Paris Commune. Adding to the blunder was the presence of the CISH President Halvdan Koht and General Secretary Michel Lhéritier among the 65 scholars in attendance. Both stressed the methodological innovation of this area of research and the need of its development in the future.⁷¹

Another intriguing idea was the isolation of humanism as a theme of special session M. It was, however, the institution of Jewish history as a separate field of study (session N) that deserves a special mention as the first attempt to showcase an interesting research topic for historians. Showing considerable transnational upside, the topic was dominated by the Polish and American delegates. The former were led by the chair of the session and outstanding authority on the history of Polish Jews, Majer Bałaban. Notable contributions to the sessions were also made by other speakers from Poland (Emanuel Ringelblum, Edmund Stein, Rafał Mahler), and their international colleagues (Salo Baron, Rabbi Meyer Abraham Halevy of

Romania). Reading their papers today is a somber experience. In our memory remain the tragic fates of Bałaban and Ringelblum (founder of the Warsaw Ghetto archives, one of the most salient records of the Shoah) in Nazi-occupied Poland.

PROFESSIONALIZATION IN THE WARSAW ECUMENE OF HISTORIANS IN THEIR OWN EYES

The closing of the Congress was a complex procedure due to the formal (rather than actual) inclusion of Cracow in the Congress. The delegates' visit to Cracow was, above all, a symbolical one. On Monday, August 28, the Congress guests were greeted by the President of the Jagiellonian University, Stanisław Kutrzeba, followed by a session of two lectures. The remainder of the trip included sightseeing of Cracow, visits to the accompanying exhibitions, and an excursion to the historic salt mine in Wieliczka.⁷²

The Congress essentially wound up on Sunday, August 27, 1933 in Warsaw, with the first substantive summary of the Congress offered by the retiring President of the CISH, Halvdan Koht. Koht deemed the Congress successful in its fundamental task, namely the creation of a large-scale international platform for the exchange of professional historical reflections. He found the Warsaw sessions animated and interesting, as they had covered a wide array of problems across different periods and territories which, despite their thematic divergence, zoomed in on the human experience in the past. Koht also emphasized the role of comparative research and appreciated its extensive exposure in Warsaw, arguing that the prevalent focus on the human experience at the Congress was conducive to the rapprochement between diverse research topics and methodologies.

Similarly to its predecessors, the Warsaw Congress spurred a number of reports, opinions, and reviews in historical journals. Attentive and detailed analyses were published by representatives of the budding "new history." Henri Berr submitted his report from Warsaw to *Revue de synthèse*.⁷³ Berr's syncretical analysis discredited the plural term "historical sciences." To him, there was only one historical science. Berr wondered if, despite its compartmentalization into individual sections, the Warsaw Congress retained a sense of unity among historians,

69 *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 2, pp. 561-562.

70 *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Résumés*, vol. 2, pp. 356-359.

71 *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès*, part 2, p. 569.

72 For a detailed review of the Cracow installment of the Congress, see the previous section of this book.

73 H. Berr, "Le VII^e Congrès international des sciences historiques (Varsovie, 21-27 août; Cracovie, 28 août) et la science de l'histoire," *Revue de synthèse* 5/3 (1933), pp. 191-203.

concluding that the spirit of synthesis was, after all, present among the conference delegates. He also stressed the fact that Warsaw was the first international Congress to have held a joint section on the method and theory of history.⁷⁴ Berr then recollected his respectful disputes with Fling on the nature of synthesis in historiography, which dated back to the Brussels Congress. The Frenchman defended his vision of history open to the infinite problems of the presence, for which it accounted in the context of historical shifts (historical synthesis). Berr also stated his skepticism about history being consumed by sociology, and recounted his discussions with the Soviet scholars in Warsaw, and their grounding in historical materialism. In this context, he was disappointed with the absences of Nikolai Bukharin (USSR) and Wilhelm Keilhau (Norway) at the Congress, especially in light of the latter's highly engaging abstract submitted on the very subject.

Faced with the rise of nationalistic ideologies in Europe at the time, Berr inquired about the crisis of history, directly referring to Paul Valéry's bon mot on history as the most dangerous product evolved from the chemistry of the human intellect. During the Congress, Berr observed clashes between competing visions of history: nationalistic vs. transnational, bourgeois vs. proletarian, materialistic vs. idealist. With regard to the last juxtaposition, Berr emphasized that the very host of the Congress – the reinstated Poland – points to the historical importance of ideas, given that its rebirth had not been conceived of economic reasons, but rather against them. In Berr's opinion, Poland regained its sovereignty thanks to the power of ideas.⁷⁵

The Warsaw Congress attracted an equally compelling and considerate analysis from two other brilliant French scholars: Charles Edmond Perrin and Lucien Febvre.⁷⁶ The former emphasized the immense number of report papers and communications presented at the Congress, but also their uncontrollable thematic diversity, despite the coordinating efforts on behalf of the CISH. Although several lead themes were adopted for each section, argued Perrin, specialists in a given field were dispersed amidst different sections or special sessions devoted to akin subjects. For instance – as pointed out in the preceding sections – social and economic history were present not only in section VIII but also during the special sections on comparative historical demography, feudalism, history of banking and bills of exchange, and the history of social movements. Thus, Perrin posited that the subsequent Congresses adopt individual problems, considered to bear special importance for a given area of historical research.

On the other hand, Lucien Febvre (who had missed the Warsaw Congress), summarized the Congress based on several reports. Febvre contended that the Warsaw Congress was

inconsistent in delineating the boundaries between the respective areas of specialty. In his opinion, the individual aspects of historical knowledge adopted as the themes of the Congress sections and special sessions were interdependent. Thus, he argued, the focus should be shifted towards methodological analysis and the possible applications of the synthetical approach.

Mieux l'histoire sera conçue et pratiquée comme synthèse, plus la préoccupation de l'histoire universelle – c'est-à-dire des facteurs variés qui y interviennent, des articulations essentielles de la causalité – sera présente même dans les travaux les plus limités, plus fortement s'établira et s'imposera, à tous les étages de l'enseignement, une vérité historique.⁷⁷

wrote Febvre with reference to the underpinnings of historical synthesis and the hopes behind new history, promoted by the *Annales* School.

Another journal to review the Warsaw Congress was *Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, which published a feature article by Émile Coornaert and Edmond Préclin.⁷⁸ They, too, mentioned the staggering number of papers, praising the modern and contemporary history sections, and applauding the historical geography session (and the exhibition that accompanied it). A more detailed report, especially with regard to the medievalist sections, was penned by François-Louis Ganshof for *Revue Belge de Philologie et de l'Histoire*.⁷⁹

Writing for *The American History Review*, Fred Morrow Fling similarly concluded that the Congress featured an excessive number of sessions. His recommendations for the future editions of the event overlapped with those of Febvre's. Fling debated the purposefulness of maintaining the "epochal" sections, instead opting for problem-based panels.⁸⁰ He added that the Congress was dominated by Polish and Central European themes, with a scant number of papers discussing the history of Western Europe. In his own words,

It was clearly an Oriental congress, at least a congress of the Near East of Europe and the Mediterranean. And the papers were surprisingly good, an excellent illustration of

⁷⁷ Ch.E. Perrin, L. Febvre, "A propos d'un Congrès: problèmes de rendement," p. 72.

⁷⁸ E. Coornaert, E. Préclin, "Le VII^e Congrès international des Sciences historiques," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne* 9 (1934), Nouvelle Série vol. 3, pp. 147-150.

⁷⁹ F.-L. Ganshof, "Le VII^e Congrès International des Sciences historiques: Varsovie-Cracovie (21-29 août 1933)," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 12/4 (1933), pp. 1365-1376.

⁸⁰ F.M. Fling, "Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences Warsaw, August 21-28, 1933," *The American Historical Review* 39/2 (1934), p. 272.

⁷⁴ Berr, "Le VII^e Congrès international des sciences historiques," p. 197.

⁷⁵ Berr, "Le VII^e Congrès international des sciences historiques," p. 202.

⁷⁶ Ch.E. Perrin, L. Febvre, "A propos d'un Congrès: problèmes de rendement," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 6/25 (1934), pp. 69-72.

how widespread – world-wide – the knowledge of historical method is and how general is the ability to apply this method effectively in research.⁸¹

Fling aptly noticed that, given their focus on Polish and Central European problems, few Polish scholars turned their attention to world history. Despite this criticism, however, Fling commended the Polish papers on their substance, acknowledging the great potential of Polish historiography. What he did not understand, on the other hand, was the purpose behind the special session on social movements, which he saw as the CISH's gesture of goodwill towards the Soviet historians. In contrast to Lucien Febvre, Fling did find it justified to hold a separate section on teaching history, which he saw as the CISH's gesture of respect towards the Poles, who had insisted on showcasing the role (and significance) of the didactics of history.

Reflections on the Warsaw Congress were also printed in the German journals, headlined by Karl Brandi's report published by *Historische Zeitschrift*. Painstakingly detailed and generally favorable, Brandi's report underscored two questions of fundamental importance to the German delegation, i.e., the history of Slavic peoples and Central European states. Brandi discussed these questions in the context of the future relations between Polish and German historians.⁸²

CONCLUSION

It is high time we summarized our ruminations. Karl Dietrich Erdmann's idea of the *ecumene* of historians, outlined at the beginning of this study, no doubt determined the preparations for, and the course of the Congress, both in Warsaw and in Cracow, as copiously illustrated above. Despite the surge in fascist tendencies, the CISH and the Polish Organizing Committee managed to avoid the pitfalls of nationalism during the conference. Also laudable was the idea to invite the representatives of ethnic minorities to the Congress. Drawing from the tradition of the multinational Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth yielded positive results. The amicable atmosphere of the Congress enabled its participants to steer clear of the aforementioned problems resulting from different historical narratives offered by the Polish and German delegates. No disproportionate offenses were taken in the disputes of Polish historians and

their Soviet colleagues either. In his report on the Warsaw Congress, Peter Preobrazhensky echoed one of the "émigré newspapers," classifying the delegates into representatives of liberal democracies (France, England), fascist states (German, Italy), and Marxist historiography.⁸³ Although no major disputes were recorded that involved purely political arguments, historical materialism did, indeed, recur in many papers and debates, mainly due to the Soviet delegation. These two facts alone can be seen as a testament to the vitality of the idea of international *ecumene* of historians, promoted at the congresses and successfully implemented in Warsaw against all the odds.

With regard to the professionalization of historical research, the Warsaw Congress yielded mixed results. The conference straddled the fence between a historiographic vision firmly set in historicism, which accentuated the role of political history and emphasized the national narratives, with a vision that embraced new research concepts, including the notion of history as a social science. The former thread was at its strongest with historical geography, which was debated at the Congress as part of a special session and the accompanying exhibition. The recognition of historical geography as one of the main themes of the Congress was a direct result of the Polish experience of the previous editions of the event. Another successful aspect of the Congress was the quality of the Eastern European history section, whose problems were discussed in the context of what we now know as the history of East-Central Europe. The most distinct representative of such an approach to the history of the region in Polish historiography was the *spiritus movens* of the Congress, Oskar Halecki. Halecki's pre-Congress publications and his addresses at the Eastern European history section prove how dear the topic was to him. Considerable efforts were also made with respect to the section devoted to the didactics of history and school handbooks. Although its substantive effects garnered mixed reviews at the international level, the debates saw a range of novel arguments, e.g., the recognition of the need to popularize social and economic history in general education.

This last problem was tied to another crucial aspect of professionalization in historical research at the time. The project of history as a social science, which was entering the stage of implementation at the time, was strongly pronounced at the Congress, both on the theoretical plain (discussions on the notion of historical synthesis), and at the practical level. Interesting contributions in this regard were made by the Polish historiography. Marcelli Handelsman – second only to Halecki as the driving force of the Warsaw Congress – actively participated and supported the discussions on the social aspects of the history of the Middle Ages. An original research project on the distribution of income in early modern Poland was presented by Jan Rutkowski, while the problems of economic history at the time were addressed by Kazimierz

⁸¹ Fling "Seventh International Congress," p. 273.

⁸² K. Brandi, "Die siebente Internationale Historikerkongress zu Warschau und Krakau, 21.-29. August 1933," *Historische Zeitschrift* 149/1 (1934), pp. 213-220.

⁸³ Преображенский, "История международных отношений", p. 18.

Tymieniecki. On the other hand, the insufficient emphasis on the innovative directions of research conducted by Franciszek Bujak's school in Lvov was somewhat underwhelming. Bujak, who served as the President of the Polish Historical Society at the time, delivered a highly traditional paper, and the only representative of his school who spoke at the Congress was Roman Zubyk. Noticeable absences included Stanisław Hoszowski and Stefan Inglot, each of whom had conducted major research by that time (Hoszowski's concerned the notion of history of prices and its methodologies, while Inglot's examined the problems of colonization in German and Flemish law). In view of the above, Inglot's absence seems all the more glaring, given that he was the Secretary of the General Board of the Polish Historical Society at the time.

The panels of the special session on historical demography were a genuine success. As had been the case with Oslo, the Congress attracted a number of papers and commentaries. Interestingly, the Warsaw Congress was the first edition of the event that featured research on women's history. Conversely, the special session on the history of social movements cannot be considered a success. The number of speakers failed to meet the expectations that had been heightened by both the organizers of the Congress and its participants. Still, the notion was revisited in Polish historiography, as it pertained to the Marxist historiographic research in Poland of the interwar era. On December 1, 1933, the seat of the Warsaw History Lovers Society saw the organizational meeting of the Polish Commission for the Social Movements of the 18th and 19th century. The meeting was opened by Natalia Gąsiorowska, who had been selected Secretary of the International Commission on the Social Movements of the 18th and 19th century.⁸⁴ Halvdan Koht was elected the President of the Commission, alongside his deputies Jean Bourdon of Paris and Nikolai Lukin of Moscow. The session also saw the appointment of the temporary national board, which was to include the representatives of the local branches of the Polish Historical Society. Having firmly established itself as a research area in the years that followed the formulation of the notion of social movements by Lorenz von Stein in the mid-19th century, the history of social movement was gaining momentum, contributing to the theory of sociology and opening new research perspectives for historians. At the meeting, the Commission was represented by Natalia Gąsiorowska, Stefan Czarnowski, Stanisław Arnold, Nina Assorodobraj, Marcelli Handelsman, and Żanna Kormanowa.

Despite all of its organizational shortcomings, Polish historiography at the Warsaw Congress looked more than presentable in its professionalism. The conference showcased the multitude of problems examined in Polish historical research, and the multitude of approaches, from

classical political historiography, through historical geography, Jewish history, social history, historical demography, or the early research in women's history. The Congress featured scholars from the elder generation – educated at the German, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian universities and developing Polish academic institutions after the Great War – and representatives of the younger generation, brought up in independent Poland; conservative-leaning researchers mingled with their leftist colleagues. Above all, however, the Congress paid dividends on the tremendous organizational effort of the entire Polish historical community and the Polish Historical Society. In popular opinion, the Warsaw Congress was an organizational success.

⁸⁴ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie – Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne Zarząd Główny, VII Kongres Historyków w Warszawie. Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły i sprawozdania Komitetu Organizacyjnego, tematy referatów wycinki prasowe, 1932-1933, file no. 142, sheet 48.



Fig. 51. Women Congress participants at a high tea in Warsaw (most likely at Café SIM).

Iwona Dadej, Maria Solarska

VISIBLE PERSONS, INVISIBLE PERSONS: THE GENDER ORDER AT THE 7TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES IN WARSAW

GAZE PERSPECTIVE

Individuals depicted in the photographs kept in archival collections are routinely captioned as “visible persons” and “invisible persons.” The two labels may inspire a general reflection on the presence of women in science and – more specifically – on their role in the International Congress of Historical Sciences in 1933. The aforementioned captions invoke a specific hierarchy – an order which attributes the visible with a name, assigns the named with an individual identity, and emphasizes what has been deemed as visible. The captions guide the viewer through the visible. They frame one’s gaze and institute one’s perception. They also serve as a reference in the interplay of significance

established between the seeing and the seen. The power of gaze enacted by the beholder is defied by a message predetermining the features of the beheld. In other words, the petrified flash of reality does not wait to be described, but instead imposes its description as a starting point for the narratives that tell its tale.

“Visible” and “invisible” persons do not necessarily refer to the actual visibility of a given individual. Not all physically visible persons, whose faces and silhouettes are identifiable, will be captioned as “visible persons.” Similarly, identifying specific persons as “invisible” (not all of them, naturally), assures us of their presence despite their invisibility. Being captioned as a “visible” or “invisible” person is a determinant of one’s status, importance, and relevance in the depicted context. Granted, the omission of the names and surnames of visible and invisible persons from the caption sometimes results from the inability to determine their identity, e.g., if the original captions have not survived, or if the beholder fails to identify themselves or others in a snapshot of their past, which they are unable to recollect. And yet, the “visible” or “invisible” label is most likely to be conferred on those whom we perceive as the protagonists of the captured reality. The presence of those protagonists assures us that the photographed event was significant, deserved to be preserved and presented to our gaze. The preordained establishment of the object of one’s gaze provides a fundamental context for my perception and the emotional reaction triggered by my gaze (the sublime, terror, pride, abjection, etc.). Pictures, their captions, and the reality to which they refer form a network of relations that entangles and affects those who research historical reality, too. Pictures not only capture glimpses of the visible reality but also reveal the invisible rules governing its manifestations. Similarly, the accompanying narrative images of reality – captions of photographs, descriptions of events – not only articulate the reality to which they directly refer but also communicate the reality of the rules that govern their own reception and expression.

One of the surviving photographs of the 7th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Warsaw depicts the opening of the International Exhibition of Historical Cartography (see Figure 52). The caption reads,

Visible at the ribbon (from the right): Prime Minister Janusz Jędrzejewicz, Head of the Military Cabinet of the President of the Republic of Poland Jan Głogowski (wearing military uniform, behind the President), President Ignacy Mościcki (cutting the ribbon), Deputy Commissar of the government in the capital city of Warsaw Józef Ołpiński, Professor Bronisław Dembiński (wearing glasses).

The caption picks the “visible persons” from among the unspecified “invisible persons.” Investigating the photograph, we immediately see that the category of “visibility” in the



| Fig. 52. Opening of the historical cartography exhibition.

pictures refers neither to their position in the foreground/background, nor to their identifiability or their physical “visibility,” i.e., what is actually seen in the picture. “Visibility” is rather metaphorical here and refers to the importance attributed to the “visible” individuals, namely those that command recognition based on their status.

In the picture, we see a group of smartly dressed people, lined up behind the official who is cutting a ribbon. The ribbon demarcates the first visual borderline for the beholder. It divides the space into those standing in front of the ribbon and who are watched, and the onlookers behind it.

The aforementioned borderline is doubled by the one drawn by the surface of the photograph, and crossed by the beholder’s gaze, which meets that of the photographed individuals. The latter know that not only do they participate in the opening of the exhibition but also in its commemoration on film. Most of them look straight into the lens and in the eye of the beholder. On the other hand, the beholder is first introduced to the entire photograph, and only gradually identifies the most intriguing fragments. Gazing at the picture, the beholder recognizes the lines that determine the desired frame, and thus probes into the duality of the picture. The said lines form an image within the photograph and the viewer looks with curiosity at what was to become invisible. At the same time the beholder must address the gaze of the photographed individuals, accepting it as an invitation to discern the individuality of

the respective persons, or – conversely – glance over it through the power of their own gaze, which will label them as “a group of people looking straight ahead,” rather than in the eye of the beholder.

On the right hand side, we see a clear silhouette of a woman standing sideways to the photographer, as if turning towards him. We see the woman’s face in front of an obscure male silhouette. Across the picture, on the left hand side, another female silhouette looms in, whose face is blurred. Standing behind her is a man, his face slightly more pronounced. The woman in the foreground of the photo is holding a cushion, possibly as support for the scissors brought in to cut the ribbon. She is clearly visible and wants to be seen, turning towards the photographer and gazing towards the beholder with just as much confidence as the men posing for the photograph.

The caption never once mentions the presence of the woman in the foreground (let alone the obscure female figure in the background). In the grain of the standard captions, she is neither among the “visible” nor the “invisible” persons. And yet, we see her very clearly. She is visible to us, and looks the beholder in the eye, as if to ask, when you will tell about this to others, will I be “visible” or “invisible?” Will I be invisible because no one will mention my presence? Will their silence erase my countenance, my visible presence? Will you replicate the description of the reality in which I partake, along with its rules, which render me invisible and absent?

MISE-EN-SCÈNE

Our text focuses on the women – above all, historians – participating in the 7th International Congress of Historical Sciences, held in Warsaw and Cracow in 1933, and on the role and character of their participation. We intend to reflect on the determinants of the gender relations and gender order at the time. The run-of-the-mill historical descriptions of such events tend to emulate the photo captions discussed above: accounts of watershed events usually point to their major actors, who may differ from one another in many aspects but one – they are all men. History written in this grain becomes a field of masculine activity, ascertaining masculine identities and enhancing the reproduction of the order of power that legitimizes male dominance.¹ The 1933 Congress enables us to discern that world in the

context of dynamic changes, which included women’s aspirations to be visible and perceived as vital actresses rather than mere extras in the discussed events.

Historical congresses in the first half of the 20th century – whether national (for example the *Historikertag* in Germany, or the General Congresses of Polish Historians) or international – were considered as platform for intradisciplinary discussions and exchange of views.² International congresses, including the Warsaw Congress in 1933, were an arena for the manifestation of political views and national allegiance. At the same time, they pointed to the ambivalence of expectations, as the Congress was projected both as a contribution to international peace, and a vehicle of national interests pursued by the respective delegations. The Congresses thus served as an instrument in furthering or exacerbating international relations, on the one hand, and a microspace for dialogue (or conflict) between historiographies and historians firmly rooted in the framework of state institutions, on the other.³

We may, therefore, deem the congresses’ meetings of a disciplinary *ecumene*, brought together by common rituals and historical research performed in the context of their era, in coherence with the trending research practices and trends. Within these common rituals and performances, nationality, statehood, and science all had a decisively male gender.⁴ Be it in the men-to-women ration among the delegates, or in the analysis of their papers and commentaries, as well as the iconographic records of the most solemn (and mundane) Congress moments. This transnational, gender-homogenous community perfectly illustrates and ascertains the 19th-century *ex cathedra* convictions about history as a “masculine” science, written by men.⁵ At the same time, however, starting in the early 1920s, with the growth of women participants and the first women speakers, the Congresses became a venue in which the gender relations and gender order were subject to both renegotiation and petrification. Excerpts from the Congress reality, captured in the photographs, recorded in the program of main and accompanying events, demonstrate that the congresses, including the Warsaw/Cracow Congress in 1933, served as laboratories for the transformation of gender relations in modern societies and,

² G. Diesener, M. Middell, eds. *Historikertage im Vergleich* (Leipzig, 1996 – *Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung* vol. 6, no. 5-6).

³ The relations between Polish and German historians, established and performed – among others – at the international congresses may serve as a case in point. See S. Guth, *Geschichte als Politik. Der deutsch-polnische Historikerdialog im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin-Boston 2010); E. Mühle, “Von den wilden Schlachzizen glücklich wieder zurückgekehrt”. Hermann Aubin und der Internationale Historikerkongress in Warschau 1933,” in *Studia Philologica Slavica. Festschrift für Gerhard Birkfellner zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, ed. B. Symanzik (Berlin, 2006), pp. 477-494.

⁴ The notion of the “ecumene” (*Ökumene*) with reference to the historical profession was introduced by, among others, K.D. Erdmann, *Die Ökumene der Historiker. Geschichte der Internationalen Kongresse und des Comité International des Sciences Historiques* (Göttingen, 1987).

⁵ See, *inter alia*, F. Schnicke, *Die männliche Disziplin. Zur Vergeschlechtlichung der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft (1780-1900)* (Göttingen, 2015).

¹ B.G. Smith, *The Gender of History. Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge–London, 1998); P. Bourdieu, *La domination masculine* (Paris, 1998, 2nd edition, 2002).

consequently, in historical sciences. We may also notice how gender and its performance in the context of an intradisciplinary, historical, transnational scientific community were bound by the protocol and program of the Congress. From this perspective, the Congress may appear as a model example of the interdependence between the performativity of science and that of gender, embedded in the terms “doing science” and “doing gender.” In line with Karin Hausen’s definition, we will understand the gender order as “a norm and a system of instructions determining specific behaviors and actions, reconstructed on an ongoing basis through easily internalized actions, signs, images, convictions, idioms, and notions.”⁶ We also assume that the gender order extends over the discourses of power, hierarchy, and dependency, and that – as in any community, including the intellectual “ecumene” of historians – it is subject to changes and transformations. The presence of women at the congresses – whether as researchers or as companions of male historians, with the provision that the two categories often overlapped – overcame the paradigm of a gender-homogenous historical community. It disrupted the projection of knowledge and the attendant power as an exclusively male domain. When we look at the social history of knowledge production more broadly, we will see that we can treat this disruption as the reality revising its own description which is formulated to substantiate a specific relation of power so as to show (intrinsic, natural) existence of dominance wherever one seeks to establish it. In this respect, the historical milieu appears as a peculiar laboratory for the transfer of convictions, experience, and practices that shape the order of gender and produce gender relations. Seen from this perspective, the Warsaw Congress can be investigated as a unique “freeze frame” in gender relations.

The microcosm of a conference of historians presents itself as an opportune stage for the observation of social processes and tendencies, both at the general level and, more specifically, at the level of a community of academics (in this case, historians). The chosen photograph described above may serve as a symbolic illustration for the gender order and gender relations prevalent not just at the Congress, but also in the academic space, as a place where knowledge, innovative theories and ideas are produced. At the same time, this space is a venue for the re-production and perpetration of an archaic gender order, based on clichéd models and social roles routinely assigned to both sexes. The reports and accounts on the Congress are dominated by the political dynamics of its time. Undoubtedly, the momentum gained by the fascist and communist movements, which reorganized the international and interpersonal relations, were a vital point of reference for the organization of the Congress

and its course. It is here that the threads of national allegiance of individual scholars and their embroilment in their state’s policies (rooted in historical narratives) interspersed with their affiliation to the *République des lettres* for which the pursuit of truth was overarching value. Thus, the speeches delivered by the female and male speakers articulate two mutually conflicted tendencies that accompanied the birth of history as an academic discourse: being a story that legitimizes the existence of the national state, i.e., to abide by its ideology, and to narrate in the spirit of liberty from ideology, for the sake of truth. Given these challenges, the Congress saw discussions on the nature of history and the best model of historical cognition in the context of specific historical narratives prevalent in the respective states. Hence, the said discussion may illustrate the forging of history’s identity as a discipline as part of critical reflection on its place in the surrounding reality, and the ways in which this reality determines the objects of historical research and its methodologies. The standardized familiar and entrenched measures in the description of historical reality recognize a specific social order, acknowledge its validity, and designate the modes of operation congruent with established hierarchies.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Apart from the recognizable, familiar, and esteemed persons (i.e., those visible at first glance in the Congress environment), the Congress photographs and its agenda also included the persons deemed less visible/visible yet unspecified in the captions/completely invisible. They were nonetheless present at the Congress, as they are/were part of the examined reality and have/had influenced the shape and course of the events that transpired in Warsaw.⁷ The photographs from the Congress sessions focus on the stage occupied by male speakers, and the audience comprised of men and women. The pictures taken at the package tours and outings tend to be balanced gender-wise. Finally, the pictures from the “ladies’ tea parties” are gender-homogenous and feature only women participants. It seems that we see what we may have expected – the public and official space dominated by men, and their privileged position in a relation of power, on the one hand, and women protagonists featured in activities associated with the private, less official sphere, on the other. Let us, however, take a closer look

⁶ K. Hausen, “Die Nicht-Einheit der Geschichte als historiographische Herausforderung. Zur historischen Relevanz und Anstößigkeit der Geschlechtergeschichte,” in K. Hausen, *Geschlechtergeschichte als Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (Göttingen, 2012), p. 379.

⁷ See L. Varga, “Matérialisme, idéalisme ou réalisme historique,” *Revue de synthèse* 9/2 (1935), pp. 154-155; P. Schöttler, *Lucie Varga: Les autorités invisibles* (Paris, 1991); I. Löwy, *L’emprise du genre. Masculinité, féminité, inégalité* (Paris, 2006).

at the reality whose scraps can be identified in the pictures, and attempt to look beyond the obviously familiar order of things, into the invisible presence of the historical women actors.

The list of the Congress participants includes over 300 women (out of a total of 1,000 registered participants).⁸ Among them were researchers with academic degrees and titles, and/or members of faculty at research institutions, teachers, as well as the wives, daughters, and sisters of the men participating in the Congress. The divisions between these two groups are sometimes blurred, since the wives, daughters, and sisters of the male historians were at times researchers, academics, teachers, school principals, or directors of archives themselves.⁹ At the same time, the list clearly “assigns” women to men, by recording a male participant’s home address and putting the *même adresse* (“same address”) phrase next to the accompanying female party, or by stripping women of their first names and identifying them using their husbands’ surnames. The list was likely compiled on the basis of applications filled out by the interested parties themselves. Such formalities are usually governed by the non-intentional routine followed by the organizers of the trip. And yet, it is precisely thanks to this routine that we may capture the factors that determined their thought process, even if they were not aware of it themselves. It is, after all, difficult to assume that the applicant’s train of thought was the following: “I will omit my wife’s first name, thus pointing to her dependence as an individual whose identity is determined by her being my wife.” On the other hand, a reverse action – recording a woman’s first name, along with her address, educational background, and performed function – may suggest taking a specific stance in the established relations of power, i.e., refusing to be reduced to a “derivative of a relationship with a man,” coupled with a declaration of individual sovereignty.

Among the 311 registered women participants, 125 used the appellation *M-me/Mrs./Sig-a/Frau*, and 38 that of *M-lle/Miss/Sig-na/Fräulein*, with as many as, respectively, 115 and 28 adding no additional titles (e.g., *députée au parlement*, Ph.D., teacher, university professor, etc.). 60 women in this group failed to have their first names recorded in the list, their sole determiners reduced to marital status and an addressed shared with a man registered under his first name and surname, his function and/or title. 29 women can be identified by their first name; however, any further information as to their education or profession is missing.

⁸ *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Liste des membres* (Warszawa, 1933).

⁹ For more on the married couples of historians, among others, Otto and Hedwig Hintze in the German context, see H. Bruhns, “Hedwig Hintze (1884-1942). Une historienne en avance sur son temps, un destin tragique, une reconnaissance tardive,” in *Un siècle d'historiennes*, eds. A. Burguière, B. Vincent (Paris, 2014), pp. 97-115; a case in point in the Polish context includes, among others, Ewa and Karol Maleczyński, see R. Heck, “Maleczyńska Ewa,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 19 (Wrocław, 1974), pp. 301-302; R. Heck, “Maleczyński Karol,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 19 (Wrocław, 1974), pp. 302-304, M. Bajer, *Rody uczzone: kreski do szkicu* (Warszawa-Toruń, 2012).

We may learn the education of 95 women participants, of whom 3 held bachelor’s degrees, 18 master’s degrees, 59 doctoral degrees (including the representatives of Polish science: Łucja Charewiczowa, Zofia Ciechanowska, Karolina Lanckorońska), 1 assistant professor (Helena Polackówna), 14 professors (5 university professors, including Helena Willman-Grabowska, the first woman professor at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, as well as Helena Radlińska and Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, both professors of the Free Polish University; 6 gymnasium professors). Some of the other participants listed their professions, including teachers (e.g., Aurelja Krzywiec), archivists (e.g., Zofia Krause, Helena Polackówna), school inspectors (Helena Witkowska, Halina Mrozowska), school principals (Julia Kisielewska, Róża Landwirth), as well as a journalist and a poet. The list also includes nuns, school alumnae, a university student, a university assistant, a member of a historical association, librarians and museum curators, and a head of a department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The “woman” designation – though uniting in terms of the position within a relation of power – contains a diversity that should not be overlooked. Education was (and continues to be) a measure of class divisions of society. These divisions, and the thinking behind them, were one of the distinct features of the world order at the time, and as such they can be identified within the Congress.

More than half (161) of the women included in the list of the Congress participants came from Poland. The number does not seem surprising – much like their male colleagues from Poland, professional women historians, history buffs or those who popularize it, had a rare opportunity to take part in world meeting of historians in their own backyard, which they eagerly seized. Thus, they became not only passive consumers of the Congress debates but also active creators of its program, course, and setting. The biographic entries of selected Congress hostesses and intellectuals will help us illustrate the dynamics behind the gender relations at the Congress.

Thinking of women in the context of the 1933 Congress, one must inspect the roles they performed. These roles were predetermined by the limited pool of functions available within the social order at the time. However, apart from being accepted, they were also transformed in line with individual goals and needs. We are particularly drawn to the roles departing from the stereotypical imagery of female passivity: chairs of panels or commissions at the Congress, members of the Organizing Committee, panelists, and debaters in experts’ discussions held at the Congress. This group includes both the women researchers holding lower positions in the academic hierarchy (e.g., assistants with doctoral degrees, affiliated with university departments), professors of higher education institutions (Free Polish University), or professionals employed in other institutions (archives, museums). Women chaired one out of fifteen Congress sections (Helena Radlińska, Chair of the didactics of history section) and

one out of thirteen special sessions (Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, Chair of the special session on comparative historical demography). The main Organizing Committee of the 7th Congress was comprised of 171 men and a single woman historian, Helena Polackówna. Secretarial and administrative functions in the Executive Department of the Reception Committee were performed by Helena Więckowska, Julia Zanówna, and Zofia Wilczyńska, all of whom held doctoral degrees and worked for the science and education administration of the revived Polish state.¹⁰ Therefore, the non-captioned woman from the picture commemorating the opening of the exhibition, discussed at the beginning of this chapter – an invisible (non-captioned) visible person – may have been one of the three members of the Reception Committee.

As many as 15 out of 21 papers presented by women historians at the Warsaw Congress were delivered by the Polish researchers working in different fields. The following Polish women scholars presented the results of their research: Helena Polackówna argued for usefulness of international collaboration in publishing a collection of medieval coats of arms and emblems; Amelia Hertz spoke on the excavations conducted in Mesopotamia, and on the origins of geometry; Helena Willman-Grabowska described the notion of state in ancient India; Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska outlined the demographic growth in Poland in the post-partition period; Natalia Gąsiorowska discussed the concentration and mechanization in mining and metallurgy in the Kingdom of Poland in the 19th century; Wisława Knapowska devoted her first paper to the policy of Klemens von Metternich prior to the annexation of the Free City of Cracow, and her second presentation to relationship between teaching history and shaping memory; Zofia Ciechanowska spoke on the Polish-German literary relations in the 19th century; Karolina Lanckorońska's paper was dedicated to a monument of art from the period of the Catholic reaction;¹¹ Jadwiga Krasicka covered the international exchange of teaching materials; Anna Oderfeld ruminated on an atlas of the history of civilizations; Wanda Moszczeńska examined the organization in teaching history; Halina Mrozowska considered the principles of the educational method in teaching history; Helena Radlińska pondered over collaboration between history and pedagogy; finally, Łucja Charewiczowa deliberated on how the women's history should have been written and how to include it in the canon of "universal" history.¹² The foreign women speakers included Maria Bersano-Begey of Turin, who presented two papers: *La caduta della Repubblica di Cracovia (1846)* and *Un agitatore polacco per gli Slavi del sud contro il Panslavismo*; Zygmunt Miłkowski (T.T. Jeż); archivist Yvonne Bézard of Paris, whose *Les visites de paroisses au XVIIe siècle dans le diocèse de Paris* was featured in the section on

the history of religion and Churches; Helen Maud Cam of Cambridge, who spoke on *The Transition from Communal to Feudal or Seigniorial Courts in France and England (IX-XII Centuries)*; Nelly Nucci (at the time affiliated with the Jagiellonian University in Cracow as a teacher of Italian language), who summarized her research results in *Influssi della lingua italiana sulla polacca et loro significato nella storia degli influssi culturali*; Hedwige Nunes of Bombay, who presented a paper titled *Jesuit Sources of Indian History* as part of the colonial history session; and Gladys Scott-Thomson of London, who spoke *The Raising of Troops in England for Mansfield in 1624-1625* at the special session on military history.

The hospitality extended to the Congress guests was overseen by the Ladies' Committee, chaired by Kamila Kętrzyńska (wife of a Polish diplomat, professor of the University of Warsaw, and representative of the Polish government, Stanisław Kętrzyński). Among others, the Committee was responsible for the program of extracurricular events for the wives and/or daughters of the Congress delegates, most of whom arrived from abroad and from outside of Warsaw. They could immerse themselves in a three-section program of social, artistic, and entertainment events, proposed by the Committee. The program comprised of meetings, guided tours of Warsaw and its surroundings, sightseeing, and visits to social and educational institutions, among others.¹³ As the organizer of receptions, social and official events, the Ladies' Committee also strove to promote Polish culture among the foreign Congress guests, and foster a network of social and professional contacts. The wives of the Polish historians – who at times also served as informal assistants to their high-ranking husbands at the Polish universities and state institutions – were tasked with an "appropriate" representation of their husband's name and rank, *inter alia* by expanding their own networks of formal and informal contacts that were indispensable in advancing their husbands' (or fathers') careers. The list of Polish members of the Ladies' Committee (and agents of "old-Polish hospitality") included the wives and daughters of Warsaw- and Lvov-based historians (among others Marceli Handelsman, Stanisław Kot, and Kazimierz Zakrzewski). All three of them were included in the list of Congress participants. If we juxtapose a photograph depicting a meeting of the Ladies' Committee with a short description of similar events, we may get the impression of a casual meeting of luxuriously dressed ladies at one of Warsaw's fancy cafés on a summer afternoon. This impression will no doubt be imbued with lightheartedness, levity, and gender homogeneity. Writing for the *American Historical Review*, Fred Morrow Fling reported,

The ladies of the congress not only shared in all these festivities, but were entertained in addition at *gouters*, luncheons, and teas, were shown many interesting social institutions

¹⁰ H. Witkowska, "Udział kobiet w VII Międzynarodowym Kongresie Historyków," *Kobieta Współczesna* 7 (1933), pp. 551-552.

¹¹ Karolina Lanckorońska did not eventually appear at the Warsaw Congress.

¹² Witkowska, "Udział kobiet," pp. 551-552.

¹³ Witkowska, "Udział kobiet," p. 552.

in and around Warsaw, and were charmed both by the personalities of their hostesses and by their refined and lavish hospitality. Many international friendships were formed at these gathering.¹⁴

Despite the ostensibly casual character of such meetings and visits, their role and significance should not be overlooked. As a social domain, science is performed and developed in a network of human contacts and relations. The denser the network, the easier it is for one to establish an audience of those interested in one's findings, and the more effective to build one's status and prestige in the academic milieu. The unofficial "conveyor belt" in the form of cognate, well-connected, and collaborative women thus appears as a vital and indispensable supplement to official professional contacts.

Technical and organizational assistance mostly came in the form of nameless women. Typists, shorthand typists, and representatives of feminized office professions, streamlining the functionality and management of science were reduced to a record in the budgetary columns. Different types of office clerks were burdened with the logistical and technical organization of the Congress. Their work, although poorly recorded in the official documents, not only facilitated the efficient organization of the Congress but also, more broadly, historical research *per se*, along with the state authorities. The resources and the fluent work provided by women labor are taken for granted to such an extent that their contributions to the development, growth, and transformations in science are either not recognized at all, or acknowledged to an inadequate extent. To appreciate the true weight of these contributions, it suffices to imagine what would happen if they had not been made.

The Warsaw Congress was brimming with a gallery of women characters whose stories and lifework shaped the history of historical science. The women who influenced the social reality of the first decades of the 20th century crossed paths with those who came into their own after World War II.¹⁵ For the purposes of this text, we chose three figures that left their mark both on the Congress and the reality in which it was embedded, i.e., the historical science. The stories of these three women are also a testament to the subversion of the gender order in science and its continuous reproduction through the exclusion, non-recognition, or nescience of the new forces striving to redefine it.

¹⁴ F.M. Fling, "Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences Warsaw, August 21-28, 1933," *The American Historical Review* 39 (1934), p. 270, see also Figure 51.

¹⁵ For more on the scientific career paths of the Polish women historians from the end of the 19th century to 1989 J. Kolbuszewska, *Kobiety w drodze na naukowy Olimp... Akademicki awans polskich historyczek (od schyłku XIX wieku po rok 1989)* (Łódź, 2020).

The research activity and postulates of Łucja Charewiczowa (one of the woman participants in the Congress) aptly illustrate the invisibility of women despite their significant presence. A medievalist, researcher of the history of medieval cities, expert on women's history, museum curator, and social activist, Charewiczowa was no novice in her field – her scholarly achievements were highly regarded by fellow medievalists and urban historians.¹⁶ In her Congress paper, titled *Est-il fondé d'écrire une histoire spéciale de la femme?*, Charewiczowa argued for the need to include women in the history of humanity.¹⁷ The paper vindicated her eminence as a brilliant scholar, seeking for new perspectives and research tools in historical reflection.¹⁸ Born in 1897 in the Galician town of Cieszanów, she died in 1943 in the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp, having spent most of her adult life in Lvov, where she climbed the successive steps of the academic and museological ladder. Charewiczowa graduated in social and economic history, and medieval culture and history from the John Casimir University in Lvov, where she later defended her doctoral dissertation in 1924. The same year, she joined the editorial board of main Polish historical journal *Kwartalnik Historyczny* at the invitation of her supervisor, medievalist Jan Ptański. Working her way up the academic ranks, Charewiczowa served as the secretary and the "right hand of the successive editors-in-chief" of this major historical journal. Starting in 1931, she began to work as a curator at the Lvov Historical Museum, while working towards



Fig. 53. Łucja Charewiczowa, historian and museum curator.

¹⁶ A. Kusiak, "Łucja Charewiczowa – inicjatorka badań nad przeszłością kobiet polskich," in *Kobieta i kultura. Kobiety wśród twórców kultury intelektualnej i artystycznej w dobie rozbiorów i w niepodległym państwie polskim. Zbiór studiów*, eds. A. Żarnowska, A. Szwarz (Warszawa, 1996), pp. 99-103; H. Małdurowicz-Urbańska, "Łucja Charewiczowa i jej Lwów," in *Kraków – Małopolska w Europie Środkowej. Studia ku czci profesora Jana Małeckiego w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, eds. K. Broński, J. Purchla, J. Szpak (Kraków, 1996), pp. 189-193; D. Małczewska-Pawelec, "Łucja Charewiczowa (1897-1943)," in *Złota księga historiografii lwowskiej XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 2, eds. J. Maternicki, P. Sierżęga, L. Zaszkilniak (Rzeszów, 2014), pp. 517-535; O. Гуль, "Луція Хареви́чова як історик Львова," in *Польща та поляки в дослідженнях молодих вчених. Збірник праць Третньої міжнародної міжвузівської науково-практичної конференції молодих вчених, укладачі*, eds. A. Івашко, Я. Єндрисяк, Н. Крилова, Т. Наумова (Маріуполь, 2008), pp. 155-163; J. Suchmiel, *Łucja Charewiczowa (1897-1943). Życie i dzieło* (Częstochowa, 2001).

¹⁷ Ł. Charewiczowa, "Est-il fondé d'écrire une histoire spéciale de la femme?" in *La Pologne au VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques Varsovie 1933*, vol. 1 (Varsovie, 1933), pp. 309-313.

¹⁸ See also: Ł. Charewiczowa, "The Position of Polish Women in the Historical Outreach and Scientific Work," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 117 (2018), pp. 242-257; Dadej, *Archive: Preface*, pp. 226-229.

her post-doctoral dissertation. In January 1937, she was granted *veniam legendi* based on two studies (*The Black Tenement House and Its Inhabitants* and *Lvov Professional Organizations in the Pre-partition Poland*). Apart from her intensive didactic work and research, Charewiczowa was also an active member of a number of academic, social, cultural, and political organizations and institutions – among others, she sat on the board of the Polish Historical Society and was a member of the Polish Association of University Women.¹⁹

And yet, it seems valid to investigate the genesis of Charewiczowa's independently formulated, new, and not necessarily convenient, research theses, such as her emphasis on the need to embrace women's history as a valid subject of study. To what extent were her postulates in this regard a byproduct of her work with male professors (favorably disposed to women pursuing academic education), and to what degree did they follow from her extra-academic activism? Charewiczowa's paper at the Warsaw Congress was the first presentation of its kind at a major historical forum, in which she defined women's history and demanded its recognition in the academia. While women's history had been discussed and practiced at length as part of the women's movement in Europe, Charewiczowa's address, delivered at a high-profile historical meeting, helped raise awareness of women's history in the international scientific community of historians. The punch line of Charewiczowa's paper was written by an active propagator of women's history, Helena Witkowska, who aptly noticed that "the woman's history over different periods and locales has thus far been illuminated predominantly by men – it is high time we entrusted this task to the young generation of women historians, who have been duly trained for the job."²⁰

Eventually, the appeals issued by Charewiczowa, Witkowska, and others who called for a systematic historical research, in which the investigated societies would not be represented solely by men, have been heard. Women's history, which emerged as an area of historiographic studies in the 20th century, has striven to render women visible and break the silence that hung upon them in the dominant historical narratives. It has also aimed to restore their presence as subjects of historical reality, and let their voice be heard. Thus, women's history also tapped into a broader historiographic debate on the relations between historical reality, accounts of that reality penned by its contemporaries, and its descriptions in the subsequent historical research. The latter, above all, faced the challenge of distancing itself from the existing descriptions (sources) in order to see through the rules that determined their shape, and thus reach historical reality as such, rather than as it seemed to its contemporaries.

Naturally, that last aspect is vital, too – to capture the ways in which the world is experienced and perceived. And yet, in aspiring to be an interpretative (rather than merely descriptive) science, history should verge beyond the subjective accounts (and projections) of the world. The critical dimension of history evolves in line with the search for answers to the questions on the reasons for the production of specific accounts of the experienced world, and the order of their expression. From this perspective, the struggle of women's history to demonstrate the subjects of its studies, and to render them audible, has posed fundamental historiographic questions: does a historical narrative paint an image of the past reality, or does it mirror the pre-existing descriptions of that reality? Looking at the aforementioned photograph of the exhibition opening at the Warsaw Congress, do we only see the "visible persons," or do we also recognize the visibility of those excluded from this category? Do we wish to listen to the woman who smiles derisively at us, as if to ask, would this grand opening, with its vital symbol – the ribbon-cutting ceremony – be performable without the scissors I have just delivered? The above demands and discussions, which have nourished historiography since the 1970s, reverberate with Łucja Charewiczowa's reflections, presented in her 1933 Warsaw Congress paper.

Not only was the Congress an important forum for intellectual exchange but it also served as a showcase for the respective countries' achievements and (not infrequently) self-advertising campaigns. The unprecedented "mass-scale" of the Congress panels no doubt prevented some delegates from contributing to the discussion. Given their weaker, "less audible" voices, women historians could easily fall prey to the "inaudibility" of their critical comments. One such case was recounted by Helena Polackówna. It ought to be pointed out that it was precisely the historian's gender and her track record in the struggle for academic recognition that heightened Polackówna's sensitivity and urged her to criticize refusing to give the floor to a fellow woman scholar. In her post-conference report, Polackówna referred to an incident that transpired during a discussion on the Vatican archives when the archivist and Vaticanist Zofia Skowrońska requested the floor. According to Polackówna, Skowrońska fell short, as she lacked sufficient courage and a stentorian voice to work her way through the public forum, and hence her protest did not come across as "forceful enough, and as such was overlooked by the fellow participants."²¹ In the aforementioned report, Polackówna also turned her attention to the delegation of European women archivists at the panel on archives, listing all of its participants: the Norwegian expert on the Vatican archives Gudrun Emilie Natrud, the French archivist and historian Yvonne Bézard (awarded with the Prix Jules Favre before

¹⁹ For more on the Association, see I. Dadej, *Beruf und Berufung transnational. Deutsche und polnische Akademikerinnen in der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Osnabrück, 2019).

²⁰ Witkowska, "Udział kobiet," p. 552.

²¹ H. Polackówna, "Prace sekcji nauk pomocniczych, archiwów i organizacji pracy historycznej na VII-ym Międzynarodowym Kongresie Nauk Historycznych w Warszawie," *Archeion* 12 (1934), p. 204.

the Warsaw Congress), and the Edinburgh-based archivist Annie I. Cameron. It appears that Polackówna's gender solidarity in the face of "invisibility" and "inaudibility" of women, which pervades her post-conference report, was deeply rooted in her own academic experience.

The professional life of Helena Polackówna (1881-1942) was strongly tied to Galicia and Lvov. Polackówna graduated from the Faculty of History of the University of Lvov in 1909. Between 1922 and 1923, she studied at the École des Chartes and École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. It was there that she was introduced to the output as well as new trends and research methods of French medievalists. Another occasion to study international research and organizational tendencies came with Polackówna's queries at the Vatican Archives (1930). Even though she was commissioned to conduct them by the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Polackówna also used the said queries in her own subsequent research.²² In fact, she was associated with the archives throughout her professional life, above all with the National Archives of Municipal and Land Records (known as the Bernardine Archives), where she worked as a curator. Polackówna had a reputation of an expert on auxiliary historical sciences, in particular sphragistics and heraldry, as well as archival studies. She never shied away from polemics with established medievalists, repeatedly subverting their theses with her own well-considered arguments. Affiliated with a number of scientific institutions, she was a member of the Polish Historical Society, the Culture and Science Section of the Lvov Scientific Society, and the Polish Heraldic Society. She also sat on the Historical Commission of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, working towards completion of *Polish Biographical Dictionary* (*Polski Słownik Biograficzny*).²³

Despite her accomplished resume, Polackówna's postdoctoral dissertation at her *almae matris* met the resistance of the academic authorities, as the John Casimir University in Lvov refused to award *veniam legendi* to its first-ever woman professor. Upon learning of the decision, Polackówna approached the University of Poznań, successfully defending her post-doc there at the turn of 1929 and 1930. While she did realize the weight of her theses and her research, her correspondence shows that – as a woman scholar and an intellectual – she was aware of being treated as a peculiar *curiosum* by some of her male colleagues. Polackówna summarized the rejection of her post-doctoral application in Lvov in the following words: "From its onset

until now, I cannot but see the matter of my habilitation as a lawless act against me [...] I am convinced that the manifestations of antifeminism would not come to be if it were someone else, of different nature and political views, even with inferior academic credentials."²⁴ In a letter written to his Poznań-based colleague, Polackówna's supervisor, Oswald Balzer, wrote of the aversion manifested by the Lvov professors to their would-be peer:

Naturally, it cannot be attributed to either substantive or academic reasons, as there were other motives in play, as admitted by some of the faculty member, namely the antifeminist sentiments present in the field. [...] I thought I could assure her [Polackówna – I.D., M.S.] that in Poznań gender will not be a decisive factor in the assessment of her qualifications for academic tenure.²⁵

The figure of Polackówna – who fought for the visibility of her women colleagues at the Congress and in the Congress proceedings – is a case in point for the aforementioned relegation to invisibility through the omission of one's name: we have found the lone surviving and publicly available photograph of Helena Polackówna when conducting a query of the National Digital Archives. Searching her surname in the database did not yield any results. It was only after we typed in her supervisor and superior in the State Archives of Lvov, Oswald Balzer, that we stumbled upon two group photographs depicting male scholars and a lone woman in the group. Captioned "Oswald Balzer, historian, professor at the University of Lvov (sitting in the middle), surrounded by a group of men," the photograph also shows Helena Polackówna. While each of the male historians is mentioned by name, Polackówna remains anonymous (See Figure 54). She is the lone untold person in the picture.

The apparent absence of women in the structures and hierarchies of sciences, concomitant with their intensive participation in the shaping of new domains of historical research can be traced on the example of the professional trajectory of Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska (1866-1934), the doyenne of economic history and historical statistic. Her status as a scholar was typical of the first generation of female pioneers of women science: despite a respectable research resume, there was no place for her within the university hierarchy. As a consequence, Daszyńska-Golińska lectured and conducted her research at an institution that functioned as an academic alternative to the public universities and served as an important didactic and research center, i.e., the Free Polish University. Her life can also serve as a textbook

22 S. Ciara, "Helena Polackówna (1881-1942)," in *Złota księga historiografii lwowskiej XIX i XX wieku*, eds. J. Maternicki, P. Sierżęga, L. Zaskilniak (Rzeszów, 2014), pp. 365-376; A. Kielbicka, "Polackówna Helena," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 27 (Wrocław-Warszawa, 1982), pp. 267-269; W. Kaput, "Polackówna Helena Maria Franciszka (1881-1942)," in *Słownik biograficzny archiwistów polskich*, vol. 1: 1918-1984, eds. M. Bielińska, I. Janosz-Biskupowa (Warszawa, 1988), pp. 170-172.

23 S. Ciara, "Co byloby gdyby... Helena Polackówna (1881-1942) habilitowała się na Uniwersytecie Lwowskim?" in *Історія та історики у Львівському університеті: традиції та сучасність*, eds. Л. Зашкільняк, П. Серженга (Львів, 2015), pp. 257-264.

24 S. Ciara, "Co byloby gdyby", p. 261.

25 Archiwum Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu – Teczka osobowa Heleny Polackówny, file no. 148/43.

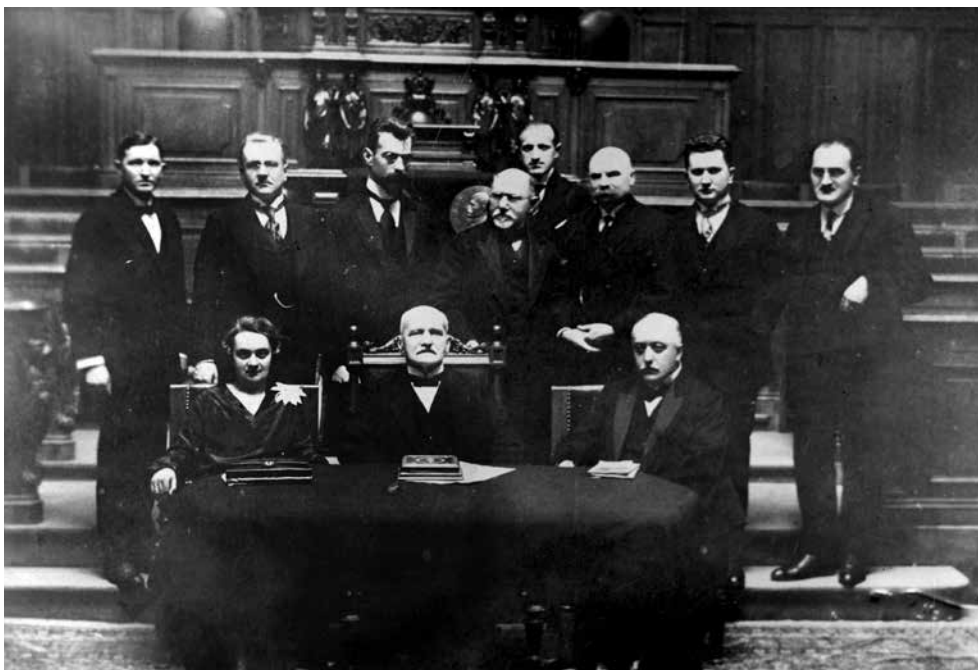


Fig. 54. Helena Polackówna, historian and archivist, amidst a group of scholars at the auditorium of the John Casimir University in Lvov.

example for the academic migration of women and their subsequent scientific, political, and social activism. Daszyńska-Golińska studied political economy and economic history at the University of Zurich, receiving her doctor's degree upon defending a dissertation on the evolution of statistics as a method of historical research.²⁶ Studies on different theoretical and methodological concepts inspired her to publish her own rumination on the theories of empirical research. While working on her doctoral dissertation, Daszyńska-Golińska published in Warsaw an innovative study on the methodology of social, economic, as well as historical and statistical research.²⁷ She continued her studies in sociology, economy, statistics, demography, and philosophy in the 1890s at the University of Vienna and the University of Berlin. Her attempts to pursue a postdoctoral project at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow

²⁶ Z. Daszyńska-Golińska, *Die Bevölkerung von Zürich im XVII Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Städtestatistik* (Bern, 1891).

²⁷ Z. Daszyńska-Golińska, *Szkice metodologiczne. Zastosowanie obserwacji i eksperymentu w naukach gospodarczych: kilka słów o metodzie statystyki historycznej* (Warszawa, 1892).

in 1907-1909 were unsuccessful, with the professors of the Faculty of Philosophy rejecting her application based on formal inconsistencies.²⁸ In an autobiographical sketch written years later, Daszyńska-Golińska admitted that the professors of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow were opposed to her excessive social and political involvement as an activist and voice of women's organizations, animator of sobriety movements, and a socialist-leaning intellectual with ideological and family ties to the founders of Polish socialist thought.²⁹

In the Second Polish Republic, Daszyńska-Golińska worked as a sociology lecturer at the Free Polish University, at the same time serving as the head of the Department of Women and Minors at the Ministry of Work and Social Welfare, and a member of the Polish Parliament.³⁰ Daszyńska-Golińska's research profile transcended disciplinary confines, combining statistical methods with historical investigations. Her innovative research helped her become a renowned scholar of economic relations and urban history. Appearing at the Warsaw Congress in 1933, Daszyńska-Golińska read a paper titled *L'accroissement de la population en Pologne durant le XIXe siècle (1816-1910)*, featured as part of the special session on comparative historical demography. Having fully committed herself to the preparations for the Congress on account of her political and scientific interests, was one of the final academic events in which she took part before her death. Daszyńska-Golińska's publications and professional activity fell in a time that marked the rise of economic history and its significance in Poland, spurred by the growing interest of historians in its problems in the face of economic processes they were witnessing (booming capitalism, economic crisis, etc.). Although undoubtedly significant, Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska's contributions to this research are usually overshadowed by those made by other historians.



Fig. 55. Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, historian and economist, member of parliament of the Second Polish Republic.

²⁸ Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego – Akta własne Wydziału Filozoficznego 1849-1945, Teczki akt habilitacyjnych z lat 1862-1945: Z. Daszyńska-Golińska's personal file, file no. WF II 121.

²⁹ Z. Daszyńska-Golińska, *Dr Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, pionierka wiedzy gospodarczo-społecznej w Polsce. Notatki autobiograficzne* (Kraków, 1932), p. 12.

³⁰ R. Owadowska, *Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska. O nurt reformistyczny w polityce społecznej* (Poznań, 2004), p. 131; G. Krzywiec, "Golińska-Daszyńska Zofia," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 8 (Warszawa-Kraków, 1959-1960), pp. 223-225; G. Krzywiec, "Daszyńska-Golińska Zofia," in *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. F. de Haan, K. Daskalova, A. Loutfi (Budapest-New York, 2006), pp. 102-105.

BEFORE THE CURTAIN DROPS

The historical research inspired by feminist criticism goes to show that, despite their exclusion from politics and knowledge, women have nonetheless been involved in these spheres. Excluded from philosophy, they have been philosophers; excluded from education, they have been passionate readers and translators; excluded from natural sciences, mathematics, history, they have worked as naturalists, mathematicians, historians. If the investigated reality corroborates the existence of its specific aspect, then should we not critically re-examine the records of that disregard this existence? Should we not ask about the rationale behind excluding women from the production of knowledge or deprecating their contributions thereto?

Back in the 1990s, Peter Schöttler pulled out of the deep shadow Lucie Varga, an Austrian-born historian and member of the *Annales* School, who worked with Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre.³¹ Her cooperation with Bloch and Febvre – in the capacity of a researcher, not a secretary – prompted Schöttler to investigate who she was. What was the nature of her collaboration with Febvre and her impact, as a foreigner and a woman, on the *Annales* School? What was her contribution to contemporary historiography? Schöttler painted an enthusiastic portrait of Varga's academic resume, coupled with a vivid picture of her dramatic life, by referring to the notion of “invisible authorities” – the secret hierarchies and symbolic systems that govern the social life – which Varga investigated, and to which she fell victim.

While appreciative of Schöttler's work, Natalie Zemon Davis points to the fact that, although his account of the intimate relation between Varga and Febvre is a tactful one, Schöttler nonetheless narrates his story in line with the simplistic archetypes (cooperation between the master and his female student, extramarital love, jealous wife, submissive husband, abandoned woman)³². Davis also notices the lack of references to other women involved in the events, and their roles therein. She recalls the figure of Suzanne Febvre (Dognon) and her research career, which she abandoned following her marriage with Febvre, her role as his research assistant, and her subsequent appointment as librarian at the École Normale Supérieure in Sèvres (an elite higher education institution which she herself graduated from) after Febvre parted ways with Varga. Davis stresses that Lucie Varga and Suzanne Dognon Febvre were not only rivals competing for a man's love but also paragons of different career paths available to women in Europe of the 1920s and 1930s. Davis recounts other women associates of the

Annales School (Eileen Power, Thérèse Schlafert, Renée Doehaerd, and Simone Vidal Bloch), before concluding that this interdisciplinary ensemble was a “sodality of brothers” based on private (paid and unpaid) labor, contributed by well-educated women. Their education and expertise were indispensable and beneficial to the advancement of the men's academic prestige, while at the same time being insufficient for the women who aspired to comparable recognition. The alumnae of the École Normale Supérieure in Sèvres were prevented from pursuing academic careers on a par with their male peers from the (male) École Normale Supérieure in Paris, even though they were students of the same discipline. Davis' conclusions can be corroborated with regard to the women participants of the Congress in Warsaw and Cracow in 1933, as well as the three women researchers discussed above.

Our presentation of the Congress aimed to demonstrate the ambivalent “presence” of women as scientists and members of the scientific community. In the 1920s, women were no longer a rarity, but they were gradually becoming a minority that would have to overcome considerable obstacles in order to be visible. The presence of women at the Congress, along with their participation in the organizational and substantive preparations for the conference, is undeniable. It is an integral part of the reality investigated by historical science, and to overlook it would betray the spirit of historical veracity. Were we to reproduce the naturalized invisibility of their presence, we would neglect the critical dimension of historical research, which not only reveals how the world is experienced but also the factors that made it happen.

The above perspective on the Congress as a historical event by no means exhausts the wide spectrum of problems entailed in the event. Perhaps it raises more questions than it answers. Given the context of the 7th International Congress of Historical Sciences and the strong emphasis placed on the matters and subjects endemic to the host country (in this case, Poland), how did the women delegates fare? Did they instrumentalize history for the sake and in the interest of their state's policies, or did they strive to pursue science across the national and state divisions and conflicts? It is our hope that our deliberations, which echo those of our predecessors at the Warsaw Congress, will reverberate in the successive studies on the multifarious “becoming” of the first women historians at the Congresses, with a special emphasis on the crisscross of gender, science, and performative reality that amounts to a unique *histoire croisée* of those events.

31 P. Schöttler, “Lucie Varga, A Central European Refugee in the Circle of the French ‘Annales,’ 1934-1941,” *History Workshop Journal* 33 (1992), pp. 100-120.

32 N. Zemon Davis, “Women and the World of the Annales,” *History Workshop Journal* 33 (1992), pp. 121-137.

VII-e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES

PROGRAMME DES TRAVAUX DU CONGRÈS



SOURCE APPENDIX

CONGRESS PROGRAM

Reprinted below is the official program of the Warsaw Congress, originally published as a booklet titled *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Programme des Travaux du Congrès*, Varsovie du 21 au 28 août 1933 (63 pp. + 1, format: 22 cm); the reprint includes pages 10-58. The first pages of the booklet (1-9) laid out the general organizational principles for the Congress sessions, the maps of the Congress venue (building of the Warsaw University of Technology), and a table with the Congress agenda, including a daily schedule of sessions and their respective venues. The final pages (59 through the end) contained an index of the Congress participants.



SÉANCES PLÉNIÈRES

LUNDI, le 21 août, à 11.30 heures

Discours d'inauguration du président du Comité Organisateur, prof. Bronisław DEMBIŃSKI.

Allocution de M. le Président du Conseil des Ministres et du Ministre des Cultes et de l'Instruction Publique.

Allocution du représentant des délégations étrangères.

Compte-Rendu du Président du Comité International des sciences historiques, prof. Halvdan KOHT.

Élection des présidents et des secrétaires généraux du Congrès.

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Charles DIEHL (Paris): Les problèmes actuels de l'histoire byzantine.

Nicolas IORGA (Bucuresti): Origine et développement de l'idée nationale surtout dans le Sud-Est européen.

Stanisław KUTRZEBA (Kraków): Les principes de l'autorité et de la liberté dans l'histoire des Etats de l'Europe depuis l'époque du Moyen-Âge jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine.

*

13.30 heures: Ouverture de l'Exposition Internationale de géographie historique.

DIMANCHE, le 27 août, à 10.30 heures

Paul KEHR (Berlin): Ueber den Plan einer Ausgabe der älteren Papsturkunden.

Pier Silverio LEICHT (Bologna): L'origine delle „Arti" nell' Europa occidentale.

A. V. LOUNATCHARSKY (Moskva): Les courants mystiques aux époques des crises sociales.

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Présentation des vœux adoptés par les sections.

Clôture du Congrès.

LUNDI, le 28 août, à 10 heures.

KRAKÓW (Aula de l'Université)

Allocution du Recteur de l'Université Jagellonienne.

G. P. GOOCH (London): Political ideas of Thomas Hobbes.

Michael I. ROSTOVITZ (New Haven): La synagogue de Doura-Europos de l'an 246 après J. C. et ses peintures à sujets bibliques.

ORDRE DU JOUR

DES SECTIONS ET DES SÉANCES SPÉCIALES

LUNDI le 21 août

(après-midi à partir de 15.30 heures)

SECTION II

Préhistoire et archéologie (Salle 6)

Jenő HILLEBRAND (Budapest): Zur Frage der kulturellen Beziehungen Ungarns und Frankreichs während dem Solutrén. (Rés. I, 36), absent.

Nicolai Nic. MOROȘAN (Kișinau): Le Solutrén de la Moldavie N. E. (Rés. I, 41), absent.

Tadeusz SULIMIRSKI (Lwów): Die schnurkeramischen Kulturen und das indoeuropäische Problem. (La Pologne. I, 278).

SECTION IV

Moyen-Âge et Byzance (Salle 12)

Franz DOELGER (München): Die Frage des Grundeigentums in Byzanz. R. (Bull. 18, 5).

N. S. DERŽAVIN (Leningrad): Les Slaves et Byzance au VI-e siècle — Sur la méthode dans l'étude de l'histoire des peuples des Balkans (Rés. I, 87).

Gyula MORAVCSIK (Budapest): Les rapports byzantino-hongrois à l'époque des croisades. (Rés. I, 88).

— Lundi, le 21 août, après-midi —

Giovanni SORANZO (Milano): I porti del Mar Nero e i mercanti occidentali durante l'impero d'Oriente. (Rés. II, 214), absent.

SECTION V

Histoire moderne et contemporaine (Salle 15)

Nino CORTESE (Napoli): Per una storia della politica estera di Ferdinando II il Cattolico (Rés. I, 129).
Karel STLOUKAL (Praha): Cenni sulla politica Curiale alla Corte imperiale nel tempo della nunziatura permanente a Praga negli anni 1581 — 1611. (Rés. I, 129).

Auguste LEMAN (Lille): Les négociations secrètes de la France et de l'Espagne de 1636 à 1638 pour le rétablissement de la paix. (Rés. I, 135).

Clyde L. GROSE (Evanston): England in 1660: an evaluation of restoration. (Rés. I, 137).

SECTION VI.

Histoire des religions et histoire ecclésiastique (Salle 9)

Adolphe LODS (Paris): Le monothéisme moral israélite a-t-il eu des précurseurs parmi les „Sages" de l'ancien orient? (Rés. I, 231).

Gustave GLOTZ (Paris): Les associations religieuses des Grecs depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'avènement du christianisme (Rés. I, 234), absent.

Tadeusz ZIELIŃSKI (Warszawa): Die neuesten Strömungen in der römisch-republikanischen Religionsgeschichte. (La Pologne. I, 127).

Alberto PINCHERLE (Roma): Cristianesimo e Impero Romano. R. (Bull. 18, 32).

— Lundi, le 21 août, après-midi —

SECTION VII

Histoire du droit et des institutions (Salle 10)

Paul COLLINET (Paris): Comment achever la bibliographie rétrospective du Droit Romain et comment en établir la bibliographie périodique. (Rés. I, 285), absent.

C. W. WESTRUP (Kobenhavn): La copropriété familiale de l'ancien Droit Romain devant l'histoire comparative. (Rés. I, 285), absent.

Félix SENN (Nancy): De la notion de „vindictio", envisagée comme notion-source de droit. (Rés. I, 286).

André GIFFARD (Paris): A propos de la „postulatio simplex", de la distinction des actions ordinaires et extraordinaires dans la procédure du Bas-Empire (Rés. I, 287) absent.

Ignacy KOSCHEMBAHR-ŁYSKOWSKI (Warszawa): Les facteurs intérieurs de l'évolution du droit romain privé. (La Pologne. I, 243).

SECTION X

Histoire des sciences — sciences pures et médecine (Salle 3)

Comité International d'histoire des sciences: Rapport concernant la publication de tables chronologiques de la science au XVI-e siècle. R.

Ettore BORTOLOTTI (Bologna): La Matematica in Italia nel secolo XVI. R. (Bull. 19, 268).

Francisco VERA (Madrid): Introducción de la ecuación de segundo grado en Europa.

Adolphe SZÜCS (Budapest): L'histoire des mathématiques en Hongrie. R. (Bull. 19, 284), absent.

— Lundi, le 21 août, après-midi —

SECTION XI

Histoire des lettres (Salle 5)

- A. V. LOUNATCHARSKY (Moskva): La méthode du matérialisme dialectique dans l'histoire de la littérature. R. (Bull. 19, 389).
 Fernand BALDENSPERGER (Paris): Établissement des „périodes” pour la littérature occidentale. R. (Bull. 19, 404), absent.
 Jean HANKISS (Debrecen): Enregistrement des résultats acquis en histoire littéraire. R. (Bull. 19, 408).
 Paul Van TIEGHEM (Paris): Le répertoire littéraire chronologique international. (Rés. II, 113).
 Friedrich SCHNEIDER (Jena): Der Internationale Stand der Dante-Forschung. (Rés. II, 128).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE F

Démographie historique comparée (Salle 4)

- Corrado GINI (Roma): I lavori della commissione di demografia storica presso il Comitato Italiano per lo studio dei problemi della popolazione. (Rés. II, 339), absent.
 Jean BOURDON (Paris): Les méthodes de la démographie historique; la population de la France au Moyen-Âge, d'après les travaux de M. F. Lot. R. (Bull. 20, 588).
 Eugène CAVAIGNAC (Strasbourg): La répartition tribulaire des citoyens romains. (Rés. II, 344).
 Tadeusz WAŁEK-CZERNECKI (Warszawa): Sur les méthodes de la statistique des populations anciennes. (La Pologne. II).

MARDI, le 22 août
 (matinée à partir de 9.30 heures)

SECTION I

Sciences auxiliaires, archives, organisation du travail
 historique (Salle 7)

- Carlo GALASSI PALUZZI (Roma): Una iniziativa per facilitare le ricerche sulla storia di Roma e della civiltà latina: le Schedario Centrale di Bibliografia Romana. (Rés. I, 3).
 Jerzy MANTEUFFEL (Warszawa): Diplomatische Beiträge zum Pap. Varsoviensis Nr. 10. (La Pologne. I, 277).
 Angelo SILVAGNI (Roma): Raccolta delle iscrizioni medievali italiane di civiltà cristiana anteriori al sec. XIII. (Rés. I, 5).
 Franciszek PUŁASKI (Warszawa): Recueil des documents concernant les relations diplomatiques entre la Pologne et la France.

SECTION II

Préhistoire et archéologie (Salle 6)

- Vladimir DUMITRESCU (Bucarest): La chronologie de la civilisation Énéolitique Balkano-Danubienne de type Gumelnița. (Rés. I, 44).
 Jarosław PASTERNAK (Lwów): Östliche Peripherien der Aunjetitzer Kultur. (Rés. I, 46).

SECTION V

Histoire moderne et contemporaine (Salle 15)

- Gerhard RITTER (Freiburg i. B.): Die Ausprägung deutscher und westeuropäischer Geistesart im konfessionellen Zeitalter. (Rés. I, 139).
 Luigi SORRENTO (Milano): L'unione statale del Piemonte e della Sicilia nei primi del Settecento,

— Mardi, le 22 août, matinée —

e le conseguenze negli ulteriori sviluppi del pensiero italiano e dell'unità nazionale. (Rés. I, 142), absent.

Luigi RIVERA (Roma): Relazioni storiche ed artistiche tra la Polonia e l'Abruzzo. (Rés. I, 142), absent.

Antonio BRILLO (Padova): L'Università di Padova e la Polonia. (Rés. I, 144).

SECTION VI

Histoire des religions et histoire ecclésiastique (Salle 9)

Raffaele PETTAZZONI (Roma): Sincretismo e Conversione nella Storia delle Religioni. R. (Bull. 18, 24).

Mario NICCOLI (Roma): Il delitto di eresia alla fine del IV secolo in relazione al processo di Priscilliano—381—385. (Rés. I, 239).

Jacques ZEILLER (Paris): L'arianisme en Afrique avant les invasions barbares. (Rés. I, 243).

Armand ABEL (Bruxelles): Le rôle des moines dans la polémique islamo-chrétienne en terre d'Islam, du VIII-e au XI-e siècle. (Rés. I, 245), absent.

Peter SCHMIDT (Riga): Tree Cult among the ancient Les. (Rés. I, 236).

SECTION VII

Histoire du droit et des institutions (Salle 10)

Salvatore di MARZO (Roma): Le Pandette di Giustino e il diritto moderno. R. (Bull. 18, 116), absent.

Biondo BIONDI (Milano): Diritto giustiniano e diritto moderno in materia di processo civile. (Bull. I, 288).

Melchiorre ROBERTI (Milano): Intorno all'influenza del Cristianesimo sopra il Diritto Romano. (Rés. I, 293), absent.

— Mardi, le 22 août, matinée —

KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE FOUAD BEY (Istanbul): Les institutions byzantines ont-elles joué un rôle dans la formation des institutions Ottomanes? (Rés. I, 227), absent.

Marjusz SKIBNIEWSKI S. J. (Lublin): L'influence du droit romain sur la procédure judiciaire des tribunaux de l'inquisition. (La Pologne. I, 321).

SECTION VIII

Histoire économique et sociale (Salle 16)

Arnolfo BIZZARRI (Perugia): Breve cenno sullo sviluppo dei borghi e delle città dell'Italia Centrale nel Medioevo. (Rés. II, 3), absent.

Emilio NASALLI ROCCA (Piacenza): Sulla natura giuridica e sulle funzioni delle classi e delle famiglie patrizie nelle città medioevali italiane. (Rés. II, 10).

Vittorio FRANCHINI (Trieste): Rapporti tra l'evoluzione del comune del popolo dei comuni italiani e quella dei comuni dell'Europa occidentale. (Rés. II, 14).

Richard KOEBNER (Breslau): Die Entstehung des Städtewesens in Mitteleuropa. (Rés. II, 20).

Stanisław ARNOLD (Warszawa): Die Städte Westeuropas und Mitteleuropas auf dem Hintergrund des mittelalterlichen Wirtschaftsleben. (La Pologne. II).

SECTION XI.

Histoire des lettres (Salle 5)

Alexandre ECKHARDT (Budapest): Le messianisme du peuple français exprimé par sa littérature. (Rés. II, 118).

— Mardi, le 22 août, matinée —

- Paul MERIMÉE (Paris): L'influence française en Espagne au XVIII-e siècle. (Rés. II, 120), absent.
- Paul HAZARD (Paris) et Henri BÉDARIDA (Grenoble): L'influence française en Italie au XVIII-e siècle. (Rés. II, 121).
- Basile MUNTEANO (Paris): L'influence française en Roumanie au XIII-e siècle. (Rés. II, 126), absent.
- Société des Historiens du Théâtre* (Paris): L'organisation internationale des recherches d'histoire théâtrale. (Rés. II, 116).

SECTION XIV

Enseignement de l'histoire (Salle 20)

- Wanda MOSZCZEŃSKA (Warszawa): Le problème de la concrétisation dans l'enseignement de l'histoire.
- Halina MROZOWSKA (Warszawa): Les principes de la méthode éducative dans l'enseignement d'histoire
- Intervention de M-me
Natalja GAŚIOROWSKA (Warszawa).
- Wisława KNAPOWSKA (Poznań): Geschichtsunterricht und Gedächtnisbildung. (La Pologne. I, 323).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE A

Géographie historique (Salle 3)

- Jacques ANCEL (Paris): L'évolution de la notion de frontière. R. (Bull. 20, 538) absent.
- Per Olof de TÖRNE (Åbo): L'évolution de la notion de frontière, les recherches en Finlande. (Bull. 20, 555).
- Jean Médéric TOURNEUR-AUMONT (Poitiers): Variations anciennes et modernes de l'idée de frontière. (Rés. II, 255).

— Mardi, le 22 août, matinée —

- Jan JAKUBOWSKI (Warszawa): Carte historique du district de Grodno au XVI-e siècle. (La Pologne. I, 129).

MARDI le 22 août
(après-midi à partir de 15.30 heures)

SECTION III

Histoire ancienne (Salle 3)

- Mojżesz SCHORR (Warszawa): Die Charakteristik der Assyrischen Geschichtsschreibung.
- Bruno LAVAGNINI (Palermo): Un nuovo elemento per la cronologia dell'Odissea. (Rés. I, 53).
- Stanisław WITKOWSKI (Lwów): Der Ursprung des Ephorats. (La Pologne. I, 19), absent.
- Frank Ezra ADCOCK (Cambridge): Development of Greek Diplomacy. (Rés. I, 54).
- Paola ZANCAN (Padova): Elementi federativi nei Monarchati Ellenistici. (Rés. I, 54).

SECTION IV

Moyen-Âge et Byzance (Salle 12)

- Pietro FEDELE (Roma): Sul Senato Romano nel medio evo. (Rés. I, 90).
- Hermann AUBIN (Breslau): Der Einbruch der Germanen und der Araber in die antike Welt. (Rés. I, 95).
- Pietro VACCARI (Pavia): Il problema dell'Unità Carolingica (Rés. I, 97).

SECTION V

Histoire moderne et contemporaine (Salle 15)

- Vincenzo PACIFICI (Tivoli): La candidatura di Alfonso II d'Este al Regno di Polonia, 1574 — 1576. (Rés. I, 148).

— Mardi, le 22 août, après-midi —

J. KLEYNTJENS ('s-Gravenhage): Les relations polono-hollandaises aux XVI-e et XVII-e siècles. (Rés. I, 153).

Régis ROHMER (Tulle): Une famille Limousine à la cour de Pologne—Antoine, Jean-Casimir, Etienne et Jean-Calmine de Baluze, de Tulle, dits les Polonais, 1645—1718. (Rés. I, 156), absent.

Riccardo FILANGIERI di CANDIDA (Napoli): La guerra dei sette anni nelle corrispondenze dei Ministri Napoletani in Polonia. (Rés. I, 159).

J. H. BAXTER (St. Andrews): The Scots in Poland.

Intervention de M.

Tadeusz BILIKIEWICZ (Kraków).

SECTION XIII

Méthode historique et théorie de l'histoire (Salle 20)

Fred Morrow FLING (Lincoln): Historical Synthesis. (Rés. II, 168).

Intervention de M.

Aleksije JELAČIĆ (Skoplje).

Wilhelm KEILHAU (Oslo): Historischer Materialismus oder historische Synthese? (Rés. II, 166).

Interventions de MM.:

M. GORIN (Minsk).

Nikolaj LOUKINE (Moskva).

Viačeslav VOLGUINE (Leningrad).

Petr PREOBRAŽENSKIJ (Moskva).

N. I. BUCHARIN (Moskva): Zur Frage über die heutige Methodologie der Geschichtserkenntnis. (Rés. II, 165), absent.

Intervention de M.

Karol GÓRSKI (Poznań).

— Mardi, le 22 août, après-midi —

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE D

Histoire des grands voyages et des grandes découvertes
(Salle 17)

Bolesław OLSZEWICZ (Warszawa): La prétendue découverte de l'Amérique en 1476.

Roberto ALMAGIA (Roma): Cio che è definitivamente acquisito alla scienza e ciò che ancora può essere utilmente indagato intorno alla vita, ai viaggi ed alle scoperte di Cristoforo Colombo ed alle conseguenze di esse riguardo al progresso delle conoscenze geografiche. R. (Bull. 19, 256).

Jan DĄBROWSKI (Kraków): Conseguenze economiche delle scoperte geografiche nel territorio dal Baltico al Mar Nero.

Intervention de M.

Bolesław OLSZEWICZ (Warszawa).

Bedřich MENDEL (Praha): Les grandes découvertes et l'argent de Bohême. (Rés. II, 287).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE F

Démographie historique comparée (Salle 4)

† Lucien MARCH (Paris): La croissance des populations progressives. R. (Bull. 20, 605).

Alfred SAUVY (Paris): La politique de la population dans l'histoire et la notion moderne de population dirigée. (Rés. II, 345), absent.

Adolphe LESAGE (Paris): L'influence de la météorologie sur les épidémies d'après l'histoire. (Rés. II, 351), absent.

Alexandre M. KOULICHER (Paris): Le cycle de population dans les pays modernes. (Rés. II, 354), absent.

Eugen KULISCHER: Kriege und Wanderungen. (Rés. II, 355), absent.

— Mardi, le 22 août, après-midi —

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE G

Histoire de la banque et des changes (Salle 5)

Giuseppe Ugo PAPI (Messina): Per la storia della banca. R. (Bull. 20, 626).

J. G. Van DILLEN (Amsterdam): L'histoire de la banque.
Paul HARSIN (Liège): Comment convient-il d'orienter les études concernant le système de Law. R. (Bull. 20, 640).

Raffaele di TUCCI (Genova): La banca privata Genovese dal secolo XII al secolo XIV. (Rés. II, 399).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE M

Histoire des Juifs (Salle 16)

Salo BARON (New York): Jews and Judaism: the interrelation between the social and religious history of the Jews. (Rés. II, 455).

Simon DUBNOW: Die Hegemonie-Zenter im Gesamtverlauf der jüdischen Geschichte. (Rés. II, 456).

Meier A. HALÉVY (Bucuresti): L'influence de la Pologne sur le judaïsme roumain aux XVII-e et XVIII-e siècles. (Rés. II, 466).

Majer BAŁABAN (Warszawa): Der Gang der jüdischen Kulturelemente vom Rhein bis an die Weichsel und Dniepr (13.—17. Jhrt).

*

à 19.30 heures M. le Docteur Juliusz STARZYŃSKI parlera dans la salle 6 sur „Le château de Wilanów et ses collections”.

MERCREDI le 23 août

(matinée à partir de 9.30 heures)

SECTION I

Sciences auxiliaires, archives, organisation du travail historique (Salle 7)

Imre SZENTPÉTERY (Budapest): Die Kanzleivermerke im mittelalterlichen Urkundenwesen Ungarns. (Rés. I,8).

Władysław SEMKOWICZ (Kraków): Methodisch-Kritische Bemerkungen über Herkunft und Siedelungsverhältnisse des polnischen Ritterstandes im Mittelalter.

Helena POLACZEK (Lwów): De l'utilité d'une collaboration internationale pour la publication des Armoriaux du Moyen-Âge. (La Pologne, I,181).

SECTION III

Histoire ancienne (Salle 3)

Jules TOUTAIN (Paris): L'action de la Gaule sur l'histoire de l'Europe. (Rés. I,56), absent.

Egon WEISS (Prahá): Das Alter unserer Ueberlieferung über die ältesten staatlichen Zustände der Italiker. (Rés. II,503), absent.

Żdzisław ZMIGRYDER-KONOPKA (Warszawa): Sur les origines du tribunat de la plèbe. (La Pologne, II,1).

Leandro ZANCAN (Gorizia): La Politica agraria della Repubblica Romana. (Rés. I,59).

Intervention de M.

P. F. PREOBRAŽENSKIJ (Moskva).

— Mercredi, le 23 août, matinée —

SECTION IV

Moyen-Âge et Byzance (Salle 6)

Jooseppi Julius MIKKOLA (Helsingfors): L'expansion primaire de la tribu carélienne et son évolution ultérieure. (Rés. I,106).

Julius BRUTZKUS: Die Chazaren und das Kiewer Russland. (Rés. I,108).

Nandor FETTICH (Budapest): Handelswege in Russland und die Altmagyaren. (Rés. I,113).

SECTION V

Histoire moderne et contemporaine (Salle 15)

Louis GOTTSCHALK (Chicago): Did the French Government aid Lafayette's American adventure of 1777? (Rés. I, 161).

Isaac Joslin COX (Evanston): British Policy in the Americas, 1803—1808. (Rés. I,164).

Max SILBERSCHMIDT (Winterthur): Das Britische Reich und die Abolition des Sklavenhandels. (Rés. I, 166), absent.

Dénes JÁNOSSY (Wien): Kossuth and the Presidential Election in the United States in 1852. (Rés. I,168).

SECTION XI

Histoire des lettres (Salle 5)

Giovanni MAVER (Roma): I contatti letterari della Polonia con le nazioni occidentali. R. (Bull. 19,423).

Nelly NUCCI (Cracovia): Influssi della lingua italiana sulla polacca e loro significato nella storia degli influssi culturali. (Rés. II,131).

Zofja CIECHANOWSKA (Kraków): Les relations littéraires entre la Pologne et l'Allemagne au XVIII-e siècle. (La Pologne, I,335).

Intervention de M.

Juljusz KLEINER (Lwów).

— Mercredi, le 23 août, matinée —

K. F. PLESNER (Kobenhavn): Poland in Danish literature. (Rés. II,129), absent.

SECTION XIV

Enseignement de l'histoire (Salle 20)

Paul Van TIEGHEM (Paris): L'enseignement de l'histoire littéraire dans le cadre de l'histoire générale et de l'histoire de la civilisation. R. (Bull. 19,443).

Intervention de M.

Luigi SORRENTI (Milano).

Jean MALYE (Paris): L'humanisme et l'élaboration d'une conception internationale de l'enseignement de l'histoire. (Rés. II,185).

Leo Van PUYVELDE (Bruxelles): L'histoire de l'art dans l'enseignement. R. (Bull. 19,449).

Wilhelm MOMMSEN (Marburg a/Lahn): Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichtsunterricht.

Interventions de MM.

Helena RADLIŃSKA (Warszawa).

Hanna POHOSKA (Warszawa).

SECTION XV

Histoire de l'Europe Orientale (Salle 18)

Jaroslav BIDLO (Praha): Was ist die osteuropäische Geschichte? (Rés. II,197).

Intervention de M.

M. HANDELSMAN (Warszawa).

Miron KORDUBA (Warszawa): Die Entstehung der ukrainischen Nation. (Rés. II, 207).

Petr N. SAVICKIJ (Praha): La conception eurasiste de l'histoire russe. (Rés. II,210).

— Mercredi, le 23 août, matinée —

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE F

Démographie historique comparée (Salle 4)

- M. T. NISOT (Bruxelles): Histoire internationale de la stérilisation humaine. (Rés. II, 356), absente.
 Friedrich BURGDÖRFER (Berlin): Dynamik der europäischen Bevölkerungsentwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. (Rés. II, 359), absent.
 Erich KEYSER (Danzig): Die Epochen der Bevölkerungsgeschichte Deutschlands. (Rés. II, 366).
 Albert MEYNIER (Paris): Les pertes des armées françaises pendant les guerres de la Révolution et de l'Empire 1792—1815. (Rés. II, 370), absent.

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE H

Histoire des mouvements sociaux (Salle 16)

- Viačeslav P. VOLGUINE (Leningrad): De Babeuf à Marx. (Rés. II, 405).
 G. ZAIDEL (Leningrad): Bakounine et Marx à l'époque de la Révolution de 1848. R. (Bull. 20, 645), absent.
 Georges BOURGIN (Paris): Les sources de la Commune de Paris de 1871. (Rés. II, 406), absent.
 Intervention de M.
 Nikolaj LOUKINE (Moskva).
 Nikolaj LOUKINE (Moskva): L'Internationale et la Commune de Paris. R. (Bull. 20, 656).

MERCREDI le 23 août

(après-midi à partir de 15.30)

SECTION II

Préhistoire et archéologie (Salle 6)

- Józef KOSTRZEWSKI (Poznań): Le rôle de la Vistule dans la préhistoire de la Pologne. (La Pologne' I, 189).

— Mercredi, le 23 août, après-midi —

- Stefan PRZEWORSKI (Warszawa): Die Handelsbeziehungen Vorderasiens zum vorgeschichtlichen Ost-europa. (La Pologne. I, 83).
 Al. BARCACILA (Turnu-Severin): Les monuments religieux de Drubeta et des environs — Nouvelles découvertes. (Rés. I, 47), absent.

SECTION V

Histoire moderne et contemporaine (Salle 15)

- Giuseppe GALLAVRESI (Milano): Sulle fonti italiane per la conoscenza del regno di Maria Teresa (Rés. I, 172).
 Henri de MONTFORT (Paris): L'influence des idées révolutionnaires françaises en Courlande et en Livonie. (Rés. I, 174).
 Charles Stephen B. BUCKLAND (London): Friedrich von Gentz' relations with the British Government during the Marquis Wellesley's Foreign Secretaryship of State, 1809-1812. (Rés. I, 176), absent.
 Georges WEILL (Caen): La transformation économique de la presse en Grande Bretagne, en France et aux États-Unis au milieu du XIX-e siècle, 1830-1860. (Rés. I, 180).
 Boris MIRKINE-GUETZÉVITCH (Paris): Les origines du régime parlementaire en Europe. (Rés. I, 179), absent.

SECTION VI

Histoire des religions et histoire ecclésiastique (Salle 9)

- Augustin FLICHE (Montpellier): La primatie des Gaules depuis l'époque carolingienne jusqu'à la fin de la querelle des Investitures. (Rés. I, 244).

— Mercredi, le 23 août, après-midi —

- Watkin WILLIAMS (Great Malvern): A monastic reformer of the early XIth century. (Rés. I, 248), absent.
- Heinrich FINKE (Freiburg i. B.): Polen und das Konstanzer Konzil. (Rés. I, 250).
- Tadeusz SILNICKI (Poznań): Die Idee der Reform polnischer Benediktinerklöster und das Konstanzer Konzil. (La Pologne. I, 373), absent.

SECTION VII

Histoire du droit et des institutions (Salle 10)

- Mario VIORA (Messina): Sulle „Summae Confessorum“ medievali e sulla loro rilevanza dal punto di vista storico-giuridico. (Rés. I, 305).
- Sergio MOCHI-ONORY (Sassari): Le origini e la prima affermazione dei poteri pubblici dei vescovi in Italia, sec. IV/VI. (Rés. I, 306) absent.
- Ernest CHAMPEAUX (Strasbourg): Quelques considérations sur la technique juridique du moyen-âge. (Rés. I, 312), absent.
- Eberhard FREIHERR von KUENSSBERG (Heidelberg): Rechtsgeographie. (Rés. I, 303).

SECTION VIII

Histoire économique et sociale (Salle 16)

- Edward Robert ADAIR (Montreal): Montreal — the evolution of an American city. (Rés. II, 22).
- Alfons DOPSCH (Wien): Staat und soziale Frage im Mittelalter. (Rés. II, 23), absent.
- Sándor DOMANOVSKY (Budapest): La formation de la classe nobiliaire en Hongrie. (Rés. II, 32).
- Erna PATZELT (Wien): Osteuropa im Verkehrsleben des frühen Mittelalter. (Rés. II, 36), absente.

— Mercredi, le 23 août, après-midi —

- Anton V. FLOROVSKY (Praha): Quelques observations sur l'histoire des relations commerciales entre la Bohême et les pays de l'Europe Orientale. (Rés. II, 38)
- Gustav Adolf DONNER (Helsingfors): Les registres des péages en Savoie et en Bourgogne en tant que sources de l'histoire du commerce dans l'Europe occidentale du XIII-e au XV-e siècle. (Rés. II, 40).

SECTION XIII

Méthode historique et théorie de l'histoire (Salle 20)

- C. BOUGLÉ (Paris): Histoire et sociologie. (Rés. II, 171), absent.
- Intervention de M.
Viačeslav VOLGUINE (Leningrad).
- Stefan HAJNAL (Budapest): Schriftlichkeit und Intelligenzschicht als Wegbereiter der Neuzeit. (Rés. II, 173).
- Hans NABHOLZ (Zürich): Ueber das Verhältniss zwischen politischer und Wirtschaftsgechichte. R. (Bull. 19, 430).
- Kazimierz DOBROWOLSKI (Kraków): Le rôle des facteurs biologiques dans l'histoire.
- Intervention de M. LAIGNEL-LAVASTINE (Paris).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE A

Géographie historique (Salle 3)

- Marcel POËTE (Paris): Evolution du plan des villes. R. (Bull. 20, 526). absent.
- Henryk MÜNCH (Kraków): Grundrissbildung der grosspolnischen Städte im Mittelalter. (La Pologne. I, 225).

— Mercredi, le 23 août, après-midi —

RÉCHID SAFFET BEY (Ankara): Piri Reis et ses oeuvres. (Rés. II, 263), absent.

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE C

Histoire du despotisme éclairé (Salle 4)

Cayetano ALCAZÀR-MOLINA (Murcia): El despotismo ilustrado en España. R. (Bull. 20, 727).

Vicomte Charles TERLINDEN (Louvain): Les débuts du „despotisme éclairé" en Belgique. (Rés. II, 277).

Otto PETERKA (Praha): Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus und das Recht in Böhmen und Mähren. (Rés. II, 278).

Aleksije JELAČIĆ (Skoplje): La réforme du régime domanial en Croatie-Slavonie sous le despotisme éclairé. (Rés. II, 279).

Axel LINVALD (Kobenhavn): Comment le despotisme éclairé s'est présenté dans l'histoire du Danemark. R. (Bull. 20, 714).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE D

Histoire des grands voyages et des grandes découvertes (Salle 17)

Eugène DÉPREZ (Rennes): Les Portugais et le périple de l'Afrique en 1484 avant Dias. (Rés. II, 283).

Robert RICARD (Rabat): Les Franciscains et la civilisation indigène du Mexique au XV-e siècle. (Rés. II, 288).

T. K. JOSEPH (Trivandrum): The Saint Thomas Traditions of South India. R. (Bull. 20, 560), absent.

Zacarias GARCIA VILLADA (Madrid): Contribucion de la compania de Jesus al conocimiento de la cultura indigena de la America española y de Filipinas. (Rés. II, 288).

— Mercredi, le 23 août, après-midi —

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE K

Féodalité (Salle 5)

Claudio SANCHEZ-ALBORNOZ (Madrid): España y los orígenes del feudalismo.

Helen M. CAM (Cambridge): The Transition from communal to feudal or seignorial courts in France and England (IX — XII centuries). (Rés. II, 435).

Heinrich Felix SCHMID (Graz): Lehenswesen und slavische Rechtsordnung. (Rés. II, 442).

Adorian de DIVÉKY (Warszawa): La constitution du Royaume de Jérusalem et les institutions hongroises et polonaises. (Rés. II, 436).

Zygmunt WOJCIECHOWSKI (Poznań): Les racines nationales et les influences de l'Occident dans les institutions politiques de l'ancienne Pologne. (La Pologne. I, 1).

JEUDI le 24 août

(matinée à partir de 9.30 heures)

SECTION I

Sciences auxiliaires, archives, organisation du travail historique (Salle 7)

Robert FRUIN (s-Gravenhage): Das Ausleihen von Archivalien nach dem Auslande. (Rés. I, 12) absent.

Józef STOJANOWSKI (Warszawa): Der archivalische Leihverkehr zwischen Staatsarchiven verschiedener Staaten. (La Pologne, II).

Eugenio CASANOVA (Roma): Gli inventari degli archivi italiani. (Rés. I, 14).

Hannibal P. SCICLUNA (Malta): The archives of Malta.

— Jeudi, le 24 août, matinée —

Waldo G. LELAND (Washington): European Archives and American History. (Rés. I, 17).

Jovan RADONIĆ (Beograd): Les archives dalmates et l'Académie Royale Serbe. (Rés. I, 18).

SECTION II

Préhistoire et archéologie (Salle 6)

Wilhelm UNVERZAGT (Berlin): Neue Ziele deutscher Bodenforschung. (Rés. I, 35).

C. S. NICOLAESCU-PLOPȘOR (Craiova-Roumanie): Sur le paléolithique et le mésolithique en Roumanie.

Wolfgang LA BAUME (Danzig): Ergebnisse der Burgwallforschung in Ostdeutschland. (Rés. I, 31).

SECTION VII

Histoire du droit et des institutions (Salle 10)

Adolf GASSER (Basel): Strukturwandlungen des mittelalterlichen Staates. R. (Bull. 18, 97).

Émile LOUSSE (Louvain): La formation des États dans la société européenne du moyen-âge et l'apparition des assemblées d'États. R. (Bull. 18, 85).

Francesco CALASSO (Catania): La formulazione giuridica della sovranità degli stati nella dottrina medievale Italiana. (Rés. I, 308), absent.

Alexandre SOLOVIEV (Beograd): „Corona Regni” — développement de l'idée de l'État dans les monarchies slaves du moyen-âge. (Rés. I, 311), absent.

Elemér MÁLYUSZ (Szeged): Herrschaftsformen im mittelalterlichen Ungarn. (Rés. I, 316).

SECTION IX

Histoire des idées et de la philosophie (Salle 5)

Helena WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA (Kraków): L'idée de l'État dans l'Inde ancienne. (La Pologne II, 123).

— Jeudi, le 24 août, matinée —

Maurice DEFOURNY (Louvain): Les théories de l'État d'après Aristote. (Rés. II, 511).

Emile BRÉHIER (Paris): De quelques traits de la philosophie de l'histoire dans l'antiquité classique. (Rés. II, 88).

Intervention de M.

Viačeslav VOLGUINE (Leningrad).

Martin GRABMANN (München): Der Einfluss der aristotelischen Ethik und Politik auf die mittelalterliche Lehre vom Verhältnis zwischen Kirche und Staat. (Rés. II, 75).

Intervention de M.

Agostino GEMELLI (Milano).

Felice BATTAGLIA (Siena): La vera politica in Cristiano Tomasio — Un contributo alla storia della fortuna di Machiavelli. (Rés. II, 80), absent.

SECTION XIV

Enseignement de l'histoire (Salle 20)

Paul OTLET (Bruxelles): L'Atlas Universel de la Civilisation. (Rés. II, 190), absent.

Jadwiga KRASICKA (Łódź): Échange internationale du matériel didactique.

Czesław NANKE (Lwów): Historische Karte als Mittel des modernen Unterrichts.

SECTION XV

Histoire de l'Europe Orientale (Salle 18)

Oskar HALECKI (Warszawa): La Pologne et la question d'Orient de Casimir le Grand à Jean Sobieski. (La Pologne, I, 431).

Constantin MARINESCU (Cluj): Le pape Calixte III (1455—1458), Alfonso V d'Aragon et l'offensive contre les Turcs. (Rés. II, 217).

— Jeudi, le 24 août, matinée —

P. P. PANAITESCU (Bucarest): Le traité de commerce de Mahomet II avec la Moldavie et les voies du commerce polonais vers la Mer Noire.

Emeric LUKINICH (Budapest): Les idées politiques dirigeantes de la principauté de Transylvanie de 1541 à 1690. (Rés. II, 219).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE A

Géographie historique (Salle 3)

Fritz CURSCHMANN (Greifswald): Die Landkarte in der decorativen Kunst. (Rés. II, 257).

Paolo REVELLI (Genova): La concezione geografico-politica nel Cinquecento. R. (Bull. 20, 515).

Mario LONGHENA (Bologna): Le carte e i manoscritti di L. F. Marsili conservati a Bologna. (Rés. II, 258).

Karol BUCZEK (Kraków): Die Reform der polnischen Kartographie zur Zeit des Königs Stanislaus August, 1764—1895. (La Pologne, II).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE E

Histoire coloniale (Salle 17)

Camillo MANFRONI (Roma): Condomini e colonie di Genovesi e Veneziani in Levante. (Rés. II, 293), absent.

Pierre de CÉNIVAL (Paris): Le partage des conquêtes entre le Portugal et l'Espagne sur la côte Africaine, au sud du Maroc. (1509). (Rés. II, 298), absent.

Roberto LEVILLIER (Varsovie): La construction des Indes, opposée à la „Destruction des Indes” du Père Las Casas. (Rés. II, 302).

J. T. DELOS (Lille): Les idées de Francisco de Vitoria sur la colonisation et le développement ultérieur du droit des gens.

— Jeudi, le 24 août, matinée —

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE H

Histoire des mouvements sociaux (Salle 16)

S. M. DUBROWSKI (Moskva): Die Bauernbewegung in der Revolution der Jahre 1905 bis 1907. R. (Bull. 20, 670), absent.

Elias TSCHERIKOWER (Paris): Die Anfänge der sozialistischen Bewegung unter den Juden in Russland, Polen, England und U. S. A. bis 1900. (Rés. II, 410).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE N

Histoire de l'Orient (Salle 4)

William COELHO (Bombay): Greek Influence on the Coast of Karnataka (S. W. Coast of India). (Rés. II, 475), absent.

Hasmukh SANKALIA (Bombay): Mahayana Buddhism in the Bombay Presidency. (Rés. II, 476).

Edward A. PIRES (Bombay): Who were the rulers of Pataliputra before the Guptas? (Rés. II, 479), absent.

Henry HERAS S. J. (Bombay): The Pallava monarchs founders of the religious architecture in the Tamil country. (Rés. II, 481).

A. APPADORAI (Madras): Irrigation in south India in the middle ages. (Rés. II, 483), absent.

JEUDI le 24 août
(après-midi à partir de 15.30 heures)

SECTION III

Histoire ancienne (Salle 3)

Mario Attilio LEVI (Torino): La guerra perugina. Contrasti di idee e di masse in Roma e in Italia negli ultimi anni della Repubblica Romana. (Rés. I, 60).

Vincenzo USSANI (Roma): Su Flavio Giuseppe e i suoi traduttori. (Rés. I, 62).

— Jeudi, le 24 août, après-midi —

Solomon ZEITLIN (Philadelphia): Josefus — Patriot or Traitor?

Emile PANAITESCU (Cluj): La population de Dacie préromaine. (Rés. I, 65).

Georges CANTACUZÈNE (Bucarest): Les caractères des armées romaines du Danube.

SECTION VI

Histoire des religions et histoire ecclésiastique (Salle 9)

Earl M. WILBUR (Berkeley): Faustus Socinus: an estimate of his life and influence. R. (Bull. 18, 48).

Miklós ASZTALOS (Budapest): Die öffentliche Moral in der Frühzeit des ungarischen Altprotestantismus. (Rés. I, 252).

László TÓTH (Budapest): Influssi italiani sulla letteratura teologica ungherese nel secolo XVIII. (Rés. II, 506).

Edouard de MOREAU S. J. (Louvain): La résistance religieuse au Calvinisme en Belgique, de 1544 à 1585. (Rés. I, 255).

SECTION VII

Histoire du droit et des institutions (Salle 10)

Ferenc ECKHART (Budapest): La constitution hongroise et polonaise au moyen-âge. (Rés. I, 321).

OLIVIER-MARTIN (Paris): Henri de Valois et son initiation au droit public Polonais. (Rés. I, 323).

Otto HOETZSCH (Berlin): Föderation (föderativer Gedanke) und fürstliche Gewalt (Absolutismus) in der Verfassungsgeschichte Osteuropas vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert. (Rés. I, 324).

Victor DOSOGNE (Louvain): Recherches sur l'origine des „Etats du Namurois". (Rés. I, 314).

— Jeudi, le 24 août, après-midi —

SECTION VIII

Histoire économique et sociale (Salle 16)

Marc BLOCH (Strasbourg): De la grande exploitation domaniale à la rente du sol: un problème et un projet d'enquête. R. (Bull. 18, 122), absent.

Ch.-Edmond PERRIN (Strasbourg): L'exploitation de la réserve seigneuriale dans le polyptyque de Prüm. (Rés. II, 27).

Pierre PETOT (Paris): La formation de la classe servile en France au moyen-âge. (Rés. II, 30).

Kazimierz TYMIENIECKI (Poznań): Les paysans libres (kmiecie) en Pologne à la fin du moyen-âge. (La Pologne. I, 27).

Jan RUTKOWSKI (Poznań): Le problème de la répartition des revenus à l'époque du régime de la corvée. (La Pologne. I, 73).

SECTION XII

Histoire de l'art (Salle 6)

André BLUM (Paris): Des répertoires iconographiques. (Rés. II, 137), absent.

P. A. LEMOISNE (Paris): Les collections historiques du Cabinet des Estampes—Les ressources qu'elles offrent aux historiens. (Rés. II, 138), absent.

August von LOEHR (Wien): Der Wandel des Münzbildes auf österreichischen Dukaten — Eine numismatisch-ikonographische Untersuchung (mit Lichtbildern). (Rés. II, 139).

Karolina LACKORŃSKA (Roma): Un monument artistique de la Contre-Réforme victorieuse. (La Pologne. I, 163).

Stefan S. KOMORNICKI (Kraków): La Renaissance en Pologne et la vie artistique. (La Pologne. I, 221).

— Jeudi, le 24 août, après-midi —

SECTION XIII

Méthode historique et théorie de l'histoire (Salle 20)

- Henri BERR (Paris): Synthèse. (Rés. II, 178).
 A. D. TOLEDANO (Paris): État. (Rés. II, 178) absent.
 Robert BOUVIER (Paris): Civilisation.
 Frank T. ADKINS (London): The approach to citizenship through history and through regional surveys. (Rés. II, 179).
 Łucja CHAREWICZOWA (Lwów): Est-il fondé d'écrire une histoire spéciale de la femme? (La Pologne. I, 309).

SECTION XV

Histoire de l'Europe Orientale (Salle 18)

- Harold William Vazeille TEMPERLEY (Cambridge): British policy in reference to the Turks and parliamentary government from Disraeli 1876-8 to Grey 1909. (Rés. II, 240).
 Intervention de M.
 Petr PREOBRAŽENSKIJ (Moskva).
 Marcell HANDELSMAN (Warszawa): La politique roumaine du prince Czartoryski (1831-1856). (La Pologne. II.).
 Intervention de M.
 P. P. PANAITESCU (Bucaresti).
 Adam LEWAK (Warszawa): La politique polonaise en Orient — 1830-1870.
 Jozef MATL (Graz): Entwicklung und Charakter der nationalen Kulturideologie bei den Südslaven. (Rés. II, 222).
 Michel LASCARIS (Salonique): Les rapports entre la Grèce et la Serbie au XIX-e siècle. (Rés. II, 227).
 absent.

— Jeudi, le 24 août, après-midi —

- Marina BERSANO BEGEY (Torino): Un agitatore polacco per gli Slavi del sud contro il Panslavismo: Zygmunt Miłkowski (T. T. Jež). (Rés. II, 228).
 A. JERUSSALIMSKIJ (Moskva): La politique de la Russie des tzars dans les Balkans vers la fin du XIX-e et au commencement du XX-e siècle. (Rés. II, 243), absent.

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE C

Histoire du despotisme éclairé (Salle 4)

- OLIVIER-MARTIN (Paris): Les pratiques traditionnelles de la royauté française et le despotisme éclairé. R. (Bull. 20, 701).
 Pietro SILVA (Roma): Forze e iniziative nazionali e influenze straniere nell' opera dell'assolutismo illuminato in Italia. R. (Bull. 20, 752).
 Giuseppe GALLAVRESI (Milano): Aspetti del periodo storico dell'Assolutismo in Italia. R. (Bull. 20, 759).
 Ludvig STAVENOW (Uppsala): Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus des 18. Jahrhundert in Schweden. R. (Bull. 20, 762), absent.
 Heinz HOLLDACK (Leipzig): Die Bedeutung des aufgeklärten Despotismus für die Entwicklung des Liberalismus. R. (Bull. 20, 773).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE E

Histoire coloniale (Salle 17)

- Gustave LANCTOT (Ottawa): Un Conseil électif en Canada au XVII-e siècle. (Rés. II, 308), absent.
 J. TRAMOND (Paris): La participation des colons à l'administration financière et générale de la colonie française de Saint-Domingue. (Rés. II, 311), absent.
 Alfred MARTINEAU (Paris): Parallèle de Dupleix et de Bussy. (Rés. II, 313).

— Jeudi, le 24 août, après-midi —

- Louis Philippe MAY: Une expérience physiocratique aux Antilles. (Rés. II, 316), absent.
 Paul ROUSSIER (Paris): La politique coloniale du Directoire d'après les instructions données à ses agents. (Rés. II, 317).

VENDREDI le 25 août
 (matinée à partir de 9.30 heures)

SECTION I

Sciences auxiliaires, archives, organisation du travail historique (Salle 7)

- Gaston ZELLER (Clermont-Ferrand): Pour une histoire des relations internationales. (Rés. I, 23).
 Intervention de M.
 Charles K. WEBSTER (London).
 Camille BLOCH (Paris): Idée d'une collaboration internationale des Centres de documentation d'histoire moderne et contemporaine. (Rés. I, 27).
 Interventions de MM.:
 Ludwig BITTNER (Wien).
 Charles K. WEBSTER (London).
 Léon CAHEN (Paris): Propositions tendant à établir le bilan quinquennal des travaux historiques. (Rés. I, 27), absent.

SECTION IV

Moyen-Âge et Byzance (Salle 12)

- Albert BRACKMANN (Berlin): Die Ursachen der geistigen und politischen Wandlung im ausgehenden 11. und beginnenden 12. Jahrhundert. (Rés. I, 119).
 Percy E. SCHRAMM (Göttingen): Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Königskronung. (Rés. II, 505).

— Vendredi, le 25 août, matinée —

- Raffaello MORGHEN (Roma): Roma e la storia romana nella prima storiografia volgare. (Rés. I, 101).
 Luigi SIMEONI (Bologna): Le proporzioni e le forme delle espulsioni dei partiti vinti in Italia nel secolo XIII. (Rés. I, 99).
 Bálint HÓMAN (Budapest): La politique étrangère du royaume de Hongrie au moyen-âge. (Rés. I, 120) absent.

SECTION V

Histoire moderne et contemporaine (Salle 15)

- Kazimierz Marjan MORAWSKI (Warszawa): Le „secret du roi" en Pologne. (La Pologne. I, 315).
 Bronisław DEMBIŃSKI (Poznań): Stanislas-Auguste et ses relations intellectuelles avec l'Étranger. (La Pologne. I, 401).
 William Fiddian REDDAWAY (Cambridge): Britain and Poland 1762—1772. (Rés. I, 183) absent.
 A. COBBAN (Paris): The partition of Poland a commentary by Edmund Burke. (Rés. I, 188).

SECTION VI

Histoire des religions et histoire ecclésiastique (Salle 9)

- George M. MORAES (Bombay): Christian Leanings of the Mughal Prince Dara Shukoh. (Rés. I, 274) absent.
 Earl CRANSTON (New York): Social and political problems of the first thirty years of the American missionary movement in China. (Rés. I, 275).
 Ludvigs ADAMOVIČ (Riga): La tension nationale et sociale dans l'église évangélique des Pays Baltiques jusqu'à la fondation des nouveaux États nationaux.

— Vendredi, le 25 août, matinée —

Żdzisław OBERTYŃSKI (Warszawa): Les Arméniens Polonais et leur attitude envers Rome. (La Pologne, II, 95).

Josaphat Jean SKRUTEN (Żółkiew): Un demi-siècle d'histoire de l'Ordre de St. Basile, 1882 — 1932. (Rés. I, 277).

SECTION VII

Histoire du droit et des institutions (Salle 10)

François GANSHOF (Gand): La juridiction de la Cour Comtale en Flandre avant le milieu du XIII-e siècle. (Rés. I, 312).

Kristian ÖSTBERG (Aas): Forschungen in der nordischen Rechtsgeschichte und in dem geltenden Volksrechte (Bauernrechte). (Rés. I, 325).

Arveds ŠVABE (Rīga): Das Naturrecht und die Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft in Livland. (Rés. I, 331).

Karol KORANYI (Lwów): Die Heilige Schrift und das weltliche Recht vornehmlich im Mittelalter. (La Pologne, I, 345).

Nikolaus ČUBATYJ (Lwów): Gegenstand der Geschichte des ukrainischen Rechtes. (Rés. I, 326).

SECTION VIII

Histoire économique et sociale (Salle 16)

Armando SAPORI (Firenze): La storia economica d'Italia nei secc. XII—XVI e la storia economica mondiale. R. (Bull. 18, 127), absent.

Gino LUZZATTO (Venezia): Italiani e stranieri negli studi di storia economica dell'Italia. (Rés. II, 55).

Jacob STRIEDER (München): Finanznot des Staates und Entwicklung des Frühkapitalismus. (Rés. II, 44) absent.

— Vendredi, le 25 août, matinée —

Roberto MICHELS (Perugia): Sul contributo del pensiero classico italiano (Sei e Settecento) nella storia delle dottrine economiche. R. (Bull. 18, 143).

Ugo SPIRITO (Pisa): La storia delle dottrine economiche e i suoi risultati. (Rés. II, 49).

SECTION X

Histoire des sciences—sciences pures et médecine (Salle 3)

Bela POGÁNY (Budapest): L'histoire de la physique en Hongrie. R. (Bull. 19, 292), absent.

Ludwig STEINER (Budapest): Die metereologischen Beobachtungen und Forschungen in Ungarn. R. (Bull. 18, 312), absent.

Pierre SERGESCU (Cluj): Histoire des sciences mathématiques et physiques en Roumanie. R. (Bull. 19, 319).

Valerian Lucian BOLOGA (Cluj): Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin bei den Rumänen. R. (Bull. 19, 371), absent.

SECTION XII

Histoire de l'art (Salle 6)

Giuseppe GEROLA (Trento): De alcune fonti italiane per la iconografia dei reali di Polonia. (Rés. II, 142).

Jean ALAZARD (Alger): Les collections de portraits en Italie et en France au XVI-e siècle. (Rés. II, 517).

Pierre BOYÉ (Nancy): Iconographie historique du roi Stanislas Leszczyński duc de Lorraine et de Bar. (Rés. II, 145) absent.

Albert DEPRÉAUX (Paris): L'iconographie française du prince Joseph Poniatowski. (Rés. II, 147).

— Vendredi, le 25 août, matinée —

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE E
Histoire coloniale (Salle 17)

- René MAUNIER (Paris): Le contact des peuples dans les colonies. (Rés. II, 319).
T. K. SHAHANI (Bombay): Edmund Burke on the British Imperialism in India. (Rés. II, 320).
Hedwige V. NUNES (Bombay): Jesuits sources of Indian History. (Rés. II, 323).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE N
Histoire de l'Orient (Salle 4)

- R. SUBBARAO (Rajahmundry): The administrative history of the Eastern Gangas in the XIth century A. D. (Rés. II, 484), absent.
H. N. SINHA (Nagpur): Indo-Aryan and Indo-Islamic Polity. (Rés. II, 494), absent.
D. F. COLAÇO (Bombay): Culture and art at the court of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore. (Rés. II, 494), absent.
Adrian DUARTE (Karachi): Piracy in the reign of the emperor Aurangzeb. (Rés. II, 496), absent.
S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR (Madras): The value of tradition in Indian Historical research. (Rés. II, 497), absent.
Intervention de M.
Sergej OLDENBOURG (Leningrad).

VENDREDI le 25 août
(après-midi à partir de 15.30 heures)

SECTION III
Histoire ancienne (Salle 3)

- Michael I. ROSTOVITZEFF (New Haven): The military Archives of Dura. (Rés. I, 68).
Vasile CHRISTESCU (Bucarest): Le Limes Romain de la Valachie. (Rés. I, 72), absent.

— Vendredi, le 25 août, après-midi —

- Kazimierz ZAKRZEWSKI (Lwów): La Cité Chrétienne (La Pologne. I, 397).
Intervention de M.
P. F. PREOBRAŽENSKIJ (Moskva).
Corrado BARBAGALLO (Napoli): Il problema della rovina della civiltà antica. (Rés. I, 74).
Intervention de M.
P. F. PREOBRAŽENSKIJ (Moskva).

SECTION IV
Moyen-Age et Byzance (Salle 12)

- Halvdan KOHT (Oslo): Vereinigte Königreiche des späteren Mittelalters. (Rés. I, 119).
August TENTELIS (Riga): Der Deutsche Orden in Livonien.
Franciszek BUJAK (Lwów): Boleslas le Vaillant et ses contemporains.
Karol MALECZYŃSKI (Lwów): Le rang de la chronique du nommé Gall, premier chroniqueur polonais, dans la littérature occidentale du XI-e et du XII-e siècle. (La Pologne. I, 177).
Abel MANSUY (Tourcoing): La France et la Pologne au XIV-e siècle.

SECTION V
Histoire moderne et contemporaine (Salle 15)

- Georges RITTER (Paris): Les réfugiés Polonais de 1831 — 1832 en France. (Rés. I, 191).
Eugenio PASSAMONTI (Torino): I Polacchi e la spedizione Mazziniana nella Savoia del 1834. (Rés. I, 192).
David DIRINGER (Firenze): Per la storia dei Polacchi in Toscana. (Rés. I, 197).
Pietro SILVA (Roma): Giuseppe Mazzini e la Polonia. (Rés. I, 202).

— Vendredi, le 25 août, après-midi —

Maria BERSANO-BEGEY (Torino): La caduta della Repubblica di Cracovia (1846) nei carteggi diplomatici Sardi. (Rés. I, 207).

Intervention de

M-Ile Wisława KNAPOWSKA (Poznań).

Wisława KNAPOWSKA (Poznań): La politique de Metternich avant l'annexion de la République de Cracovie. (La Pologne. II, 39). (*)

SECTION VII

Histoire du droit et des institutions (Salle 10)

François Paul RENAUT D'OULTRE-SEILLE (Paris): L'aube du droit navalles Cinq Points de Cathérine II—9 Mars 1780. (Rés. I, 336).

Jean BOURDON (Paris): Les sources de la législation napoléonienne. (Rés. I, 341).

Ottorino MONTENOVESI (Roma): L'amministrazione della giustizia a Roma e nello Stato Pontificio dalla fine del secolo XV al 1870. (Rés. I, 345).

Lando LANDUCCI (Firenze): Storia della legislazione italiana dalla costituzione del Regno d'Italia, con speciale riguardo al primo periodo sino al 1876 e all'ultimo dal 1922 sino ai nostri giorni. (Rés. I, 350), absent.

Boris SHATZKY (Paris): Les rapports entre l'Angleterre et les Dominions dans le domaine international. (Rés. I, 355), absent.

SECTION VIII

Histoire économique et sociale (Salle 16)

E. COORNAERT (Paris): Nouveautés et archaïsme dans la vie économique d'Anvers au XV-e siècle. (Rés. II, 66).

— Vendredi, le 25 août, après-midi —

Charles GILLIARD (Lausanne): La dépréciation de la monnaie au XVI-e siècle dans la Suisse occidentale. (Rés. II, 49).

Albert MIROT (Paris): Les sources de l'histoire des Prix aux Archives Nationales du XIII-e au XVI-e siècle. (Rés. II, 44).

Gaston DODU (Rennes): Un document inédit sur le règne de la duchesse Anne de Bretagne. (Rés. II, 63).

Roman ZUBYK (Lwów): Die Wirtschaftliche Struktur des Dorfes in Galizien um die Wende des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. (Rés. II, 69).

SECTION IX

Histoire des idées et de la philosophie (Salle 5)

Jean MOREAU-REIBEL (Kraków): La doctrine des monarchomaques français et la Pologne. (Rés. II, 83).

Agostino GEMELLI (Milano): La posizione del Vico nella storia del pensiero. (Rés. II, 93).

Heinz HEIMSOETH (Köln): Politik und Moral in Hegels Geschichtsphilosophie.

Adam ŻÓŁTOWSKI (Poznań): Hegel et la conception de l'histoire en Pologne. (La Pologne. I, 171).

Ambroise JOBERT (Vienne): Les collaborateurs français de la Commission de l'Éducation Nationale. (Rés. II, 100).

SECTION XII

Histoire de l'art (Salle 6)

Kazimierz MICHAŁOWSKI (Warszawa): Quelques observations sur la qualité d'exécution des oeuvres d'art grec classiques et archaïques. (La Pologne. I, 231).

— Vendredi, le 25 août, après-midi —

- Ranuccio BIANCHI BANDINELLI (Groningen): Formazione dello stilo Augusteo. (Rés. II, 148).
 Gino CHIERICI (Napoli) L'architettura longobarda nella Campania. (Rés. II, 152).
 Hans JANTZEN (Frankfurt a/M): Ottonische Kunst. (Rés. II, 154).
 Giuseppe FIOCCO (Padova): Le miniature di Francesco Alverz nei libri della Nazione Polacca. (Rés. II, 155).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE B

Nationalisme et nationalités (Salle 9)

- André OTETEA (Jassy): Les Consuls de France et l'éveil de la nationalité roumaine. (Rés. II, 271), absent.
 P. O. GORIN (Minsk): La politique coloniale de l'autocratie russe en Pologne dans la deuxième moitié du XIX-e siècle et au commencement du XX-e siècle. (Rés. II, 272).
 S. G. TOMSINSKI (Leningrad): Die nationale und koloniale Politik des Zarismus im Zeitalter des Imperialismus. R. (Bull. 20, 570).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE E

Histoire coloniale (Salle 17)

- Frédégand CALLAËY O. M. Cap. (Roma): La contribution des missionnaires capucins à la connaissance de la civilisation du Thibet au XVIII-e siècle. (Rés. II, 326).
 Paulus BERGHAUS (Muenster i. W.): Die Kapuzinermission und ihre Arbeit fuer die Kenntniss der Karolinen und Marianenkultur. (Rés. II, 328).

— Vendredi, le 25 août, après-midi —

- Stanisław KOLIPINSKI, C.S. Sp. (Bydgoszcz): Les missionnaires du Saint-Esprit et la civilisation de l'Afrique fétichiste, (La Pologne. I, 333).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE N

Histoire de l'Orient (Salle 4)

- Władysław KOTWICZ (Lwów): Les Mongols, promoteurs de l'idée de paix universelle au début du XIV-e siècle. (La Pologne. I, 190).
 Sergej OLDENBOURG (Leningrad): Les études orientales dans l'U. R. S. S.

SAMEDI le 26 août

(matinée à partir de 9.30 heures)

SECTION V

Histoire moderne et contemporaine (Salle 15)

- Gioacchino VOLPE (Roma): I rapporti diplomatici fra l'Italia e l'Europa durante il Risorgimento. R. (Bull. 19, 230).
 Josef PFITZNER (Praha): Entstehung und Bedeutung des Slawenkongresses von 1848. (Rés. I, 213).
 Adolfo COLOMBO (Torino): Il Generale Alessandro Isensmid de Milbitz nel Risorgimento Italiano. (Rés. I, 213).
 Georges PAGÈS (Paris): La politique extérieure de Napoléon III. R. (Bull. 18, 16).
 Intervention de M. Marcell HANDELSMAN (Warszawa).
 John Hunter HARLEY (London): Britain and the Polish insurrection of 1863. (Rés. I, 219).
 Intervention de M. A. GORIN (Minsk).

— Samedi, le 26 août, matinée —

SECTION VI

Histoire des religions et histoire ecclésiastique (Salle 9)

- Karl VÖLKER (Wien): Der Toleranzgedanke in Oesterreich und Polen. (Rés. I, 259).
 Stefan CZARNOWSKI (Warszawa): La réaction catholique en Pologne à la fin du XII-e siècle. (La Pologne, II.).
 Arturo Carlo JEMOLO (Bologna): L'Italia religiosa nel Settecento. R. (Bull. 18,70).
 Intervention de M.
 Luigi SORRENTO (Milano).
 Franz Xaver SEPPELT (Breslau): Die „Cabale des Devots" (Rés. I, 260) absent.
 Józefat OSTROWSKI O. S. B. (Lubiń): La Commende en Pologne et le Concordat de Wschowa 1737. (La Pologne, II.).
 Charles APPUHN (Paris): Le protectorat religieux exercé par la France en Orient. (Rés. II, 244) absent
 Intervention de M.
 P. E. PREOBRAŽENSKIJ (Moskva).
 S. SCHIFFER (Paris): Les relations de la France et de la Palestine. (Rés. II, 245) absent.

SECTION VIII

Histoire économique et sociale (Salle 16)

- Alfred COVILLE (Paris): La Grande mortalité de 1348—1350: les documents d'origine française contemporaine. (Rés. II, 60).
 Walter VOGEL (Berlin): Die deutsche Hanse als Kulturmacht. (Rés. II.).
 Oscar Albert JOHNSEN (Oslo): L'acte de navigation du 9 octobre 1651. (Rés. II, 68).
 A. PANKRATOWA (Moskva): Die Geschichte der Betriebe der Sowjetunion. R. (Bull. 18, 153).

— Samedi, le 26 août, matinée —

- Natalja GASIOWSKA (Warszawa): Commercialisation, concentration et mécanisation de l'industrie minière et métallurgique d'État dans le Royaume de Pologne pendant la période de l'administration de la Banque de Pologne, 1833—1843. (La Pologne, I, 153).

SECTION IX

Histoire des idées et de la philosophie (Salle 5)

- Armando CARLINI (Pisa): Il principio della personalità nella storia della filosofia. (Rés. II, 90).
 Johannes HOLLNSTEINER (Wien): Die Weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Nominalismus. R. (Bull. 18,171), absent.
 Pierre DAVID (Kraków): Un disciple d'Yves de Chartres en Pologne — Galon de Paris et le droit canonique. (La Pologne, II, 99).
 George LACOMBE (Paris): The organization of the preliminary work on the international critical edition of the Medieval Latin Aristotle.

SECTION X

Histoire des sciences — sciences pures et médecine (Salle 3)

- Quido VETTER (Praha): L'histoire des sciences en Tchécoslovaquie. R. (Bull, 19, 333).
 Amelja HERTZ (Warszawa): Les débuts de la géométrie et les dernières fouilles en Mésopotamie. (La Pologne, I, 137).
 Aleksander BIRKENMAJER (Kraków): Le premier système héliocentrique imaginé par Nicolas Copernic. (La Pologne, I, 91).
 Edward STAMM (Strzyżów): La géométrie de Nicolas Copernic. (La Pologne, II.) (*).
 January KOŁODZIEJCZYK (Warszawa): L'activité éditrice de la Commission d'Education Nationale dans le domaine des sciences naturelles. (La Pologne, II), (*).

— Samedi, le 26 août, matinée —

SECTION XV

Histoire de l'Europe Orientale (Salle 18)

- Arnold SPEKKE (Riga): La question baltique au XVI-e siècle. (Rés. II, 249).
 Wacław SOBIESKI (Kraków): La politique baltique de Mazarin et l'opposition qu'elle a suscitée en France, 1655—56. (Bull. 19, 463).
 Peter TREIBERG (Tartu): La question baltique au XVII-e siècle. (Rés. II, 521).
 P. J. CHARLIAT (Paris): Documents sur les Consuls et Résidents de France à Danzig du XVI-e au XVIII-e siècle.
 Karol GÓRSKI (Poznań): La décadence de l'État et de l'Ordre Teutonique en Prusse. (La Pologne, I, 141).
 Roman LUTMAN (Toruń): Aperçu historique des relations entre la Pologne et Gdańsk. (La Pologne, II, 13).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE F

Démographie historique comparée (Salle 4)

- Marcel MOINE (Paris): Composition de la population par âge dans les départements français de 1851 à 1926. (Rés. II, 374), absent.
 Pierre DEFFONTAINES (Lille): Histoire démographique des pays de la Moyenne Garonne au XIX-e et XX-e siècle. (Rés. II, 379), absent.
 Paolo REVELLI (Genova): Fluttuazione della popolazione e corologia storica d'Italia. (Rés. II, 381).
 H. W. METHORST (La Haye): Histoire de la population des Pays Bas. (Rés. II, 384), absent.

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE I

Histoire militaire (Salle 17)

- Piero PIERI (Napoli): La scienza militare italiana del Rinascimento. R. (Bull. 20, 685).
 Guido ALMAGIA (Roma): Marinai Italiani al servizio di Francia. (Rés. II, 417).

— Samedi, le 26 août, matinée —

Gladys Scott THOMSON (London): The raising of troops in England for Mansfield in 1624—1625. (Rés. II, 423).

Mario ROATTA (Roma): Delle truppe polacche e italiane che operarono sotto Napoleone I, con particolare riguardo alle truppe polacche che operano in Italia. (Rés. II, 425).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE L

Humanisme (Salle 10)

- Raymond LEBÈGUE (Rennes): L'histoire de l'humanisme de la Renaissance. R. (Bull. 18, 174).
 Stephen D'IRSAY (Paris): L'humanisme et les universités. (Rés. II, 450).
 Alphonse DUPRONT (Bucuresti): Sur le problème de l'humanisme chrétien en Italie à la fin du XVI-e siècle. (Rés. II, 448).
 Federico CHABOD (Roma): Il Rinascimento nelle recenti interpretazioni. R. (Bull. 19, 215), absent.
 Stanisław KOT (Kraków): La culture polonaise à l'époque de la Renaissance.

SAMEDI, le 26 août

(après-midi à partir de 26 août heures)

SECTION III

Histoire ancienne (Salle 3)

- Ernst KORNEMANN (Breslau): Die unsichtbaren Grenzen des römischen Kaiserreichs. (Rés. I, 66).
 Intervention de M.
 P. F. PREOBRAŽENSKIJ (Moskva).
 Rudolf LAUR-BELART (Basel): Die Stellung der Schweiz im Imperium Romanum (mit Lichtbildern).
 Ludwik PIOTROWICZ (Kraków): Les terres polonaises dans l'antiquité.

— Samedi, le 26 août, après-midi —

Andreas ALFÖLDI (Budapest): Die Einführung des persischen Hofzeremoniells im Römerreiche (mit Lichtbildern). (Rés. I, 69).

SECTION V

Histoire moderne et contemporaine (Salle 15)

Erich BRANDENBURG (Leipzig): Begriff und Geschichte des Imperialismus. (Rés. I, 225).

Interventions de MM.:

A. PANKRATOWA (Moskva).

P. F. PREOBRAŽENSKIJ (Moskva).

Louis EISENMANN (Paris): L'évolution intérieure de l'Autriche avant la guerre mondiale. (Rés. I, 225).

Interventions de MM.:

P. F. PREOBRAŽENSKIJ (Moskva).

P. F. PREOBRAŽENSKIJ (Moskva): La guerre Russo-Japonaise et son influence sur la formation de l'entente. (Rés. I, 226).

SECTION VI

Histoire des religions et histoire ecclésiastique (Salle 9)

René DURAND (Dijon) et Edmond PRÉCLIN (Viroflay): L'histoire des Congrégations Religieuses en France du XVI-e à la fin du XVIII-e siècle. R. (Bull. 18, 61).

Intervention de M.

LAIGNEL-LAVASTINE (Paris).

Louis JADIN (Louvain): Importance et valeur historique des procès de nomination des évêques et des abbés sous l'Ancien Régime. (Rés. I, 264).

Yvonne BEZARD (Paris): Les visites de paroisses au XVII-e siècle dans le diocèse de Paris. (Rés. I, 269).

— Samedi, le 26 août, après-midi —

Otakar ODLOŽILIK (Praha): An Attempt to reconcile the Protestant Churches in the XVIIIth century. (Rés. I, 260).

SECTION X

Histoire des sciences — sciences pures et médecine (Salle 7)

Paul DIEPGEN (Berlin): Die Revolution im Jahre 1848/49 und der deutsche Aerztestand.

J. TRICOT-ROYER (Anvers): Un chapitre de l'histoire de la lépre en Belgique au XVI-e siècle. (Rés. II, 105), absent.

Marcel FOSSEYEUX (Paris): Les premiers budgets d'assistance en France: la taxe municipale des pauvres au XVI-e siècle. (Rés. II, 107).

Władysław SZUMOWSKI (Kraków): L'école polonaise médico-philosophique. (La Pologne. I, 39).

Intervention de M.

LAIGNEL-LAVASTINE (Paris).

András DEÉSI DADAY (Budapest): L'évolution de la science médicale en Hongrie. R. (Bull. 19, 353), absent.

SECTION XI

Histoire des lettres (Salle 5)

Zygmunt ŁEMPICKI (Warszawa): Literaturbetrachtung und Literaturbewegung.

Intervention de M.

Juljusz KLEINER (Lwów).

Henri TRONCHON (Strasbourg): Pour les relevés bibliographiques réguliers des publications en langues slaves, baltiques, finno-ougriennes et orientales, concernant les relations littéraires internationales. (Rés. II, 133).

Zygmunt L. ZALESKI (Paris): Quelques considérations sur la critique littéraire „immédiate”.

— Samedi, le 26 août, après-midi —

- Władysław FOLKIERSKI (Kraków): Słowacki et Alfred de Vigny.
 Karlis STRAUBERGS (Riga): La culture esthétique lettone et la culture allemande importée dans l'ancienne Livonie.

SECTION XII

Histoire de l'art (Salle 6)

- Louis RÉAU (Wien): Les relations artistiques entre la France et la Pologne au XVII-e et XVIII-e siècles. (Rés. II, 155).
 Tibor GEREVICH (Budapest): Les communautés de style dans l'art de l'Europe orientale.
 André GRABAR (Strasbourg): Rapports artistiques entre les peuples de l'Est Européen. (Rés. II, 519).
 Coriolan PETRANU (Cluj): Der Anteil der drei Nationen Siebenbürgens an der Ausgestaltung seines Kunstcharakters. (Rés. II, 156).
 Ilarjon SWIENCICKYJ (Lwów): Les influences orientales dans le développement de l'art ukrainien du XV-e au XVII-e siècle. (Rés. II, 157).

SECTION XIV

Enseignement de l'histoire (Salle 20).

- Michel LHÉRITIER (Paris): Étude comparée, pour l'histoire du XIX-e siècle et plus spécialement pour l'histoire des années 1815—1830, de quelques manuels d'enseignement supérieur parus dans différents pays. (Rés. II, 187).
 Interventions de MM.:
 A. PANKRATOWA (Moskva).
 Cz. LEŚNIEWSKI (Warszawa).
 H. POHOSKA (Warszawa).
 K. TYSZKOWSKI (Lwów).

— Samedi, le 26 août, après-midi —

- Helena RADLIŃSKA (Warszawa): Collaboration de l'histoire et des sciences de l'éducation.

SECTION XV

Histoire de l'Europe Orientale (Salle 18)

- Kazimierz TYSZKOWSKI (Lwów): La Pologne et la Moscovie dans la lutte pour la Baltique au XVI-e et XVII-e siècles. (La Pologne. I, 251).
 Alfons Michał WODZIŃSKI (Łódź): Polnisch-Preussen und Danzig in den ersten Jahren der Regierungszeit Augusts II. (La Pologne. I, 49).
 Kazimierz PIWARSKI (Kraków): La Pologne et la question baltique dans la deuxième moitié du XVII-e siècle. (La Pologne. II, 85).
 AKTCHOURA OGLOU YOUSSEF BEY (Ankara): L'oeuvre historique de Mustapha Djelalettin Pacha et ses points de vue sur l'histoire des Turcs. (Rés. II, 233), absent.
 Benedict Hamphrey SUMNER (Oxford): Lord Augustus Loftus as British ambassador at St. Petersburg 1875—1879. (Rés. II, 236).
 Ludwik WIDERSZAL (Warszawa): The British policy in the Western Caucasus 1832 — 1842. (La Pologne. I, 205). (*)

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE F

Démographie historique comparée (Salle 4)

- John Harold CLAPHAM (Cambridge): Irish immigration into Great Britain in the nineteenth century. R. (Bull. 26, 596).
 T. N. CARVER (New York): The problem of occupational congestion. R. (Bull. 20, 621), absent.

— Samedi, le 26 août, après-midi —

- Beverley W. BOND (Cincinnati): Some Aspects of Earley Westward Migration in the United States. (Rés. II, 392).
- Zofja DASZYŃSKA-GOLIŃSKA (Warszawa): L'accroissement de la population en Pologne à l'époque des partages 1816—1914. (La Pologne. I, 115).
- Stefan DZIEWULSKI (Warszawa): L'évolution territoriale de la ville de Varsovie à travers les siècles (1230—1930).

SÉANCE SPÉCIALE M
Histoire des Juifs (Salle 16)

- Jakob LESTCHINSKY (Praha): Die Umsiedlung und Umschichtung des jüdischen Volkes während des letzten Jahrhunderts. (Rés. II, 469).
- Rafał MAHLER (Warszawa): Die Theorien der jüdischen Kulturentwicklung in der jüdischen Historiographie. (Rés. II, 458).
- Ignacy SCHIPER (Warszawa): Die Hauptproblemen der jüdischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte.
- Emanuel RINGELBLUM (Warszawa): Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse des polnischen Judentums in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. (Rés. II, 452).

LIST OF CONGRESS PARTICIPANTS

Following is the list of participants of the Congress in Warsaw, along with their country of origin, place of residence, and institutional affiliation. The list is based on the document *VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques: Liste des membres* (Warsaw, 1933), 46 pp., which is cited extensively in the preceding sections of this book. The Organizing Committee most likely compiled the said inventory shortly before the Congress, on the basis of the submitted application forms. Aside from the data provided in the table below, the original list included usually the participant's status (mainly the academic degree), sometimes their position, as well as their domicile and place of stay in Warsaw for the duration of the Congress (mainly hotel name). Given the limited substance of these details to the readers of this book, we elected to discard them from our list.

The participants are listed alphabetically (which was not always the case with the original list). The original spelling has been generally preserved, even though the multilingual notation adopted by the organizers (evident at the time) may seem somewhat confusing to contemporary readers. Any obvious mistakes, particularly with regard to spelling, were corrected. Wherever possible, we strove to add the missing first names and decipher the provided initials, while also contemporizing the spelling of certain Polish first names. Wherever the original list failed to specify the participant's first name (or was limited to its initial letter), gender titles were added in matching languages (Frau, Mrs., etc.), with the provision that this rule does not apply to the remaining cases. Furthermore, we took considerable efforts to decode the numerous abbreviations denoting the institutions represented by the participants.

As mentioned before, the following list is not tantamount to that of the actual Congress participants, some of whom were late arrivals, and as such they were not included in the said inventory. Moreover, nearly 50 from among the early registrations withdrew from the Congress after the list had gone into print. Their names were annotated as "absent."

In our list, the would-be participants were marked with a single asterisk (*), while the absentees confirmed based on other records were labeled with a double asterisk (**).



Fig. 56. Title page of *Liste des membres*.

	SURNAME, FIRST NAME(S)	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AFFILIATION
A	*ABRAHAM Władystaw	Poland (Lvov)	Lvov University
	ADAIR Edward Robert	Canada (Montreal)	McGill University
	ADAMOVIČS Ludvigs	Latvia (Riga)	Université Riga
	ADCOCK Frank Ezra	Great Britain (Cambridge)	King’s College
	ADKINS Frank T.	Great Britain (London)	
	*AKTCHOURA Oglou Youssouf Bey	Turkey (Istanbul)	
	ALAZARD Jean	Algeria (Algiers)	Université d’Alger
	ALAZARD M-me	Algeria (Algiers)	
	ALCAZAR Amanda Junquera de	Spain (Murcia)	
	ALCAZAR-MOLINA Cayetano	Spain (Murcia)	Murcia Université
	ALFÖLDI Andreas	Hungary (Budapest)	Université Budapest
	ALMAGIA Erminia	Italy (Rome)	
	ALMAGIA Guido	Italy (Rome)	Ministerio della Marina
	ALMAGIA Roberto	Italy (Rome)	Reale Università di Roma
	ALMQUIST Helge	Sweden (Stockholm)	Archive de l’Etat Stockholm
	ALOS-MONER Ramon d’	Spain (Barcelona)	Institut d’Estudis Catalans
	ANTONIEWICZ Włodzimierz	Poland (Warsaw)	University of Warsaw
	ARMSTRONG Mrs.	USA (Providence, Rhode Island)	
	ARMSTRONG Sinclair W.	USA (Providence, Rhode Island)	Brown University
	ARNOLD Stanisław	Poland (Warsaw)	University of Warsaw
	ASZTALOS Miklos	Hungary (Budapest)	Université Budapest
	AUBIN Hermann	Germany (Breslau)	Universität Breslau
	*AZAN Paul Jean Louis	France (Tunis)	
B	BACHULSKA Halina	Poland (Warsaw)	
	BACHULSKI Aleksy	Poland (Warsaw)	
	BAKER John Norman Leonard	Great Britain (Oxford)	School of Geography
	BAKER Mrs.	Great Britain (Oxford)	
	BALFOUR Ronald Edmund	Great Britain (Cambridge)	King’s College
	BALICKA Zofia	Poland (Warsaw)	
	BALLESTEROS Gaibrois Manuel	Spain (Madrid)	
	BALLESTEROS Mercedes Gaibrois de	Spain (Madrid)	

SURNAME, FIRST NAME(S)	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AFFILIATION
BALLESTEROS Y BERETTA Antonio	Spain (Madrid)	Universidad de Madrid
*BALODIS Francis	Latvia (Riga)	Université Riga
BALS Gheorghe	Romania (Bucharest)	Université Bucuresti
BALAŁABAN Majer	Poland (Warsaw)	Institute for Judaic Studies
BANKOWSKI Piotr	Poland (Warsaw)	
BARATH Tibor	Hungary	Comité National Hongrois
BARBAGALLO Corrado	Italy (Naples)	Regio Istituto Superiore di Scienze Economiche
BARBAGALLO G. Sig-a	Italy (Naples)	
BARON Salo	USA (New York)	Columbia University
BARROS PIMENTEL José Francisco de	Brazil	
BARSZCZEWSKA Krystyna	Poland (Warsaw)	
BARTCZAK Maria	Poland (Warsaw)	
BARTEL Oskar	Poland (Warsaw)	
BARWIŃSKI Eugeniusz	Poland (Lvov)	State Archives
BATOWSKI Zygmunt	Poland (Warsaw)	University of Warsaw
BAXTER James Houston	Great Britain (St. Andrews)	St. Andrews University
BÉDARIDA Henri	France (Grenoble)	Grenoble Université
BÉDARIDA M-me	France (Grenoble)	
BEDNARSKI Stanisław	Poland (Cracow)	<i>Przegląd Powszechny</i> Editorial Board
*BENSAUDE Joaquim	Portugal	
BERCIU Dumitru	Romania (Craiova)	
BERGHAUS Paulus	Germany (Münster)	Kapuzinerkloster
BERR Henri	France (Paris)	Centre de Synthèse
BERR M-me	France (Paris)	
BERSANO-BEGEY Maria	Italy (Turin)	Museo di Risorgimento
BERSANO-BEGEY Marina	Italy (Turin)	Reale Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino
BERTOLINI Ottorino	Italy (Rome)	Reale Università Roma
BESSLER Hans	Switzerland (St. Gallen)	
BÉZARD Yvonne	France (Versailles)	Archives Nationales
BIAŁKOWSKI Leon	Poland (Lublin)	State Archives in Lublin, Catholic University of Lublin

SURNAME, FIRST NAME(S)	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AFFILIATION
BIAŁOWIEJSKA Wanda	Poland (Warsaw)	
BIANCHI-BANDINELLI Ranuccio	Italy (Siena)	Università di Groningen
BIDLO Jaroslav	Czechoslovakia (Prague)	Universit� Praha
BIELECKI Tadeusz	Poland (Warsaw)	
BILIKIEWICZ Tadeusz	Poland (Cracow)	Jagiellonian University
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BIONDI Biondo	Italy (Milan)	Universit� Cattolica Milano
BIONDI Maria	Italy (Milan)	
BIRKENMAJER Aleksander	Poland (Cracow)	Jagiellonian University
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BITTNER Ludwig	Austria (Vienna)	Universit�t Wien
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BLOCH Camille	France (Ch�teau de Vincennes)	Mus�e de la Guerre
BLUM Marcelle	France (Paris)	Lyc�e F�nelon
BOBKOWSKA Wanda	Poland (Cracow)	
BODNIAK Stanis�aw	Poland (K�rnik)	K�rnik Library
BOE Johannes	Norway (Bergen)	Bergens Museum
BOGATKIEWICZ W�adys�aw	Poland (Warsaw)	
BOND Beverley W.	USA (Cincinnati, Ohio)	University of Cincinnati, Mississippi Valley Historical Association
BOND Mrs.	USA (Cincinnati, Ohio)	
BONEFANT Paul	Belgium (Brussels)	Universit� Bruxelles
BORENSTEIN Matylda	Poland (M�awa)	M�awa High School
BORN Lester K.	USA (Cleveland, Ohio)	Western Reserve University Cleveland
BORN Mrs.	USA (Cleveland, Ohio)	
BOROWSKA Zofia	Poland (Warsaw)	
BOROWSKI Stanis�aw	Poland (Warsaw)	University of Warsaw
BORTOLOTTI Ettore	Italy (Bologna)	Reale Universit� Bologna
BOURDON Jean	France (Paris)	Coll�ge Libre des Sciences Sociales
BOUVIER Robert	France (Paris)	Centre International de Synth�se
BRACKMANN Albert	Germany (Berlin)	Universit�t Berlin

SURNAME, FIRST NAME(S)	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AFFILIATION
BRAMS J�zef	Poland (Warsaw)	
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BRANDI Karl	Germany (G�ttingen)	Universit�t G�ttingen
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BR�HIER Emile	France (Paris)	Sorbonne
BR�HIER Yvonne	France (Paris)	
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BRIX Hans	Denmark (Hellerup)	Universit� Copenhagen
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BRUNAUER CAUKIN Esther	USA	American Association of University Women
BRUNEL Clovis	France (Paris)	�cole des Chartes
BRUNEL M-me	France (Paris)	
**BRUTZKUS Julius ¹		
BRUYN M.A. de M-lle	Holland (Leiden)	
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*BUCKLAND Charles Stephen B.	Great Britain (London)	Public Record Office
*BUCKLAND Mrs.	Great Britain (London)	
BUCZEK Karol	Poland (Cracow)	
BUJAK Anna	Poland (Lvov)	
BUJAK Franciszek	Poland (Lvov)	Lvov University
BUKOWSKA Alicja	Poland (Konstantyn�w on the Ner)	
BU�AWSKI Rajmund	Poland (Warsaw)	
**BURGDORFER Friedrich	Germany (Berlin)	Statistisches Reichsamt
BURSCHE Edmund	Poland (Warsaw)	
C *CALLAEY Fr�d�gand	Vatican	
CAM Helen Maud	Great Britain (Cambridge)	Girton College
CAM Marjorie	Great Britain (Cambridge)	

1 A Jew born in Lithuania, based in Berlin, national affiliation left blank.

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CARLINI Laurretta	Italy (Pisa)	
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CASANOVA Eugenio	Italy (Rome)	Reale Universit� Roma
CAVAIGNAC Eug�ne	France (Strasbourg)	Universit� Strasbourg
CAYREL Pierre	France (Pichey M�rignac, Gironde)	Ecole Fran�aise de Rome
CEDERBERG Arno Rafael	Finland (Helsinki)	Universit� Helsinki
CEDERBERG Solfrid M-me	Finland (Helsinki)	
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*C�NIVAL Pierre de	France (Paris)	
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CHABOUX Gaston	France (Belley, Ain)	
CHABOUX M-me	France (Belley, Ain)	
CHALOUPECKY V�clav	Czechoslovakia (Bratislava)	Universit� Bratislava
*CHAMPEAUX Ernest	France (Strasbourg)	Universit� Strasbourg
*CHANCE James Frederick	Great Britain (London)	Royal Historical Society
CHAREWICZ �ucja	Poland (Lvov)	
CHARLIAT Pierre Jacques	France (Paris)	
CHAUVAUX Henri	Belgium (Namur)	
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CHEVALIER Alice	France (Neuilly s/Seine)	Universit� libre de Neuilly s/Seine
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SURNAME, FIRST NAME(S)	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AFFILIATION
CHOWANIEC Czes�aw	Poland	Polish Library in Paris
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CHYLI�SKI Konstanty	Poland (Lvov)	Lvov University
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CLAPHAM Mr.	Great Britain (Cambridge)	
CLAPHAM Mrs.	Great Britain (Cambridge)	
CLARKE Francis	Great Britain (Richmond, Surrey)	
*COBBAN Alfred	Great Britain	
*COLLINET Paul	France (Paris)	Universit� Paris
COLOMBO Adolfo	Italy (Turin)	Museo di Risorgimento
CONSTANT Gustave	France (Meudon)	Institut Catholique de Paris
COORNAERT �mile	France (B�con les Bruy�res)	�cole des Hautes �tudes
COORNAERT M-me	France (B�con les Bruy�res)	
COROI Jean N.	Romania (Bucharest)	Universit� de Jassy
COROI M-me	Romania (Bucharest)	
CORTESE Dora	Italy (Naples)	
CORTESE Nino	Italy (Naples)	Regio Istituto Superiore Napoli
COVILLE Alfred	France (Paris)	Comit� National Fran�ais
COVILLE M-me	France (Paris)	
COX Isaac Joslin	USA (Evanston, Illinois)	Northwestern University
COX Mrs.	USA (Evanston, Illinois)	
CRANSTON Earl	USA (New York)	Colgate University Hamilton
CRANSTON Mildred W.	USA (New York)	
CURSCHMANN Fritz	Germany (Greifswald)	Universit�t Greifswald
CYWUSZ Antonina	Poland (�d�)	
CZAPLI�SKI W�dys�aw	Poland (Tarn�w)	
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	SURNAME, FIRST NAME(S)	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AFFILIATION
	CZUBATY Mykola	Poland (Lvov)	Theological Academy
D	DANILEWICZ Maria	Poland (Warsaw)	
	DASZYŃSKA-GOLIŃSKA Zofia	Poland (Warsaw)	Free Polish University
	DAUVERGNE Robert	France (Paris)	
	DAVID Pierre	Poland (Cracow)	
	DĄBKOWSKI Przemysław	Poland (Lvov)	Lvov University
	DĄBROWSKA Stanisława Stefania	Poland (Cracow)	
	DĄBROWSKI Jan	Poland (Cracow)	Jagiellonian University
	DĄBROWSKI Jan	Poland (Warsaw)	
	DĄBROWSKI Karol	Poland (Warsaw)	
	DĄBROWSKI Otton	Poland (Warsaw)	
	DEFOURNY Maurice	Belgium (Louvain)	Université Louvain
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	DEMBIŃSKA Aniela	Poland (Poznań)	
	DEMBIŃSKA Anna	Poland (Poznań)	
	DEMBIŃSKI Bronisław	Poland (Poznań)	University of Poznań
	DEMBY Leontyna	Poland (Warsaw)	
	DEMBY Stefan	Poland (Warsaw)	National Library
	DEMETRYKIEWICZ Włodzimierz	Poland (Cracow)	Jagiellonian University
	DENNEFELD Louis	France ² (Strasbourg)	Université Strasbourg
	DENTER Zygmunt	Poland (Warsaw)	
	DEPRÉAUX Albert	France (Paris)	Archive de la Fond Thiers
	DEPRÉAUX M-me	France (Paris)	
	DÉPREZ Eugène	France (Rennes)	Université Rennes
	DÉPREZ M-me	France (Rennes)	
	DERZHAVIN Nikolai Sevastyanovich	USSR (Leningrad)	Université Leningrad
	DICKSTEIN Samuel	Poland (Warsaw)	University of Warsaw
	DIEHL Charles	France (Paris)	Sorbonne

² Probably by mistake, he was originally listed as a representative of Poland.

	SURNAME, FIRST NAME(S)	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AFFILIATION
	DIEHL M-me	France (Paris)	
	DIEPGEN Paul	Germany (Berlin)	Universität Berlin
	DILLEN Johannes Gerard Van	Holland (Amsterdam)	
	DINCÈS Anna	Poland (Warsaw)	
	DIRINGER David	Italy (Florence)	Centro di Studi Coloniali
	DIVÉKY Adorián	Hungary	Université Budapest
	DŁUSKA Maria	Poland (Warsaw)	
	DOBROWOLSKI Antoni	Poland (Warsaw)	University of Warsaw Library
	DODU Gaston	France (Rennes)	
	DODU M-me	France (Rennes)	
	DÖLGER Franz	Germany (Munich)	Universität München
	DOMANOVSKY M-me	Hungary (Budapest)	
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4 Misspelled as KOTHE.

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WINNICKA Kazimiera	Poland (Warsaw)	
WINNICKI Leonard	Poland (Warsaw)	
WIŚNIEWSKI Tadeusz	Poland (Warsaw)	Lvov Polytechnic University
WITKOWSKA Helena	Poland (Cracow)	
WITTROCK Georg Johan Veit	Szwecja (Uppsala)	University Uppsala
WODZIŃSKA M-me	Poland (Łódź)	
WODZIŃSKI Alfons Michał	Poland (Łódź)	
WOJCIECHOWSKA Jadwiga	Poland (Warsaw)	
WOJCIECHOWSKA M-me	Poland (Poznań)	
WOJCIECHOWSKI Zygmunt	Poland (Poznań)	University of Poznań
WOJTKOWSKI Andrzej	Poland (Poznań)	Raczyński Library
WOLF Adam	Poland (Warsaw)	
WOLFE-WIDZISZEWSKI Albert	USA (Milwaukee, Wisconsin)	
WOLFOWICZ Abram	Poland (Warsaw)	
WOLFOWICZ Izaak	Poland (Warsaw)	
WORTCHINGTON Miss	USA	
WRÓBLEWSKA Ewelina	Poland (Hrebenów, Stanisławów Voivodeship)	
ZABOROWSKA Helena	Poland (Łódź)	
ZABORSKI Bogdan	Poland (Cracow)	Jagiellonian University
ZAJĄCZKOWSKI Stanisław	Poland (Vilnius)	Vilnius University
ZAKRZEWSKA Jadwiga	Poland (Lvov)	
ZAKRZEWSKA Julia	Poland (Zgierz)	
ZAKRZEWSKA Sydonia	Poland (Lvov)	
ZAKRZEWSKI Kazimierz	Poland (Lvov)	Lvov University

SURNAME, FIRST NAME(S)	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AFFILIATION
ZAKRZEWSKI Stanisław ⁶	Poland (Lvov)	Lvov University
ZALESKA Maria	Poland	
ZALESKI Zygmunt	Poland	University of Warsaw
ZAN Jadwiga	Poland (Warsaw)	
ZANCAN Leandro	Italy (Gorizia)	Reale Università di Padova
ZANCAN Paola	Italy (Padua)	
ZAWADZKA Renata	Poland (Warsaw)	
ZAWADZKI Franciszek	Poland (Warsaw)	
ZBOROWSKA Matylda	Poland (Warsaw)	
ZEILLER Jacques	France (Paris)	École des Hautes Études Paris
**ZEITLIN Solomon	USA (Philadelphia)	Dropsie College
ZELLER Gaston	France (Clermont-Ferrand)	Université Clermont-Ferrand
ZELLER M-me	France (Clermont-Ferrand)	
ZEMBRZUSKI Ludwik	Poland (Warsaw)	University of Warsaw
ZIELIŃSKI Tadeusz	Poland (Warsaw)	University of Warsaw
ZIKMUNDOVA Jarmila	Czechoslovakia (Bratislava)	
ZIMONIOWA Jadwiga	Poland (Łódź)	
ZIÓŁKOWSKI Tadeusz	Poland (Poznań)	
ZŁOTORZYSKA Maria	Poland (Warsaw)	
ZMIGRYDER-KONOPKA Zdzisław	Poland (Warsaw)	
ZUBYK Roman	Poland (Lvov)	Shevchenko Scientific Society
Ż	ŻMIGRODZKI Zygmunt	Poland (Warsaw)
ŻÓŁTOWSKI Adam	Poland (Poznań)	University of Poznań
ŻUKOWSKI Piotr	Poland (Poznań)	
ŻUROWSKI Józef	Poland (Cracow)	Jagiellonian University
ŻYŁKÓWNA Wanda	Poland (Warsaw)	
ŻYWczyński Mieczysław	Poland (Płock)	Metropolitan Higher Seminary in Płock

⁶ Misspelled as Zakrzewska Stanisława.

Marceli Handelsman

REPORT ON THE 7TH CONGRESS OF HISTORIANS¹

Aside from its scientific and official aspects, the historical Congress had another, more general dimension.

Upon receiving instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (the undersigned – from Minister Schaetzel, Prof. Dembiński – from Director J. Potocki), we conducted matters as follows:

- 1-o With regard to the Czechs. Advised by prof. Bidlo, I held a meeting of Polish historians (sen. Zakrzewski, president Kutrzeba, prof. Kot, director Łopaciński, prof. Konopczyński, assistant professor Mościcki, and others) with Czech colleagues, in the course of which we established that, contrary to the uniform Polish association, the Czechs have no general historical organization in place, and that they ought to establish one; that the Polish-Czech rapprochement is advised; the nearest goal should involve holding joint scientific conventions on specific themes, it was decided to elect a joint coordinating commission made up by 3 representatives of each party, with the Czechs represented by Bidlo, Odložilik, and Stloukal, and their Polish counterpart, whom the Board of the Polish Historical Society would appoint later for continuous communication (Aug 23). On the following day, the Czech delegation held a grand dinner to celebrate the momentous Polish-Czech rapprochement. At parting, director Stloukal assured me that the Czechs considered the success of the Congress to be their own, for it was a common Slavic success.
- 2-o With regard to the Hungarians. We supported them thoroughly, introduced them to all section presidiums, and canvassed for a seat for them on the future Board of Intern. Committee of Historians. They expressed their heartfelt gratitude for our care.
- 3-o Our relations with the Germans were particularly irritable. Anxious about the visit, they eventually turned out more numerous than expected, ca. 50, flocking together

and scrutinizing all debates. The most implacable ones were Rothfels and Maschke of Königsberg, and Recke of Danzig. Once in Warsaw, their mood changed. The elder and more cautions among them (Kehr, Brandi) kept an even keel, envoy Moltke hosted a reception, with our side extending warm hospitality. I introduced the Chair of their delegation, Director Kehr, to our President, and their eldest, prof. Finke (80.) – to our Prime Minister. Prof. Dembiński included in his introductory address, a few words in German, which baffled them, delighting the majority, and terrifying the hardened minority. They were generally impressed by the great strength of the Polish science and state, which needs to be thoroughly “acknowledged.” More specifically: the director of their archives (prof. Brackmann) declared time and again his readiness to render all of their materials available to Polish scholars, while the German envoy professed to take action for the sake of a cultural rapprochement, which could possibly include inviting several professors to Germany (e.g., Łempicki or Zieliński). On our side, we invited the Germans to a Weinabend at Fukier, to which many of them came and by which they were visibly moved. No public talks were conducted.

In relation to the Germans, two incidents transpired which I relayed then indirectly to the German envoy. 1-o Our Secretariat received a protest from the English Committee against the German policies, signed by most eminent names, with a request to disseminate it at the Congress. I retained this vehement protest, and notified the English that it had reached us too late (signed by Guilbert Murray Rutherford, S. Benym, among others). 2-o The other day, anti-Polish proclamations were found in the congress rooms, written in French and signed Comité antifasciste. I was fortunate enough to confiscate them before the commencement of the sessions. However, one of our delegates insisted the flyers were scattered by dr Kohte, a young German. Upon deliberation, I prohibited to make any use of the knowledge and requested the police agent to suppress the affair. Both facts are of substance to the Ministry. See the attached documents.

- 4-o The relations with the Soviets were most intriguing, given their unusually cordial character. The first paper presented in Polish at the Congress was read by the young Soviet scholar Gorin. Member of the Academy, Derzhavin, publicly stressed the extraordinary weight of Polish science. Outside of the Congress, I held a meeting with two Soviet scholars (Gorin and Lukin), a Latvian (Spekke), an Estonian (Treiberg), and several Poles (Mme. Bachulska) on the joint edition of the latest bibliography of Polish history. The meeting proved to be immensely fruitful and concluded with a declaration to render the Soviet materials, even Soviet handwritten bibliographical, available to Polish scholars. To reciprocate the vital favor granted by the Soviet delegation, I hosted a joint dinner in Cracow, which was attended by the entire Soviet delegation (Secretary

¹ Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie, Ambasada RP w Berlinie – Kongresy, konferencje i zjazdy międzynarodowe, korespondencja, raporty placówek polskich, noty, sprawozdania, zaproszenia, 1933, file no. 1410, sheets 261-264. Marceli Handelsman's report on the Congress in Warsaw was most likely compiled for the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, possibly in September 1933, and subsequently sent to the embassies of the countries referred to in the report. The text is published substantially *in extenso* (including author's handwritten corrections). Only minor editorial amendments were made.

of Academy Volgin, Director of the Communist Academy Lukin, Derzhavin, Gorin, Preobrazhensky, and Pankratova), and members of our contingent (prof. Kętrzyński, Kutrzeba, Dąbrowski, Kot, Semkowicz, and Director Kuntze). The conversation was public and the Soviets expressed their sincere will to collaborate on specific matters, as detailed above, while also suggesting an exchange of publications, and declared their readiness (with provision) to ensure access to the archives, ardently stressing the need for professors and experts exchange, including pedagogues, especially in view of the Soviets' high opinion of the Polish activity in the field of history didactics. To seal the negotiations, in which our postulates included the Lithuanian Metrica, the repossession dispute, and the lost Acts of the Union of Lublin, I summarized the results of our meeting and proposed to establish a kind of coordinating commission, comprised of the secretary of our Academy (prof. Kutrzeba), and the USSR's Academy (Volgin). On September 4, a reception was held at Soviet diplomatic mission to express their gratitude. Upon being proposed to hold their delegation's lectures in the next few days, I advised to postpone them until October due to the absence of our students. The Soviets gave their lectures at the Socialist Housing Cooperative in Żoliborz, outside of our jurisdiction.

I gave an extensive report on the above to Minister Łukasiewicz prior to his departure for Moscow. He deemed our course of action consistent with his own. The attitudes among the Soviet delegation were completely unanimous and most appropriate, marked by cordiality and gratitude for the way they were treated. Their lone qualm concerned the reports from the Congress published, for example by *Gazeta Warszawska*, to which I explained we had no say on what went into print in our press.

It is my belief that the presence of this delegation will facilitate the establishment of academic relations with, and expedite our repossession efforts in the Soviet Russia. One of the Soviets (Gorin) referred to it as a watershed moment for the Polish-Soviet-Russian relations as a whole.

- 5-o With regard to the Romanians. Given the presence of former prime minister, Iorga, everything amounted to his very person, whom we approached with due attention. Envoy Cădere is strongly attached, or perhaps even related to Iorga, and as such he tried very hard to indulge his ambitions. Iorga received the Kaniów Cross, which he seemed to cherish greatly. He left satisfied. Iorga and the Soviet delegate Volgin had the opportunity to speak with Mr. President. Iorga also made a longer conversation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

General conclusions from the Congress can be narrowed down to the following deductions.

- 1-o Poland and Polish science appeared as a force and everyone felt it.
- 2-o Our role in cultural life clearly involves the regulation of relations, at least, the European continent, which was also manifest in the field of the French-Italian rivalry.
- 3-o Polish themes came to the fore among the research topics of the Congress.
- 4-o For the first time, Polish was used comprehensively in discussions and papers of not just Poles but also foreigners. It turned out that there were many more Polish-speaking foreigners than we had expected, hence our fundamental proposition for the future, which we should from now on promote institutionally: to demand that Polish be internationalized - incidentally, I would like to add that even the most hardened among the Germans admitted they would have to learn Polish, while Derzhavin publicly pledged to appeal with the appropriate Soviet authorities to introduce the teaching of the Polish language in selected Soviet gymnasiums. While it is my understanding that this shall be neither an easy nor a quick fix, I am nonetheless convinced that, in the wake of the Warsaw congress, our policy should embrace the opportunity, with the institutional support of our science.

Henri Hauser

REPORT ON THE COURSE OF THE WARSAW CONGRESS FOR THE FRENCH MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION, ANATOLE DE MONZIE¹

Paris, le 6 octobre 1933.

A Monsieur le Ministre de l'Éducation Nationale

Rue de Grenelle

Paris-VII.

Monsieur le Ministre,

Vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me désigner comme représentant de votre département au VII Congrès International des Sciences historiques, qui s'est tenu à Varsovie et Cracovie, du 21 au 28 août. Je crois donc devoir vous adresser un rapport sur cette manifestation.

LA DÉLÉGATION FRANÇAISE

Le premier fait qui frappait, c'est l'importance numérique de la délégation française, de beaucoup la plus considérable après la délégation polonaise. Plus de quatre-vingt-dix de nos compatriotes des deux sexes étaient inscrits au Congrès et, malgré des absences involontaires, de la dernière heure – dont quelques-unes très regrettables – l'effectif réel n'était pas loin d'atteindre quatre-vingts. J'ajouterai qu'à l'inverse de ce qui se passe trop souvent dans les réunions internationales, ces Français n'étaient pas, il s'en faut, tous des Parisiens. En dehors de la Sorbonne et de la Faculté de droit de Paris, dix universités françaises étaient représentées, parfois par plusieurs délégués: Alger, Caen, Clermont, Dijon, Grenoble, Lille, Montpellier, Poitiers, Rennes, Strasbourg. De même à côté des membres des Archives nationales figuraient des archivistes départementaux. Il y a là un fait rare, et qui vaut d'être signalé.

Ces délégués appartenaient aux spécialités les plus diverses. J'ai seulement entendu exprimer le regret que, par suite des circonstances, les études gréco-latines, qui tiennent une place si glorieuse dans l'école historique française, fussent absentes, à une exception près.

Compte tenu de cette absence, nos collègues polonais, dont on connaît les susceptibilités nationales, se sont montrés agréablement surpris et touchés de cette abondance et de cette variété de la représentation française, surtout en pensant à la distance qui nous sépare et aux frais considérables qu'entraînait un séjour à Varsovie.

CONDITIONS MATÉRIELLES

Je touche ici, Monsieur le Ministre, à un point très délicat. Mais comme il s'agit de la part qui doit appartenir à la France dans ses grandes assises scientifiques, je crois devoir m'exprimer en toute franchise. – J'ai entendu, dans des milieux diplomatiques, dire des Congrès historiques: « Cela coûte cher ». Me sera-t-il interdit de répondre que cela rapporte?

Les délégués avaient reçu, le 20 juin 1933, du Comité français des sciences historiques l'avis qu'il pourrait leur être allouée une subvention de deux mille cinq cents francs environ. En fait c'est cette somme de 2,500 Fr qui leur a été accordée.

Or d'un calcul établi par ce même Comité, il ressortait que le prix minimum du trajet Paris-Varsovie-Paris serait, compte tenu des réductions, de Fr 1,270 en 1^{ère} classe, 860 Fr en 2^{ème}, 568 Fr en 3^{ème}. Comme il était difficile à des professeurs français, considérés en quelque manière comme des envoyés de leur gouvernement, de traverser les pays étrangers en troisième, c'est le chiffre de 860 Fr qui doit être pris pour norme, sans faire intervenir, pour les longs voyages de nuit, les dépenses supplémentaires qui peuvent s'imposer à des hommes qui ne sont pas tous de première jeunesse.

Encore faut-il noter: 1^o que la réduction de 20% prévue pour le trajet allemand ne pouvait être accordée que si le retour avait lieu, en Allemagne, par le même parcours. La fait que la Congrès se terminait à Cracovie, ce qui traînait d'ailleurs une dépense de transport supplémentaire, rendait cette condition à peu près inexécutable. De même par une singulière erreur de manœuvre, la réduction de 50% obtenue des réseaux français avait été demandée dans des conditions qui rendaient cette concession pratiquement illusoire, puisqu'elle ne jouait qu'entre le 15 août et le 7 septembre, soit cinq jours seulement avant la première réunion du Comité International (20 août) et quatre jours après la clôture de l'une des excursions qui suivaient le Congrès (3 septembre).

J'ajouterai que plusieurs congressistes ont cru répondre aux intentions du gouvernement de la République en évitant, dans les circonstances actuelles, de passer par l'Allemagne. Ils ont ainsi majoré considérablement le prix de leur voyage. Enfin malgré un avertissement du Comité disant: « Cette subvention vous sera attribuée personnellement, à l'exclusion des

¹ Centre des Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve – Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, vol. 417 QO, file no. 316, sheets 1-12. The report is presented substantially *in extenso* (including the author's handwritten corrections). We made only minor editors' marks and corrected obvious errors.

membres de votre famille qui pensent vous accompagner », il a semblé à plusieurs délégués qu'il n'était pas inutile de révéler à l'étranger l'existence de la famille française. Quiconque a un peu l'expérience de ce genre de réunions sait qu'il y a là un élément essentiel de notre influence. Même pour les congressistes venus seuls, il suffit de consulter les barèmes préparés par le Comité polonais pour se persuader qu'un séjour à Varsovie et à Cracovie, durant sept à huit jours, joint aux frais de voyage d'aller et retour (et de Varsovie à Cracovie), dépassait notablement le prix de 2,500 Fr. Il est remarquable que tant de congressistes français aient pu faire cet effort; ils seraient hors d'état de l'envisager à nouveau si, à bref délai, se présentait une autre occasion d'aller représenter leur pays au dehors. Je m'excuse d'avoir insisté sur ce genre de considérations: elles me paraissent d'une importance capitale. Je crois savoir que certaines autres délégations ont bénéficié, de la part de leurs gouvernements respectifs, d'un traitement plus large.

ORGANISATION SCIENTIFIQUE DU CONGRÈS

Au point de vue scientifique, le septième Congrès a souffert, comme celui d'Oslo et malgré les décisions prises à Oslo, du même mal qui stérilise trop souvent les réunions de ce genre, à savoir le nombre excessif des communications et l'abus des communications portant sur des sujets d'ordre monographique, non destinés à la discussion dans un congrès international. Quand nous aurons dit que le Congrès comprenait quinze sections, et qu'à ces sections il avait été nécessaire de joindre treize « séances spéciales », en réalité des sous-sections autonomes, on aura une idée de la confusion du travail. Il serait temps que des règles rigides vinssent apporter un peu d'ordre dans ces assises, et éviter une telle déperdition d'efforts. Les communications importantes, parfois éclatantes, se trouvent noyées et ne réunissent qu'un nombre trop faible d'auditeurs, sauf quand elles ont la chance de figurer dans une séance plénière. Encore la première de celles-ci a-t-elle [eu] lieu, malheureusement, dans une salle dont l'acoustique était au-dessous du déplorable. Au contraire la séance terminale de Varsovie et la séance de Cracovie ont connu le grand succès.

RÔLE DE LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE

Dans cette masse de communications, ce qui surprit agréablement les Français, ce fut le rôle joué par notre langue. Les orateurs des séances plénières ont, le plus souvent, parlé français. Cette langue a été employée par la majorité des orateurs polonais, tchèques, roumains. Le nouveau président du Comité international, professeur Temperley, ne nous a pas seulement fait l'honneur de s'exprimer en français, mais il a tenu à dire qu'il considérait le français comme la langue des congrès internationaux.

Ceci nous amène à parler des observations que j'ai pu recueillir sur la situation du français en Pologne. Si, actuellement, la bonne société connaît notre langue, et la parle parfois avec une finesse et un sentiment des nuances absolument remarquables, sommes-nous assurés de l'avenir? Il est certain que le nationalisme polonais, comme tout nationalisme, tend à réduire l'usage de toutes les langues étrangères, la nôtre comprise. Il faut lutter contre cette tendance par l'enseignement, et je m'attendais à voir le lycée français jouer à cet égard un rôle de premier ordre. Hélas! La réalité est moins belle. Un diplomate ami de la France m'a fait cette inquiétante confidence que s'il envoyait son fils au lycée français, c'est parce que ses propres sentiments lui interdisaient d'agir autrement, mais qu'il était douloureusement étonné, dans une ville dont le français est historiquement la seconde langue, de constater que notre lycée ne réunissait que 150 élèves, la plupart appartenant à des couches sociales médiocres, qu'il n'avait pas vraiment sa place dans l'organisation générale de l'enseignement, qu'il était, pour ainsi dire, locataire d'une école polonaise, et par conséquent ne donnait de cours que pendant les heures vacantes de celle-ci. Une conversation avec M. le chargé d'affaires de France m'a persuadé que ce tableau n'était pas poussé au noir. Essayant de rechercher les causes du contraste entre l'échec partiel de Varsovie et le succès du lycée de Riga, même le demi-succès de celui de Tallinn, qui comptent chacun 400 élèves dans des pays vingt fois moins peuplés et beaucoup moins favorables que la Pologne, nous en sommes arrivés à cette conclusion que la formule adoptée à Varsovie était défectueuse: au lieu d'un lycée intégré dans le cadre national comme celui de Riga, où le français apparaît comme une parure de l'enseignement letton, le lycée de Varsovie est resté un corps étranger, chose grave dans un pays où, nous le répétons, le nationalisme est constamment en éveil. Comme il est impossible, en tout état de cause, de renoncer à un établissement qui porte, malgré tout, le nom de « lycée français », il s'agit de reprendre en sous-œuvre, d'essayer de refaire par l'intérieur un édifice à demi-manqué. Ce sera une tâche difficile, mais qui s'imposera, et qui ne serait peut-être pas très coûteuse.

Heureusement les cours de l'Alliance française parent quelque peu à cette insuffisance de notre établissement d'enseignement secondaire de Varsovie. Ceux de Cracovie, appuyés par une société locale d'amis de la France, sont également très suivis. C'est grâce à ces cours que l'usage du français est maintenu même dans une partie des couches moyennes de la population.

RELATIONS AVEC LES AUTORITÉS ET AVEC LES DÉLÉGATIONS ÉTRANGÈRES

Vous serez sans doute désireux de savoir, Monsieur le Ministre, quels ont été nos rapports avec nos collègues des diverses nationalités.

Avec les Polonais (y compris les autorités gouvernementales) ils ont été d'une très grande cordialité. Nous avons plutôt à prendre des précautions pour éviter de donner à cette réunion internationale le caractère, qui aurait été dangereux, d'une manifestation franco-polonaise.

Les Polonais, qui ne cachèrent pas leurs inquiétudes au sujet de certains actes, plus ou moins bien compris, de la politique française, étaient heureux de considérer notre venue comme un témoignage de notre durable sympathie. A cet égard notre présence en nombre eut peut-être quelque utilité, quelque action apaisante. Dans les solennités officielles, invitations chez le Président du Conseil, à la municipalité, chez le Président de la République, comme chez les particuliers, les Français ont été entourés de toutes les prévenances. Votre délégué a pu, chez le chef de l'Etat, s'entretenir avec le Ministre de la Justice et avec celui des Affaires étrangères. M. Beck a bien voulu, après avoir exprimé ses doutes au sujet de la solidité et de l'efficacité des pactes, me dire ces parties, destinées évidemment à être répétées chez nous: « Nos deux forces conjuguées constituent l'épine dorsale de la paix européenne ». Au point de vue scientifique, nous avons noué avec nos collègues des universités polonaises les relations les plus précieuses. Etant donné l'abondance des communications sur la Pologne, les visites de musées et de monuments, les expositions organisées dans les bibliothèques et les archives, le Congrès a été pour nous, Français, une leçon d'histoire du plus haut intérêt.

Après la délégation française, la plus nombreuse, et aussi la plus active, était l'italienne, Près de soixante inscrits, presque tous présents. Officiellement, ils affectaient la cohésion et l'air de supériorité distante qui, depuis le triomphe du régime, caractérisent les délégations fascistes; le discours du chef de la délégation, le sénateur Fedele, prononcé en latin, était une sorte de manifeste. Mais, individuellement, dans les sections, les Italiens affectaient à notre égard la plus grande amabilité, recouraient souvent au français, témoignaient souvent de leur respect pour la science historique française et les modes d'exposition des Français. Ajouterai-je que, dans les conversations particulières, il arrivait à certains d'entre eux de laisser entendre qu'ils ne partageaient pas, sous le régime, l'admiration qu'ils étaient obligés d'afficher?

La délégation allemande, qui forme généralement une masse imposante, était exceptionnellement peu nombreuse. Moins de trente inscrits, et quelques absences notables. Très peu des représentants les plus qualifiés de la science allemande. Leur mot d'ordre était de se tenir sur la plus prudente réserve, un peu gênée. Ils évitaient de se montrer dans les festivités, même celles organisées par les autorités polonaises. Il semble que les Allemands venus à Varsovie appartenaient à des cercles plutôt suspects aux maîtres actuels du Reich, et qu'ils craignaient de se compromettre. Au dîner qui termina l'excursion de Wilno, l'un d'eux dont l'attitude avait été jusqu'alors des plus correctes, crut devoir prononcer un toast où il se disait le représentant non seulement de l'Allemagne, mais des races allemandes (deutschen Stämme) et où il comparait aux malheurs de la Pologne ceux de l'Allemagne. Mais il semble que ce fut la une leçon apprise, et récitée par précaution, car aussitôt après il vint s'asseoir à côté de votre délégué pour engager une longue conversation sur un sujet scientifique.

Cette attitude particulière de la délégation allemande eut une conséquence importante. D'après le précédent d'Oslo, où un vote de surprise avait failli être obtenu de la section de l'enseignement de l'histoire, nous redoutions un danger: le veto de décisions contraires à la liberté scientifique et, sous couleur de pacifisme, une tentative hardie de falsification de l'histoire. C'était même la crainte d'incidents imprévus et fâcheux qui nous avait fait désirer – et sans doute aussi à vous-même, Monsieur le Ministre, – que la délégation française fut nombreuse. En réalité les débats de cette section, suivis surtout par le délégué de l'Université de Paris, M. Pagès, se sont déroulés dans le calme et ont roulé surtout sur des questions techniques.

Il y a peu à dire sur les autres délégations. Avec les Roumains, les Tchèques, les Yougoslaves, nous étions sur le pied le plus amical. Quelques-uns des collègues de ces nationalités semblaient, comme les Belges, presque grossir l'effectif de la délégation française. La délégation britannique, peu nombreuse mais de qualité, nous a donné la même impression que j'avais déjà recueillis lors de deux conférences, l'une économique, l'autre historique, tenues à Londres aux environs de la Pentecôte. Quelques-uns, et des élus notables, de ces historiens qu'un excès de scrupules poussaient à ne pas donner tort aux thèses allemandes se sont rapprochés de nos points de vue. J'ajouterai que certains ont positivement découvert la Pologne, où ils n'avaient trop souvent cru voir qu'une masse indisciplinée et turbulente, ils ne nous ont pas caché leur admiration de rencontrer un peuple qui travaille et s'organise. La délégation américaine était médiocre en nombre et, sauf exceptions, en qualité.

J'ose espérer, Monsieur le Ministre, que ces quelques notes ne vous paraîtront pas dénuées d'intérêt, et je vous prie de croire à mes sentiments respectueusement dévoués.



ADDENDUM

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES: CHANCES AND CHALLENGES – AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCUSSION

Since 1900, historians from around the world have been organizing congresses to discuss the most pressing topics, present the results of their research, and build international cooperation network. In 1926, a group of them established CISH as a non-governmental organization composed of national committees (representing the member countries) and specialist commissions (devoted to specific research issues). This new body was entrusted with organizing successive congresses every five years, in collaboration with historians of the host countries. To this day, 22 congresses have been held in various parts of the world. We are currently standing at the threshold of the next, 23rd Congress, which will take place in Poznań, Poland.

Throughout more than a century of world congresses, the role of these gatherings and their significance for the historical profession has changed. The tasks and expectations of the participants also currently differ from those from a hundred years ago. On June 21, 2018, the Faculty of History of Adam Mickiewicz University and the Organizing Committee of XXIII International Congress of Historical Sciences (ICHHS), together with CISH Board, convened in Poznań to discuss these issues at an international colloquium, *International Congresses of Historical Sciences: Chances and Challenges*.

The debate was attended by the members of the CISH Board and invited guests, representing the Committee of Historical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Polish Historical Society, as well as the leading Polish universities. The CISH Board was represented by General



Fig. 57. Panelists during discussion – from the left: Ewa Domańska, Rafał Witkowski, Catherine Horel, Michał Targowski, Krzysztof A. Makowski.

Secretary Catherine Horel (France), Vice-Presidents Eliana Dutra (Brazil) and Pim den Boer (the Netherlands), Treasurer Sacha Zala (Switzerland), as well as Lorina Repina (Russia), Joel Harrington (USA) and Matthias Middell (Germany). The Polish side was represented by Dobrochna Kałwa, Barbara Klich-Kluczevska, Krzysztof Zamorski, Katarzyna Sierakowska, Michał Targowski, and a group of the Poznanian historians.

Krzysztof A. Makowski opened the meeting on behalf of the Polish Organizing Committee of the XXIII ICHS, and presented its main purpose, namely to discuss the past, the present, and above all the future of the international congresses of historical sciences, in consideration of the newest trends in world historiography and the new expectations of the historical profession. The participants were then greeted by Rafał Witkowski, Vice-Dean of the Faculty of History, who emphasized that the debate coincided with a special moment in the history of the Adam Mickiewicz University – the 100th anniversary of its founding. The subject of discussion, therefore, was particularly important not only from the point of view of the future of congresses and the entire historical profession, but also for the future of universities.

Witkowski stressed that we should all especially appreciate the commitment of young scholars and be attentive to their activities and development.

The General Secretary of the CISH, Catherine Horel, began her speech with a memory of previous visits to Poznań, which aimed to ascertain the state of preparations for the Congress. She stated that the Board was convinced that the Congress in Poznań would be organized at a very high level, not only from a technical, but also scientific and academic point of view. “You did your job, you mobilized the Polish profession” – she said to the organizers of the Congress in Poznań – “I, as a researcher of Central Europe, already know that many Central European scholars have been encouraged to take part in the Congress. Central European panels have already been accepted, and national committees and members of affiliated commissions will be present in Poznań.”

In Horel’s opinion, it was national committees and affiliated commissions that had the greatest role to play in introducing innovative issues and attracting participants. The creation of new national committees is another important point. As Catherine Horel stressed, it was particularly difficult task to mobilize a group of historians to create a national representation and involve them in the CISH activities, due to political, financial and many other reasons. Therefore, she stated that we all should promote the idea of engaging in the CISH by membership in affiliated commissions following one’s own specialization even without having a country representation in the Committee. Horel further argued that the CISH Board should strive to create new national committees and affiliated commissions to be a young, living organization. We should renew ourselves. We should solicit for new commissions and be more dynamic, innovative, focusing on topics that are not yet addressed, that are new and popular in historical discourse around the world.

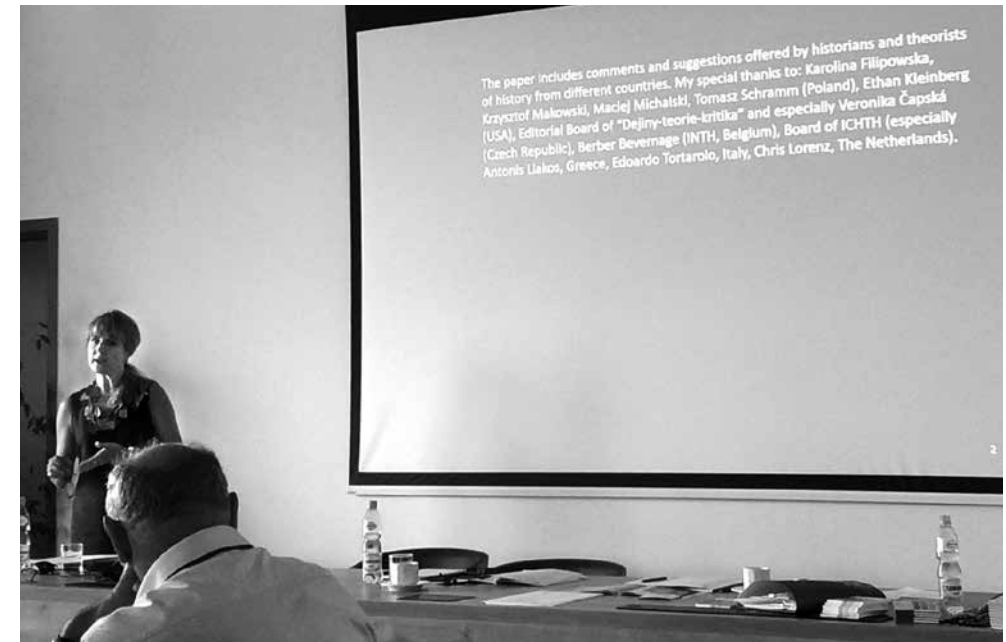
Attracting young scholars was another issue raised by Catherine Horel. Many young historians today do not see the importance of international organizations in the age of the Internet. “I am already connected with the world,” they could say, but, as Horel emphasized, only virtually. The best places to truly meet fellow scholars are world congresses. Only there, according to her, scholars are able to meet people, who study similar problems, listen to lectures on issues they are interested in, or confront various theories. In her opinion, the fundamental future question for the CISH and debating historians was whether the kind of presence of young scholars we expect was that of passive participants or that of active speakers, panelists. She stressed that at the Poznań Congress a significant proportion of the speakers would consist of historians representing the younger generation, which she considered a highly positive sign for the future.

At the end, Horel pointed out that, in consideration of all these factors, the CISH had undertaken several projects, such as the Solidarity Found, which aim was to ensure that

well-qualified historians from underrepresented parts of the world would not be deprived of the opportunity to attend the Congress for financial reasons; or the Poster Session addressed to post-graduate and PhD students, enabling them to present their ongoing research achievements. One new initiative of the CISH Board is the Research Forum, which will be held for the first time in Poznań. The main purpose of the Forum is to allow research institutions to present their ongoing or planned projects to an audience of established scholars and early career researchers. It should provide an opportunity for cooperation between institutions as well as the recruitment of highly qualified scholars as collaborators. This initiative fully ties with the CISH mission, as one of its objectives is to stimulate dialogue between young scholars and various research institutions. Therefore, Horel saw the Congress in Poznań as a step forward not only in the development of congresses but also of the Committee itself.

Ewa Domańska of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, representing the Organizing Committee, offered her extensive comments in light of an ongoing paradigm shift in the contemporary humanities and the concurrent generational change, a shift marked by non- and post-anthropocentric approaches, a post-secular atmosphere as well as a critique of Eurocentrism and science as a privileged form of knowledge building and its organization. Such a change in perspective, she noted, has the strongest effect on avant-garde tendencies, but it also has an undeniable transformative impact on multiple fields of knowledge, including history. In the spirit of a “revival of futurity” (as proposed by Fredric Jameson), Domańska claimed that the formula of the international congresses of historical sciences, as well as the CISH itself, need to be critically reconfigured. The current situation poses a difficult challenge, but it is also a chance to rethink the important question of what we might do to bring back the role of CISH and its congresses. Or perhaps, she suggested, we should think of alternative forms of collaboration and gatherings that would replace the formula of international congresses.

In the subsequent part of her speech, Domańska referred to the future directions of congresses. In light of the aforementioned paradigm shift and generational change, and in the context of escalating calls for “a fundamental change in the way we work together to «do» science,” she posed the question: what are the future goals of the international congresses of historical sciences?; do international congresses have a future at all? In her opinion, it would also be worth asking what we could do to defend history as a discipline, or if it deserved to be defended. While for most European historians such questions might seem strange, unjust, or even ridiculous, they would be received very differently by scholars working on the geography of knowledge and epistemic injustice who consider history to be a specific approach to the past that serves as an instrument of epistemicide and supports colonial “epistemic imperialism of Western knowledge.”



| Fig. 58. Ewa Domańska delivering her paper.

In the face of a peculiar “identity crisis” of the discipline, Domańska noted that the CISH congresses should not only state the current condition of historical reflection but above all devote more attention to emerging fields and conceive future directions. She regretted that the CISH congresses had lost their important role as generators of innovative tendencies in historical research. In her opinion, attending congresses for the purpose of networking (or even as a form of intellectual tourism) had become more important than learning new things and engaging in serious intellectual debates. She concluded by stating that we should think of ways to balance this asymmetric relation.

Afterwards, Domańska referred to the name of the congress itself. As per Article 1 of the CISH “Constitution,”

The International Committee of Historical Sciences [...] is a non-governmental organization [...] created in order to promote the historical sciences through international co-operation. In particular it organizes every five years, in collaboration with the National Committee of the historians of the host country, an International Congress of Historical Sciences.

The congresses are therefore labeled as the “CISH congresses” (or the congress of the CISH). Domańska claimed that for some scholars, it might seem reductive, since the CISH itself is a predominantly European association that has been traditionally organized and led by white, mostly male, historians. Thus, the constitution needs rephrasing (including the way in which it refers to “historical sciences”).

In the next part of her speech, Ewa Domańska took up the question of the structure of the CISH, which in her opinion seems to be formatted in a way that privileges organizations identified by the national criterion, thus making the nation the main identifier. Moreover, even the very terminology suggests the nation as the default reference point (national committees, international organizations). In the contemporary world, Domańska underscored, we are witnessing a rise of nationalism on the one hand and the loosening of national ties due to migrations and social reconfigurations on the other. Therefore she proposed the CISH Board to consider rethinking this issue in the spirit of “world congresses of historical sciences,” although she would omit the word “science” (and even “history”) as problematic or even too reductive. How about pan-, cross-, or transcultural congresses (a viable alternative that is perhaps still inadequate since even culture is losing ground as a stable reference)? Terms such as forum, federation, community (and sub-community) have become more popular, and call to mind the language of cooperation, collective mind innovations, and distributed cognition. She asked if we might then propose (as more inclusive): “Federation for the Knowledge of the Past” or “Federation for Building the Knowledge of the Past?”

Domańska then turned to an example from her own field, addressing the issues of cooperation, networks, friendship and reciprocity: the International Network for Theory of History (INTH), established in 2012 by young assistant professors and graduate students from Ghent University, she argued, is far more dynamic, effective and successful at bringing together scholars from all over the world than the International Commission for the History and Theory of Historiography (ICHTH), which is affiliated with the CISH. The INTH defines itself as:

non-exclusive (free membership), non-thematic and community-based. Anyone who identifies herself/himself as a theorist of history is invited to join, benefit from the network’s resources and contribute. [...] The aim of this network is to facilitate this by offering a directory of theorists of history, an online community-based bibliography of theory of history, as well as a forum for announcing events. Its aim is to foster collaboration and the exchange of ideas among theorists of history.

Domańska presented the INTH as a kind of model for the future as non-exclusive, non-thematic, based on an online community, and as a forum that anybody may join for free and whose events would be open to all. The participatory approach is of special importance here. The INTH is targeted at open-minded critical thinkers who are active agents in their field rather than passive observers. Observing how this network functions and develops, Ewa Domańska found that it foregrounds cooperation based on friendship (successful cooperation based on reciprocity, compromises and social trust) as well as high academic standards and ethical conduct. Thus, asked Domańska, how might the CISH (and the ICHTH) orient itself in comparison to such networks and what benefits could be offered for potential members to join the CISH and its commissions rather than other forms of cooperation available e.g., on Facebook?

Another problem raised by Ewa Domańska was that of alter-native logic and the necessary adjustments. In her opinion, the CISH cannot remain Eurocentric (not only in its institutional structure but also in terms of knowledge building in history and its methodology, theory and sources). After all, the new impetus for historical reflection is coming from Australia, China, East-Central Europe, India and Latin America (the impact of indigenous knowledges should be of particular importance for the CISH’s policy of inclusion). Therefore Domańska suggested that we should consider using “alter-native logic,” and divert more attention to (revaluations of) theories and methods in light of the growing impact of non-European scholarship that does not necessarily share Eurocentric standards of scientific inquiry.

Domańska also drew attention to one of the most interesting and transformative phenomena in the contemporary humanities and social sciences, connected with the issue of alter-native logic and the problem of necessary adjustment, i.e., “the ontological turn.” In her opinion, the most dynamic discussions on the topic are taking place in anthropology and archaeology. In archaeology, as she stressed, the question resonates in debates about the ontological status of things (as in archaeological artifacts and ecofacts – Ian Hodder, Bjørnar Olsen) and the agency of things (as inspired by works of Alfred Gell, Jane Bennett, Manuel DeLanda, and scholars working on object-oriented ontology, such as Ian Bogost, Graham Harman, and Timothy Morton). In history, however, it resonates in the empirical turn, and return to the archives, new material culture studies, and thing studies. As debated by anthropologists, the problem becomes even more interesting. Scholars (such as Philippe Descola, Edoardo Viveiros de Castro, and earlier Roy Wagner and Marilyn Strathern) not only question a dualist view of culture and nature but also call for an openness to radical difference (or alterity) and claim that cultural relativism is not relativistic enough. They advocate the position that there are not only different worldviews but in fact different worlds (ontologies/cosmologies). As per Descola, our units of analysis, provided exclusively by humans, create blockages. Various

cosmologies might be treated as a matrix that would help to develop ideas of society. Domańska emphasized that we should therefore refrain from making *a priori* commitments, instead allowing our empirical material to develop concepts (or transform existing ones). She argued that the main question with regard to historical research should refer to the ways in which we should describe ideas or beliefs that do not make sense in our own worldview. For example, she added, when an informant says that the tree is in fact a spirit, and one describes this view as a belief, one already labels it in a specific way. Ontologically oriented scholars would ask instead: what kind of adjustment to our conceptual schema would have to be made to make sense of thinking of the tree as a spirit? One might ask what is new in this approach, which is visible in the field of anthropological history. According to Domańska, however, there is a difference in the current context created by attempts to transgress Eurocentrism and anthropocentrism. Following the anthropologist Paolo Heywood, she argued that the ethnographic challenges to notions of culture and cultural relativism are of particular relevance, not only for anthropologists but also for anyone concerned with the place of notions of “culture” and “society” in the world today. She also quoted another salient example, i.e., the notion of “social” or “cultural” construction: to call something a social construct is a staple of our contemporary critical vernacular, but doing so implies not only that we can happily divide the world into things that are “social” and things that are “natural”, but also that the latter can be taken for granted.

Finally, Ewa Domańska raised some remarks regarding the procedures of setting up the congress program. First of all, she stated that the process of submission of program proposals should be more democratic. As of now, submission is preceded by selection made by national committees that have their own interests and agendas and tend to promote “their own people.” A more democratic process might involve a more open call for session proposals. Domańska would also advocate that the CISH accept proposals from all institutions, museums, journals, and associations recognized as professional and academic in each country. Moreover, the CISH should clarify their criteria of selection of the major themes and other panels. In her opinion, the process deserves more transparency. Domańska also suggested that, decisions regarding the final program of the congresses should be made possibly a year before the congress, and no earlier.

Domańska also stressed the importance of attracting young scholars and PhD students. To do so, the CISH might facilitate special sessions for graduate students and/or poster sessions. However, she admitted that she was not in favor of such age-based ghettoization. If a graduate student is doing excellent research on an important topic, her/his paper should be included in the main program. It should be one of the main goals of the CISH to encourage intergenerational cooperation and bonds by including more young scholars, funding prizes

for PhD theses and books, and announcing the extraordinary achievements of young scholars on the CISH website.

In Domańska’s opinion, the CISH website itself should be more creative and more dynamic (along with the CISH presence on Facebook and other social media platforms). It must be an imperative since, as the slogan goes, “the website speaks for the institution.” Also the Committee itself should place a greater focus on self-advertising. Many historians in various countries (also in Europe) do not even know that an entity such as the CISH exists. Thus, Committee should appoint a specialist in public relations and try to reach all history departments as well as historical museums and associations. Creating a newsletter that is circulated by email (and accessible online), or even starting a journal could help but it must be persistent! The CISH also should have its own “gadgets” – t-shirts, mugs, pen-drives, notebooks, pens, etc. Furthermore, conferences and congresses would be excellent occasion to promote activities of the Committee. Organizers of such events should then have logo of the CISH on the conferences’ websites and posters.

In conclusion, recalling the context of historical reflection (and again following Paolo Heywood), Domańska asked the question: how we should change our conceptual schema to think of a tree as a spirit? Even then, speculative adjustments are insufficient, since an inclusive knowledge of the past should use a bottom-up approach (emerging from the analysis of multiple sources). Thus, to marginalize theory in historical reflection is a serious mistake. Programs of the congresses should include major themes and sessions related to the history, theory and philosophy of history. “I am convinced that if we forego theorizing historical knowledge, the discipline will slowly decompose and melt into the broad field of ‘liberal arts.’ Would it really be a bad thing, and should we really insist on sustaining the identity of the discipline?,” Domańska asked, ending her speech.

Next, Michał Targowski from Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń took the floor as a representative of the younger generation of the Polish historians. He stressed that International Congresses of Historical Sciences had always provided great opportunities for young scholars to meet more experienced researchers, establish contacts with other historians working on similar themes and learn recent trends in historical research. However, he also noticed that the number of younger participants of the congresses, as well as the level of their activity, seemed to be lower than expected.

Targowski tried to identify the main reasons of the problem and indicate possible solutions. One way to encourage young historians to attend congresses, according to Targowski, could be the poster session, which had already been organized at the previous Congress in Jinan. Although still not very popular among historians, it seems to be a good (and timesaving) platform allowing a big group of young researchers to bring their ideas to the broader

audience, as well as to contact scholars of similar interests. The ICHS-Shandong University Young Historian Award for leading posters surely provided more attention to that part of the congress among its participants. Another good idea, well established at some other congresses and conferences, could be to organize a one- or half-day session for PhD candidates and younger scholars. Such a “Young Historians Forum” could enable a group of 10–20 persons to present their research projects to the board of leading historians from different countries invited to participate in such event with a purpose to discuss presented papers, share opinions and provide helpful advice.

As Michał Targowski noted, although younger congress participants tend to be open to admire the knowledge, experience and skills emanating from the papers of their older colleagues, they could benefit much more from workshops which would give them more opportunities for interaction and exchange of ideas. Even a short meeting providing a chance for a scholarly discussion with leading CISH historians would surely be warmly welcomed by those taking first steps in their research. Such workshops or seminars could also be open for a wider public, e.g., students and PhD candidates from the university, country or region hosting a congress.

Targowski stressed that junior researchers undoubtedly appreciate increasing financial support from the CISH, which has helped many young colleagues to take part in previous congresses. However, the high travel expenses are not the only limitation, especially regarding those who wish to be included in the program as speakers. Selecting papers for each successive congress is always a great challenge for the national and international committees but if we would like to attract more young scholars to the congress, we should pay more attention to this group in the process of accepting or inviting paper proposals to all sessions. According to Targowski, the above activities could create a platform for a special international commission of younger historians, which could become one of the commissions affiliated with CISH.

During the discussion that followed the presentations, Joel Harrington was the first to speak. He stated unequivocally that all participants certainly agreed that changes are necessary and essential. Therefore, in his opinion, we should no longer ask about what we want (e.g., if we want to be more inclusive or attract young scholars) – the answer to such questions is obvious. It is high time we asked ourselves how we will do it. Referring to the examples given by Catherine Horel, Harrington noted that the CISH is already involved in ventures aimed at solving the posed problems, but he also asked if we could do more. In Harrington’s opinion the CISH Board is underutilized, its potential is not fully used. Understandably, everyone focuses primarily on implementing the main task, which is organizing congresses every five years, but more commitment is needed in the years between them. Harrington stressed that cooperation between members of the Board must occur on a more regular basis, and that it

must also involve the wider circle of members (for example by appointing subcommittees devoted to specific technical issues). The five-year interval between the apparent CISH activity is far too great, especially since in the meantime it is out of sight for the “average” historian. This is particularly important in the case of the younger generation. Most of them do not know where will be and what will be doing in the next 2-3 years. As Harrington emphasized, it would not have to be cooperation “in real life,” as the CISH should use new technologies.

Krzysztof Zamorski (Jagiellonian University in Cracow) referred to Ewa Domańska’s remarks and raised a question whether in the long history of the congresses we have had an example of a congress that played an innovative role. He wondered if the congresses should be defined by current fashionable trends or if they should rather answer the most important global questions. In Zamorski’s opinion, innovative methodological issues are important to a limited group of specialists. He argued that we have to discover the main questions, important not only for historians but for the global community, transnational questions. Therefore, congresses should be organized in such a manner that would enable professional historians to try to deal with those problems with all available methods. In response to Zamorski’s remarks, Ewa Domańska explained that in her opinion the congresses should not promote the avant-garde, but should indicate the existing possibility of a more diverse approach to research.

Sacha Zala then drew attention to organizational structure of the CISH that causes a certain paradox of democracy. National committees and affiliated commissions form the core of the congress by designing its program. The program itself is built over the course of a very long and complicated procedure, in which representatives of all member committees and commissions take part. And yet it is the Board that is blamed and criticized by them for lack of democracy and transparency. Zala stressed that we always speak only of the official part of the congress, which is just part of the truth. The most important people were not the “officials” but rather those active in the bodies that the Board cannot control, that is the committees, commissions and other affiliated organization. Sacha Zala jokingly noticed that the CISH may be the worst organization that he knows, but it is the only one we have. Finally, he touched on the financial aspect of participation of young scholars in the congresses. As long as it is possible to obtain institutional financing, support is provided solely to the active participants of the conference, for example those delivering a lecture. If someone would like to attend the congress only as a listener, there is often no way to receive such financial support. Therefore, it is obvious and unavoidable that the younger generation of participants will be recruited from those who live in the city, or possibly in the country in which the congress is organized.

Afterwards, Dobrochna Kałwa (University of Warsaw) shared two comments with the audience. She stressed that, first of all, we should ask if the congresses are or should be

a summary or evaluation of the current state of historical knowledge, while also considering the important developments in historiography, along with historians' achievements, i.e., things that mostly concern the past, or – conversely – if the congresses should primarily deal with diagnosing the future. The second question was of a more technical nature and concerned online participation in the congresses (live streaming, delivering a paper or participating in a discussion via Internet, etc.). Furthermore, Kałwa noticed that the CISH is not present on Twitter or Facebook – the two most popular platforms among the younger generation. She concluded her remarks with a call that the CISH should be visible not only every five years but permanently.

Matthias Middell spoke next. He agreed with Ewa Domańska in terms of the importance of innovation, but also marked that it mainly concerns the methodology of history while other areas of historical research operate on slightly different principles and the congresses should respond to everyone. Practical and theoretical diversity of historical activity creates a lot of terms and preferences, which should be taken into account when organizing the congress. It is difficult to expect that the congresses will be innovative and hard to imagine them as moments of epistemic innovation if we prepare them 2-3 years ahead of the event. People come to the congress with different expectations, and may not be interested in all innovations. Another question raised by Middell was how to put all ideas into practice. He noticed that when comparing the national committees we can really observe the differences in their functioning. These differences should be kept in mind, said Middell, at the same time confessing that he could not imagine the CISH intervening in the procedures of the respective committees. Therefore, in his opinion, this “revolution” would have to occur at the national level. What the CISH could do is to take care of the underrepresented regions by informing, mobilizing, sometimes even provoking to organize a panel, or creating a panel and inviting panelists (accepting that they could be different or stand out from the others). For Middell, the most important task of the CISH is to retain the balance (of continents, periods, topics etc.). The natural result is far from a very convincing compromise. To attract young scholars Middell proposed to establish an international subcommittee addressed especially to them. They themselves could then take care of “modernizing” the congresses, since no-one knows better how to attract young participants than their peers.

In turn, Barbara Klich-Kluczeńska of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow made an interesting remark from the perspective of a significant group of the Polish historians. Many of them do not attend the congresses because they are simply not interested in the topics taken up there. Polish historians tend to be more interested in Polish rather than global questions. Some of them see the International Congresses as too big and too formal. They convene in

their own smaller groups that cater to their needs. Therefore, concluded Klich-Kluczeńska, we should ask ourselves if the congresses are indeed needed nowadays.

Towards the end of discussion, Krzysztof Makowski made a few comments from the point of view of the organizers of the Congress. First, he stressed that process of submitting proposals of session should be extended. The organizers of the Poznań Congress received a lot of queries on how to submit applications, and the organizers had only one answer: “it is too late”. The second question raised by Makowski concerned publicity. The presence of the CISH between the congresses should be much greater. Perhaps the Committee could function as a kind of an umbrella over events of significance for the local milieus across the world. As for young scholars, the CISH could propose events in the grain of master seminars, featuring the Board members and invited luminaries of history, selected according to the topic.

At the end of the discussion, Tomasz Schramm, the Co-Chairman of the Organizing Committee of Poznań Congress, succinctly concluded the debate. Schramm noticed that two important problems emerged in the discussion. The first dealt with the structures that should be responsible for the organization of the congresses. The second one concerned the question, whether the CISH congresses should summarize the current state of development of historical research or stimulate innovation for the future. Answering the last question, Schramm concluded that both tasks are important and that the congresses should summarize the state of research and stimulate innovation at the same time.

By Karolina Filipowska



VII Międzynarodowy Kongres Historyków.

W dniu 21 sierpnia rozpocznie w Warszawie, a 28 i 29 sierpnia zakończy w Krakowie swoje obrady VII Międzynarodowy Kongres nauk historycznych. Stanowi on wypadek bardzo ważny nie tylko z punktu widzenia naukowego, ale i z przyczyny wielkiego znaczenia dla stosunków międzynarodowych, jakie z biegiem lat zdobyły sobie kongresy historyczne. Pierwsze cztery z nich przed wojną odbyły się w stolicach wielkich państw (Londyn, Paryż, Rzym, Berlin), piąty z kolei w Warszawie.

pierwsze tomy obu wydawnictw, z których każde ma zawierać po dwa tomy; drugie tomy ukazały się niebawem. Wyszły natomiast szury o historjografii polskiej, dwa tomy o geograficzno-historycznej, dwa o zebrań materiałów najważniejszych i najnowszym broszura o rycznym.



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Opening Ceremony at the auditorium of the Warsaw University of Technology, with Prime Minister Janusz Jędrzejewicz at the rostrum, and the President of Poland, Ignacy Mościcki, sitting in front of the Presidium (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/5/526/5), p. 6.
2. Courtyard at 15 Nalewki Street in Warsaw, 1934 (Nationaal Archief Den Hague, Fotocollectie Willem van de Poll: <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/fotocollectie/ae9cdcca-d0b4-102d-bcf8-003048976d84> [accessed: August 25, 2020]), p. 12.
3. “Prudential” Insurance Company building before World War II (Biblioteka Narodowa – National Library in Warsaw, Magazyn Druków Ulotnych, file no. Pocz. 21260), p. 25.
4. Ruins of the “Prudential” Insurance Company building after World War II (reprinted from: *Warszawa 1945-1970*, eds. Z. Grzybowski, L. Wyszacki [Warszawa 1970], p. 233), p. 29.
5. Congress Presidium during the Opening Ceremony of the Congress, at the rostrum the envoy of Pope Pius XI, Bishop Michał Godlewski (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/5/526/6), p. 30.
6. Michel Lhéritier (Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire in Lausanne, file no. IS_4728_XII_06), p. 37.
7. Tadeusz Manteuffel (Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw: <https://ihpan.edu.pl/o-instytucie/informacje/profesor-tadeusz-manteuffel/> [accessed: August 25, 2020]), p. 37.
8. Bronisław Dembiński (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/10/121), p. 37.
9. Oskar Halecki (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/10/205), p. 37.
10. Halvdan Koht (Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire in Lausanne, file no. IS_4728_XII_09), p. 37.
11. Marcelli Handelsman (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/10/1111/2), p. 37.
12. Tadeusz Manteuffel’s Congress participant card (Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk – Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw: III-192 Materiały Tadeusza Manteuffla, file no. 33, sheet 49), p. 50.

13. Haakon Vigander (Oslo Museum, Byhistorisksamling: http://oslobilder.no/OMU/OB.F06521d?query=vigander&count=2&search_context=1&pos=0 [accessed: September 6, 2020]), p. 53.
14. Jaroslav Bidlo (*Rozprawy Aventina* 4/9 [1928-1929], p. 90 – Ústav pro českou literaturu AV ČR – Digitalizovaný archiv časopisů: <http://archiv.ucl.cas.cz/index.php?path=RozAvn/4.1928-1929/9/90.png> [accessed August 25, 2020]), p. 53.
15. Adam Skałkowski (Archiwum Wydziału Historii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza – Archives of the Faculty of History of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań), p. 53.
16. Stanisław Kutrzeba (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/10/330/1), p. 53.
17. Waldo G. Leland (National Archives at College Park, Maryland, file no. 64-NA-480), p. 53.
18. Nicolae Iorga (Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire in Lausanne, file no. IS_4728_XII_04), p. 53.
19. A badge for the participants of the International Congress of Historians in Warsaw, designed by Edward Manteuffel-Szoego, p. 57.
20. Opening Ceremony at the auditorium of the Warsaw University of Technology, view of the audience, with the President of the Republic of Poland, Ignacy Mościcki, sitting in the middle of the front row (Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire in Lausanne, file no. IS_4728_XII_12), p. 59.
21. Title page of *Procès-Verbal du Septième Congrès International des Sciences historiques*, p. 60.
22. Arrival of the Soviet delegation: in the middle, from the right: Nikolai Mikhailovich Lukin (wearing a hat and carrying a walking stick), Anna Mikhailovna Pankratova, Pavel Osipowich Gorin (wearing a white cap), Viacheslav Petrovich Volgin (wearing glasses, looking into the camera), Nikolai Sevastyanovich Derzhavin (wearing glasses) (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/5/526/1), p. 65.
23. Special session on Jewish history – sitting from the left: Ignacy Schiper, Abraham Gordon Duker, Emanuel Ringelblum, Rafał Mahler, Salo Baron, Meyer Abraham Halevy (misspelled “Halery”), Majer Bałaban, Filip Friedman, Edmund Stein (misspelled “Stern”) (*Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1933, no. 36, p. 2), p. 66.
24. Title page of *Rapports présentés au Congrès*, p. 70.
25. Title page of *Résumés des communications présentées au Congrès*, p. 70.
26. Title page of *L’Historiographie polonaise du XIX^{me} et du XX^{me} siècle* by Bronisław Dembiński, Oskar Halecki and Marcelli Handelsman, p. 71.

27. Women Congress participants in front of the Historians' House at Rynek Starego Miasta in Warsaw (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/5/526/3), p. 74.
28. Congress participants at a reception hosted by the Polish Historical Society at Resursa Kupiecka Palace (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/5/526/2), p. 76-77.
29. Invitation for Tadeusz Manteuffel to a banquet held by the President of the Republic of Poland at the Royal Castle in Warsaw (Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk – Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw: III-192 Materiały Tadeusza Manteuffla, file no. 33, sheet 52), p. 78.
30. Application form for the accommodation in Warsaw (Archiwum Akt Nowych – Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw: Ambasada RP w Berlinie, file no. 1410, sheet 164), p. 78.
31. Title page of *Particulars as to Travelling and Sojourn in Poland*, p. 79.
32. Congress Presidium at the Closing Ceremony held at the Polski Theater in Warsaw (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/5/526/10), p. 80.
33. Application form for the accommodation in Cracow (Archiwum Akt Nowych – Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw: Ambasada RP w Berlinie, file no. 1410, sheet 166), p. 81.
34. Congress participants at the auditorium of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/5/527/1), p. 83.
35. Hans Nabholz presenting paper at the Catholic House in Cracow, with the newly elected President of CISH Harold William Temperley sitting next to him (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/5/527/3), p. 84.
36. Congress participants at the courtyard of the Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/5/527/4), p. 85.
37. Congress participants at the Cloth Hall at Rynek Główny in Cracow (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/5/527/8), p. 85.
38. Field trip application card (Archiwum Akt Nowych – Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw: Ambasada RP w Berlinie, file no. 1410, sheet 168), p. 86.
- 39-42. Caricatures of the Congress participants (*Борьба Класов* 1933, no. 10): Halvdan Koht, President of the CISH during the Warsaw Congress (p. 18); Harold William Temperley, newly elected President of the CISH (p. 21); Henry Heras (p. 22); Nicolae Iorga (p. 60), p. 93.

43. Russian art historian and painter Georgiy (Georges) Kreskentevich Loukomski (misspelled “Łukowski” in the original caption) contemplating Warsaw-based collector Benjamin Mintz’s collection of ancient Jewish art (*Nasz Przegląd Ilustrowany* 1933, no. 35, p. 2), p. 99.
44. Natalia Gąsiorowska (Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk – Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw: Materiały Natalii Gąsiorowskiej-Grabowskiej, file no. III-152, unit 77), p. 119.
45. Franciszek Bujak (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/10/74/1), p. 119.
46. Władysław Konopczyński (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/10/273), p. 119.
47. Henri Berr (reprinted from: S. Delorme, “Henri Berr,” *Osiris* 10 [1952]: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/301804> [accessed: December 9, 2020]), p. 119.
48. Jan Rutkowski (From the private collection of Tomasz Schramm), p. 119.
49. Karl Brandi and Austrian historian Ludwig Bittner (Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire in Lausanne, file no. IS_4728_XII_08), p. 119.
50. Title page of *Catalogus mapparum geographicarum ad historiam pertinentium*, p. 135.
51. Women Congress participants at a high tea in Warsaw (most likely at Café SIM) (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/5/526/115646), p. 146.
52. Opening of the historical cartography exhibition (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe, file no. 3/1/0/5/526/9, p. 149).
53. Łucja Charewiczowa, historian and museum curator (Центральний державний історичний архів України – Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lvov, Fond 710, op. 1, spr. 5), p. 159.
54. Helena Polaczkówna, historian and archivist, amidst a group of scholars at the auditorium of the John Casimir University in Lvov (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/10/24/1), p. 164.
55. Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, historian and economist, member of parliament of the Second Polish Republic (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives, file no. 3/1/0/2/970/1), p. 165.
56. Title page of *Liste des membres*, p. 219.
57. Panelists during discussion – from the left: Ewa Domańska, Rafał Witkowski, Catherine Horel, Michał Targowski, Krzysztof A. Makowski (Photo by Karolina Filipowska), p. 266.
58. Ewa Domańska delivering her paper (Photo by Karolina Filipowska), p. 269.

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INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES*

Abraham, Władysław 40, 61
 Adamovičs, Ludvigs 97
 Adkins, Frank T. 127
 Alfonso V 131
 Antoniewicz, Włodzimierz 40
 Arnold, Stanisław 36, 40, 45, 48, 112, 122, 144
 Askenazy, Szymon 52
 Assorodobraj, Nina 144
 Aubin, Hermann 120, 151
 Aulard, François 127
 Azan, Paul-Jean-Louis 54
 Bachulska, Halina 56, 255
 Bachulski, Aleksy 56
 Bajer, Magdalena 154
 Ballesteros y Beretta, Antonio 52, 59
 Balzer, Oswald 111, 163
 Bałaban, Majer 43, 51, 62, 66-68, 100, 138-139
 Baron, Salo 66-68, 138
 Barr, Paul 126
 Barros Pimentel, José Francisco de 54
 Barwiński, Eugeniusz 40, 55
 Barycz, Henryk 70-71
 Beck, Józef 58, 91, 262
 Bédarida, Henri 123
 Bednarski, Stanisław 60, 90-91
 Behrendt, Lutz-Dieter 65, 73
 Bennett, Jane 271
 Benym, S. 255
 Bernacki, Ludwik 40
 Berr, Henri 52, 62-64, 101, 112, 119, 122, 124, 126-127, 139-140
 Bersano-Begey, Maria 56, 156
 Bersano-Begey, Marina 56
 Bertoni, Karol 71
 Beseler, Hans Hartwig von 17
 Bézard, Yvonne 156, 161
 Białkowski, Leon 41
 Bidlo, Jaroslav 52-53, 58-59, 90, 97, 130-131, 254
 Bielińska, Maria 162
 Biliński, Piotr 56
 Birkenmajer, Aleksander 40, 123
 Biskupska, Maria 136
 Bittner, Ludwig 119
 Bloch, Camille 118, 124-125
 Bloch, Marc 52, 122, 127, 134, 166
 Blum, André 123
 Bobrzyński, Michał 43, 112
 Bodniak, Stanisław 42
 Boer, Pim den 266
 Bogost, Ian 271
 Bojarski, Artur 29
 Boleslaus the Brave (Bolesław Chrobry) 46, 120
 Bömelburg, Hans-Jürgen 116-117
 Borowski, Stanisław 52
 Borzymińska, Zofia 15
 Bouglé, Claude 126

Bourdieu, Pierre 150
 Bourdon, Jean 137, 144
 Bourgin, Georges 64
 Bouvier, Robert 127
 Boy-Żeleński, Tadeusz 90
 Brackmann, Albert 115-117, 120, 255
 Brandenburg, Erich 97, 120
 Brandi, Karl 52, 59, 68, 88-89, 102, 107, 115, 117, 119, 142, 255
 Broński, Krzysztof 159
 Brückner, Aleksander 112
 Bruhns, Hinnerk 154
 Brunauer Caukin, Esther 56
 Brutzkus, Julius 51, 67
 Bubnov, Nikolai 8
 Buczek, Karol 134
 Bujak, Franciszek 36, 38-39, 42-44, 46, 112, 119-120, 122, 138, 144
 Bukharin, Nikolai Ivanovich (Бухарин, Николай Иванович) 125-126, 140
 Burgdörfer, Friedrich 137
 Burguière, André 154
 Burkert, Martin 89
 Burleigh, Michael 115
 Bursche, Edmund 54
 Bystroń, Jan 14, 40
 Cădere, Victor 256
 Callixtus III 131
 Cam, Helen Maud 56, 157
 Cameron, Annie Izabella 56, 162
 Carr-Saunders, Alexander Morris 137
 Casimir the Great (Kazimierz Wielki) 117, 131
 Castro, Edoardo Viveiros de 271
 Charewiczowa, Łucja 36, 40, 46, 56, 127, 155-156, 159, 160-161
 Chmiel, Adam 54, 84, 86
 Chmielewska, Agnieszka 57
 Chodyncki, Kazimierz 40, 46, 52
 Chomicz, Paulin 125
 Chowaniec, Czesław 48
 Chrzanowski, Wiesław 71
 Ciara, Stefan 162-163
 Ciechanowska, Zofia 123, 155-156
 Clapham, John Harold 52
 Constant, Gustave 58, 83
 Coornaert, Émile 141
 Copernicus, Nicolaus 123
 Coville, Alfred 52, 59, 64, 70
 Cox, Isaac Joslin 59
 Curschmann, Fritz 72
 Czajka, Wiesław 57
 Czapliński, Władysław 52
 Czarnowski, Stefan 40, 43, 61-62, 68, 97, 121, 134, 144,
 Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy 132
 Czerikower, Elias 67
 Czubaty, Mykola 51, 122
 Ćwikliński, Ludwik 111
 Dadej, Iwona 10, 57, 147, 159-160
 Danton, Georges Jacques 126
 Daskalova, Krassimira 165
 Daszyńska-Golińska, Zofia 52, 56, 62, 136, 155-156, 163-165
 David, Pierre 51, 123
 Dąbkowski, Przemysław 40-41, 61
 Dąbrowska, Małgorzata 116
 Dąbrowski, Jan 40, 46, 48, 82, 256
 DeLanda, Manuel 271
 Delehay, Hippolyte 68
 Dembiński, Bronisław 32-33, 35-37, 43-44, 52, 58-59, 68-70, 81, 88, 91, 97, 100, 110-113, 120, 148, 254-255

* This index does not include the names listed in the program and the list of participants.

Demby, Stefan 54, 71
 Depréaux, Albert 73
 Déprez, Eugène 62
 Derzhavin, Nikolai Sevastyanovich
 (Державин, Николай
 Севастьянович) 64-65, 90, 120,
 130-131, 255-257
 Descola, Philippe 271
 Dettloff, Szczęsny 40
 Dickstein, Samuel 40, 46
 Diehl, Charles 60, 64
 Diesener, Gerald 151
 Disraeli, Benjamin 131
 Divéky, Adorján 43
 Dobrowolski, Kazimierz 126
 Doehaerd, Renée 167
 Dognon Febvre, Suzanne 166
 Domanovszky, Sándor 52, 59, 68
 Domańska, Ewa 268-273, 275-276
 Dopsch, Alfons 36, 43, 52, 117
 Doroshenko (Dorošenko), Dmytro 51, 58,
 62, 70
 Droysen, Johann Gustav 111
 Drozdowski, Marian Marek 14, 28
 Družbacka, Anna 48
 Dubnow, Simon 51, 67
 Duker, Abraham Gordon 66-67
 Dunin-Wąsowicz, Krzysztof 17
 Durko, Janusz 14
 Dutra, Eliana 266
 Ehrenkreutz, Stefan 36, 41, 44-45, 48
 Eisenbach, Artur 15-16, 66
 Eisenmann, Louis 130
 Erdmann, Karl Dietrich 7, 9, 31-32, 38, 50,
 63, 109-110, 114-116, 118, 142, 151
 Estreicher, Stanisław 41, 43
 Fajnhauz, Dawid 16
 Febvre, Lucien 101, 140-142, 166
 Fedele, Pietro 52, 60, 75, 262
 Feldman, Józef 40, 43, 49, 82
 Fijałek, Jan 40
 Filipowska, Karolina 277
 Finke, Heinrich 88, 121, 255
 Finkel, Ludwik 111
 Fling, Fred Morrow 9, 62, 102, 124-126,
 140-142, 157-158
 Folkierski, Władysław 40
 Fredro, Aleksander 75
 Friedman, Filip 51, 55, 66-68
 Friis, Aage 52, 59
 Gallus Anonymus (Gal Anonim) 120
 Ganshof, François-Louis 72, 101, 141
 Gąsiorowska, Natalia 56, 64, 104-105, 119,
 122, 128, 144, 156
 Gell, Alfred 271
 Gembarzewski, Bronisław 71
 Gemelli, Agostino 64
 Gerola, Giuseppe 86
 Gerstmann, Adam 42
 Gębarowicz, Mieczysław 40
 Głogowski, Jan 148
 Godlewski, Michał 30, 58, 60
 Göllnerova, Alžbeta 57, 86
 Gooch, George Peabody 81
 Gorin, Pavel Osipovich (Горин, Павел
 Осипович) 64-65, 89, 125, 132, 255-256
 Górka, Olgierd 40
 Górski, Karol 52, 105, 126, 132, 138
 Gradowski, Michał 73
 Grether, Gertrude 56
 Grodecki, Roman 40
 Grzesiuk, Stanisław 24

Gubryniewicz, Bronisław 40
 Gul, Olga (Hul, Olha/Гуль, Ольга) 159
 Guth, Stefan 9, 64, 81, 86, 88, 116, 151
 Gutman, Yisrael 66
 Haan, Francisca de 165
 Hahn, Georg 128
 Hajnal, Istvan 126
 Halecka, Helena 56, 71
 Halecki, Oskar 32, 36-37, 43, 44, 46-48, 56,
 68-70, 97, 110-117, 127, 130-131, 143
 Halevy, Meyer Abraham 66-68, 138
 Handelsman, Jadwiga 72
 Handelsman, Marcelli 10, 33, 35-39, 41,
 43-47, 49, 51-52, 54, 62, 66, 69-71, 75,
 87-91, 102, 105-107, 110-113, 117, 120,
 122, 130-132, 143-144, 157, 254
 Hankin, Gerald Thornton 129
 Harman, Graham 271
 Harrington, Joel 11, 266, 274-275
 Hartleb, Kazimierz 48
 Hartung, Fritz 115
 Hausen, Karin 152
 Hauser, Henri 10, 86-87, 258
 Hazard, Paul 123
 Heck, Roman 154
 Heinrich, Władysław 40
 Heitzman, Marian 40
 Hełczyński, Bronisław 71
 Heras, Henry 80, 93, 98
 Herbst, Stanisław 14, 52
 Hertz, Amelia 123, 156
 Heruday-Kiełczewska, Magdalena 11
 Heywood, Paolo 272-272
 Hintze, Hedwig 154
 Hitler, Abraham 24
 Hitler, Adolf 24, 110
 Hodder, Ian 271
 Hoetsch, Otto 130
 Holban, Marie E. 57
 Horel, Catherine 266-268, 274
 Horodyński, Zbigniew 111
 Hoszowski, Stanisław 144
 Inglot, Stefan 43, 144
 Iorga, Nicolae 17, 52-53, 59-60, 91, 93, 98,
 256
 Ivashko, Andriy (Івашко, Андрей) 159
 Iwanicki, Kazimierz 133
 Jabłonowski, Władysław 51
 Jachimecki, Zdzisław 84
 Jaffé, Philipp 111
 Jakubowski, Jan 134
 Jameson, Fredric 268
 Janosz-Biskupowa, Irena 162
 Janus, Piotr 28
 Janusz I 14
 Jaroszewicz, Władysław 71
 Jelačić, Aleksej 52, 124, 131, 133
 Jędrysiak, Jarosław (Єндрисяк, Ярослав)
 159
 Jędrzejewicz, Janusz 6, 58, 60, 148
 John III Sobieski (Jan III Sobieski) 83, 106,
 131
 Kaczmarczyk, Kazimierz 55
 Kaczorowski, Bartłomiej 14
 Kakowski, Aleksander 58, 71
 Kalabiński, Stanisław 17
 Kalken, Frans Van 128-129
 Kałwa, Dobrochna 266, 275-276
 Kaput, Wanda 162
 Kazimierski, Józef 14
 Kehr, Paul 81, 88, 255
 Keilhau, Wilhelm 125, 140

Kelley, Donald 116
 Kernbaum, Józef 54
 Keyser, Erich 137-138
 Kętrzyńska, Kamila 71, 157
 Kętrzyński, Stanisław 36, 40, 71, 157, 256
 Kielbicka, Aniela 162
 Kieniewicz, Stefan 16, 52
 Kiepuska, Halina 17
 Kisielewska, Julia 56, 155
 Kizwalter, Tomasz 16
 Klawek, Aleksy 40
 Kleiner, Juliusz 40, 123, 127
 Klich-Kluczewska, Barbara 266, 276-277
 Kłodziński, Adam 40
 Knapowska, Wisława 46, 56, 120, 128, 156
 Knot, Antoni 111
 Kocka, Jürgen 7, 31
 Koht, Halvdan 32-37, 43, 47, 52, 59-60, 64, 68, 93, 117, 138-139, 144, 255
 Kohte, Wolfgang 255
 Kolankowski, Ludwik 41, 47, 130
 Kolbuszewska, Jolanta 158
 Kołodziejczyk, Ryszard 14
 Komar, Julian 16
 Komornicki, Stefan 41, 82, 123
 Kondracki, Tadeusz 9, 50, 58-59, 69, 75, 81, 86, 116
 Konopczyńska, Halina 56
 Konopczyńska, Jadwiga 56
 Konopczyński, Władysław 39-40, 42-43, 45-47, 49, 56, 62, 84, 112, 119, 254
 Koranyi, Karol 52, 121
 Korduba, Miron 43, 51, 70, 131
 Kormanowa, Żanna 144
 Korotyński, Henryk 17, 72
 Koschembar-Łyskowski, Ignacy 121
 Kosim, Jan 15
 Kostanecki, Kazimierz 42
 Kostrzewski, Józef 40, 52, 137-138
 Kościałkowski, Stanisław 40
 Kot, Stanisław 40-41, 48, 61, 82, 157, 254, 256
 Kozłowski, Leon 40
 Kozłowski, Władysław Mieczysław 125
 Kożuchowska, Zofia 56
 Krasicka, Jadwiga 104, 127-128, 130, 156
 Krause, Zofia 155
 Krawicz, Mieczysław 26
 Krylova, Nina (Крилова, Нина) 159
 Krzywicki, Ludwik 43
 Krzywiec, Aurelja 155
 Krzywiec, Grzegorz 165
 Kubalski, Edward 82
 Kukiel, Marian 54, 62, 133
 Kulski, Julian 28
 Kuntze, Edward 84, 256
 Kusiak, Alicja 159
 Kutrzeba, Stanisław 36, 42, 49, 52-53, 60-61, 82-84, 112, 121, 139, 254, 256
 La Baume, Wolfgang 118
 Ladislaus IV Vasa (Władysław IV Waza) 131
 Laignel-Lavastine, Maxime 126
 Lanckorońska, Karolina 155-156
 Landau, Tadeusz 55
 Landry, Alfred 137
 Landwirth, Róża 56, 155
 Lasocki, Zygmunt 54
 Lattermann, Alfred 43, 51
 Lebedzińska, F. (Лебединская, Ф.) 72
 Leicht, Pier Silverio 52, 81
 Leland, Waldo G. 8, 32, 52-53, 68, 117

Lelewel, Joachim 27, 111-112, 127, 133
 Lemoine, Paul-André 123
 Lesage, Adolphe 137
 Lestschinsky, Jacob 51, 67
 Levillier, Roberto 54
 Lewak, Adam 48, 132
 Lhéritier, Michel 33-37, 43, 52, 60, 62, 64, 68, 129, 138
 Ligowska, Zofia 56
 Lipszyc-Balsigerowa, Maria 136
 Liske, Ksawery 111
 Loukomski, Georgiy (Georges) Kreskentevich 99
 Loutfi, Anna 165
 Löwy, Ilana 153
 Lubicz-Zaleski, Zygmunt 40, 55, 123
 Lukin, Nikolai Mikhailovich (Лукин, Николай Михайлович) 64-65, 73, 89-90, 107, 125, 127, 138, 144, 255-256
 Lukinich, Emerick 130
 Lunacharsky, Anatoly Vasilyevich (Луначарский, Анатолий Васильевич) 81
 Lutman, Roman 132
 Lutostański, Karol 71
 Łempicki, Stanisław 42
 Łempicki, Zygmunt 40, 123, 255
 Łepkowski, Tadeusz 15
 Łopaciński, Wincenty 254
 Łowmiański, Henryk 52
 Łubieńska, Cecylia 56
 Łukasiewicz, Juliusz 256
 Łupienko, Aleksander 16
 Łypacewicz, Jadwiga 71
 Macaulay, Thomas B. 111
 Mađurowicz-Urbańska, Helena 159
 Mahler, Rafał 51, 66-67, 138
 Maixner, Antonin 84
 Makowski, Krzysztof A. 10-11, 31, 266, 277
 Malczewska-Pawelec, Dorota 159
 Maleczyńska, Ewa 154
 Maleczyński, Karol 46, 120, 154
 Małecki, Jan 159
 Manteuffel, Tadeusz 35-37, 43, 45, 49-51, 57, 60, 63, 66, 70, 78, 87, 101, 117
 Manteuffel, Wanda 57
 Manteuffel-Szoege, Edward 57
 Manteufflowa, Maria 102
 March, Lucien 136
 Mariani, Andrea 51-52, 63
 Marinescu, Konstantin 131
 Marmaggi, Francesco 58
 Marx, Karl 90, 127
 Maschke, Erich 255
 Maternicki, Jerzy 111, 159, 162
 Matl, Josef 132
 Maunier, René 134
 Maver, Giovanni 91
 Medyński, Marcin 93
 Mehmed the Conqueror 131
 Mendelsohn, Ezra 66
 Menteano, Basile 123
 Merimé, Paul 123
 Metternich, Klemens von 120, 156
 Michalski, Konstanty 40, 45
 Michalski, Maciej 10-11, 31
 Michalski, Stanisław 71
 Michałowski, Kazimierz 124
 Michels, Roberto 79
 Mickiewicz, Adam 116
 Middell, Matthias 151, 266, 276
 Miłkowski, Zygmunt 156

Mintz, Beniamin 99
 Missalowa, Gryzelda 56
 Modelski, Teofil 40
 Mokronowski, Andrzej 120
 Molè, Vojeslav 40, 43
 Moltke, Hans Adolf von 88-89, 255
 Mommsen, Wilhelm 7, 31, 52, 128
 Monzie, Anatole de 87
 Moravek, Jan 84
 Morawska, Stefania 71
 Morawski, Kazimierz Marian 51-52, 54, 64, 98, 106, 120
 Morton, Timothy 271
 Moszczeńska, Wanda 52, 56, 128, 156
 Moszkowicz, Franciszek 25
 Mościcki, Henryk 254
 Mościcki, Ignacy 6, 58-59, 72, 148
 Mórawski, Karol 14
 Mrozowska, Halina 48, 128-129, 155-156
 Mühle, Eduard 151
 Mussolini, Benito 52, 110
 Nabholz, Hans 52, 59, 68, 82, 84, 126
 Nadler, Josef 116
 Nanke, Czesław 40
 Napoleon Bonaparte 15, 74, 120
 Natrud, Gudrun Emilie 161
 Naumova, Tetiana (Наумова, Тетяна) 159
 Naville, Adrien 125
 Nicholas II 19
 Nisot, Marie-Thérèse 138
 Niwiński, Mieczysław 86
 Notestein, Frank W. 137
 Nowakowski, Stanisław 36
 Nucci, Nelly 157
 Nunes, Hedwige 57, 157
 Nussbaum, Hilary 14
 Obertyński, Zdzisław 54, 121
 Oderfeld, Anna 130, 156
 Odložilik, Otakar 254
 Okunev, Nikolai Lvovich (Окунев, Николай Львович) 51
 Olsen, Bjørnar 271
 Olszewicz, Bolesław 133
 Olwer, Nicolau Luis d' 68
 Ołpiński, Józef 148
 Oncken, Hermann 115
 Opoczyński, Kazimierz 42
 Ostrowski, Józefat 121
 Owadowska, Renata 165
 Pagès, Georges 128, 263
 Pajewski, Janusz 52
 Panaitecu, Emil 131
 Panaitecu, Petre P. 79
 Pankratova, Anna Mikhailovna (Панкратова, Анна Михайловна) 57, 64-65, 90, 120, 129, 256
 Paskevich, Ivan 15
 Pasternak, Jarosław 55
 Paszkiewicz, Henryk 41
 Pawlikowska-Brożek, Zofia 123
 Pawlikowski, Jerzy 57
 Pawłowski, Stanisław 42
 Peano, Giuseppe 123
 Penson, Lillian Margery 56
 Perrin, Charles Edmond 101, 122, 140-141
 Pfitzner, Josef 51, 62-64, 86
 Piątek, Grzegorz 28
 Pigoń, Stanisław 43
 Piłsudski, Józef 18, 32, 54, 59, 72, 95
 Piotrowicz, Ludwik 40, 82, 118
 Pióro, Stefan? 47
 Pirenne, Henri 52

Pius XI 30, 60
 Piwarski, Kazimierz 52
 Plebański, Jan Kazimierz 111
 Podlacha, Władysław 40, 42, 61
 Pohorecki, Feliks 116
 Pohoska, Hanna 40
 Polackówna, Helena 43, 56, 105, 118, 155-156, 161-164
 Popović, Vasili 131
 Posselt, Irena 56
 Potocki, Artur 84
 Potocki, Józef Alfred 254
 Power, Eillen 167
 Préclin, Edmond 141
 Preobrazhensky, Peter Fedorovich (Преображенский, Пётр Фёдорович) 64, 118, 120-121, 125, 143, 256
 Przelaskowski, Ryszard 61
 Przeworski, Stefan 131
 Ptaśnik, Jan 159
 Pułaska, Helena 72
 Pułaski, Franciszek Jan 48
 Purchla, Jacek 159
 Rable, Josey 116
 Raciborski, Józef 55
 Racziewicz, Władysław 42
 Radlińska, Helena 48, 56, 61, 128-129, 155-156
 Rafacz, Józef 40
 Rainov, Timofei (Райнов, Тимофей) 73
 Ramm-Helmsing, Herta von 57
 Ranke, Leopold von 111
 Recke, Walter 88, 255
 Reinharz, Jehuda 66
 Repina, Lorina 266
 Richard, Gabriel 84
 Rickert, Heinrich 127
 Ringelblum, Emanuel 14-15, 51, 65-67, 138-139
 Ritter, Gerhard 52, 115
 Roatta, Mario 54
 Romocka-Glińska, Wanda 56
 Rose, William 125
 Rostovtzeff, Michael 82
 Rothfels, Hans 88, 132, 255
 Róziewicz, Jerzy 9, 64-65, 73, 90
 Rudziński, Andrzej 57
 Rutherford, Guilbert Murray 255
 Rutkowski, Jan 40, 46, 52, 62, 112, 119, 122, 143
 Rybarski, Antoni 40
 Saggiorata, Laura 11
 Sanctis, Gaetano De 110
 Savitskii, Petr Nikolaevich (Савицкий, Пётр Николаевич) 51, 131, 133
 Sawczyński, Henryk 111
 Schaetzel, Tadeusz 254
 Scheler, Max 126
 Schillinger, August 82, 84
 Schiper, Ignacy 14-15, 66-68
 Schlafert, Thérèse 167
 Schmid, Heinrich 84, 131
 Schnicke, Falko 151
 Schorr, Mojżesz 43, 51, 62, 66-68, 118
 Schöttler, Peter 153, 166
 Schramm, Tomasz 10-11, 31, 277
 Schultz, Theodore W. 137
 Scolvus, John (Jan z Kolna) 133
 Scott-Thomson, Gladys 157
 Semkowicz, Władysław 38, 45, 52, 61, 72, 112, 118, 134, 256
 Serejski, Marian 52

Seweryn, Tomasz 82
 Shmeruk, Chone 66
 Shotwell, James T. 8
 Siemieński, Józef 40, 70
 Sierakowska, Katarzyna 266
 Sierpiński, Waław 42
 Sierżęga, Paweł (Серженга, Павел) 159, 162
 Sigismund III Vasa (Zygmunt III Waza) 14
 Silnicki, Tadeusz 121
 Simmel, Georg 126
 Skałkowski, Adam 43, 53, 96-98
 Skibniewski, Mariusz 121
 Skowronek, Jerzy 15
 Skowrońska, Zofia 161
 Skruteń, Józafat 51, 121
 Słomiński, Zygmunt 58, 71
 Słonczyńska, Anna 56
 Smets, Georges 59
 Smith, Bonnie G. 150
 Smogorzewski, Kazimierz (Casimir) 114
 Smolka, Stanisław 111
 Sobieski, Waław 32, 36, 42-43, 48, 71, 83
 Sokołowski, Franciszek 51
 Solarska, Maria 10, 57, 147
 Spekke, Arnolds 90, 128, 132-133, 255
 Stachiewicz, Julian 48
 Stamm, Edward 123
 Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (Stanisław August Poniatowski) 14, 120
 Starzyński, Stefan 28, 73
 Stein, Edmund 66-67, 138
 Stein, Lorenz von 144
 Stephen Báthory (Stefan Batory) 36, 42, 49, 83
 Stevenson, Thomas Henry Craig 137
 Stloukal, Karel 57, 84, 86, 254
 Stojanowski, Józef 118
 Strathern, Marilyn 271
 Studnicka, Janina 56
 Suchmiel, Jadwiga 56, 159
 Suchodolski, Witold 42, 54
 Sumner, Benedict Hamphrey 133
 Suszczyńska-Ochman, Bronisława Magdalena 79
 Svientsitsky, Ilarion 51, 55, 124
 Symanzik, Bernhard 151
 Szacki, Jerzy 14
 Szajnocha, Karol 111
 Szelałowska, Anna 72
 Szelałowski, Adam 40, 42, 52
 Szembek, Jan 42
 Szpak, Jan 159
 Szujski, Józef 112
 Szulc, Stefan 137
 Szumowski, Władysław 40
 Szwajcer, Jerzy 93
 Szwarc, Andrzej 159
 Świtalski, Kazimierz 42
 Targowski, Michał 266, 273-274
 Tatarkiewicz, Władysław 40, 43, 45, 61
 Temperley, Harold William 52, 59, 68, 81-82, 84, 93, 131-132, 260
 Tessaro-Kosimowa, Irena 15
 Thierry, Augustin 111
 Thompson, Warren 137
 Thouzellier, Christine 56
 Tieghem, Paul Van 128-129
 Tokarz, Waław 15, 43, 52
 Tolédano, André-Daniel 127
 Törne, Per Olof de 134
 Torstendahl, Rolf 109
 Tourneur-Aumont, Jean-Médéric 134

Tracz, Bartosz 9, 82-84
 Treiberg, Peter 90, 132, 255
 Troeltsch, Ernst 127
 Trubetzkoy, Nikolai Sergeevich (Трубецкой, Николай Сергеевич) 133
 Tych, Feliks 17
 Tymieniecki, Kazimierz 40-41, 50, 63, 81, 104-105, 116, 122, 144
 Tyszkowski, Kazimierz 35-36, 132-133
 Uebersberger, Hans 116
 Ujejski, Józef 40, 42, 71
 Umiński, Józef 40
 Ussani, Vincenzo 68
 Valéry, Paul 140
 Varga, Lucie 153, 166
 Vernadsky, George Vladimirovich (Вернадский, Георгий Владимирович) 133
 Vetterova-Becvarova, Anna 57
 Vidal Bloch, Simone 167
 Vigander, Haakon 35-36, 53, 60
 Vincent, Bernard 154
 Voigt, Georg Ludwig 111
 Volgin, Viacheslav Petrovich (Волгин, Вячеслав Петрович) 52, 59, 64-65, 81, 90-91, 125, 127, 256
 Völker, Karl 121
 Volpe, Gioacchino 84
 Wagner, Roy 271
 Waitz, Georg 111
 Wałek-Czernecki, Tadeusz 40, 136
 Warnecki, Janusz 26
 Wasilewski, Leon 40
 Webber, Max 126
 Wein, Adam 16
 Wereszko, Kazimiera 11
 Wereszycki, Henryk 52
 Widerszal, Ludwik 46
 Wieliczka, Zygmunt 116
 Wielopolski, Aleksander 16
 Wiernicka, Violetta 16
 Więckowska, Helena 71, 156
 Wilczyńska, Zofia 156
 Willaume, Juliusz 46, 52
 Willman-Grabowska, Helena 56, 123, 155-156
 Windalewicz, Edward 82
 Wischnitzer, Rachel 67
 Witkowska, Helena 155-157, 160
 Witkowski, Rafał 266-267
 Witkowski, Stanisław 40, 118
 Włodarski, Bronisław 40
 Wodziński, Alfons Michał 132
 Wojciechowski, Zygmunt 40-41, 91, 98
 Wojtkowski, Andrzej 55, 116
 Wortmanowa, Maria 47
 Wrzosek, Adam 40
 Wyspiański, Stanisław 75
 Wyssogota Zakrzewski, Ignacy 28
 Zahorski, Andrzej 14-15, 28
 Zajączkowski, Stanisław 41
 Zakrzewski, Kazimierz 40, 136, 157
 Zakrzewski, Stanisław 35-36, 115, 117, 254
 Zakrzewski, Wincenty 111
 Zala, Sacha 266, 275
 Zaleski, August 42
 Załuski, Józef 72
 Zamorski, Krzysztof 9, 10, 31, 68, 97, 101, 109, 266, 275
 Zamoyska, Władysława 71
 Zanówna, Julia 156

Zaszkilniak, Leonid (Зашкільняк, Леонід)	Zubyk, Roman 122, 144
159, 162	Żarnowska, Anna 159
Zeitlin, Solomon 67	Żebrowski, Rafał 10, 13-14
Zeller, Gaston 118	Żelenina, Irina Alexandrovna (Желенина, Ирина Александровна) 65
Zembrzusi, Ludwik 40, 73	Żongołowicz, Bronisław 42, 71
Zemon Davis, Natalie 166	Żółtowski, Adam 40
Zielińska, Zofia 52	Żurowski, Józef 40
Zieliński, Tadeusz 40, 62, 121, 255	Żywczyński, Mieczysław 52
Zmigryder-Konopka, Zdzisław 136	
Zöckler, Paul 43	



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The authors of this collection [...] draw on the over century-long idea and tradition of the international congress meetings of historical profession, revisiting and stressing the importance of one such event that took place in 1933 in Poland. It was then that Warsaw and Cracow—two historical capitals of a country reborn after years of partitions—hosted the participants of the 7th Congress of Historical Sciences. Coherently structured, the book enables its editors and authors to meticulously, if not painstakingly, recount the course of the 7th Congress in Warsaw and Cracow based on precious source materials. At the same time, the authors complement and deepen this account with outstanding historical studies in the history of historiography, and inspiring reflections on the presence and participation of women in the academic life of the period, including their presence at the 7th Congress.

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[excerpt from an editorial review]

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