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ARTICLES

I. History

Young Christians in Ancient Pagan Societies. The Benefits of Reading Pre-Christian Writings

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The article discusses Christian education in the ancient times, in particular the problematic question of whether it was appropriate to use the literary legacy of pagans, often distant from the ideals of the Church, as a tool for education. Based on a treatise by Basil the Great the author strives to prove that reading pre-Christian writings can not only be good, but even necessary for Christians and their intellectual development. Without becoming rooted in the ancient pagan culture, the Christians would have never become rightful members of the society of that time.

Key words: *Christian education; ancient pagan culture; Basil the Great; Church history; pre-Christian writings; young Christians; pagan societies; legacy of pagans*

It would be difficult to discuss the benefits that young Christians could draw from reading pagan writings, without considering the crash of two great social, political, philosophical and historical systems, one being the pre-Christian pagan world and the other – rising Christianity. Had not the old collided with the new, we would not be able to reflect upon those advantages. Whatever opinion one might have about the figure of Jesus Christ, his coming changed the course of history. That change, quick as it was, did not take place instantly, but gradually. The teachings, spread among people after people by Christ's dedicated disciples, met with enthusiastic reactions – at first, among the Roman Empire's lowest class, and, afterwards, also among the aristocracy of that time.¹ Still, before

¹ Danielou, J., Marrou, H. I. (1984). *Historia Kościoła. Od początków do roku 600*. Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, pp. 182–190.

Christianity earned prominence in the Hellenic world, it had been becoming surrounded by the kindred – at least in terms of origins – religion of Judaism.² Although currently the difference between Jews and Christians seems fundamental and rather obvious, the societies of both Palestine, as well as of the Roman Empire's more distant territories, considered Christ's worshippers to be no more than a Jewish sect. This view was especially common among Romans. Without doubt, the common feature of both religions is faith in only one God – a thing rather unusual in ancient times. From the perspective of the polytheistic model of religion (be it the pantheon of Greek and Roman gods or the systems of beliefs characteristic for Mesopotamia or Egypt), which was the most common one at that time, monotheism was a distinct characteristic of Christianity and Judaism. The outside observers might – and probably have – been misled by the fact that the first Christian commune, the Jerusalem church, was rooted in the Jewish environment: it developed among Jews, its leaders were Jewish and worshipped God, who – in the person of Jesus Christ – had been calling himself the king of Jews. Still, it is not the dogmatic differences between the two religions, but rather certain “personal” traits of the new system of beliefs that are of interest here. In contrast to Judaism with its traditional tendency to exclude those who were not members of the chosen people, Christianity, with time, became an inclusive religion. This, to a large extent, was a merit of St. Paul. Contrary to certain exclusivistic tendencies among the members of the early Church (which, for instance, were manifested in obligating newly converted pagans to obey the Jewish law), he took the Gospel outside Jewish society. Not only did St. Paul cross the physical borders of Palestine, but also the limits that existed in the minds of his fellow believers – limits that emerged in the course of hundreds of years of the Jewish tradition, culture and history. This was a decisive step for the new faith. It took Christianity away from its roots to the pagan world – the world of Greeks (which, in fact, was not a term used for ethnical Greeks only, but all non-Jews). Not long afterwards began the confrontation between the new religion and the ancient legacy. During one of his missionary travels described in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul managed to reach the cultural and mental capital of the Hellenic world – the great Athens.³ What it proves, is that early Christians were not afraid of contact with

² Chadwick, H. (2004). *Kościół w epoce wczesnego chrześcijaństwa*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, pp. 5–8.

³ DzUMWRiOP 17, pp. 16–34.

ancient Greece. This might have been a result of the missionary enthusiasm of Christ's worshippers, as well as the fact that missionaries were authentically a part of that world. Even St. Paul, although in the past he had been a devout Pharisee, a scribe, and a pious Jew, was a Roman citizen.

The persecutions began quite soon, even in the apostles' lifetime. The fact that they took place denotes a sharp increase in the significance of Christianity, for no one would have fought against a formation that was not influential. It is an important point from the angle of this paper's topic, because it determined the relationship between the rising Christianity and the old pagan world. On one hand, the persecutions resulted in antipathy towards the oppressors and their culture, but, on the other, they also triggered the need of polemics, thus contributing to the emergence of Christian apologia. As Werner Jaeger rightly pointed out, even though early dogmatic texts were aimed at the members of the Christian community and people intending to join it, the outbreak of persecutions made it necessary to refute false accusations that the pagan majority was spreading.⁴ The early Church was neither willing nor capable of standing against the persecutors in an armed conflict. Still, it did not hesitate to start an intellectual polemic with them. The other issue that held the early Christians back from accepting the ancient pagan culture was the sense of morality of its philosophers. Christian thinkers deemed it too "worldly" – in the sense of being too attached to the earthly life with its pleasures and sensuality. Tertullian, a notable representative of early Christian thought, was said to have crossed out the following sentence from one of his numerous texts: "What does Athens have in common with Jerusalem?".⁵ On the other hand, Suetonius, a famous Roman historian describes Christianity as "a new, felonious superstition".⁶ Those two statements demonstrate the mutual antipathy quite well. The question that the rising Christianity had to answer was whether one could be a good Christian and a good Greek at the same time.

In some aspects, the crash of the great and intellectually rich Ancient world with the simple message of the Gospel was troublesome for Christianity. The Gospel's unsophisticated language was its forte in

⁴ Jaeger, W. (2002). *Wczesne chrześcijaństwo i grecka paideia*. Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Homini, pp. 48–55.

⁵ "Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis?" Tertulian. *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 7. Retrieved January 10, 2016. From http://www.tertullian.org/latin/de_praescriptione_haereticorum.htm

⁶ Gajus Swetoniusz Trankwillus (1987). *Żywoty Cezarów*. Wrocław: Ossolineum, p. 243.

interaction with the masses, but it was difficult for the intellectual elites to accept something written in as simple a manner. This was referred to by St. Augustine in “Confessions”, in which he openly admitted that, as a rhetorician captivated by the works of Cicero, he found the literary simplicity of New Testament repelling.⁷ Nevertheless, as time passed, the Church – through its representatives’ writings – began to stand for the wisdom of the old world.

From all of the Church Fathers’ texts that discussed the necessity for Christians to be familiar with the ancient legacy, the one that will be the most useful in illustrating the point of this paper is a short, yet historically significant writing by Basil the Great, the bishop of Caesarea Mazaca. Among his works there is one called *Ad Adolescentes* (“For the Youth”)⁸ – a treatise concerning the benefits that can be drawn by young Christians from reading pagan writings. Basil gives a clear, coherent and convincing disquisition on why one cannot reject the intellectual legacy of previous generations. Although the text was written after the Edict of Milan – and, thus, at the time when the Church had already become tolerated on the territory of the Roman Empire – Basil still had to convince both Christians and pagans that Christianity should be, and, in fact, is an equal shareholder of the ancient pagan legacy. It was during Basil’s lifetime when the emperor Julian, whom St. Augustine later called *the Apostate*,⁹ decreed that Christians could not teach in pagan schools. Nota bene, both Basil and Julian received their education at the Platonic Academy. When Basil later became a bishop, he disputed with his former colleague – by that time, already a Caesar.¹⁰

Back to St. Basil’s text, it is already in the introduction that he refers to one of Hesiod’s works. This proves that the bishop of Kayseri was perfectly acquainted with the ancient literature. In his message to youth he agrees with the famous Greek epicist that there are three kinds of people in the world: noble people, who by themselves know how they should act; good people, who eagerly follow the advice of the wiser ones; and finally, useless people who do neither. Basil notes that, although the young, at whom his words are aimed, surely attend schools and are familiar with famous ancient authors, they should not let themselves be

⁷ Św. Augustyn. (2006). *Wyznania*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, p. 71.

⁸ Bazyl, Wielki (2014). *Do młodzieńców*. Retrieved January 10. From <http://patres.pl/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Bazyl-Wielki-Do-młodzieńców.pdf>

⁹ Św. Augustyn. (2002). *Państwo Boże*. Kęty: Wydawnictwo Antyk, p. 214.

¹⁰ Jaczynowska M., Musiał D., Stępień M. (2006). *Historia starożytna*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo “TRIO”, pp. 620–621.

directed in a manner resembling a ship that is being steered in the sea. Instead, they should take what is good for them and useful for their Christian development, while rejecting the rest. This was the point of Basil's text: to teach youngsters to distinguish between the good and evil content in pre-Christian literature.

Although not explicitly, Basil refers to the Platonic understanding of the soul.¹¹ He tells his young readers that it is much more important than the body. Based on this statement, he shows the differences between Christianity and other ways of life. While pagans view earthly life as the greatest gift from the gods, for Christians the earthly existence is barely of any importance. Because of his readers' young age, he does not attempt to expound the dogmatics of the afterlife. Nevertheless, he emphasises quite strongly that what happens after death is more important than all of the earthly goods.

After this introduction he states that, in order to live an ideal Christian life, it is crucial to follow the Holy Bible's message. Still, the Scriptures do not make easy reading – especially for a young and inexperienced mind. According to Basil, pagan writings can be a perfect introduction to later studies of the Word of God. To illustrate that, Basil makes a fine and vivid comparison to a dyer. Before dyeing cloth, he has to prepare the right dye stuff. Accordingly, before young people “dye” their souls to the colour and pattern of Christian thought, they should first make themselves prepared using good and wise pagan teachings. With such training, the education they will receive will prove indelible. Noticing what is good in pre-Christian writings is similar to looking to the sun reflected in water. After one's eyes become used to the reflection, one can look upwards to enjoy the sight of the original.¹² Such beautiful allegories are characteristic not only of Basil's writings, but of the Church Fathers' in general.

What the Bishop of Kayseri also notices is that if certain teachings are similar to pagan and Christian writings, it will be useful for Christ's young worshippers to read the earlier ones. If they differ to a significant extent, then recognising, exploring and naming them will help to show the truth of Christian teachings and beliefs better. Again, using a vivid comparison, Basil teaches his young readers that when comparing Christian and pagan education, one can think of a tree. The purpose of a tree's existence is to grow fruit, but apart from that, it also grows leaves and

¹¹ Bazyli Wielki. *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹² Bazyli Wielki. *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

flowers that adorn it. A young man's soul is similar. For it, fruit – which signifies the truth – is the most important, while leaves and flowers stand for external wisdom. Just as a tree is deficient without its leaves and flowers, so is a man, who is not good and wise.¹³ What is interesting is that writing about leaves as representing wisdom, he uses the word “external” and not “pagan”. It is likely that Basil, a wise bishop conscious of the negative connotations carried by the expression, did this on purpose. Standing up for the ancients' wisdom and the benefits that one may draw from it, he tries to make readers realise that even though these teachings do not derive from the Church, they are not evil by nature. Quite the contrary – they are worth studying and, so to say, “baptising”. To justify his views, Basil uses the Holy Bible as a source of argument. As he writes, it was after Moses had learned the wisdom of the Egyptians, among whom he lived, that he became the lawmaker of the Jews. Similar was the case of Daniel, the Old Testament's prophet, who had been taught the wisdom of the Babylonians as a young man.¹⁴

When young Christians decide to read pagan writings, they should do it according to clearly specified criteria. Reading pagan descriptions of good people's words and deeds, one should recognise them and follow their example. Descriptions of evil people and their doings, on the other hand, should be omitted. The Bishop of Kayseri advises youngsters not to listen to evil literature similarly to Odysseus, who rode a ship among sirens. Although to forbid reading certain texts may seem quite radical these days, it has a strong justification in Basil's words. He warns his readers that if a young one allows himself to become accustomed to false and inappropriate content of such writings, it can have a pernicious influence on his mind. Fascinated with the beauty of language and the perfection of narration, they can absorb malicious teachings without even being aware of it. Quite obviously, the bishop of Kayseri pays attention particularly to the content that is evil from the Christian point of view: descriptions of feasts which often culminated in orgies, as well as those of relationships between humans, gods and humans, or between gods themselves. It is also important for the young worshippers of Christ to be aware that pagan religious thought – an inseparable part of the ancient legacy, after all – is a false teaching. Basil's fear that the young ones who are exposed to the pagan tradition might lose themselves on the path of faith seems justified especially when bearing in mind the case of the

¹³ Ibidem, p. 3.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

already mentioned Caesar Julian. Like Basil, he grew up in a Christian family and studied in Athens. Unlike the saint from Cappadocia, though, as soon as he became enchanted with the legacy of past generations, he abandoned his faith and returned to pagan beliefs. The concept of how a human being works is, at times, so distant from Christian ideals, that in Basil's opinion, Christians should be ashamed to speak in such a way even about animals.¹⁵ This clearly shows that, although love of wisdom can be common, or even identical in different systems of beliefs and ideas, the issue of morality can be a factor that distinctly divides one from another. Such was the case of Christianity and paganism.

How, then, should people read pagan writings without harming their soul? Once again, Basil uses allegories to illustrate it. In one of those, Christians are bees and the wisdom of pagans is like flowers that give honey. One can enjoy flowers because of their colour and smell, but only hardworking bees can truly benefit from them. Like those bees, young believers should seek all that is good and chaste in the writings of past masters, while overlooking everything that is not – similarly to a bee that finds interest only in good flowers and ignores the useless ones. Obviously, in order to earn the skill to distinguish good from evil, one has to become familiar with many ancient writers. After that, one can simply reject all that does not lead to the final goal – the afterlife.

Above all, Basil – as befits a Christian bishop – emphasises virtuousness. He considers it to be a key to the afterlife and reckons that if a man becomes accustomed to it from a young age, it will prove fruitful for his Christian development. He even states that if virtuousness grows deep into a young man's soul, it will stay there for the rest of his life irrespective of the potential dangers and difficulties. Basil considers the writings of philosophers, historians, poets and writers especially helpful in developing this trait. To exemplify that, he quotes Hesiod, who, seven centuries before the birth of Christ, wrote about the difficult and challenging path to virtue. These teachings correspond quite well with the Gospel's message about each man carrying their own cross. Both Christians and Hesiod alike consider the path to virtue to be arduous and the one leading to evil to be simple, pleasant and easy. Basil also refers to Homer's *Odyssey*, in which Odysseus, cast away on an island after his ship wrecked, with all his possessions lost, manages to earn the respect of its inhabitants, the affluent Phaeacians, only because of his virtuous nature. Although it might seem that he has

¹⁵ Bazyli Wielki. *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

nothing to offer them, the attributes of his soul prove more valuable than the wealth of his hosts.¹⁶

Pointing to the authority of Solon and Theognis, the diocesan of Caesarea Mazaca attempts to make the young aware that virtuousness is something constant, inalienable and contributes both to the earthly life and the afterlife of a human – contrary to earthly goods. It is worth noting that Basil, recalling pre-Christian authors by name, not only shows his erudition, but also, in passing, encourages young Christians to become familiar with those figures. There are plenty of such references in his text. Whenever he describes what is noteworthy in the ancients' teachings, he mentions the authors by their names. Thus, he made it much easier a task for the less conversant readers to find those ancient writings that can be considered beneficial from the Christian point of view.

Basil even refers to Greek mythology. He reminds his readers about Heracles, who, as a young man, was given the choice between the path of virtue and that of pleasure. He chose the path of virtue, which, even though inarguably more difficult, led him towards godly dignity. Quoting Plato, Basil emphasises that all of the authors that took up the subject of wisdom, wrote about the value of virtuousness. It is as if acquiring one was inseparable from the other, for a truly wise man is also virtuous.

Basil also points to a number of examples from the lives of noble men from ancient times', who, in his opinion, acted in a good and virtuous way. He tells these stories in order to create a positive image in his young readers' souls and minds – to encourage them to act alike. As he points out, there are plenty of such examples and it would be a shame not to make good use of them. He starts with Pericles – a famous Athenian. Once, on the market square, he had been insulted by one of his fellow countrymen all day long. Nevertheless, when dusk came, he took a torch and walked his adversary home to make sure he could get there safely. Basil also tells an anecdote from the life of Socrates. One day he was attacked and beaten up, but he did not resist, letting the attackers injure him instead. After that, he wrote the perpetrator's name on the swelling that appeared on his body.¹⁷

Basil points to the analogies between such demeanour and the descriptions that can be found in the Gospel. The attitude shown by Socrates reminds us of Christ's command to turn the other cheek, while the case of Pericles can be seen as encouraging us to pray for our tormentors. As the bishop of Kayseri sensibly concludes, if someone accepts these

¹⁶ Bazyli Wielki. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁷ Bazyli Wielki. *Op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

pagan stories as educational, they will not reject the message of the Gospel later. He even encourages youngsters to remember those anecdotes that are close to Christian teachings. Besides, he provides his readers with even more examples. Literary legacy aside, he writes about athletes who had been winning Olympic laurels (which proves that the bishop was perfectly familiar with the history of past ages), great musicians and other historical figures. Once again, he wishes to make the young readers aware that no important goal can be achieved without toil. It is not suitable for a Christian to be lazy and lethargic. A worshipper of Christ should be well-acquainted with the most crucial of pre-Christian writings, but without believing in everything that they contain. According to Basil, despite all of the potential dangers that they pose, pagan teachings are worth studying.

How to be well prepared not only to study the ancient legacy, but generally for a good Christian life, is discussed in the last chapters of Basil's work. Above all, he considers it crucial to reject the primacy of body over spirit. Bodily concerns should be reduced to the essential minimum, so that a man does not become a slave of his own whims. Again, pagan teachings prove useful to demonstrate that. Basil refers to Diogenes, who reckons that it is only miserable or unjust people who worry about their looks. Similarly, the bishop of Kayseri teaches his readers that a human is not – at least not only – what is visible to the eye, but also what cannot be seen. He can only find his self through the search for wisdom – not by striving for the most pleasing appearance. For that reason, it is not suitable for Christians to take part in nefarious performances, to expose themselves to temptation, or even to listen to the wrong type of music. This is also illustrated by an example, this time from the life of Pythagoras, an ancient thinker. One day he stumbled upon drunk feasters and told the musician to play sad melodies, which put the so far joyful men into a rather depressed state.¹⁸ Of course, the point of this story is to illustrate the pernicious influence that the wrong type of entertainment can have on an individual. It is interesting and distinct how, after that, Basil compares Plato to St. Paul. Showing how their opinions converge in the sphere of an unnecessary focus on bodily needs, the bishop himself is an example of a tendency that was quite common among the Church Fathers. Many of them strove to show such similarities, thus justifying the incorporation of the philosophy of pagans into the area of Christian education.

According to Basil, ancient teachers are right in assuming that whoever is set free from the excessive desire to fulfil their earthly needs

¹⁸ Bazyli Wielki. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

will not hold this world's wealth in high regard. Such a person will be able to focus on the search for wisdom, which, in Christian thinking, is equal to striving for salvation. Quoting the ancient authors such as Solon, Theognis, Diogenes or Pythios, Basil states that those who dedicate their lives to satisfying material needs will never find peace, for no one is truly able to put a limit to collecting earthly goods; they will always want more. Ideally, those who are not wealthy should not desire to be rich, while those who – thanks to their resourcefulness or due to a turn of events – entered into possession of wealth, should not pride themselves on it. The ability to manage goods is more important than the consciousness of being rich. To illustrate that, Basil uses examples from the life of the famous ancient figures: the philosopher Socrates, who treasured wisdom more than wealth, and sculptors Phidias and Polykleitos, for whom the talent to turn gold and marble into a work of art was more important than those expensive materials themselves. Just as precarious as wealth is the desire to be praised. A man possessed by it will fear being judged and, thus, change his views under the pressure of others – and it would not be an exaggeration to say that this tendency is still present nowadays. According to Basil, indifference to flattery is a most appropriate trait. With such an attitude one can improve their virtuousness, even at the price of social rejection. Although the author of *Ad adolescents* refers to Plato's authority here, he also emphasises quite strongly that it is Christians who are the best teachers of such a way of life.

At the end of his text, Basil uses an allegory once again. He compares a man to a river, whose power comes from a number of different sources. His life should be a strive towards virtuousness; it is his supply for old age. While for a pagan it is death that puts an end to the path of self-perfection, for a Christian the perspective stretches to a further goal. That makes it even more worthwhile a task to reach out for wisdom, whatever source it may be. If wisdom turns out to be real, it will surely lead to good; but the use that we make of our talents, the way we utilise what can become our share, the path that we choose – it is all up to us.

Who, where and why? Foundation Myths and Dynastic Tradition of the Piasts and the Přemyslides in the Chronicles of Gallus Anonymus and Cosmas of Prague

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Goltz, P. (2016). Who, where and why? Foundation Myths and Dynastic Tradition of the Piasts and the Přemyslides in the Chronicles of Gallus Anonymus and Cosmas of Prague. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 8/2, 13–43.

Much has been written about each of the medieval chronicles by academics from various fields of studies. If anything should be added, it seems that possibilities lie in a comparative study of the medieval texts. There are several reasons to justify such an approach to the chronicles by Anonymus called Gallus and Cosmas of Prague. Both narratives were written in a similar time period, in neighbouring countries, becoming evidence for the conscious forming of a dynastic vision of the past, as well as milestones in passing from the oral to the written form of collecting, selecting and passing on of tradition. Also similar is the scope of the authors' interests, as well as the literary genre and courtly and chivalric character of their works. Firstly, the founding myths will be deconstructed in a search for three fundamental elements that determine the shape of the community: the main character, the place and the causing force. Secondly, a comparison of both bodies of lore will follow.

Key words: *Gallus Anonymus; Cosmas of Prague; myth; dynastic tradition*

The research presented herein belongs to the discipline of comparative historical studies.¹ I am focusing on the foundation

Motto: Fontenelle de, M. (1728). Digression sur les anciens et les modernes. In *Poesies pastorales; avec Un traité sur la nature de l'églogue; Une digression sur les anciens, et les modernes; et Un recueil de poesies diverses*. La Haye, pp. 154 et seq. 'They say heaven, gifting us with kings, takes care so that at the same time great poets, bards of their deeds, and fine historians come to the world to write the lives of the rulers. It is true that poets and historians are always ready to act, as long as governments so desire.'

Brandwajn, R. (1960). *Wolna myśl francuska XVII wieku*. Warszawa, p. 79.

¹ A call for prudent comparative research, wherever possible and expedient, was made *in. al.* by Jerzy Stelczyk. Cf. Strzelczyk, J. (2008). *Początki Polski w świetle źródeł pisanych*. *Studia nad dawną Polską* 1, p. 55.

myth² which: “is confirmation of a common origin, and presents the collective memory pertaining to the ethnic group. It fills the role of ... tribal life story”.³ I will deconstruct, compare and explain the role of the origin tale in the two chronicles analysed. Of special interest to me are the hero,

² Source basis: Gallus Anonymus (1952). *Anonima tzw. Galla Kronika czyli Dzieje Książąt i władców polskich*. Ed. introduction and commentary by K. Maleczyński. Kraków; Cosmas (1955). *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*. Eds. W. Weinberger, B. Bretholz. Berlin. In this discussion I focus on chapters I to III of book I of Anonymus's chronicle. From Cosmas's chronicle, the source basis is found in chapters I to IX of book 1. I take tales of origin as autonomous parts of the narration, complete feature themes, not needing to be interpreted on the basis of earlier or later parts of the chronicles. References to other parts of the chronicles will, of course, be made where necessary.

³ Wiśniewska, K. (1985). *Mit a tożsamość. Człowiek i światopogląd* 2/265, p. 19. Where 'myth' is discussed, the purpose is not to link the analysed records with the question of truth and falsehood. 'Myth' stands for a particular manner of impact of the narration of origins, one conditioned by societal needs, how the members of the community imagine their past, and the form of transmission. A specific type of myth will be discussed – the dynastic legend, wherein the ideology and symbolism of the paramount rule is explained, as well as its rights and its obligations. Cf. Banaszkiewicz, J. (1986). *Podanie o Piaście i Popielu: studium porównawcze nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi tradycjami dynastycznymi*. Warszawa, pp. 18, 24. Myth – as a specific type of narration – is not to be rationalized. It is a medium of a specific truth (cf. G. Labuda, G. (1988). *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 2, Poznań, p. 12), meant for the proclamation of it and not examination or argumentation. In the Polish dictionary, a myth is defined as a: 'fantastic tale, tale of the gods, demons, legendary heroes and supernatural events in which such characters took part; it constitutes an attempt at explaining the primordial questions of existence, world and man, life and death, good and evil.' *Mit*, [In] Szymczak, M. (Ed.). (1979). *Słownik języka polskiego*. Warszawa, p. 187. Likewise Władysław Kopaliński: 'a fable of the origin of the world, of gods or heroes of legend; a sacral tale justifying and codifying religious belief connected with cult and ritual.' Kopaliński, W. (1980). *Mit*, [In], *idem, Słownik wyrazów obcych i zwrotów obcojęzycznych*, Warszawa. p. 637. Both definitions emphasized the fictitious nature of myth, which is not assumed *a priori* here. Emphasis on the societal significance of myth: 'a popular belief or tradition that has grown up around something or someone, esp. embodying the ideals and institutions of a society or segment of society.' *Myth*. [In] F. C. Mish (Ed.) (1983). *Webster's Ninth Collegiate Dictionary*. Springfield, p. 785. In the view of Feliks Grabski, who analysed the relationship between historiography and myth, the similarities come down to: (1) making value judgements of what happened and (2) being guided by a criterion of 'veracity' in it, while differences were to be found in: (1) a different criterion of 'veracity' (in his opinion, historiography 'rules on' the truth of history, whereas myth does not determine the truth but contains and proclaims it); (2) in the way of understanding time (historiography is a field concerning itself with the happenings of a specific time-frame, it is backward-looking, in contrast to myth, which does not serve to search for the truth but is a medium of it and serves to proclaim it, hence it is forward-looking, time-wise). Cf. Grabski, A. F. (1996). *Historiografia-mitotwórstwo-mitoburstwo*. [In] A. Barszczewska-Krupa, A. (ed.), *Historia, mity, interpretacje*. Łódź, pp. 29 *et seq.*

the place and the cause (*causa efficiens*) of events.⁴ The enormous body of literature on both chronicles⁵ – wherein the stream of research on tales of origin is well represented – is home to only a few comparative works.⁶ If the heart and soul of culture is to be found in values believed in and

⁴ The time of action is a secondary issue. Nor is the goal to determine whether or not the recorded events took place or assign dates to them, as there are no sources based on which to do so.

⁵ From the most important modern works concerning themselves with the tale of origin in Anonymus's chronicles two deserve to be mentioned – one by Jacek Banaszekiewicz, J. (1986). (*Podanie o Piaście i Popielu: studium porównawcze nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi tradycjami dynastycznymi*. Warszawa; 2nd ed. 2010), the other by Deptuła, Cz. (1990). (*Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski. Studium z historiiologii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego*. Lublin; 2nd ed. 2000). In the former, using methods of cultural anthropology and Georges Dumézil's three-function model, the author traces the wide spectrum of early-mediaeval narrations of Indo-European origin, underscoring the pagan aspect of the Piasts' dynastic tradition. A different view is expressed in the latter of the two, attempting to demonstrate that Anonymus's foundation myth was encapsulated in the Biblical framework with which the author was so familiar. Among literature on the foundation myth contained in Cosmas's chronicle, special mention is due to works by Třeštitik, D. (1966). (*in. al. Kosmas: studie s výběrem z Kosmovy Kroniky*. Praha. 2nd ed. 1972; *Kosmova kronika: studie k počátkům českého dějepiscetví a politického myšlení* (1968). Praha; *Mýty kmene Čechů 7.–10. století: tři studie ke „starým pověstem českým“* (2003). Praha; *Počátky Přemyslovců* (1981). Praha, 2nd ed. 1997). Also significant are, among others: V. Karbusický, V. (1995). *Báje, mýty, dějiny: nejstarší české pověsti v kontextu evropské kultury*. Praha; Sadílek, J. (1997). *Kosmovy staré pověsti ve světle dobových pramenů: antické a biblické motivy*. Praha, 2nd ed. 2001. The circumstances in which the chronicles came to life have found sufficient treatment in literature – though certain issues still remain in contention – hence I feel relieved of the burden of discussing them beyond what is necessary.

⁶ Why is a comparison worthwhile? (I) Background circumstances: (1) it may be presumed that for some time they were being written contemporaneously (though independently and based on different sources; differently: Wojciechowska, M. *Kosmas z Pragi a benedyktyni*. (1959). [In] Horst. A. *et al.* (Eds.) *Opuscula Casimiro Tymieniecki septuagenario dedicate*. Poznań, p. 345–354.); (2) they came to life in neighbouring states; (3) the chronological scope of both chronicles is similar (from the earliest beginnings to the authors' times). (II) The chivalric and courtly nature of both texts. (III) Similarities as to form, even though Cosmas's work is a chronicle, while Anonymous's is referred to as *gesta*. Not all mediaeval sources submit themselves readily to modern classification, which ought not to be given absolute significance. *Cf.* Bláhová, M. (2013). *Klasifikace písemných pramenů období středověku*. [In] A. Jaworska, A., Jop, R. (Eds.), *Nauki pomocnicze historii: teoria, metody badań, dydaktyka*. Warszawa, p. 69. (IV) The significance of both of the source texts as a testimony of transition from an unwritten, oral form of gathering and transmission of knowledge about the past to a new, written form. The histories of the House of Piast and of the House of Přemysl were recorded in conformity with the patterns of the Latin culture, and therefore through language and

passed on from generation to generation, the subject of this discussion is the mentality of mediaeval authors. The chronicles of Anonymus and of Cosmas are milestones on the route toward the gathering, selection and transmission of knowledge about the past. They are traces of the mentality of the people for whom and about whom the chronicles were written. The origin of the community and of the dynasty were key to the creation of a perspective shared by the members of the relevant community, a perspective from which the past was relayed and commented on.⁷ The foundation myth contained answers to questions of

forms of foreign origin. The differences are also significant – especially the authors' origins, the sources they used, the temporal structures of narration – but they cannot rule out a comparison of the two texts. Cf. more extensively: Deptuła, Cz. (2000). *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski. Studium z historiozofii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego*. Lublin, p. 18. The aforementioned work analyses each of Anonymus's and Cosmas's tales of origin but with no emphasis laid on a comparison, while deconstruction of the chroniclers' was conducted from a different research perspective.

⁷ Two significant issues were connected with the writing down of oral tradition. The first is the distinction between the literate and the preliterate society. In each of them knowledge about the past is gathered, deposited and transmitted in a different way. In non-literate societies the medium is the individualized human memory, and transmission is of the nature of direct contact between the transmitter and the recipient (cf. Parks, W. (1991). The textualization of orality in literary criticism. [In] *Vox intexta: orality and textuality in the Middle Ages*. A. N. Doane, C. B. Pasternack (Eds.), Madison, p. 58). It is then that knowledge undergoes profound transformation as liquid matter used according to need (cf. Szacki, J. (1971). *Tradycja. Przegląd problematyki*. Warszawa, p. 108). In literate societies the message was transferred indirectly. It became possible to avoid variability of the message with the passage of time, as once reduced to writing it could last for a long time unchanged in form (cf. Pomian, K. (2006). *Od historii – części pamięci do pamięci – przedmiotu historii*. [In] Idem, *Historia – nauka wobec pamięci*. Lublin, p. 153). Finally, the recipient often had access to a number of records, not infrequently inconsistent with one another, which he had to rely on himself to interpret.

Secondly, the distinction between the institutionalized and the colloquial memory. Societies are divided among privileged groups – shaping their own vision of the past due to having easier access to the achievements of culture and sufficient resources to master and develop culture – and groups deprived of such opportunities to a greater or lesser extent. The elite advantage applies not only to the conditions of gathering, keeping and passing on the knowledge about the collective past but also to opportunities for a clearer articulation of one's own traditions and imposition of restrictions on access to it (cf. Szacki, J. *Tradycja...*, p. 113). This is how elites became custodians of the memory of the entire community, celebrating it in community life through symbols and rituals (cf. Pomian, K. *Od historii...*, pp. 148 *et seq.*). The memory of the elites and the memory of the subjects could differ or even be fundamentally inconsistent with one another. That depended on the degree of alienation of the governing from the governed. On the other hand attempts were made to integrate the

fundamental significance to the placement of the relevant population in humanity's genealogy and specific territory, as well as determinants of the various planes of the recipient's identity and a starting point for future events. The origin tales in both chronicles went beyond the ordinary understanding of the surrounding world. They were dramatic and mysterious events, with supernatural forces taking an active part. A tale of origins is a solid and high pedestal on which a monument was built – in the form of discussion of history – worthy of rulers and their people. Whether Piast and Přemysl existed or not, we have testimony of the Czech and Polish visions of the earliest history, written down in the 1st half of the 12th century.

memory so as to make something to bind and not divide society (cf. Halbwachs, M. (1969). *Společné ramy paměti*. Warszawa, p. 422). Also the lower strata of society had their own picture of the past, which gains exposure in later centuries as literacy becomes more commonplace, breaking the elites' monopoly on its use. The fact of reducing the oral tradition to writing is significant in the context of social divisions. It was then that the message was formalized and officialized, hence enabling it to be either critiqued or recognized as the only one consistent with the truth. The role of writing should not be viewed in absolute terms, as writing was not an indispensable condition for the existence of a collective or group identity. Writing is a memory aid, not a memory replacement (cf. Riffaterre, M. (1991). *The Mind's Eye: Memory and Textuality*. [In] *The new medievalism*. M. S. Brownlee et al. (Ed.), London, p. 44). More frequently, the use of writing elevates and alienates the governing group which uses it, whereby both kinds of memories can become more and more distant from each other. Such an occurrence does not require the use of writing.

Were foundation myths considered to be the most important elements of narration when the chronicles came to life? Or had the community's pedigree already been forgotten by then? Was anything included in the overture of history penned by Anonymus and Cosmas that had a clear message but was already viewed with reserve by contemporaries? The question is difficult to answer. In our quest for not so much the truth as narration itself of the origins, we are forced to satisfy ourselves with what accounts we already have available to us. The chronicle of Anonymus is considered to be the oldest tale of origins recorded in Poland, with a similar role being played in Bohemia by the work of Cosmas. Today, no older narrations about origins are extant either in the Czech Republic or in Poland, nor is anything known about any hypothetical existence and subsequent loss of such. In all probability, the texts under discussion here came into being upon rulers' orders, with their authors addressing their thanks to representatives of elites, both secular and spiritual, while the message of the chronicles was shaped for the benefit of the communication of the governing with the governed and of the dynasty with other courts. It is worth adding that, chronologically, neither narration is the oldest text which makes a mention of the origins of the Czechs and of the Poles. Surviving till the present day is the chronicle of Nestor (*circa* 1050?–1114), recording where the Slavs came from and how they later divided themselves into individual people groups.

Anonymus commenced his narration with an account of the Piasts' extraction.⁸ The fact of Gniezno's inhabitation by an unnamed people⁹ was not explained. The *locus* of the action is known from the beginning. Reigning in Gniezno¹⁰ was a duke (*dux*)¹¹ Popiel, who *more gentilitatis*¹²

⁸ I base my analysis of Anonymus's myth of origin on a fragment of the chronicle, from the introduction of Popiel to his ignominious death, given as all three elements are contained there – the main hero, the *locus* and the *causa efficiens* – sparking action and serving to legitimize the Piasts' rule. Anonymus's core objective was to demonstrate an inseparable connection between the dynasty, ruling by the grace of God, and the community (primeval in comparison to the ruling house) – which is what he did in the analysed passage. Of a different opinion is Cz. Deptuła, whose view is that Anonymus's narration contains two origins: one pagan and the other (or reenacted) Christian. He claims the latter was the more important, as the necessary condition for the qualitative actualization of the community and of the ruling house, without which the divine election of the *Polonorum* would have been impossible. Cf. Deptuła, Cz. *Galla Anonima mit...*, s. 99, 117, 353. A significant role in the aforementioned concept was played by the presumption that Christian authors describing the pagan extraction of the communities and (or) dynasties doubtless strived to fit history into a Biblical framework and show each and every event as a link in the chain of universal history. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁹ Anonymus's foundation myth recounted the Gnieznian origins without intimating the name of the people, although the Letter from the introduction to the chronicle, among others, makes use of the name of Poland (*Poloniam*; Anonim, pp. 3 and 6). The *prooemium* mentions: the feats of the princes of Poland (*res gestas Polonicorum principiorum*; p. 6), the realm of the Poles (*regio Polonorum*, pp. 1 and 6), and the duke of the Poles (*Polonorum dux, duce Poloniensi*; p. 7).

¹⁰ Anonymus stated that Gniezno (*civitate Gneznensi*; cf. Anonim, I, 1, p. 9) meant 'nest' in the local tongue, which (among others) Marian Plezia brought forth as one of the proofs of the chronicler's familiarity with the language of the people whose history he was recording (cf. Plezia, M. (2003). Wstęp. [In] Gallus Anonymus, *Kronika polska*, Roman Grodecki (transl.), Marian Plezia (elab., introd.), Wrocław, p. 11, fn. 2). It is worth citing a modern explanation, according to which *civitate Gneznensi* (Lat. *nidus*) translates as a muddy wetland surrounded by hills. Cf. Adamczyk-Nowak, R. (2007). Stołeczność Gniezna wynikiem przemyślanej polityki Piastów. [In] *Z dziejów średniowiecznej Europy środkowo-wschodniej: zbiór studiów cz. II*. Tyszkiewicz, J. (Ed.). Warszawa, p. 31). Differently and in confirmation of Anonymus's etymology: Rospond, S. (1965). Pochodzenie nazwy Gniezno. [In] *Dzieje Gniezna*. Topolski, J. (Ed.), Warszawa, pp. 70–80. Cf. Banaszkiewicz, J. (1986). Jedność porządku przestrzennego, społecznego i tradycji początków ludu. (Uwagi o urzędzeniu wspólnoty plemiennie-państwowej u Słowian). *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 78, pp. 460 *et seq.* Subsequent significance of Gniezno finds testimony in its unique distinction as the burial site of St Adalbert and the meeting between Boleslaus I and Emperor Otto III. To provide more detail about the origin and role of Gniezno – the author invoked Anonymus's tale of origin as trustworthy in the context of the capital status of that gord. Cf. Łowmiański, H. (1973). *Początki Polski: z dziejów Słowian w I tysiącleciu*, vol. 5. Warszawa, pp. 456–461.

¹¹ Anonim, I, 1, p. 9. Later therein Popiel was referred to as the *princeps urbis*. Cf. Anonim, I, 1, p. 9.

¹² Anonim, I, 1, p. 9.

organized a ritual shearing of the hair¹³ of his two sons. The main hero of the tale – not originally identified – was distinguished with an encounter of two mysterious characters on whom the author focused his attention first and foremost. *Contigit autem ex occulto Dei consilio*¹⁴ that two guests (*hospites*) came to the feat uninvited and were chased off, *cum iniuria*,¹⁵ from the stronghold. It is unknown who the travellers were or where they came from. The inhumanity of the inhabitants' conduct consisted in the failure to grant sanctuary and hospitality. It is only then that the most important character made his appearance but still no name was given. The wanderers made their way to the *suburbium* outside the walls, where – *forte fortuna*¹⁶ – they wound up in the cottage of Duke Popiel's poor ploughman (*aratoris predicti ducis*).¹⁷ The pauper (*pauperculus*), full of compassion for the new arrivals, invited them to his modest home (*domunculam*), little as he had to host them with.¹⁸ On entering the house, the guests greeted the family.¹⁹ The circumstances of inviting the strangers to the cottage were of significance. Piast wanted to celebrate a hair shearing for his son as did Popiel for his juniors.²⁰ Notwithstanding Popiel's intentions, the wanderers' arrival occurred at the most opportune time.²¹

¹³ Due to the scarcity of source material little is known about the origin, significance and course of the shearing of hair, especially in reference to the pre-Christian period. Cf. Gansinieć, R. (1952). *Postrzyżyny słowiańskie. Przegląd Zachodni*, vol. VIII, pp. 353–369.

¹⁴ Anonymus, I, 1, p. 9.

¹⁵ Anonymus, I, 1, p. 9.

¹⁶ Anonymus, I, 1, p. 9.

¹⁷ Anonymus, I, 1, p. 9.

¹⁸ Would the *sacrum* have intervened only once, i.e. when the travellers arrived at the gates of the gord, leaving their appearance in front of the ducal ploughman's cottage as mere coincidence? The nature of the *causa efficiens* in both situations seems to be identical. [...] *in suburbium descendentes, ante domunculam aratoris predicti ducis pro filiis convivium facientis forte fortuna devenerunt*. Anonymus, I, 1, p. 9. Cf. Michałowski, R. (1985). *Restauratio Poloniae w ideologii dynastycznej* Galla Anonima. *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 76, p. 461.

¹⁹ *Bene [...] nos advenisse gaudeatis, et in nostro adventu bonorum copiam, et de sobole honorem et gloriam habeatis*. Anonymus, I, 1, p. 10. Thenceforward it was known that the strangers' arrival would possibly have heralded the advent of something good, something not closely defined. The allochtones were not neutral characters but clearly positive ones, which was later confirmed in the course of the narration. Their speech can be taken as a traditional expression of kindness, used for example by a weary traveller entering under the roof of hospitable unfamiliar people.

²⁰ Anonymus referred to Popiel's hair shearing as a pagan custom (*mos gentilitatis*). An analogous ritual was to be held by Piast; the text refers to the same ritual. On the other hand, Cz. Deptuła claimed that the pagan character applied only to the shearing at the gord but not at the cottage any more. Cf. Deptuła, Cz. *Galla Anonima mit...*, p. 281.

²¹ It is possible the author felt no necessity to explain a matter held as obvious at the time, though not so much today. In the later verses of the tale Anonymus left the original idea

Subsequently Anonymus introduced the dwellers of the hut: Piast, son of Chościsko, and his wife Rzepka. There was also a son of the hosts, but the chronicler will introduce him later. Once Piast got around to pouring the ale, miraculous events started mounting up.²² Anonymus emphasized the extraordinary status of the arrivals.²³ The outwall hut was filled with joy at the multitude of basic goods, not gold or any other luxuries. At the sight of the unfolding miracles Piast and Rzepka *magni presagii de puero sentiebant*,²⁴ though they dared not inquire of the wanderers. They wondered whether the guests would mind inviting the duke and the duke's *comensales*. The overawed hosts made no such initiative but the quick-witted wanderers advised Piast to choose that course of action and encouraged him to act.²⁵ Anonymus explained the unusualness of Piast hosting Popiel with both the wondrous things that were perspiring and the mentality of the time.²⁶ The feast finale: [...] *hospites illi puerum totonderunt, eique Semouith vocabulum ex presagio futurorum indiderunt*.²⁷ While the first statement made by the wanderers announced nothing specific, the second one contained a prophecy. The name – augurous as it would later show – was given to the boy by his shearers, men with the gift of clairvoyance. The hospitable and grateful Piast entrusted the shearing of his son and the name bestowal²⁸ to the

of Piast, who prior to the unannounced visit was to have invited friends and other folks as poor as he was, without continuation. [...] *aliquid obsonii pro suo tondendo parvulo preparare et quosdam amicorum et pauperum non ad prandium sed ad gentaculum invitare*; [...]. Anonymus, I, 2, p. 10.

²² In referring to phenomena from outside the boundaries of everyday earthly experience I follow the typology proposed by Grzegorz Myśliwski, who distinguished 'miraculous events' as the main category containing both 'miracles' and 'marvels'. Cf. Myśliwski, G. (1989). Zjawiska „cudowne” w piśarstwie średniowiecznym (XII-początek XIII w.). *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 80, p. 461.

²³ *Imperant igitur eum hospites securi cervisiam propinari, quam bene noverant pitissando non deficere sed augeri*. Anonymus, I, 2, p. 11. Cf. Cz. Deptuta, *Galla Anonima mit...*, pp. 271 et seq.

²⁴ Anonymus, I, 2, p. 11.

²⁵ *Quid moramur? Consilio itaque hospitem et exhortatione dominus eorum dux et convivere omnes ipsius ab agricola Pazt invitatur* [...]. Anonymus, I, 2, p. 11.

²⁶ Anonymus set the narration of origins – as he himself defined it – in times distant from his own, when power had not been exercised at a greater distance from those governed. Such an interpretation is reinforced by Anonymus's statement: *Nondum enim ducatus Polonie erat tantus, neque princeps urbis tanto fastu superbie tumescebat, nec tot cuneis clientele stipatus ita magnifice procedebat*. Anonymus, I, 2, p. 11.

²⁷ Anonymus, I, 2, p. 11.

²⁸ The possibility that the key to understanding the Piast dynastic legend lies in the names of the main characters was noticed and brought to the fore among others by

mysterious wanderers. In this way an artificial kinship was formed between the boy and the strangers.²⁹ The act of the unknown heroes seems to be the factual *incipit* of the divine election of Piast and his progeny.

(1) Who, (2) where and (3) why? (*Ad 1*) By the power vested in the wayfarers, for his hospitality Piast was lifted up, his son anointed in a great role and was Popiel humbled.³⁰ Piast's own merits did not lead to having him ordained as the ruler; that honour befell Siemowit, who owed his

Michałowski, R. *Restauratio Poloniae*, p. 462; Łowmiański, H. (1986). *Studia nad dziejami Słowiańszczyzny, Polski i Rusi w wiekach średnich*. Poznań, pp. 236–249. For the shearing to have been done by someone from outside Siemowit's family may have been a necessary element of the ritual. Cf. Gansiniec, R. *Postrzyżyny...*, pp. 362–364.

²⁹ The epilogue recounts the fate of Siemowit – as what happened to his parents is not known – who [...] *viribus et etate crevit, et de die in diem in augmentum proficere probitatis incepit, eotenus quod rex regum et dux ducum eum Polonie ducem concorditer ordinavit*. Anonymus, I, 3, p. 12. We learn that it happened by removing Popiel from power: [...] *et de regno Pumpil cum sobole radicitus exstirpavit*. (even though Anonymus ascribed the merit of that to God and not e.g. to a mutinous people). Anonymus, I, 3, p. 12. The very word *regnum* here does not mean power over territory but the territory itself. Cf. Wiszewski, P. *Rex in regno suo? Wokół wyobrażeń i propagandy władzy królewskiej Piastów (do 1296 r.)*. [In] *Proměna středověčdní Evropy raného a vrcholného středověku: mocenské souvislosti a paralely*. Wihoda, M. et al. (Eds.), Brno 2010, p. 428.

³⁰ What of Popiel's cruel end in Anonymus's account? The exact perpetrators of the chasing off of the wanderers from before Gniezno's gates are unknown; it is only known that they were inhabitants of the gord (*cives*). Popiel's personal involvement does not follow from the narration. It appears that what is at play here is a convention whereby mediaeval authors linked the morality and character of the ruler with the condition of the state – broadly understood – and the hearts and minds of the individual subjects (the lowermost level). If I am correct in my reading of the moralizing theme of the tale, Popiel – as the *princeps urbis* (Anonymus, I, 2) – failed his strict trial. The narration could have been a *memento* for those governing who knew not the day or hour their own trials would come. In benefiting from their privilege the rulers ought not to extol themselves above their subjects, filling a role of service both to the community and to God, by whose ordinance it was their lot to rule. Anonymus emphasized the boons coming from God, who rewarded the humility and the hospitality of the poor, despite being demonstrated by pagans: *Mira dicturus sum, sed quis valet Dei magnalia cogitare, vel quis audeat de divinis beneficiis disputare; qui temporaliter pauperum humilitatem aliquociens exaltat et hospitalitatem etiam gentilium renumerare non recusat*. Anonymus, I, 2, pp. 10 et seq. Cf. Żmudzki, P. (2009). Jakiego „początku” Polski potrzebują badacze? *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, vol. 53, pp. 19–23; Idem (2002). Spór o analizę strukturalną podań i mitów dotyczących „Początku” Polski (na marginesie książek Jacka Banaszkiewicza i Czesława Deptuły). *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 93, pp. 451–471. A clue could perhaps be found in the spelling of Popiel's name, initially as *Popel* (chapt. I), and subsequently *Pumpil* (chapt. III).

election to the virtues of his father. The boy³¹ played no active role at the feast. The hero in the visible world was the poor ploughman, while the true mover and judge of events was God. (*Ad 2*) The matter happened in Gniezno – in the *gord* and in the *suburbium*. No other local name was given, even though mention was made of the site of Popiel's death (an island of unknown location, with a wooden tower on it).³² The uniqueness of Gniezno was emphasized with the etymology – the site of birth, of origin for the dynasty and – perhaps – the community.³³ (*Ad 3*) The primary cause was God's blessing for Piast and his son, manifested with the presence of extraordinary personages at an important family event and their actions. There is no doubt that the Piasts were a house ruling by the grace of God.³⁴ The secondary cause was Siemowit's elevation *concorditer*.³⁵

There are several arguments in favour of the stated interpretation of the Piasts' foundation myth. The first one is the participation of the uncommon guests, combining the fates of Piast and of Popiel in the narration. The status of the new arrivals was defined before Piast invited them into his cottage, when they appeared at Gniezno's gates, where they found themselves by the unknown will of God. Translocation or multiplication – which of these exactly occurred is less important than the outcome, which is of key significance here – of the food and drink was no less important;

³¹ We do not know the name of Piast's son before the shearing by the wanderers. It is licit to presume he had a name.

³² Cf. Łowmiański, H. *Początki...*, vol. 4, pp. 776 *et seq.* The mention of the site of Popiel's death, as being outside Gniezno, in a special location (isle on a lake? or river?) could possibly be of symbolic significance, with a dimension not fully perceptible to a modern researcher. It is possible that the water constituted a mark of boundaries between the community's lands and the lands outside, both in a physical and a magical sense.

³³ In Anonymus's account of the Piasts' origins the site of Gniezno was treated with particular distinction, and its ideological significance exceeded the boundaries of dynastic tradition. Cf. Dalewski, Z. (1991). *Między Gniezmem a Poznaniem. O miejscach władzy w państwie pierwszych Piastów. Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. 98, p. 33.

³⁴ Cf. Anonymus, I, 2.

³⁵ Cf. Anonymus, I, 3. The mention of popular support would certainly be of assistance in legitimizing the rule, having a powerful impact on the imagination of the lower strata of society (if those had any way of becoming the chronicler's audience). Siemowit was made duke (*dux*) *concorditer*, i.e. concordially, unanimously, contrary to the translation of Roman Grodecki, who rendered it as 'with popular consent'. Cf. Gallus Anonymus (2003). *Kronika polska*. Grodecki, R. (transl.), Plezia, M. (elab., introd.). Wrocław, p. 14. In the opinion of Jan Banasziewicz, the history of Piast was not an isolated one against the background of dynastic legends of the Middle Ages. He confirmed the existence of acclamation as a relic of 'popular' election, even though it was to be regarded as an additional component, not to be regarded as being of special value. Cf. Baszkiewicz, J. (2009). *Myśl polityczna wieków średnich*. Poznań, p. 101.

with it came a reversal of roles. Popiel and his guests moved to Piast's hut, and the ruler became the guest of his subject, as continuation of the feast at the gord was not possible³⁶ – they did not so much want to as they had to take advantage of Piast's hospitality. The sense of the meeting of the two worlds – that of the lord of the stronghold and that of the dweller of a hut – with the accompanying role reversal³⁷ consisted in how worthy the person capable of feeding the community was of ruling over it.³⁸ The invoked events in the cottage of Piast's provided the key to the understanding of the narration, with the foreboding of the change in ruler. Anonymus emphasized the poverty of the ploughman, even though it is difficult to tell whether it manifested itself in comparison to Popiel's wealth or if Piast was a pauper even in comparison to other inhabitants of the *suburbium*.³⁹

Another reason is found in the significance of Mieszko's baptism preceded by a regaining of sight. To Anonymus it was evident what supernatural power was acting through the wayfarers.⁴⁰ The charism of divine election in the royal house of Piast (*regalis prosapia*; I, 16) was derived back from pagan times.⁴¹ The connection linking the events

³⁶ Cf. Michałowski. R. *Restauratio Poloniae*..., p. 459.

³⁷ Perhaps the lord as a host of his own feast becoming a guest under his own subject's roof was not the only point? Perhaps the point was also that Popiel, usually the 'loaf ward' of Piast's, found himself in the position of a beneficiary of the generosity of another, rather than being the donor as was the established custom? If so, not only would the message of the narration be reinforced by it, distinguishing and exalting Piast, but it would also explain the timing when Piast not so much wanted to as could hold his son's shearing.

³⁸ Cf. Deptuła, Cz. (1975). Problem mitu monarchy – dawcy żywności w Polsce średniowiecznej na przykładzie podania o Piaście. *Zeszyty Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*, vol. 18, p. 42.

³⁹ What was Piast's social position (*arator predicti ducis, pauperculus, pauper*) relative to Popiel's (*dux, princeps urbis, dominus*)? It remains an open question whether Piast's scheduling of his son's shearing on the same day as Popiel was to hold a similar ritual for his own two sons testifies to the dependency of the ploughman on the lord of the god. The following passage needs to be borne in mind: *Decreverat enim rusticus ille pauper, quando dominus suus dux pro filiis convivium prepararet, nam in alio tempore pre nimia paupertate non posset [...]*. Anonymus, I, 2, p. 10. Doubts appear to arise from the realities of that time, which were evident to the author but are not wholly familiar to a modern audience. Regarding the unfree status of Piast, cf. in al. J. Banaszkiewicz, *Podanie...*, s. 45n; P. Wiszewski, P. (2008). *Domus Bolesłai: w poszukiwaniu tradycji dynastycznej Piastów (do około 1138 roku)*. Wrocław, pp. 175 et seq.

⁴⁰ *Deus, rex regum et dux ducum [...]*. Anonymus, I, 3, p. 12. *Contigit autem ex occulto Dei consilio [...]*. Anonymus, I, 1, p. 9.

⁴¹ The place given herein to the pagan elements of the narration is in contradiction of H. Łowmiański's statement that neither Anonymus nor Cosmas showed any interest in pagandom in their chronicles. Cf. Łowmiański, H. (1986). *Religia Słowian i jej upadek: w. VI–XII*, Warszawa, p. 211.

unfolding in Gniezno to God was not negated by the author's subsequent remark,⁴² as finds confirmation in the later chapters of his chronicle. The pagan extraction of the ruling house was included by Anonymus in his chronicle *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.⁴³ The Piasts came into power not thanks to being exalted by the people – although the people's support was noted – but thanks to divine intervention. Piast, though not a Christian, found favour in the eyes of God. Piast's feast is to be perceived as: a foreboding of the baptism (the forces that manifested themselves fully during the reigns of Mieszko and Boleslaus the Brave were already at play); an apt account of events taking course in accordance with the plan of God, albeit unfolding in a pagan reality.⁴⁴ The community and the dynasty were constituted in pre-Christian times.

⁴² *Sed istorum gesta, quorum memoriam oblivio vetustatis abolevit et quos error et ydolatria defedavit, memorare negligamus, et ad ea recitanda, que fidelis recordatio meminit, istos succincte nominando transeamus.* Anonymus, I, 3, p. 12. The 'errors of pagandom' may refer both to the tale of Popiel's death itself as well as to the entirety of the narration of origins. Differently: Deptuła, Cz. *Galla Anonima mit...*, p. 279.

⁴³ It appears that Anonymus's recounting of the origins of the dynasty was limited to Piast's feast and the elevation of Siemowit to the ducal throne. Of a different opinion is Czesław Deptuła, according to whom the transformations occurring in the foundation myth – both Anonymus's and Cosmas's – unfolded in stages. The first stage was to have been the giving of direction by God to the future of the communities, already back in pagan times. The second one was to have been the adoption of Christianity, by virtue of which the actualization of the destinies of the dynasty and of those governed occurred, so that they could fulfil the tasks provided for them in the plans of God. Cf. Deptuła, Cz. (1973). *Średniowieczne mity genezy Polski. Znak*, vol. 25, pp. 1378 *et seq.* Of course, the significance of Mieszko's recovery of sight and his baptism is not to be downplayed. The adoption of Christianity was a momentous change of qualitative nature, though I see it as a continuation – logical and inevitable – of the events in the Gnieznan *suburbium*. The adoption of Christianity resulted neither in the coming of the community into existence nor in the coming of the dynasty into power. I assert that the baptism did not play a decisive role in the appearance of the two most important themes in Anonymus's narration (the governing and the governed), even though it doubtlessly significantly actualized the two groups, paving the path to the heights of their capabilities, which were achieved during the reign of Boleslaus I.

⁴⁴ It may be that it is in that way that Anonymus avoided the charge of not sufficiently emphasizing the divine – in the Christian sense – provenance of the Piast's rule, as well as – and this matter also has to be put in question – a threat of cutting the community from its roots. Especially if the basis for the tale recorded in the chronicle was found in written accounts. On the other hand, it is worth quoting the sentence preceding the introduction of the tale of origins: *Qualiter ergo ducatus honor generationi huic acciderit, subsequens ordo narrationis intimabit.* Anonymus, I, p. 9. This means Anonymus emphasized what important events the tale would tell, not concealing their significance to the entirety of his work.

In Anonymus's chronicle the baptism was important as yet another – as the feast at Piast's was the first – actualization of the community, not its origin.⁴⁵

The third issue is Anonymus's care to demonstrate the rightfulness of the Piasts' rule. Of great significance thereto was the demonstration of the cause of the change of ruler thanks to the contradistinction of the filoxenia of the dwellers of the hut and the absence of such among the dwellers of the gord. The tale of the miraculous circumstances of the shearing in the modest hut of the ploughman whose son took the place of the exiled ruler – *de facto* through a legalized *coup d'état* – heralded more involvement of heaven. It is legible where God – directly or indirectly – intervened in the course of events, especially when lending assistance to the progeny of Piast. The presence and the future in the analysed record were to be judged according to the call to great destinies of a house whose progenitor was a poor farmer but by God's ordinance whose descendants were elevated to the highest dignities. The proper beginning of the community is found in Piast's distinction and the elevation of his son, so that the governing and the governed could begin to fulfil the roles assigned to them by God. It is without significance that neither the community – Gniezno and its inhabitants are already a given – nor the sovereign authority (Popiel governed the community prior to Siemowit; it is not known how he or his ancestors came to rule). With the feast at Piast's and the elevation of Siemowit the community and its leadership were actualized. Rounding off the establishment of the dynasty – but not as a key moment to it – was the adoption of Christianity.

In the foundation myth of the Piasts I pay attention to three facts. (I) The Piasts were a native dynasty. (II) The narration contains the ideological and ethical legitimization of the Piasts' rule.⁴⁶ (III) Piast's feast

⁴⁵ It is worth adding that both chronicles are lacking the closer circumstances of baptism. In Anonymus (*cf.* Anonymus I, 5) by the agency of Dąbrówka – appearing therein as a *mulier suadens* – Mieszko abandoned the errors of pagandom and was baptised (no date was given). In Cosmas information regarding the adoption of the new faith was recounted with extraordinary brevity, as I will discuss below (*cf.* Cosmas, I, 10, p. 14.

⁴⁶ And that was significant in the context of the goals for which the chronicle came into being, especially in the face of the problems Boleslaus III Wrymouth had to contend with, with his legitimacy to rule. His father, Wladislaus Herman, took power after the exile of Boleslaus the Bold, following the latter's conflict with bishop Stanislaus. Later the death of Mieszko Bolesławowic intervened – the son of the exiled king, with Anonymus suspecting poisoning – subsequent to his return to the country from the path of exile on which he had once embarked with his father, as well as Boleslaus Wrymouth's own trouble with his elder brother Zbigniew.

constituted the ideological and not the factual origin of the Piast dynasty. Anonymus showed the dynasty in a favourable light and demonstrated its lawfulness. He wrote of 'natural lords' (*domini naturales*), though without defining that concept.⁴⁷ The Piasts, like the Přemyslides, were predestined to rule *Dei gratia*. The role of the Piasts was emphasized in the geographical *prooemium* preceding the introduction of Gniezno, Popiel and Piast.⁴⁸ The already mentioned three key elements of the narration – the hero, the place and the cause – were characterized with a favourable judgement. The events occurred at the best possible place. The change of ruler was a good change, as the most deserving one ascended. Also good was the nature of the forces intervening in the events. Piast was shown – in a symbolic manner – as one guaranteeing the community's welfare – expressed not through luxuries but through basic goods – taking care of it as a father would of his family.

At the beginning of the dynastic legend in Cosmas – to an unpopulated land (depicted as a *locus amoenus*)⁴⁹ – following the flood and the confusion of tongues⁵⁰ – there arrived a pagan⁵¹ tribe led by Czech (*Boemus*) and a specific location was named where they settled.⁵² The incomers named the Czech land after their elder (*senior*; he was neither their ruler nor their judge, and from subsequent narration it follows that no

⁴⁷ Cf. Adamus, J. (1952). *O monarchii gallowej*. Warszawa, p. 128; Baczkowski, K. (2012). „Panowie przyrodzeni” a elekcyjność tronu w Polsce średniowiecznej. [In] *Idem. Polska i jej sąsiedzi za Jagiellonów*, Kraków, pp. 27 *et seq.*

⁴⁸ Anonymus, in putting the narration in a European context, brought forth Poland's geographical location, its strong sides, its ancient freedom and the virtues of its inhabitants. In the *prooemium* Anonymus contained basic knowledge about the Slavdom (location, neighbours, description of the country), describing it as never fully subjugated by anyone. The thought of ancient freedom, this time in an exclusively Polish context, was later invoked in a commentary on the invasion of King Henry IV in 1109 AD. Cf. Anonymus, III, 15, pp. 141 *et seq.*

⁴⁹ Cf. Cosmas, I, 2.

⁵⁰ In Cosmas, the history of Bohemia is connected with Biblical events, so for some time it unfolded in isolation from the *historiae sacrae*, coming back eventually to be included therein. Cf. Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit...*, p. 147.

⁵¹ Having settled the uninhabited land, the people [...] *primas posuit sedes, primas fundavit et edes et quos in humeris secum apportarat, humi sisti penates gaudebat*. Cosmas I, 2, p. 7 (mention was also made of its having been the fruit of a thousand sacrifices [*mille votis; idem*]). Teta's subsequent actions are also of significance: *Hec stulto et insipienti populo Oreadas, Driadas, Amadriadas adorare et colere, et omnem supersticiosam sectam ac sacrilegos ritus instituit et docuit [...]*. Cosmas I, 4, p. 10.

⁵² [...] *circa montem Rip inter duos fluvios, scilicet Ogram et Wlitaum [...]*. Cosmas I, 2, p. 7.

sovereign authority had existed up to that time). In the first foreword Czech described the land taken in possession as one destined to the tribe by fate. In the second one he also described it as the fruit of a thousand sacrifices.⁵³ Cosmas showed people benefiting in abundance from the gifts of nature untainted with civilization. It was a picture of a golden age, with no worries, no weapons, no marriages or private property. The original happiness was distorted by disputes occasioned by a lust for possession, through which the community of property evanesced.⁵⁴ From private property and the accompanying greed social stratification took shape. What became necessary was the authority of an extraordinary representative of the people, one adjudicating disputes and restoring peace. Krok (*Crocco*) became just that person, a man of distinguished character and mores. The first judge had no sons, but *genuit tamen tres natus, quibus natura non minores, quam solet viris, sapientie dedit divicias*.⁵⁵

After her father the rule of Bohemia was exercised by the soothsayer (*phitonissa*)⁵⁶ Libuše until such time as two men appeared before her, *qui videbantur populi esse rectores*.⁵⁷ The sequence of events was as follows: an altercation between the men, culminating in a fight (the matter was of the boundary between adjacent fields) and their recourse to Libuše; adjudication of the dispute; the aggressive oration⁵⁸ of the one

⁵³ *Hec est illa, hec est illa terra, quam sepe me vobis promississe memini [...]; Salve, terra fatalis, mille votis quesita nobis [...]*. Cosmas I, 2, p. 7.

⁵⁴ *[...] quicumque in sua tribu vel generatione persona, moribus potior et opibus honoratior habebatur, sine exactore, sine sigillo, spontanea voluntate ad illum confluebant et de dubiis causis ac sibi illatis iniuriis salva libertate disputabant*. Cosmas I, 3, p. 9. In the cited passage Cosmas moved from the golden age to an age of transition, corresponding to the silver and the bronze ages.

⁵⁵ Cosmas I, 3, p. 9. The appearance of Krok in the narration gave closure to the extemporaneous stage of history, as from him the genealogical tree of Bohemia's rulers may be drawn to Cosmas's own time. His daughters were (according to seniority): Kazi (a wizardess), Teta (priestess) and Libuše (*Lubossa*) (judge).

⁵⁶ Cosmas did not refer to Libuše as a *prophetessa* or *vates* but as a *phitonissa*, a word derived from Pytia (a virginal priestess in the temple of Apollo in Delphi). More broadly cf.: Geary, P. J. (2006). *Women at the beginning: origin myths from the Amazons to the Virgin Mary*. Princeton–Woodstock, pp. 38 *et seq.*

⁵⁷ Cosmas I, 4, p. 11. Each of the three daughters possessed unique talents, from which there arose a role in society to play. The eldest, Kazi, was a herbalist and wizardess. A younger one, Teta, taught the people to worship gods. Finally, the youngest, Libuše, was the most extraordinary one, as she was a soothsayer and distinguished by rectitude, prudence and good mores, hence after her father's decease she was the one to take his place as judge.

⁵⁸ *O iniuria viris haud toleranda! Femina rimosa virilia iudicia mente tractat dolosa. Scimus profecto, quia femina sive stans seu in solio residens parum sapit quanto minus, cum in*

who met with an unfavourable sentence (both on account of the sentence itself and the woman's conduct);⁵⁹ the consent of Libuše, offended by the accusation, for a man to lead the community.⁶⁰ At night, Krok's daughters celebrated arcane rituals to select the future prince. In the morning Libuše, from a high throne (*sublimi solio*), spoke to the coarse men (*ad agrestes viros*), warning them against the institution of a prince whom they desired so much and voluntarily, with no encouragement.⁶¹ With the words of the soothsayer having failed their purpose, she pointed to the right person, in her mind,⁶² explaining his name and prophesying as to

stratis accubat? Re vera tunc magis est ad accessum mariti apta quam dictare militibus iura. Certum est enim longos esse crines omnibus, sed breves sensus mulieribus. Satius est mori quam viris talia pati. Nos solos obprobrium nationibus et gentibus destituit natura, quibus deest rector et virilis censura, et quos premunt feminea iura. Cosmas I, 4, p. 12.

⁵⁹ According to the narration Libuše's trespass was that *[i]lla interim, ut est lasciva mollicies mulierum, quando non habet quem timeat virum, cubito subnixa, ceu puerum enixa, alte in pictis stratis nimis molliter accubabat. Cumque per callem iusticie incedens, personam hominum non respiciens [...].* Cosmas I, 4, p. 12.

⁶⁰ She retorted as follows: *Ita est, inquit, ut ais; femina sum, femina vivo, sed ideo parum vobis sapere videor, quia vos non in virga ferrea iudico; et quoniam sine timore vivitis, merito me despicitis. Nam ubi est timor, ibi honor. Nunc autem necesse est valde, ut habeatis rectorem femina ferociorem. [...] Ite nunc domum, ut quem vos cras eligatis in dominum, ego assumam mihi in maritum.* Cosmas I, 4, p. 12.

⁶¹ *O plebs miseranda nimis, que libera vivere nescit, et quam nemo bonus nisi cum vita amittit, illam vos non inviti libertatem fugitis, et insuete servituti colla sponte submittis. Heu tarde frustra vos penitebit, sicut ranas penituit, cum ydrus, quem sibi fecerant regem, eas necare cepit. Aut si nescitis, que sint iura ducis, temptabo vobis ea verbis dicere paucis. Inprimis facile est ducem ponere, sed difficile est positum deponere; nam qui modo est sub vestra potestate, utrum eum constituatis ducem an non, postquam vero constitutus fuerit, vos et omnia vestra erunt eius in potestate. Huius in conspectu vestra febricitabunt genua, et muta sicco palato adherabit lingua. Ad cuius vocem pre nimio pavore vix respondebitis: 'Ita domine, ita domine,, cum ipse solo suo nutu sine vestro preiudicio hunc dampnabit et hunc obruncabit, istum in carcerem mitti, illum precipiet in patibulo suspendi. Vos ipsos et ex vobis, quos sibi libet, alios servos, alios rusticos, alios tributarios, alios exactores, alios tortores, alios precones, alios cocos seu pistores aut molendinarios faciet. Constituet etiam sibi tribunos, centurions, villicos, cultores vinearum simul et agrorum, messorum segetum, fabros armorum, sutores pellium diversarum et coriorum. Filios vestros et filias in obsequiis suis ponet; de bubus etiam et equis sive equabus seu peccoribus vestris optima queque ad suum placitum tollet. Omnia vestra, que sunt potiora in villis, in campis, in agris, in pratis, in vineis, auferet et in usus suos rediget. Quid multis moror? Aut ad quid hec, quasi vos ut terream, loquor? Si persistitis in incepto et fallitis voto, iam vobis et nomen ducis et locum ubi est indicabo.* Cosmas I, 5, pp. 14 et seq.

⁶² It did not happen as Libuše had declared that she would become the wife of the one selected by the people. She herself indicated the place where the future prince would

the fate of both the man himself and his offspring,⁶³ and he gave her instructions. The emissaries found Přemysl occupying himself with ploughing, who, upon having heard the summons,⁶⁴ stuck his whip⁶⁵ (*corilus*) into the ground and unharnessed his oxen, saying: *Ite illuc, unde venistis!* (which points toward the oxen's affinity with the supernatural sphere).⁶⁶ There followed two miraculous events: the whip stuck in the ground produced three long shoots already covered with leaves and

be found, and his name. For a broader treatment of the issue of this apparent illogicality in narration cf.: Třešník, D. (2003). *Mýty kmene Čechů 7.–10. století: tři studie ke „starým pověstem českým“*. Praha, pp. 106–110. *Nota bene* no suggestion appears in the narration to the effect of the appointment of the prince having taken the form of a social contract. Still, Libuše insisted that a prince was easier installed than removed (*In primis facile est ducem ponere, sed difficile est positum deponere*. Cosmas, I, 5, p. 14), which theoretically admitted the possibility of deposition(!). On the other hand, such an interpretation finds itself in conflict with God as the *causa efficiens* of the tale of origins – and hence with the divine election of the Czechs. *Nota bene*, after the selection of Přemysl two elements appeared. The first: Libuše ordered that the envoys, on their way to meet Přemysl, should follow her horse, as the latter had made that way many a time previously. The second: Cosmas's recounting of the rumour about Libuše and Přemysl's love affair, which he denied at the same time. Cf. more extensively V. Karbusický (1995). *Báje, mýty, dějiny: nejstarší české pověsti v kontextu evropské kultury*. Praha, pp. 157–162.

⁶³ Libuše explained to the envoys the meaning of the name 'Přemysl'; the use of reported speech seems to be an oversight on the author's part: *Viro nomen est Primizl [...] nam hoc nomen latine sonat premeditans vel superexcogitans. Huius proles postera hac in omni terra in eternum regnabit et ultra*. Cosmas I, 5, p. 15.

⁶⁴ Cosmas appears to treat Přemysl with ambivalence, referring to him as a rustic, but later events constitute evidence that the ploughman was someone much more than that. *Ad quem nuncii accedentes inquirunt: 'Vir fortunate, dux nobis diis generate!'. Et, sicut mos est rusticis, non sufficit semel dixisse [...]*. Cosmas, I, 6, p. 16. *Nota bene*, the envoys' speech emphasized the pagan character of Přemysl's appointment, which – in the light of the envoys' speech – was ordained by the gods (cf. Sadílek, J. *Kosmovy...*, pp. 76 *et seq.*). On the other hand, the cause – and thereby the proper understanding of Přemysl's selection – was God. Cf. Antonín, R. (2010). *Panovník ve světě českých legend a kronik 10.–13. století*. [In] *Proměna středověčného Evropy raného a vrcholného středověku: mocenské souvislosti a paralely*. Wihoda, M. et al. Brno, pp. 488–490.

⁶⁵ The whip, although it found practical application while ploughing the field, could be associated with a sceptre (like a shepherd's staff, a mace or hook), and hence an item symbolically complementing the crown. Cf. Roux, J. P. (1998). *Král: mity i symbole*. Warszawa, pp. 197–200. The sticking of the whip into the ground followed by shoots springing out of it was another symbolic connection between Přemysl and fertility and fecundity. The whip, inanimate matter, became a plant and animated matter.

⁶⁶ Cosmas I, 6, p. 16.

nuts, while the two oxen disappeared at that instant.⁶⁷ To the envoys the extraordinary nature of the events was obvious.⁶⁸ Přemysl himself, just as though nothing out of the ordinary had happened, invited his guests to breakfast, which they had in the field. In the course of the meal two of the three shoots went dry and one remained, which grew taller and wider than the other ones. The envoys, filled with admiration and fear, knew not the meaning of the sign but Přemysl explained it to them.⁶⁹ Neither coronation nor enthronement of Přemysl took place.⁷⁰ The transition from the role of a ploughman to that of a ruler took place when he unharnessed and sent back the oxen, accepting robes from the envoys and mounting Libuše's horse.⁷¹ Libuše went out towards the incomers surrounded by

⁶⁷ [...] *cicius dicto ab oculis evanuerunt*. Cosmas I, 6, p. 16. Libuše instructed the envoys as to the look of the fallow Přemysl was supposed to be ploughing – twelve by twelve paces, situated amid other fields but not belonging to any – and what the oxen pulling his plough were supposed to look like (one girded in white and with a white head, the other white from forehead to croup with white hind legs as well). Cf. Cosmas, I, 5. Lech Leciejewicz, in reference to the motif of the ploughman Přemysl taking as his wife the soothsayer Libuše, pointed toward its link to the ritual of the royal ploughing found among other Indo-European peoples. The purpose of that ritual was to ensure the fecundity of the soil, similarly as the idea of a coupling between the god of the sky and the goddess of the earth. Cf. L. Leciejewicz, L. (2006). *Legendsy etnogenetyczne w świecie słowiańskim*. [In] *Idem*, Rębkowski, M., Moździch, S. (Eds.), *Opera selecta: z dziejów kultury średniowiecznej Polski i Europy*, Wrocław, p. 103. Differently: Deptuła, Cz. *Galla Anonima mit...*, p. 185. Both the animals and the plot of land belong to a different world, decidedly exceeding the boundaries of everyday experience. Přemysl's ploughing appears to be an echo of a ritual of primordial origin, while Přemysl, not yet being prince, appears to be performing an activity worthy of the rightful ruler. Differently, pointing toward biblical sources of the presentation of Přemysl's character: Sadilek, J. *Kosmovy...*, pp. 65–74.

⁶⁸ *Viri autem illi videntes hec talia ita fieri stabant obstupefacti*. Cosmas I, 6, p. 16.

⁶⁹ Přemysl, upon seeing the envoys' surprise, spoke as follows: *Sciatis, ex nostra progenie multos dominos nasci, sed unum semper dominari. Atqui si domna vestra non adeo de hac re festinaret, sed per modicum tempus currentia fata expectaret, ut pro me tam cito non mitteret quot natos heriles natura proferret, tot dominos terra vestra haberet*. Cosmas I, 6, p. 17. The land represented by the envoys was to have, in future, as many lords as the ruling prince has sons, which was the foretelling of intra-dynastic feuds. Ultimately, Přemysl accepted the robes and the steed received from Libuše by the mediation of the envoys and went with them. Cf. Cosmas, I, VII. In the light of his explanation, the Czechs' future depended on the completion (or not) of the ploughing of the mysterious patch of land, which was an activity of great significance. The fault of the failure to complete it was ascribed by Přemysl to Libuše.

⁷⁰ This is even though Libuše, as already mentioned above, had spoken to the gathered men from a high throne. Cf. Cosmas I, 5, p. 14.

⁷¹ Similarly: Antonín, R. *Panovník...*, pp. 534 *et seq.*

attendants (*satelles*). The wedding of Přemysl and Libuše – the pagan character of which Cosmas emphasized by reference to gods from Greek and Roman mythology⁷² – did not mean an end to the foundation myth. As foretold by Libuše a change of constitution took place; ducal authority was instituted and laws were dictated. With one remark: the new rules of coexistence were ordained by Libuše and Přemysl jointly.⁷³ The herald of the new times was the foundation of Prague, called *totius Boemie domnam*,⁷⁴ with a great future awaiting it. Libuše, just as in the case of the search for Přemysl, gave directions as to the location and name of the new site and prophesied as to its future fate, including the birth of the saints Václav and Adalbert.⁷⁵

The final act was the war between the sexes. Děvín was built as the gord of women and Chwrasten as the gord of men, situated nearby. The deep antagonism between the sexes is seen for the first time in the protest directed by one of the men to Libuše. The outbreak of the hostilities ought to be seen in the foundation of Prague, wherein life would take its course according to new rules. Evidently Prague – founded already before the war of the sexes – was uninhabited till the end of the conflict. Following the wedding of the sorcerer ploughman and the soothsaying judgess – apparently the first in the community's history – the dispute acquired a more general societal dimension. Previously women and men lived in

⁷² Cosmas, I, 8.

⁷³ *Hic vir, qui vere ex virtutis merito dicendus est vir, hanc efferam gentem legibus frenavit et indomitum populum imperio domuit et servituti, qua nunc premitur, subiugavit atque omnia iura, quibus hec terra utitur et regitur, solus cum sola Lubossa dictavit.* Cosmas I, 8, p. 18.

⁷⁴ Cosmas I, 9, p. 19.

⁷⁵ *Ad quem cum perveneritis, invenietis hominem in media silva limen domus operantem. Et quia ad humile limen etiam magni domini se inclinant, ex eventu rei urbem, quam edificabitis, vocabitis Pragam. Hac in urbe olim in futurum bine auree ascendent olive, que cacumine suo usque ad septimum penetrabunt celum, et per totum mundum signis et miraculis coruscabunt. Has in hostiis et muneribus colent et adorabunt omnes tribus terre Boemie et nationes relique. Una ex his vocabitur Maior Gloria, altera Exercitus Consolatio.* Cosmas I, 9, p. 19. Similarly as in Gniezno's case, the name of Prague was explained, of which the symbolic significance is connected with the message of Přemysl's clogs. The people had asked Libuše for a prince; she granted the request, while indicating the founding side for the capital gord exceeded the wishes intimated by members of the community. Libuše's influence on the community's fate did not end with her marriage to Přemysl. An interesting interpretation of the appearance of Saints Václav and Adalbert as two golden olives was formulated by J. Sadílek. Cf. Sadílek, J. *Kosmovy...*, pp. 94 *et seq.*

a state of – from a modern point of view – sexual chaos.⁷⁶ The women's unwillingness to submit to men was the cause of intermittent struggle and peace until a cease-fire and a meeting arranged for a three-day feast. Everyone came unarmed, of which men took advantage being stronger by nature, noted by Cosmas; every one of them abducted one woman. Thus the ugly sex subjugated the fair.⁷⁷ The epilogue of the narration of the Czechs' origin is found in the death of Přemysl,⁷⁸ followed by the rule of the couple's seven descendants. Another recorded event is the baptism of Bořivoj, the eighth ruler of the house of Přemysl. Cosmas recorded it under 894 AD, which was the first year date given in the chronicle. Of the baptism he made only a laconic mention.

In the foundation myth emerging from Cosmas's chronicle I would distinguish three acts:⁷⁹ (I) the appearance of people in a land known thenceforward as (Bohemia); (II) the origin of the dynasty and of the capital;

⁷⁶ The picture of the Czechs' ancestors as an uncivilized people was reinforced with a comparison to nomadic tribes. *Et quia ea tempestate virgines huius terre sine iugo pubescentes veluti Amazonas militaria arma affectantes et sibi ductrices facientes pari modo uti tirones militabant, venacionibus per silvas viriliter insistebant, non eas viri, sed ipsemet sibi viros, quos et quando voluerunt, accipiebant et, sicut gens Scitica Plauci siue Picenatici, vir et femina in habitu nullum discrimen habebant.* Cosmas I, 9, pp. 19 et seq.

⁷⁷ Cf. Banaszkiwicz, J. (1997). Wątek „ujarzmienia kobiet” jako składnik tradycji o narodzinach społeczności cywilizowanej. Przekazy „słowiańskie” wcześniejszego średniowiecza. [In] Michałowski, R. (Ed.), *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, Warszawa, p. 35. It may be that the war of the sexes marked an ideological continuation of the theme of appointment of a prince. No ruler appeared in that part of the narration. Perhaps Cosmas's intent was to show that just as a community without a prince would sink into chaos and fall apart, so would women remaining independent from men fall victim of their own weakness, starting with promiscuity. Martin Golem argued that the description of the relations of men was in fact an image of the relationship between the governing and the governed, serving to justify both the link between the subjects and the ruler and the dependency of the wife on the husband. Cf. Golema, M. (2006). *Stredoveka literatura a indoeuropejske mytologicke dedictvo: pritomnost trojfunkcnej indoeuropejskej ideologie v literature, mytologii a folklore stredovekych Slovanov*. Banská Bystrica, pp. 31–100; *idem*, Kosmova a Dalimilova „dívčí válka” ako metafora indoeurópskej vojny funkcie. *Studia mythologica Slavica* 2005, vol. 8, pp. 137–156.

⁷⁸ From similar information about Libuše it seems to follow she departed from the world prior to Přemysl. *Et ex illa tempestate post obitum principis Lubosse sunt mulieres nostrates virorum sub potestate.* Cosmas I, 9, p. 21.

⁷⁹ A detailed deconstruction of Cosmas's narration of origins is offered by V. Karbusický. Cf. Karbusický, V. *Báje...*, pp. 97–105; *Idem*, Die epische Struktur der Sagen in der Chronik des Cosmas von Prag. [In] *Anfänge der historischen Überlieferung in Böhmen: ein Beitrag zum vergleichenden Studium der mittelalterlichen Sängerepen*, Cologne-Vienna 1980, pp. 93–102.

(III) the foretelling of the Czechs' fate. In the first one the land was given a name and populated. The second one marks the creation of the Czech community, with a gradual transition from the golden age, through the dominant role of judges, to ultimately the establishment of the society known to Cosmas. The third was a prophecy fulfilled in the later course of history. Cosmas enriched his narration of the origins of the people, the dynasty and the state⁸⁰ with a number of references to sites that were to be associated with heroes or events.⁸¹ He gave an account of a souvenir of times long past, of Přemysl's wooden clogs kept in the ducal treasury even in Cosmas's own lifetime.⁸² As foretold by Libuše, the duke was to be the terror of the

⁸⁰ Whenever in the context of discussing the tale of origins reference is made to the concept of 'state', it is safer to understand it in the meaning of 'political organization' or 'community'.

⁸¹ The first seats of Čech's companions were to have been founded upon the Říp mountain, between the Ohře and Vltava rivers (I, 2). Linked to Krok was to have been a gord already abandoned and overgrown in Cosmas's time, found in the forest adjoining the village of Zbečno (I, 3; if that site was in fact associated with Krok in Cosmas's time, it is probable that the chronicler recorded a version of the legend that did in fact circulate, cf. Panic, I. (2006). *Krak w polskiej i czeskiej tradycji wczesnośredniowiecznej*. [In] Barciak, A., Iwańczak, W. (Eds.), *Piśmiennictwo Czech i Polski w średniowieczu i we wczesnej epoce nowożytnej*. Katowice 2006, pp. 48–62). Kazi's tall earthen grave was to be found upon the river formerly known as Berounka, and currently as Mža (cf. Cosmas, I, 4, p. 8). Teta was to have erected a gord upon the peak of a steep rock at the river Berounka, named Tetin after her. Also Libuše was to have ordered the construction of a gord nearby the village of Zbečno (and therefore in the vicinity of the gord linked to her father), also named after her. She foretold where her envoys would find Libuše (the village of Stadice), where Prague was to be founded. The arena of the war of the sexes was Děvin i Chwrašten (later Vyšehrad).

⁸² The symbolic significance of the wooden clogs had to be enormous, as (1) they were the sole physical memory of Přemysl; (2) they constituted a symbolic link between times immemorial and modernity; and (3) connected the past and the present with the future as an expression of the wish of the subjects for the rulers to remember their roots. Cf. Cosmas I, 7, p. 17. In the case of Bohemia we would even have to do with, as Andrzej Pleszczyński put it, 'a fetish of origins', the eldest trace of which he found in Cosmas's chronicle. In Anonymus's dynastic legend there are few geographical details bar Gniezno and an unnamed isle on which Popiel parted with life. The Piasts, in opposition to the Přemyslides, did not have a physical souvenir of the dynasty's founder. Cf. Pleszczyński, A. (2001). *Fetyszyzm początków" w ideologii władzy czeskiego średniowiecza*. [In] Rosik, S., Wiszewski, P. (Eds.), *Origines mundi, gentium et civitatum*. Wrocław, p. 153; *Idem (2000), Przestrzeń i polityka: studium rezydencji władcy wcześniejszego średniowiecza: przykład czeskiego Wyszehradu*. Lublin, pp. 225 et seq.; Sobiesiak, J. A. *Jak Przemyślidzi zdobyli władzę nad „plemieniem Czechów"*. *Historia i archeologia o powstaniu czeskiego państwa (IX–X w.)*. [In] Banaszkiewicz, J. et al. (Eds.) *Instytucja „wczesnego państwa" w perspektywie wielości i różnorodności kultur*. Poznań 2013, pp. 266 et seq.

Czechs, a merciless tyrant.⁸³ On the other hand, Přemysl proved to be a good-natured pauper, ordering his wooden clogs to be preserved,⁸⁴ for his descendants to remember the plebeian origin of the founder of their house. Another *memento* is found in the origin of Prague. Finally, the advent of the tribe led by Czech to an unpopulated land made the Czechs the fully entitled lords of their lands. Let us add that the most important of the three scenes uncovered by Cosmas was the second, the culmination of which was found in the demand made by men for the people to be led by a man. To the foreground, in lieu of the common ancestor Czech (a blood tie), came the relationship of the subjects to the dynasty (a political relationship arising from the will of the Czechs, their demand to install sovereign authority). The Czechs were not simply a tribe of kinsfolk but a community connected with the ruling house by ties of obedience and fealty⁸⁵. The most important elements of the Bohemian chronicler's narration are: Přemysl and Libuše⁸⁶ (who?); Prague (where?); God⁸⁷ (why?).

⁸³ Cf. more extensively: Bláhová, M. (2014). Počátky státu a osobní svoboda v dílech českých středověkých kronikářů, [In] Barciak, A. (Ed.), *Wolność i jej ograniczenia w kulturze Europy Środkowej*. Katowice–Zabrze 2014, pp. 68–70.

⁸⁴ Inquired by one of the envoys en route to the rendezvous with Libuše as to the purpose of taking his wooden shoes with him, Přemysl replied: *Ad hec, inquit, eos feci et faciam in evum seruari, ut nostri posteri sciant, unde sint orti, et ut semper vivant pavidi et suspecti, neu homines a Deo sibi commissos iniuste opprimant per superbiam, quia facti sumus omnes equales per naturam. Nunc autem et mihi liceat vos vicissim percontari, utrum magis laudabile est de paupertate ad dignitatem provehi an de dignitate in paupertatem redigi? Nimirum respondebitis mihi, melius esse provehi ad gloriam quam redigi ad inopiam. Atqui sunt nonnulli parentela geniti ex nobili, sed post ad turpem inopiam redacti et miseri facti; cum suos parentes gloriosos fuisse et potentes aliis predicant, haud ignorant, quod semetipsos inde plus confundunt et deturpant, cum ipsi per suam hoc amiserunt ignaviam, quod illi habuerunt per industriam. Nam fortuna semper hanc ludit aleam sua rota, ut nunc hos erigat ad summa, nunc illos mergat in infima*. Cosmas I, 7, pp. 17 *et seq.*

⁸⁵ Similarly: Třeštík, D. (2005). Úvod. [In] Hrdina, K. *et al.* (Eds.) *Kosmova kronika česká*. Praha–Litomyšl, pp. 15 *et seq.*; Idem Kosmovo pojetí přemyslovské pověsti. *Český lid* 52 (1965), p. 311.

⁸⁶ The inequality in the chronicler's treatment of Libuše and the community led by her is shown to be a mere appearance only. Whose fault was the end of the gold age? The fault lay with human nature; degenerating, in Cosmas's opinion, along with the passage of history. The most important thing in the confrontation between the people – presumably only the male part of it – and Libuše is not whose view prevailed but the right of the matter and acting with good intentions. Despite the installation of a prince, Libuše, after the wedding, remained a foreground character. Ultimately, the soothsayer stopped being referred to as a 'woman' (the last time she is referred to as such is in I, 5, prior to announcing her choice to the people), in favour of 'lady' (*domina, cf.*) I, 6 [five times], 8, 9), and prince (*princeps; cf.* I, 9). Marriage did not lower Libuše's social standing. As

Comparison of narration. Similarities. (I) The hero. In both accounts the motif of the ploughman progenitor repeats itself. Both Piast and Přemysl were freemen, there are no clear indications of a subordinate status. The respective fates of both were the cornerstone for the future ruling house.⁸⁸ Anonymus's and Cosmas's emphasizing of an agricultural extraction of the native dynasties was to bear witness to the rulers'

already mentioned before, Libuše continued to prophesy, and the community did as it was told; Přemysl dictated the laws together with her (as Cosmas wrote: *Hic vir [...] omnia iura [...] solus cum sola Lubossa dictavit*. Cosmas, I, 8, p. 18). Hence she must be listed alongside Přemysl as a main character of the narration – even though hers was to some extent a more important role to play.

⁸⁷ An important issue is the origin of the powers exercised by Krok's daughters, and in particular by Libuše. Her selection of Přemysl and the site on which Prague was to be founded and the name it would be given is one of the most significant elements constituting the civilized community of the Czechs. The soothsayer's merits were not invalidated in the feeling of the Christian chronicler by her pagandom or condemned magical talent, which he referred to as an 'infernal spirit of prophecy' (cf. Cosmas (1968) *Kosmasa Kronika Czechów*. Warszawa 1968, p. 107; *Plura locutura erat, si non fugisset spiritus pestilens et prophetans a plasmate Dei*. Cosmas, I, 9, p. 19). In Anonymus, through *ex occulto Dei consilio* it is known that Piast was exalted by God. Cosmas suggested divine intervention once: *Crocco [...] genui tamen tres natas, quibus natura non minores, quam solet viris, sapientiae dedit divinitas*. Cosmas I, 3, p. 7. In the remaining cases he offered a negative perception of the abilities of the daughters of Krok. The pejorative overtone of the events recorded by Cosmas – and the fact itself resolves the issue – turns out to be a vain appearance only, as their significance to the narration was a fundamental one. The ideological message of both myths concerned momentous qualitative changes in which miraculous events were signs and links connecting the transformations with the *sacrum*, with the latter not being passive but instead actively influencing the course of the events. The prophecies of Libuše came true, and they pertained to the plans of God, wherein Prague was to be adorned with two saints – in the latter case the source of Libuše's inspiration appears to be evident. In the Piast and Přemyslid foundation myths the *sacrum* was presented as the cause of the events and as some sort of measure to guide judgement. Cf. Deptuła, Cz. *Średniowieczne...*, pp. 1375 *et seq.* The cited admitted that the sphere of nature – not identical with the *daemonicum*, if we presume the relevant mediaeval author to have believed in that one and granted any autonomy to it – was capable of having been used by God for the fruition of His plans, with authors in the Middle Ages conceding to it the rank of *historia sacra*, leading to the preservation, in recorded history, of elements of pagan heritage. Deptuła, Cz. *Galla Anonima mit...*, p. 116.

Miraculous events were a spacious category in the Middle Ages – including all that came from a different dimension – immanent with regard to nature in the understanding of the contemporaries. However, connecting each such extraordinary fact with the relevant religious system was not imperative. Their existence was accepted *a priori* and admitted to voice without narrowing down their origin. Cf. Myśliwski, *Zjawiska „cudowne”...*, pp. 410 *et seq.*

⁸⁸ Societal significance of the dynasty cf. Łowmiański, H. *Studia...*, pp. 263–285.

connection with life-giving forces of a chthonic origin, guaranteeing the survival and progress of the community.⁸⁹ The peasant origin of the ruling houses was judged favourably.⁹⁰

(II) The place.⁹¹ In Anonymus, action took place in Gniezno. In Cosmas, Prague was founded on Libuše's instruction as the herald of new times, and it was in its vicinity that the war of the sexes was laid to rest. Both of the chronicles conceded a leading role to one of the gods. Each – in a practical and an ideological sense – was shown in a different way. The names of Prague and Gniezno were explained. However, the ascension of the Přemyslides was accompanied by the founding of a new capital as one of several important events. In Piast's time Gniezno already existed. It is not known when it was founded, by whom, or in what circumstances. Its ideological primacy, though – expressed through the chronicler-provided etymology – followed not from the foundation myth but from the entirety of the work. Gniezno, in Anonymus, was a nest, and therefore, in a metaphorical sense, a place of distinction, connected with birth and growing up. Both hubs were connected by having been founded in pagan times. At the same time Prague was one of a number of places linked to the dynastic legend, while Gniezno is the sole place name given in Anonymus. The tales of origins took place in countries described as the most fit for inhabitation (*locus amoenus*).

(III) The *causa efficiens*. The authors put emphasis on the "... activity of supernatural forces in the acts of the origin of the ruling house."⁹² The heart and soul of those accounts lay in the collaboration between good deeds and the will of God. Both chronicles placed the origin of the divine election of both the dynasty and the people back in pagan times.⁹³ The

⁸⁹ If pursued consciously, the goal of that measure was to reinforce the popularity of the dynasty. Cf. Kowalenko, W. Książę. [In] *Idem* (ed.), *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich...*, vol. 2, p. 537.

⁹⁰ In the opinion of J. Banaszekiewicz, the crux of the peasant extraction was not poverty or low social standing. He believed the emphasis in the interpretation of the myth to lie in the 'non-agricultural' significance of the plough, the ploughing and the ploughman. The explanation was to be found in striving to present the hero as capable of taking care of the community and providing it with goods necessary for its survival (hero of the 'third function' as categorized by G. Dumézil). Banaszekiewicz, J. *Podanie...*, pp. 46–60.

⁹¹ Cf. Banaszekiewicz, J. *Jedność...*, pp. 447 *et seq.*

⁹² Deptuła, Cz. *Galla Anonima mit...*, p. 170.

⁹³ A. F. Grabski would add that the divine election of the dynasty and of the people was a concept Christian to the bone. It is true that the origin myths in Anonymus and Cosmas were in later parts of the respective chronicles linked to Christian pictures of authority. Cf. Grabski, A. F. (1961). Związek polskiej tradycji dziejowej z uniwersalną w historiografii polskiej końca XIII wieku. [In] *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego*.

central element was the evolution of sovereign authority (Cosmas)⁹⁴ or the takeover of it (Anonymus).⁹⁵ There is a striking similarity between the methods of conferring legitimacy⁹⁶ on the rule of the rulers and presentation of the relationship between the governing and the governed: God as the source of authority⁹⁷. Of little significance was the fact that Anonymus⁹⁸ and Cosmas⁹⁹ appeared to treat information about pagan times with

Nauki Humanistyczne. Seria I. Łódź, p. 34. On the other hand – as demonstrated by Roux, J. P. in *Król: mity i symbole*, stating numerous examples from various areas and eras of civilization – Christianity was not necessary for the relevant people to place itself in the role of an elect people and consider its rulers to have been anointed by higher powers. Such an interpretation would have underscored the pagan character of either tale of origin.

⁹⁴ Cf. L. Wolverson, L. (2015). *Cosmas of Prague: narrative, classicism, politics*. Washington, pp. 274–289; *Eadem (2001) Hastening toward Prague: power and society in the medieval Czech lands*. Philadelphia, pp. 17–41.

⁹⁵ See a controversial work, in respect of the method used: P. Urbańczyk, P. (2004) „Zamach stanu” w tradycji piastowskiej Anonima Galla. [In] Sołtysiak, A. (Ed.), *Zamach stanu w dawnych społeczeństwach*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 219–226.

⁹⁶ One of the core fields in which historical knowledge was used in the Middle Ages was the practical goals of rulers and courts. Knowledge of the past means *in al.* the genealogy conferring legitimacy on the rule and forming the basis of dynastic claims; the reservoir of knowledge about methods of ruling and solving problems, positive and negative patterns, and finally the basis for discerning current events at home and abroad in the respective sources. Cf. Heck, R. (1978). Problemy świadomości historycznej średniowiecznego społeczeństwa polskiego. [In] Heck, R. (Ed.) *Dawna świadomość historyczna w Polsce, Czechach i Słowacji: prace Polsko-Czechosłowackiej Komisji Historycznej*, Wrocław, p. 60; Třeštík, D. Historické povědomí českého raného středověku [In] *ibid.*, pp. 5–21; Bláhová, M. Historická paměť v pramenech raně přemyslovských Čech. [In] Klápště, J. *et al.* (Eds.) *Dějiny ve věku nejistot: sborník k příležitosti 70. narozenin Dušana Třeštíka*, Praha 2003, p. 60.

⁹⁷ Wherever ‘powers’ are mentioned in the tales of origins, those are to be attributed to God, which finds basis in the favourable judgement of the outcomes of the activities of either the mysterious wanderers or Libuše. Differently: Cz. Deptuta, *Galla Anonima mit...*, pp. 89, 120, 124, 287. The assertion that the nature of the events was unequivocally determined by their origin merits full agreement. Hence a favourable cause of the events warrants a favourable judgement of their outcomes. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 71. See Pomian, K. *Przeszłość jako przedmiot wiary: historia i filozofia w myśli średniowiecza*. Warszawa 1968, pp. 233–238.

⁹⁸ *Sed istorum gesta, quorum memoriam oblivio vetustatis abolevit et quos error et ydolatria defedavit, memorare negligamus, et ad ea recitanda, que fidelis recordatio meminit, istos succincte nominando transeamus*. Anonymus, I, 3, p. 12.

⁹⁹ *Plura locutura erat, si non fugisset spiritus pestilens et prophetans a plasmate Dei*. Cosmas I, 9, p. 19. Henryk Łowmiański pointed towards an undetermined tradition of pagan *numinosum* – as well as magic – in Cosmas’s chronicle, which from a Christian perspective belonged to the *antisacrum* (citing the abilities of Krok’s daughters as an example). However, taking into account the prophecies that were being fulfilled, he

some disdain. It is shown to be only a vain appearance, without providing a basis to negate the value of the tales of origin or alter their meaning.¹⁰⁰ The *Dei-gratia* ruling Piasts and Přemyslids – with both names being older than the chronicles discussed herein – were the sole legal lords, and inheritance of authority within the dynasty was given sanction. The advancement of Siemowit and of Přemysl was a combination of intervention of supernatural forces and – though to a different degree – the will of the people.¹⁰¹ No mention was made of the Pope or of the Emperor, two factors claiming the right to put monarchs on their thrones

admitted that pagandom met with Christianity in the *Chronica Boemorum*. Cf. Łowmiański, H. *Religia...*, pp. 346 *et seq.* From the foreword to the chronicle addressed to the *parochus* Severus it follows that Cosmas regarded the fruits of his labour from a distance, but – as in other similar cases – this seems to be a matter of convention rather than the author's attempt at depreciation of his own work. *Sive enim vobis soli hec seniles nuge placeant sive displiceant, rogo, ne tercius eas oculus videat*. Cosmas, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ It is not an argument in favour of Anonymus's alleged less than serious outlook on the tale of origin, wherein – in his own view – he drew the distinction between times immemorial and those of which he thought himself to have more reliable information. Anonymus, after the information about Popiel's death by mousebite, declared the tale to transition from point towards [...] *que fidelis recordatio meminit [...]*. Anonymus, I, 3, p. 12. Cosmas did not draw an analogous distinction; instead he provided a list of descendants of Přemysl and Libuše, whereafter at I, 10 he recorded the information about the baptism of Bořivoj, repeated at I, 14. Anonymus's cited statement is not to be regarded as a contradistinction between tradition and history in a modern understanding of the terms. Instead, the goal is to give an appearance of the cleric's 'holy anger', intended to give the audience the impression that the author, by necessity, though unwillingly, recorded a pagan legend for future generations. Or was the goal not to express the author's feelings but to follow the convention customary in such cases? Could the record of the narration of the origins in both of the chronicles be the result of societal demand (i.e. a founding legend recorded in a version universally known)? Or pressure from the patrons – being at the same time Anonymus's clients – under whose auspices the chronicle was coming to life? Was there no alternative to such a form of origins as we know from Anonymus's chronicle? If so, then any removal of Piast, Popiel and Siemowit from history would leave a void, making the official version of the past lack basic knowledge about the cause and sense of existence of the community and its rule. Theoretically, a way out of the awkward situation could have been to invent a tale of origins from scratch. On the other hand, that could come into conflict with the picture already held of the origins of the *Polonorum* by the elites of the state at the time, concentrated in Boleslaus Wrymouth's court. The issue of authenticity of the tale of origins recorded by Anonymous is one I would leave open.

¹⁰¹ Přemysl was selected by Libuše upon a clear request from her people; Siemowit was made duke *concorditer*. In the narration of Přemysl's acclamation by the people (*populus*) it is warranted to see a link to the dispute between the *regnum* and the *sacerdotum*, as well as the ideal of popular sovereignty in ancient Rome. Kopal, P. Král versus kníže? Idea panovnické moci v Kosmově kronice. [In] Wihoda, M. *et al.* (Eds.) *Proměna středovýchodní Evropy raného a vrcholného středověku: mocenské souvislosti a paralely*, Brno 2010, pp. 361 *et seq.*

at the time the chronicles were coming to life.¹⁰² Action took place in an international vacuum.¹⁰³ One of the goals of the narration of either chronicler was to determine the position of the dynasties and countries in the ideological and political international order.¹⁰⁴

Both Anonymus and Cosmas achieved their intended goals in telling the tale of the dynasty's origin and listing the elements necessary for the self-determination of the community across all temporal planes: the past, the present, and the future.¹⁰⁵ The linking of the 'mythical' past with the 'historical' past by the chroniclers merits attention. A genealogical continuity was demonstrated in the chronicles between Piast and Mieszko, and between Přemysl and Bořivoj. Both of the narrations played out in pagan times, diametrically distant from and opposed to the mentality of the authors of either chronicle. Idolatrous practices – e.g. the shearing of Siemowit and the magic of the three sisters during the night prior to Přemysl's installation – could have been left out, had it not been for their outcomes, both momentous and favourable.¹⁰⁶ Another element in common were informants in the form of old men.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² On the other hand, the ideologically independent tale of origin constituted an ideological element in relationships with their neighbours, as well as with the empire or the papacy. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit...*, p. 156.

¹⁰³ Absence of any outside influence or information about the world outside of the community concerned in the origin. With one exception: the man who heard the unfavourable judgment rendered to him by Libuše, cried out – among other things – the following: *Non solos obprobrium nationibus et gentibus destituit natura, quibus deest rector et virilis censura, et quos premunt feminea iura*. Cosmas, I, 4, p. 12.

¹⁰⁴ A. F. Grabski called attention to how the tales of origins of Bohemia and Poland differed from the imperial versions of the past, consisting of extensive Trojan and Carolingian myths along with those of Biblical extraction. Another category of myths propagated by older, larger and more culturally advanced political hubs, especially by the Empire, are examples of a future pan-European standard of state mythology, driving out or at least significantly affecting the shape of local historiographies. Cf. Grabski, A. F. *Historiografia...*, pp. 44–48. See Deptuła, Cz. *Galla Anonima mit...*, pp. 139–144.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Deptuła, Cz.: *Galla Anonima mit...*, p. 170; D. Třeščík, D. (1965). Kosmovo pojetí přemyslovské pověsti. *Český lid*, vol. 52, p. 311.

¹⁰⁶ It is impossible to resolve whether, in the opinion of both chroniclers: (a) it is in any way possible to speak about the existence of a power of pagan origin, in some degree autonomous from God, who acted through their mediation when and how He wanted; (b) God acted through powers of pagan origin; (c) the pagans' intentions were consistent with God's plans, hence – by exception – the use of the powers brought the intended outcome to those invoking them. What is certain is the favourable character of the outcomes of the tales of origins. Hence I incline towards the conclusion that those powers would have been of no important significance, a vain concept in pagan minds

Differences. The hero. (I) Cosmas depicted the characters of Přemysl and Libuše with more clarity. The meaning of the name of Přemysl was explained but not of those of Libuše, Piast or Rzepka. (II) Piast was an ordinary mortal being. Přemysl surprised the emissaries with an oration the overtone of which bestowed him with an aura of the extraordinary and of the mysterious. He demonstrated peace and calm in the face of the wonders taking place. Piast was an ordinary farmer, and we know the name of his father. Přemysl is a sorcerer ploughman,¹⁰⁸ whose pedigree was not recorded. Perhaps he had already been celebrating the ritual royal ploughing prior to his enthronement.¹⁰⁹ He was shown while working the field, but the ploughing – in the position of a peasant – was only one of the two sides of his personality. Supernatural powers – clairvoyance and affinity with magical ritual – were his other, proper face. In the case of Piast, his hospitality alongside his poverty was emphasized. His unfree social condition remains only an allegation. The contrast can also be seen in the comparison of the progenitors' wives. Rzepka we know to have been the hostess of the feast in Piast's hut, to have attended her husband's counsels, and nothing more than that. Libuše, a soothsayer and judgess, of good birth, was one of the two most

with no impact on anything whatsoever, had it not been for the sole source of true power, i.e. God. Cz. Deptuła sometimes concedes some autonomy to those powers (*Galla Anonima mit...*, p. 189), and at others seems to deny it, confirming their instrumental use in the fruition of God's plans (*ibid.*, p. 124). The internal inconsistency of the world in Anonymus's chronicle – an earthly world with its own causality at the same time as full dependence on supernatural forces – cf. Łowmiański, H. *Religia...*, pp. 333 *et seq.*

¹⁰⁷ *Narrant etiam seniores antiqui [...]*. Anonymus, I, 3, p. 12. In the second foreword to the chronicle, addressed to Master Gervasius, Cosmas mentioned fables of old men as his source of information on the first inhabitants of Bohemian land. *Igitur huius narrationis sumpsi exordium a primis incolis terre Boemorum et perpauca, que didici senum fabulosa relatione, non humane laudis ambitione, sed ne omnino tradantur relata oblivioni, pro posse et nosse pando omnium bonorum dilectioni.* Cosmas, p. 3. Again, it would seem that Cosmas is not taking his informers seriously, while the importance of their testimony – if the knowledge of the origins really came from them – to the chronicler's narration was sufficiently discussed herein.

¹⁰⁸ For archaic topos of the king-ploughman in the context of Přemysl, see *in. al.* Třeštík, D. (1985). *Česká kultura ve 12. století.* [In] Merhautová, A., Třeštík, D. (Eds.), *Ideové proudy v českém umění 12. století.* Praha, pp. 12–14.

¹⁰⁹ Přemysl's relationship with chthonic powers was emphasized by Cosmas in the later part of the chronicle: *[...] Primizl iam plenus dierum, postquam iura instituit legum, quem coluit vivus ut deum, raptus est ad Cereris generum.* Cosmas I, 9, p. 21. The Roman Cerera may be identified with the Greek Demeter, and her son-in-law with the Roman Pluto (Greek Hades).

important – if not the single most important – characters of the tale of origin of the Czech people. The place. (III) No name of the country or of the people inhabiting it is given in Anonymus's chronicle. Czech was eponymous of the country and of the people. It is not known where the founders of Gniezno came from or who they were, nor the travellers led by Czech.¹¹⁰ In Anonymus, the role of Gniezno and Piast were sufficient elements of the foundation myth. However, in spite of certain details it remains – in the sense of ideas – a complete narration. The cause. (IV) In Anonymus, the term *concorditer* may form a basis for allegations that the community was in some way to have consented to Siemowit's ascension. It was, however, used in a way that makes it impossible to judge whether it is supposed to denote popular support (election at a *veche*? acclamation? if anything, then either as a decisive moment or a formality, a traditional custom with no greater significance?) In Cosmas, men demanded that Libuše install a prince. The will of the people – of the male part of it – was the watershed moment of the narration. (V) The principal cause of the installation of sovereign authority in Cosmas was an attempt at restoring peace in the community.¹¹¹ In Anonymus, the sole – but sufficient in the light of the narration – reason for Popiel's downfall was his failure to pass the trial that was the advent – by divine command – of the two wayfarers at Gniezno's gates. Other. (VI) No clear indication, in Anonymus's narration, of the origin of the community that already existed in Popiel's time. Cosmas more broadly described the primordial beginnings wherein the land and people were each given a name. Both of those details are missing from Anonymus's narration. (VII) In Cosmas, there is a theme of the feminine element as an independent one, dominating the male one for some time – the daughters of Krok, the relationship between Libuše and Přemysl, the war of the sexes. The initiative to have Přemysl installed as prince came from the men, not desiring any further rule of Libuše. Also men emerged victorious from the war of the sexes. No such motif appeared in Anonymus. (VIII) The moral aspect of the Piast and the Přemyslid mandate. In Anonymus that is: Piast's generosity toward the incoming travellers representing the sacrum; the active intervention of supernatural powers; the artificial

¹¹⁰ Cf. Kowalewski, K. (1995/1996) Początki legendy o braciach eponimach w czeskiej i polskiej tradycji historiograficznej oraz ich funkcje ideowe. *Pamiętnik Słowiński*, vol. 45–46, p. 144.

¹¹¹ The significance of peace in Cosmas's tale of origins cf. Třeštitk, D. Mír a dobrý rok. Státní ideologie raného přemyslovského státu mezi křesťanstvím a „pohanstvím” [In] *Folia Historica Bohemica* 12 (1988), pp. 33 *et seq.*

kinship between Siemowity and the representatives of extraterrestrial powers; prophecies; the augurous name given to the shorn boy. In Cosmas: the extraordinary virtues of Krok and supernatural powers of his daughters; Libuše's care of the community taking shape around her; God acting through the soothsayer and selecting Přemysl to be prince. While a change of ruler occurred in Anonymus, Cosmas showed a gradual transition from anarchy to civilized society. (IX) No information is given about the deaths of Piast, Rzepka or Libuše. Přemysl's passing is recorded.¹¹² (X) In Cosmas, elders appear (*seniores populi*),¹¹³ as well as leaders (*rectores*).¹¹⁴ There are no analogous characters in Anonymus, as the *seniores antiqui* were simply old men; there was no indication of any representative role in the community.¹¹⁵ (XI) In Cosmas's narration an account of the origin of the monarchy and of the laws is given. Sovereign authority pre-existed the feast at Piast's, and there is no record of the laws of the Gnieznian community.

Final remarks. A trait in common between the two narrations is the exaltation of the main characters, presentation of the most important places to the community, as well as the cause of events. In Anonymus, the origin of the Piasts' rule was favourable. The symbolic sense of Piast's feast served to indicate traits desirable in a ruler – serving at the same time as postulations directed at future dynasts – in order to emphasize the ruler's role as a servant of his community with a simultaneous lack of emphasis on the repressive character of authority. On the contrary in Cosmas, the original state of relationships between human beings was happiness. The image of history in Cosmas was regressive.¹¹⁶ On the one hand the sacrum influenced the imposition of laws, ducal authority and founding of Prague, which pointed toward their positive character. On the

¹¹² Cf. Cosmas, I, 9.

¹¹³ *Inter hec primordia legum quandam die predicta domna phitone concitata presente viro suo Primizl et aliis senioribus populi astantibus sic est vaticinata: [...].* Cosmas I, 9, p. 18.

¹¹⁴ *Ea tempestate inter duos cives, opibus et genere eminentiores et qui videbantur populi esse rectores.* Cosmas I, 4, p. 11.

¹¹⁵ *Narrant etiam seniores antiqui [...].* Anonymus, I, 3, p. 12. H. Łowmiański asserted that the old men's accounts were to have concerned solely the downfall of Popiel. Similarly: Banaszkiewicz, J. *Podanie...*, p. 156; Łowmiański, H. *Początki...*, vol. 5, p. 312. It seems that the word *etiam* may equally mean that the old men narrated the entire tale of origins recorded by Anonymus, therefore including the account of the feast at Piast's.

¹¹⁶ In some other places, such as the commentary on Přemysl's injunction that his clogs be preserved for posterity, Cosmas expressed a somewhat different judgement: *Nam fortuna semper hanc ludit aleam sua rota, ut nunc hos erigat ad summa, nunc illos mergat in infirma. Unde fit, ut dignitas terrena, que errat aliquando ad gloriam, amissa sit ad ignominiam.* Cosmas, I, 7, p. 18.

other hand, ducal authority was instituted upon popular demand, even though the people had been warned against it. The most obvious and appreciable basis for sovereign authority – as opposed to the tale of origins, where Libuše and Přemysl showed no despotic tendencies but accurately foretold the direction in which monarchical government would evolve – was strength. Although onerous or unjust at times, it was depicted as a necessary, though inefficient, remedy to degenerating human nature.

Wartime Physical Education and Military Preparation of Youths 1915–1918

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Řeháček, K. (2016). Wartime Physical Education and Military Preparation of Youths 1915–1918. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 8/2, 44–49.

In the autumn of 1914, efforts to find a stable reserve of human resources necessary for conducting the war led the Austro-Hungarian authorities to initiate the preparation of youths to fulfil their future obligations towards the motherland. PE in schools underwent a transformation and military training for youths was organised not only in schools but also through various associations. Despite a whole series of problems, the military preparation of youths continued almost till the end of the war.

Key words: *wartime education; PE in schools; youths; 1914–1918*

I. Introduction

The First World War (1914–1918) affected various aspects of people's lives, including education. As a result of the occupation of school buildings for the requirements of the army, the organisation of teaching had to be changed: school curricula were subordinated to Austrian patriotism and there was censorship of textbooks and libraries for students and teachers.¹ Any account of these negative features would suggest the war had no positive effect whatsoever on education. And yet there is one such element to be found, namely increased attention being devoted to the physical prowess of pupils and students.

II. Looking after the physical prowess of youth

The chosen activities were by no means random but based on genuinely practical principles. Significant loss of life and the need for

¹ Řeháček, K. (2010). Plzeňské školství v době Velké války (1914–1918). In *Dějiny ve škole – škola v dějinách, Historia scholastica I*. Praha, pp. 169–176.

more soldiers and homeguard members required the extension of compulsory homeguard duties, so that men between the ages of 18 and 50 were conscripted. Since, however, it was necessary to continuously send army units to the front, after brief military training homeguard members had to leave for the battlefield. Thus there was a need for youths, prior to their joining the homeguard, to undergo military training.

October 1914 saw the mobilisation of students from the higher years at secondary schools, born between 1894 and 1896. For students starting either voluntary or compulsory military service, the Ministry of Culture and Education in Vienna issued a decree on October 8, 1914 concerning an early date for taking school-leaving examinations and the subsequent early issue of certificates. Those affected by this ruling entered military service as one-year volunteers or as candidates for one-year service in the homeguard. From 1915 younger students enrolled for the military preparation of youths (*militärische Jugendvorbereitung*), known in Czech as 'Junobrana' ('youthbrigade').²

From the perspective of young people, however, there was nothing particularly odd about this: training for physical prowess was a traditional part of Czech society and a generally popular activity, which was promoted primarily by schools and various PE associations; moreover, after the outbreak of the war, there were changes in the teaching of PE, which was adapted to the needs of the motherland. As early as January 26, 1915 the Moravian Landtag school council in Brno issued a circular to all Moravian secondary schools introducing so-called military PE, in order that youths at school "*in the event of subsequent military service should be in part prepared, having already received preliminary military training in PE lessons.*"³ The teaching of PE was therefore "temporarily" modified so that "*military training predominated.*"⁴ According to the circular, special attention was to be paid to training drill, manoeuvres in pairs and groups of four, and changes in military formation. Further it was necessary to train extensive marching at the double with a full backpack containing large dumbbells, etc., jumping while laden, jumping from a height, climbing a ladder with a full backpack or running short

² For more see Řeháček, K. (2016). *Plzeňská junobrana v letech 1915–1918*. In *Léta do pole okovaná*. Praha.

³ National Archive (NA), Landtag School Council (LSC) Praha, box 2300, sign. II 5a, circular of the Moravian Landtag School Council in Brno from management to all Czech secondary schools in Moravia, 26. 1. 1915.

⁴ NA, LSC Prague, box 2300, sign. II 5a, circular of the Moravian Landtag School Council in Brno from management to all Czech secondary schools in Moravia, 26. 1. 1915.

distances. Training was to be held as much as possible outdoors and field games were to be organised.⁵

In connection with these changes there was an increase in the importance of PE teachers, who, given their amount of work, had their teaching loads in other subjects reduced by between two and four lessons a week. For many schools this presented a problem in covering the timetable; thus they tried various ways of working around the regulation by reducing the number of PE lessons or replacing them with other subjects. This, amongst other things, led to a reaction from the Association of Czech Clubs and Supporters of the Physical Education of Youth in Prague which, on August 25, 1915, called upon the Landtag School Council in Prague to declare that in the interests of increasing the physical maturity of pupils, PE lessons must not be used for any other purpose. The association further demanded that local councils should properly look after training areas, so that no plans for school buildings would be endorsed if they did not include a training area and spacious gymnasium, that gymnasiums should not be taken over for other purposes and that gymnasiums be kept in good condition both technically and in terms of hygiene.⁶

III. Military preparation of youth

During the course of the 1914–1915 school year, “military” PE was replaced by something much more sophisticated, namely the introduction of the afore-mentioned military preparation of youths. On the basis of an order dated June 2, 1915 from the Ministry of Culture and Education in Vienna, whose aim was the creation of some sort of military reserves, the military preparation of more mature pupils was introduced. On June 15, 1915 the Minister of Defence Friedrich von Georgi issued a proclamation in which he emphasised “*general confidence in our forces, recognition of our just cause and hope for its ultimate success*”; at the same time, however, he stated that fighting “*numerous cunning, unscrupulous and trained enemies*” required more than “*the utmost determination and enthusiasm*”: it was also necessary to have “*the best*

⁵ NA, LSC Prague, box 2300, sign. II 5a, circular of the Moravian Landtag School Council in Brno from management to all Czech secondary schools in Moravia, 26. 1. 1915.

⁶ NA, LSC Prague, box 2300, sign. II 5a, letter from the Association of Czech Clubs and Supporters of the Physical Education of Youth in Prague to the LSC in Prague, 25. 8. 1915.

preparation of all physical and mental strength for our forces of able-bodied men”, which was possible “by adequate preparation of youth prior to their entering compulsory service.”⁷ The proclamation also stated: “At a time of general conscription and especially based on experience gained during the current war, it is in the very best interests of every individual citizen that from a young age, as soon as his physical and mental development allows, he should receive appropriate military training, so that upon entering active military service, he will be able better, more easily and to the benefit of all concerned, to fulfil his military responsibilities.”⁸

The aim of the military preparation of youths was *“to build and strengthen military honour and through practical participation prepare youths for military service, while it is still possible without weapons.”⁹* Participation was compulsory for all perfectly healthy 16-year-olds and older youths, and physically well-developed boys aged 14 and 15. The latter were expected to be aware of their obligation towards the homeland and voluntarily undergo preparation for military service. Those for whom school attendance was compulsory were to participate in military preparation at school; the others were to be prepared by the local authority in such a way that *“the native country may with certainty of victory withstand any conflict forced upon it and the soil of the beautiful homeland forever be spared the horrors of war.”¹⁰*

The main burden of the military preparation of youth was delegated to schools, gymnasiums, fire-fighting and shooting associations or war veteran societies. Local education authorities had to ensure that the training of youths not attending school would take place at least once a week; sessions were to include manoeuvres, marching, drill training and creating a battle line. In areas where none of the afore-mentioned associations existed, military preparation of youth was organised by the mayor himself or a person empowered by the mayor: in many cases this would be a local teacher. Teachers had to organise training as *“natural and legally entrusted friends and guardians of youth”*; in addition to them,

⁷ Plzeň City Archives (PCA), Municipal Authority (MA) Plzeň, town hall registry (1880–1942), box 1122, order of the Ministry of Defence, 15. 6. 1915.

⁸ PCA, MA Plzeň, town hall registry (1880–1942), box 1122, order of the Ministry of Defence, 15. 6. 1915.

⁹ PCA, Local Authority (LA) Doudlevice, box 1359, order from the Plzeň district governor's office, 25. 7. 1915.

¹⁰ PCA, MA Plzeň, town hall registry (1880–1942), box 1122, order of the Ministry of Defence, 15. 6. 1915.

former members of the armed forces were also to become involved.¹¹ The District Education Authority in Strakonice, for example, noted that: *“We expect that all members of the teaching profession will devote themselves to this task, considered to be most appropriate at the current time, with the utmost patriotic enthusiasm.”*¹² Cooperation among all sections of society was expected also by the Ministry of Defence in Vienna, which concluded its proclamation thus: *“Only through the coordination of all our capacities and full-strength commitment of the individual can our youth be trained to become focused, physically and mentally healthy citizens, faithful to the state and capable of bearing arms.”*¹³

As regards organisation of the Junobrana, military preparation consisted of a theoretical and practical part – lectures and training respectively. The preparation was to focus on *“strengthening the physique, practising various forms of training, such as formation, marching, jumping, running, overcoming obstacles; then also the acquisition of such military virtues as order, discipline, decency, camaraderie, unselfishness, enterprise, awareness, equilibrium, decisiveness, courage, self-denial.”*¹⁴ During military preparation, commands were given in German as the language of the landwehr; however, there also existed an order that *“instructors should give commands in German and use this language for specialist terminology; however, explanations may be offered to trainees in their mother tongue, in order that young people acquire an understanding of these new commands and specialised expressions.”*¹⁵

During training, usual civilian clothes were used, albeit the Ministry of Defence in Vienna did originally consider whether the youths should in fact wear uniforms. In the end, however, it was decided this was, for the time being, unnecessary since *“on the one hand it would involve considerable expense and, on the other, there would be the risk of the entire action thus turning into a game of soldiers.”*¹⁶

¹¹ PCA, MA Plzeň, town hall registry (1880–1942), box 1122, order of the Ministry of Defence, 15. 6. 1915.

¹² NA, LSC Prague, box 2561, sign. IV 13/n, order of the DEA in Strakonice, 10. 7. 1915.

¹³ PCA, MA Plzeň, town hall registry (1880–1942), box 1122, order of the Ministry of Defence, 15. 6. 1915.

¹⁴ PCA, LA Skvrňany, box 1097, order of the local authority in Skvrňany, 5. 10. 1915.

¹⁵ PCA, MA Plzeň, town hall registry (1880–1942), box 1122, letter from Plzeň district governor's office to the mayor's office of the royal city of Plzeň, 18. 1. 1917.

¹⁶ PCA, MA Plzeň, town hall registry (1880–1942), box 1122, letter from Plzeň district governor's office to the mayor's office of the royal city of Plzeň, 14. 11. 1915.

Participants in preparation could, however, wear black and yellow shoulder bands or bands in the national colours, which could be decorated with the national emblem, and a special head covering.¹⁷ The reality, however, was that especially in the latter half of the war students undergoing training had problems obtaining even the most basic items, especially footwear, as a result of which they were often excused their Junobrana duties. A further reason for full or partial exemption (e.g. from marching or all-day training) was the state of health of youths, based on the expert opinion of a school doctor or community doctor. Military preparation of youths then came to a definitive end following the outbreak of a flu epidemic at the end of 1918.

IV. Conclusion

Although military preparation of youths did not have and could not have had any influence on the course and outcome of the First World War, its inclusion in the school curriculum and beyond had a significant impact on the teenage generation of pupils and students. First and foremost it contained activities which benefited the physical development of youths. Moreover, it cultivated within them a sense of duty, order and responsibility. And, last but not least, it protected them to a considerable extent from the pitfalls of daily life in wartime and the general decline in morals. This was crucial especially in larger towns where young people were exposed to many such pitfalls.

It is therefore not possible to speak of any detrimental effect which this war preparation of youths in and out of school might have brought. Society of the day regarded cultivation of the body in a relatively positive light and from this perspective accepted the introduction of so-called wartime PE and Junobrana. The situation in Plzeň was no different to that in a number of other Czech towns and cities. PE clubs, schools and municipalities adapted to the requirements of the military and political authorities and carried out related tasks according to their capabilities. In contrast to a number of other restrictions, this particular measure had no ill effect on education itself, so overall the military preparation of youths may be assessed as a positive and successful measure.

¹⁷ PCA, MA Plzeň, town hall registry (1880–1942), box 1122, letter from Plzeň district governor's office to the mayor's office of the royal city of Plzeň, 14. 11. 1915.

Aleksander Gieysztor and Gerard Labuda. For the 100th Anniversary of Two Great historians' Birthdays (1916–2016)

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Kosman, M. (2016). Aleksander Gieysztor and Gerard Labuda (For the 100th anniversary of two great Historians' birthdays 1919–2016). *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 8/2, 50–68.

Two Polish historians and friends, both born in 1916, were among the most eminent medievalists in Poland in the 20th century. Their academic debut came in the years preceding the outbreak of WWII, while their careers progressed brilliantly in the years following the end of the war. For several decades, they marked their academic presence as the authors of great works, and they held the most prominent offices in academic life in Poland and in the international arena. They took an active part in the process of political transition, leading to Poland regaining full sovereignty in 1989, and they approved of its evolutionary mode. They were unquestionable moral authorities for scholarly circles and beacons in public activities. Aleksander Gieysztor died in 1999, followed eleven years later by Gerard Labuda (2010), who remained active until his last days. The 100th anniversary of their birthdays reminds historical circles, first and foremost, albeit not only, of Warsaw and Poznań, about their academic and public achievements.

Key words: *Poland in the second half of the nineteenth century; Medievalism; science and politics; historical culture; political culture*

I

The Gieysztor family came from the Trock region in historical Lithuania. They served as deputies to the Parliament of the Polish Republic and held a variety of posts in the life of the gentry of the Kowno region. Jakub (1827–1897) was forced to leave his homeland, having been sentenced to hard labour far away in Russia, as an insurgent in the 1863 uprising (he described his stay in Siberia in his memoirs). After seven years he was permitted to settle down in Warsaw¹, where he was transformed from a member of the gentry to a clerk, and then a bookseller. He was buried in the Powązki cemetery in Warsaw. His

numerous descendants lived in Mazovia. They cultivated their family traditions, although they had already become members of the intelligentsia. The historian-to-be² was a son of Aleksander (1876–1948), a clerk on the Moscow-Kazań railroad board, who in 1921 moved with his family to Poland and settled in Warsaw after the collapse of czarism.

Aleksander Junior was born in Moscow on July 17, 1916, but he was connected with Warsaw, the capital of Poland, throughout his life. He already spoke foreign languages, primarily French and Russian, when he started learning in the renowned Ludwik Lorentz Gymnasium. Having graduated from that school, he took up history (and art history) at Warsaw University in 1933. In order to conclude his Master's dissertation about Charlemagne, he took an academic trip to Paris in 1937. Two years earlier, he participated in the 6th General Convention of Polish Historians in Vilnius. It was only towards the end of his life, however, that he was to visit the family seat of his ancestors (Gieysztorzy Małe and Gieysztorzy Wielkie), located in the former Sejny district on the Lithuanian side of the border. In this neighborhood, the village of Gieysztorzyski³ was also located, in the Wołkowysk (Volkovysk) district.

As a disciple of Marcelli Handlesman and Stanisław Kętrzyński, under their supervision, he ventured deep into medieval studies. He was still a student when he penned his first publication, a review of the translation of *The Life of Charlemagne* by Einhard, translated by Jan Parandowski (1935). This was followed by two more publications in the following year, and four more one year later. Altogether, he published 14 papers and reviews, including his Master's dissertation (*Władza Karola Wielkiego w opinii współczesnych* [The rule of Charlemagne in the opinion of contemporaries]) before the outbreak of WWII. He also completed one year of military service. In the seminar classes run by Handelsman, Gieysztor met his future wife, Irena Czarnecka, who was to become a seasoned expert in historical demographics. Right after their wedding, in October 1938, they went to Paris, where Gieysztor had received

1 Kosman, M. (2010). Z Wileńszczyzny nad Wisłę. Kartka z dziejów wychodźstwa politycznego po upadku powstania styczniowego. In *Studia z dziejów Europy Wschodniej*. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Arturowi Kijasowi w 70 rocznicę urodzin. Poznań, p. 217 ff.

2 An extensive list of studies devoted to him was developed by M. Koczerska, *Aleksander Gieysztor (1916–1999)*, in the 1st vol. of a collective work edited by J. Strzelczyk: *Mediewiści (2011)*. Poznań, pp. 29–30, footnote 1.

3 *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. II. (1881). Warszawa, p. 548 ff.

a scholarship for one year. He spent his time working in libraries, studying in the renowned École Pratique des Hautes Études and meeting outstanding experts on the Carolingian era.

During WWII Gieysztor worked in the Central Archives of Historical Records and wrote his doctoral dissertation on the encyclical by Pope Sergius IV, which he defended in 1942 under clandestine conditions. He became active in the Information Department of the Home Army (AK). He taught at the underground Free Polish University, for which he wrote a coursebook, titled *Encyklopedia nauk pomocniczych historii* [Encyclopedia of auxiliary sciences of history]. He fought in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, and after its collapse he was taken prisoner by the Germans and spent six months in POW camps.

When WWII ended, Gieysztor worked for the Chief Directorate for the Protection of Museums and Monuments, and at the beginning of the academic year 1945/46 he was employed as an assistant professor by the Institute of History of Warsaw University. For several years, he also commuted to teach at the newly established Łódź University. As early as 1946, he was awarded a postdoctoral degree (and the title of *docent*) on the basis of a dissertation about the treasury policies in the medieval state of the Piast dynasty. In 1949, he was nominated *professor extraordinarius* and in 1960 full professor. His home university appointed him as Head of the Department of Auxiliary Sciences of History and Director of the Institute of History in 1953 (he retained this office for over twenty years). In the 1956–1959 term of office, he held the position of Vice-Rector of Warsaw University. At the same time, he was Deputy Director of the Institute of History at the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) where he was in charge of the Editorial Unit of Medieval Sources.

In the new political reality, Gieysztor continued his clandestine activities in the Freedom and Independence (WiN) organization, but when the amnesty was announced in 1945 he came out and fully committed himself to organizational and academic life. From 1945 to 1952 he was in the top circle of the Board of Studies into the Beginnings of the Polish State. In the Stalinist period, he turned out to be a realist, and refrained from extremist attitudes while maintaining a consensual standpoint in contacts with the state authorities. He held a number of posts as an editor of academic periodicals. He took part in many conferences in Poland and abroad, delivering lectures and acting as a member of different committees; at the San Francisco congress he was elected deputy chairman of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (1975–1980) and then its chairman for the next term of office. From 1957 to 1998, alongside Gerard Labuda and Brygida Kúrbis from Adam

Mickiewicz University in Poznań, he was on the editorial board of a prestigious annual "Studia Źródłoznawcze" published by the Institute of History at PAN.

The authority Aleksander Gieysztor enjoyed allowed him to defend freedom of speech after the political breakthrough in October 1956. In 1964, he was among the 34 signatories of a letter addressed to Prime Minister Józef Cyrankiewicz to protest against the curbing of academic publications and censorship. However, he shied from conflict with the authorities so as not to limit the potential contacts of Polish scholars with the West. This allowed him to become efficiently involved in the task of the reconstruction of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, a huge symbol of national history and culture demolished by the Germans during WWII. The political decision to this effect was made in 1971, preceded by unofficial preparatory work started as early as 1949. Gieysztor was the first director of the Royal Castle, from 1980 to 1991, and when he retired, he held the post of the president of the Academic Board and continued to hold numerous meetings at the Castle.

In 1971, he was elected a corresponding member of PAN, and in 1980 became a full member, becoming PAN's chairman for a three-year term six months later. He held this function at a time of profound political transition in Poland. Once again, the members of PAN vested this noble office in him under new political circumstances for the term of office 1990–1992. Among a multitude of Polish and foreign distinctions, Gieysztor was conferred nine honorary doctorates between 1960 and 1997. He was a member of the Warsaw Scientific Society (TNW) (and its chairman for two terms), the Polish Academy of Learning, the Medieval Academy of America, the Royal Academy of Science, Letters and Fine Arts of Belgium, the British Academy and the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities in Stockholm.

Despite all these tasks, Gieysztor still found time for academic studies. The majority of his works encompass several-dozen-pages-long studies on medieval arts that have taken a permanent position in medievalist historiography. The bibliography covering the first forty years (1935–1975) is 764 items long and lists purely academic studies next to significant publications in cultural periodicals addressed to a broader circle of readers.⁴ The studies in his main research area produced publications in the field of the auxiliary sciences of history, designed for the purpose of academic teaching, including several re-editions of the

⁴ *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury* (1976). Warszawa, pp. 9–59.

volumes of *Zarys nauk pomocniczych historii* [Outline of auxiliary sciences of history] (co-authored by Stanisław Herbst). As time went by, Gieysztor, as an author, tutor of young faculty members and editor of collective works, devoted a lot of his time to the history of Warsaw and his homeland region of Masovia. Towards the end of his creative period, the mythology of the pagan Slavs came to the fore as the topic of his work, which was discussed in several editions of the study, enriched by the presentation of a critical apparatus in the issue published after his death.⁵

He received distinctions of war, the French Legion of Honor, Order of Merit of the Italian Republic, and in Poland: the Knight's Cross, Commander's Cross and Commander's Cross with Star of the Order of the Rebirth of Poland and Order of the Banner of Labour of 1st class; he was an honorary citizen of Warsaw. In 1994, he received the highest distinction in Poland – the Order of the White Eagle. He died on February 9, 1999 and was buried in the family grave in the Powązki cemetery in Warsaw.

II

When the academic community of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań gathered at the ceremony to inaugurate the new academic year on October 1, 2010 at 10am, the stage of the University Auditorium was filled with senators, visitors and former rectors of this university, with the exception of Gerard Labuda, a senior rector who had led the university from 1962 to 1965. It did not come as a surprise to those who were close to him; this senior Polish historian, who was to turn 94 in only three months, was heroically fighting serious health problems while retaining excellent intellectual condition. However, for several years he would attend the inauguration ceremonies *incognito*, taking a first row seat in the audience to avoid the burden of appearing officially on the stage and wearing the robe. On that particular day, we, his disciples and closest friends, were unaware that the Great Humanist was bidding farewell to the world in his house at 8 Kanclerska street, in Poznań. He had been ready for that moment for some time. One day earlier, he sent a letter to his successor in the rector's office in which he justified his inability to take

⁵ Gieysztor, A. (1982, 1986, 2006). *Mitologia Słowian*. Warszawa. Henryk Łowmiański (1898–1984), a great medieval expert from Poznań and the author of *Religia Słowian i jej upadek (w. VI–XII)* (1979). Warszawa, was most interested in the next book by Gieysztor.

part in the inauguration ceremony due to poor health and preparing for a long journey; he also informed the rector about his decision as to his final resting place, which was to be in his homeland Kashubia. It was on this very day of October 1 that the Wydawnictwo Poznańskie publishing company was supposed to deliver the copies of a fresh edition of his book *Próba nowej systematyki i nowej interpretacji źródeł historycznych z Postowiem*.

One week later, the University Auditorium was filled to the last seat during the mourning session of the AMU Senate which bade farewell to the senior rector, whose coffin was decorated with the Order of the White Eagle, awarded to him posthumously by the President of Poland, Bronisław Komorowski. This distinction was the culmination of the long list of awards Gerard Labuda received over six decades, including the Order of the Banner of Labour of 1st class and the Grand Cross of the Order of the Rebirth of Poland. Academic Poznań said goodbye to one of its great professors, and Polish historians paid tribute to the last of the great trio of eminent medievalists from Poznań, alongside Kazimierz Tymieniecki (1887–1968) and Henryk Łowmiański (1898–1984). The former was one of Labuda's masters, the latter, an expatriate from Vilnius who found the right place to produce his fundamental works in Poznań, owing to the initiative of the other two in 1945. At that time, Tymieniecki was the dean, and Labuda the deputy dean of the Faculty of Humanities, and they reinstated the historical seminar after the destruction of WWII. In the evening, the Senior Archbishop of Gdańsk, Tadeusz Gołowski, led the mourning service for Professor Labuda at the small St. Lawrence Church in Luzino, near Wejherowo. Next day, uncountable masses paid their last respects to Professor Labuda, including many priests and three bishops (the ceremony was led by the Metropolitan Bishop of Gdańsk, Sławoj Leszek Głódź, and the moving farewell speeches were given by his Kashubian compatriots, Senior Primate Archbishop Henryk Muszyński and Prime Minister Donald Tusk).

III

The bustling family house of Gerard Labuda gradually quieted down; eleven years earlier his wife, Alberta of the Wielopolski family, doctor of Romance studies, left it for ever. The children became independent one after another, and now they live across the globe: Aleksander, a Romanist, is a professor at Wrocław University; Iwo, a mathematician, is a professor at the University of Mississippi, USA; Adam, an art historian,

lives in Berlin and Poznań; Damian, a geneticist, works in Montreal, Canada; and Anastazja, an art historian, works in Geneva. On that day, the four sons and daughter with their families accompanied their father on his last journey.⁶

Why was Luzino – a small locality with history dating back to the Middle Ages, selected as a burial place? The future historian went to elementary school there from 1924 to 1928, and he had especially good relations with this place in the last decades of his life, which was reflected in his being granted the honorary citizenship of Luzino; the same holds true also for Wejherowo where he was an outstanding student at the Jan III Sobieski classical gymnasium from 1928 to 1936. When Luzino was celebrating its 750th anniversary in 1995, Labuda was the main author (pages 5–10 and 35–181) of the monograph *Dzieje wsi Luzino do schyłku XIX wieku* [History of the village of Luzino to the end of the 19th century], developed on the basis of a thorough search of the archives and published by the local municipal office. He found the time to pen it, despite his numerous tasks as an organizer and author of works about ‘great history.’ He was one of the three co-authors of this book (the remaining two were archeologists), but the most prominent one. He also wrote an autobiographical preface to it, where he mentioned his first teachers of reading and writing (that is his parents) and went on to add: “but it was the Elementary School in Luzino that taught me to read, write and speak Polish correctly. What good was it that I knew Polish, if I was familiar with it only from church sermons and the prayer book, and I read and pronounced every word in Kashubian, and my spelling seriously diverted from the rules of correct Polish.”

The way from home to school was “four kilometers long and it took me along the roads and dirt paths that were difficult to walk, especially in winter.” It had to be walked in all kinds of weather by a frail boy who had a lot of different adventures on the way; he told me about one, when he fell into a deep pit one winter and getting out of the snow demanded a lot of effort and ingenuity. Wejherowo was the door to the world for him; he commuted there every day from Wielki Las, where his family lived at the

⁶ Kosman, M. (2007). Dziewięćdziesięciolecie urodzin Profesora Gerarda Labudy. *Zapiski Historyczne*, R. LXXII, Toruń, brochure 1, pp. 225–228; idem, Pożegnanie Profesora Gerarda Labudy (1916–2010), *ZH*, R. LXXV, brochure 4, Toruń 2010, pp. 157–163. A synthetic biography including biographic texts and major works by Gerard Labuda published between 2007 and 2010 can be found in: Strzelczyk, J. (2007, 2010). Gerard Labuda 1916–2010. In *Wybitni historycy wielkopolscy*, J. Strzelczyk (ed.), pp. 855–875.

time, walking, cycling or taking a train. He decided to bequeath his immense book collection to the Przebendowski Palace in Wejherowo, which received part of it several years earlier, while the rest was to be transferred after his death, because he used this impressive source of reference to his last days. For as long as his health allowed, he would also frequently visit Luzino; he celebrated his 70th birthday there in 1986 at a ceremony organized by his compatriots alongside the celebrations in the academic Poznań.

Gerard Labuda's academic biography goes beyond the framework that is typical even of outstanding scholars. He was lucky enough, however, not to have been constrained by those around him who were capable of recognizing the unique talent of a student who made his debut in academic discussion while still at high school, one year before his final examination (it is true that he used an alias, but he was easily identified by local professors). The historians in Poznań treated him as a partner right from the beginning, asking him to write a paper while he was still a freshman; this paper eventually transformed into an extensive dissertation of 220 pages in print (*Polska i krzyżacka misja w Prusach do połowy XIII wieku* [The mission of Poland and the Teutonic Knights in Prussia until the mid-13th century]). During the German occupation, this dissertation laid the foundation for his Master's degree, whereas the next one (*Magdeburg i Poznań. Założenie arcybiskupstwa magdeburskiego i biskupstwa poznańskiego na tle wschodniej polityki misyjnej Ottona Wielkiego* [Magdeburg and Poznań. The establishment of the archbishopric of Magdeburg and bishopric of Poznań versus Otto the Great's missionary policy in the East]), published by "Roczniki Historyczne" in 1938, was recognized as a doctoral dissertation by the Secret University of Western Lands in 1943. Additionally, in 1938, the student published eight inquisitive reviews in "Roczniki Historyczne" as well as in "Slavia Occidentalis," "Annales Missiologicae" and "Kwartalnik Historyczny."

In the first half of 1939, Labuda went to Sweden, for six months of a royal scholarship, and he returned with further papers that were ready to be published but which were lost during the wartime. He spent this time in the Kielce region, as a librarian of Margrave Wielopolski in Chroberz and a bookkeeper, after the estate was taken over by the German administration. He did not waste his time even then, however, writing a post-doctoral dissertation about the beginnings of the Polish state; this paper was also lost and had to be rewritten by the author upon his return to Poznań. Labuda and other scholars ventured to rebuild the historical seminar and did an enormous service in the reconstruction of the devastated collection of books.

In 1950, Professor Labuda was granted the title of *professor extraordinarius* and that of full professor six years later. In 1946, as a deputy professor he headed the Department of the History of Western Slavdom; from 1950 to 1970 he was in charge of the Department of the History of Poland and then of the Department of General Medieval History. As the rector of Adam Mickiewicz University from 1962 to 1965, he breathed a new spirit into the university and the academic circles of Poznań, coming forward with great initiatives that were to be implemented by his successors in the future. Shortly before the dissolution of the Polish Academy of Learning he became a corresponding member, the same honour was granted to him by the Polish Academy of Sciences in 1964, which acknowledged him as full member two years later.

It would be difficult to present a detailed account of all the organizational and editorial functions (the most important of which include the management of "Roczniki Historyczne" from 1958 to 1986, co-editing of "Studia Źródłoznawcze" from 1957 to 1997, and being in charge of the fundamental *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich* [Dictionary of Slavic Antiquities] from 1961 to 1999). He was Secretary General and then the Chairman of the Poznań Society of the Friends of Sciences as well as the director of the Institute for Western Affairs, and saved both these institutions from liquidation using his skills as an exquisite strategist and a seasoned tactician. As a member of PAN, he was among the founders of its Poznań Branch, heading it from 1972 to 1980; he held the office of PAN Vice Chairman from 1984 to 1989. In the same period he was instrumental in the re-establishment of the Polish Academy of Learning in Kraków and its first chairman, elected in 1989. In 1994, he became its honorary chairman, a position which he held until he died.

Within PAN Labuda organized the Department of the History of Pomerania in Poznań, a part of the Institute of History, where he worked with his closest colleagues, the heads of research centres in Toruń (Marian Biskup) and Gdańsk (Edmund Cieślak) to be soon followed by Szczecin (Bogdan Dopierata). It was in this department that the many volumes of the *Historia Pomorza* [History of Pomerania] were drawn up under his editorial supervision. He took personal patronage over the development of *Historia Szczecina* [History of Szczecin]. Since his untypical biography has already been mentioned, one more fact is worth adding: in 1970, he lost his full time job at AMU but he continued to fulfill his responsibilities there (during an indefinite unpaid leave) and managed the department and received rector's awards. Only a few realized at that time that he was a full time employee of PAN alone. This relation was evidenced by successive jubilees and the last goodbye. A book of nearly

800 pages that commemorated his 70th birthday was published under the joint patronage of Adam Mickiewicz University and the Institute of History of PAN,⁷ and the celebrations in March 1987 took place both in Poznań and Warsaw. One year before he died, during the 90th anniversary of AMU, organized under the auspices of the Speaker of Polish Parliament, Labuda reminded the audience that he had been connected with the University for 73 years. Those gathered in the University Auditorium welcomed him with great applause, unlike anybody else.

In the immeasurable (but scrupulously listed) creative achievements of Gerard Labuda, the topic of his homeland, Kashubia, seems to be overshadowed by the works on great history, but even the former alone would be enough for several diligent scholars. Allow us to mention several dozen papers, articles and monographs, including the above-mentioned monograph of Luzino, source publications (*Inwentarze starostw puckiego i kościerskiego z XVII w.* [Inventories of the Puck and Kościerzyna districts in the 17th century], *Inwentarze starostwa bytowskiego i lęborskiego z XVII i XVIII w.* [Inventories of the Bytów and Lębork districts in the 17th and 18th centuries]; the critical edition of *Kroniki Klasztoru Franciszkanów Ściślejszej Obserwacji w Wejherowie w latach 1633–1676* [Chronicles of the Monastery of Franciscans of the Strict Observance in Wejherowo in 1633–1676] by Rev. Grzegorz Gdański, that Labuda completed, paying the price of serious sight impairment sixty years after he had found this text while arranging the collection of the former convent before graduating from high school), and collections of studies *Zapiski kaszubskie, pomorskie i morskie* [Notes from Kashubia, Pomerania and the sea] and *Kaszubi i ich dzieje* [Kashubians and their history], published by the Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie, the Town Council of Wejherowo and Oficyna Czeć to commemorate Labuda's 80th birthday and to "thank him for his research efforts and present best wishes in continuing creative work for the benefit of his homeland." The copy the author presented to me on May 2, 1997 bears a dedication where he referred to this book as the "Kashubian *membra disiecta* hoping that it would become the *membrum integrum* one day." His wish came true at the end of the 1990s when the first volume (534 pages) of *Historia Kaszubów w dziejach Pomorza* [The history of Kashubians in the history of Pomerania] encompassing the

⁷ *Ars historia. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski* (1976). Poznań. The bibliography, spanning the period from his academic debut in 1935 to the early 1976, accounts for 1,059 items.

Middle Ages was published. In evoking the history of his Kashubian homeland, Gerard Labuda never supported its endeavors to become a separate entity, and always perceived it as part of the history of Poland, being himself an ardent patriot and sapient citizen, which he repeatedly evidenced, especially in periods of breakthrough. One such moment involved his participation in the Consultative Board at the President of the Council of State, when Wojciech Jaruzelski held this office. Its lively sessions held at the Belweder Palace forged the idea that was soon to take the shape of the agreement made at the Round Table.⁸

Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego [Studies into the beginnings of the Polish State], *Pierwsze państwo słowiańskie – państwo Samona* [The first Slav state. The state of Samo], *Fragmety dziejów Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej* [Fragments of the history of Western Slavdom], *Źródła skandynawskie i anglosaskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny* [Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon sources of the history of Slavdom], *Źródła, sagi i legendy do najdawniejszych dziejów Polski* [Sources, sagas and legends of the oldest Polish history], *Polska granica zachodnia. Tysiąc lat dziejów politycznych* [Poland's western border. One thousand years of political history], *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka, społeczeństwo, państwo, ideologia* [History of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. The economy, society, state and ideology] (co-authored with Marian Biskup), *Polsko-niemieckie rozmowy o przeszłości* [Polish-German talks about the past] – are all milestones of Polish historiography in the second half of the 20th century that stand out among over two thousand publications enumerated in successive biographies published from 1976 (*Ars historica*) to 2006 (*Naukowe dzieło Profesora Gerarda Labudy*). The great collective works created under his editorship must not go unmentioned, including *Nauka w Wielkopolsce – przeszłość i teraźniejszość* (Academia in Wielkopolska – past and present], and – first and foremost – the many volumes of *Historia dyplomacji polskiej* [History of Polish diplomacy].

This team venture required both extraordinary organizational experience and purely diplomatic skills, as it was written in the period of censorship and conflict in the top echelons of power. Initially planned to encompass three volumes, it expanded to six (the last one has not been published so far, even in the conditions of full publishing freedom, because it deals with the ambitions and sensitive issues of the last fifty

⁸ For more about the work of Gerard Labuda and Aleksander Gieysztor in the Consultative Board see part IV below.

years). The first three volumes (up to 1572 – edited by Marian Biskup, 1572–1795 – by Zbigniew Wójcik, and 1795–1918 – by Ludwik Bazylow) were published in 1982, followed by another two, encompassing the period of the interwar period and WWII (the government in exile and the underground state), issued after quite a long break when censorship pressures disappeared. Gerard Labuda and Waldemar Michowicz also edited an extensive volume presenting a synthetic outline of Polish diplomacy between the mid-10th and the end of the 20th centuries (which was also translated into English).

Professor Labuda was closely connected with the academic circles of Toruń, which culminated in an honorary doctorate conferred to him by the Nicolaus Copernicus University in 1993 (five more were awarded to him in Poland by Gdańsk, Kraków, Warszawa, Wrocław and Szczecin; in 1996 the doctorate awarded by his Alma Mater was renewed, and he was awarded the medal of *Palmae Universitatis Studiorum Posnaniensis*). His relations with Toruń were also reflected by his honorary membership of the Academic Society in Toruń (TNT). The first connection in terms of research topics was provided by Karol Górski (1903–1988), who received a postdoctoral degree in Poznań in 1933, and who moved to Toruń in the fall of 1945. Labuda, a young historian from Poznań, published his first paper on the pages of “Zapiski TNT” presenting a programme *O potrzebach historiografii polskiej w dziedzinie historii Pomorza zachodniego w średniowieczu* [The needs of Polish historiography in the field of the history of Western Pomerania in the Middle Ages](1947); he continued to publish there as an author and reviewer for over six decades. Two jubilee brochures including the bibliography of his works in 1976–1996 were published to celebrate Professor Labuda’s 70th and 80th birthdays respectively. On March 29, 1955, at the session of the TNT, he presented a paper titled *Próba nowej systematyki i nowej interpretacji źródeł historycznych* [An attempt at a new semantics and new interpretation of historic sources], which was later printed in the TNT Reports (*Sprawozdania TNT* 9, 1955, pp. 65–68), stirring a lively debate; the full version of this paper was published in the first volume of “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” (I, 1957, pp. 3–48), and recalled in his last book, which he did not live to see.⁹

He was given a long life, and he made full and creative use of it. That is the reason for his unbelievably abundant achievements, and becoming

⁹ Labuda, G. (2010). *Próba nowej systematyki i nowej interpretacji źródeł historycznych* [reprinted from the 1957 edition with the afterword written from the 50-year perspective (*Postowie*, pp. 94–114)]; Poznań.

a classic historiographer while still alive. All this happened despite his poor health and constant struggling with ailments. The long years of this struggle toughened him, and allowed him to endure the permanent crisis of the final stage never dropping his pen (he actually used an electric typewriter, and having revised his texts he would have them retyped in an electronic version). I met him for the last time precisely two weeks before October 1, 2010, and he showed me his last paper then (which he sent to be retyped but never saw the computer printout). It was not for the first time that he told me that only intellectual work kept him alive. On another occasion he compared his last years to the life of a monk following a strict rule. For a long time, he gradually resigned from his offices, remaining committed only to pure research. As a Pole, and a citizen, he was actively observing the current events, which made him increasingly concerned.

I started with this sad goodbye to move on now to the last grand jubilee – his 90th birthday, which in December 2010 became a holiday for Poznań academia and historians from Poland and abroad, who filled the University Auditorium to the brim.¹⁰ On the same day in the afternoon, the Small Hall (Lubrański Hall) hosted a session entitled “The academic achievements of Professor Gerard Labuda.” Outstanding experts delivered ten speeches in an attempt to encompass the entire scope of the achievements of the hero of the day; below follows the list of their topics: “Gerard Labuda’s studies on the history of culture;” “Social culture in the academic research by Gerard Labuda;” “Gerard Labuda as a historian of early Polish Christianity;” “*Český kontext díla Gerarda Labudy* [The Czech context of Gerard Labuda’s oeuvre];” “The beginnings of the Polish state in Gerard Labuda’s research;” “Gerard Labuda as a historian of early Slavdom and Slavic-German contacts;” “History of the Teutonic Order in the academic oeuvre by Professor Gerard Labuda;” “Pomerania – Brandenburg – Prussia in Gerard Labuda’s academic studies;” “Polish Western and Northern Lands in the historic work of Gerard Labuda” and “Sources in Gerard Labuda’s historic research.”

The topics of this session could have been expanded to include, for instance, Labuda’s studies of his Kashubian homeland, the more so as they had just borne fruit in the shape of the first volume of the history of Kashubia,¹¹ presented to him during the ceremony by his compatriots

¹⁰ Cf. *Dziewięćdziesięciolecie urodzin Profesora Gerarda Labudy* (2007), *ZH*, LXXII, brochure 1, pp. 225–228.

¹¹ Labuda, G. *Historia Kaszubów w dziejach Pomorza*. Vol. I: *Czasy średniowieczne* (2006). Gdańsk. The presentation brings the reader up to 1525. The successive two volumes that are supposed to bring readers to contemporary times are being prepared by Zygmunt Szulika and Jan Borzyszkowski.

from Gdańsk (where the work had been published), Wejherowo and Luzino. The Wydawnictwo Poznańskie publishing house presented him with a four-volume collection, edited by B. Wachowiak, and dedicated to Professor Labuda, *Źródła do dziejów kaszubsko-polskich aspektów dziejów Pomorza Zachodniego do roku 1945*. The extended texts of the speeches delivered during the session had been published in an extensive book (of 286 pages), prepared by the Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM under the same title as the session itself (*The academic achievements of ...*), to be distributed during the ceremony. The book also included the bibliography of Labuda's works, covering 1,875 items at that time¹² (currently expanded to well over 2,000). Professor Labuda also received the issues of periodicals dedicated to him on the occasion of his jubilee, including *Przegląd Zachodni*, which featured an extensive biographical section. He, in turn, presented his most recent study, *Studia krytyczne o początkach Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach i na Pomorzu* [Critical studies of the beginnings of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Pomerania] (407 pages)¹³ and reaffirmed a written commitment made to the Director of Wydawnictwo Poznańskie that he would soon submit yet another essay for print, namely *Rozważania nad teorią i historią kultury i cywilizacji* [Considerations on the theory and history of culture and civilization]. He kept this promise, and the study of 562 pages was published in 2008, providing an occasion to meet the 82-year-old author at a promotional event organized at Collegium Historicum, during which he bewildered his younger colleagues with his excellent creative condition.¹⁴

Successive dissertations kept being published (including those in numerous commemorative books; further are in press) and reprinted. This

¹² *Naukowe dzieło Profesora Gerarda Labudy* (2006). Poznań. During the 6th conference organized in the "Political culture in Poland" series on the occasion of his 90th birthday, Professor Labuda was also presented with two volumes of the collection of studies titled *Litwa w polskiej tradycji i kulturze politycznej* (2006). Poznań, 368+263 pages. G. Labuda took an active part in those meetings organized by the Institute (at present: Faculty) of Political Science and Journalism.

¹³ Labuda, G. (2007). *Studia krytyczne o początkach Zakonu Krzyżackiego. Pisma wybrane*. Poznań. This extensive volume includes the studies published from 1954 to 1992. Several years earlier, *Szkice historyczne X–XI wieku. Z dziejów organizacji Kościoła w Polsce we wczesnym średniowieczu* (2004) [Historical sketches of the 10th and 11th centuries. About the history of organization of the Church in Poland in the early Middle Ages] (Poznań, 487 pages) were published, accompanied by another reprint of *Szkice historyczne jedenastego wieku* [Historical sketches of the 11th century] including a foreword by Gerard Labuda. Both were published by Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.

¹⁴ Idem (2008). *Rozważania nad teorią i historią kultury i cywilizacji*. Poznań, p. 561.

is going to continue for a long time, confirming Horace's *Non omnis moriar*. Another quote by the same poet (*Aere perennius*) gave the title to one of the anniversary books celebrating his 85th birthday.¹⁵ It was published by the School of Management and Banking (WSZiB) where Professor Labuda was employed for the last decade of his life, and where he developed further valuable studies in the field of the methodology of the humanities and the evaluation of Polish historiography after 1945, working at the Institute of Political History. He was able to conduct this evaluation from the point of view of an active witness to this period¹⁶ and he did so in an utterly objective manner and taking into account the broad political context, publishing potential and specificity of work in the times of censorship.

Free of the burden of teaching and organizational activities, he remained an active observer and participant in public life, a guide and pundit for younger generations of researchers, including his own disciples (many of them already retired) although he was aware of growing weaker.¹⁷ Nevertheless, he did manage to conclude one more text, printed one year after his death.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Non omnis moriar. Profesorowi Gerardowi Labudzie dnia 28 XII 2001 roku w hołdzie* (2001). Poznań. For more on the celebration and presentation of the anniversary book on January 25, 2002, see: Kosman, M. (2002). *Profesorowi Gerardowi Labudzie w 65-lecie pracy naukowej*, Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania i Bankowości, Forum Naukowe. Instytut Historii Politycznej, R. VII, no. 2/15/ Poznań, pp. 256–273.

¹⁶ *Rozwój metod dziejopisarskich od starożytności do współczesności* [Advancements in historiographical methodology from Antiquity to the Present]. Part I: *Do schyłku XIX wieku* [Up to the end of the 19th century] (2003). Poznań; part II: *Wiek XX* [The 20th century] (2010). Poznań. See also an extensive study developed alongside a synthesis of the history of Poland, prepared in ten volumes by scholars from the Jagiellonian University (Kraków 1999–2001): *Zadania i cele poznawcze syntezy historii Polski od prawieku do współczesności* (2004), *Prace historyczno-politologiczne*, Rok IX, no. 4(19) Poznań, pp. 9–109; a book published by Wydawnictwo Poznańskie: *O historykach. Kto jest kim w dziejopisarstwie polskim*. Poznań 2010 and Henryk Łowmiański, prekursor „metody strukturalnej” w *historiografii polskiej*. In *Świat średniowiecza. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi* (2010). Warszawa, pp. 827–839.

¹⁷ My private collection features an offprint of one of his last papers, *Kulturotwórcze aspekty ikonologii i ikonografii. Człowiek w obrazie* [The culture-forming aspects of iconology and iconography. The human in pictures] In *Gospodarka, społeczeństwo, kultura w dziejach nowożytnych. Studia ofiarowane Pani Profesor Marii Boguckiej*. Warszawa, pp. 277–288. It bears a meaningful dedication (dated August 26, 2010): “To Bogusia and Marceli, I am addressing my swan song and wise friendship” (emphasis by MK).

¹⁸ Labuda, G. (2011). *Udział Marcelego Kosmana w tworzeniu syntezy historii dziejów Polski i krajów sąsiednich* [Contribution of Marceli Kosman to developing a synthetic history of Poland and neighboring countries]. In *Przez Kresy i historię po obrzeża polityki*.

IV

After the jubilee ceremony for Gerard Labuda, held on January 25, 2002 in Poznań, its organizers received a letter from General Wojciech Jaruzelski, former President of Poland, who explained the reasons for his absence (being away and health problems), expressed his best wishes for Professor Labuda and went on to write:

“Professor Gerard Labuda is a Great Figure of Polish academia, a historian of great merits in discovering and documenting extremely important facts and the most significant stages of the history of Poland, and in particular its north-western regions and frontiers. The life and academic path of Professor Labuda is well-known and highly appreciated. The *Aere perennius* commemorative book both reminds and stresses that once more. I would like to add one comment here.

Professor Labuda has a profound understanding of the role and importance of state and statehood, both as a great scholar and great patriot. He knows that every form statehood takes, and especially an imperfect one, has to be improved and reformed, rather than demolished and put at risk. This must have been his intention when, in 1986, Professor Labuda found it feasible and purposeful to participate in the Consultative Board at the President of the Council of State. Professor Labuda, alongside other outstanding persons, stressed the role and significance of the Board’s establishment and operation with his authority. The Consultative Board became a valuable platform to exchange ideas, draw conclusions and make suggestions, thereby becoming a bridgehead for the Round Table. I am convinced that it would have been considerably more difficult to reach the Round Table Agreement and the further fundamental transformations without the Board. I am addressing these words to you¹⁹ in the hope that they will reach Professor Gerard Labuda, together with my sincere greetings and the best wishes of good health and continued enhancement of his superb academic oeuvre.”²⁰

Profesorowi Marcelemu Kosmanowi w półwiecze pracy naukowej. Vol. I. Toruń, pp. 40–57.

Two weeks before his death, the author submitted the typescript of this text, written for a commemorative book, with handmade additions to be typed up and printed out.

¹⁹ The letter was addressed to the Rector of the School of Management and Banking in Poznań.

²⁰ Quoted after: Kosman, M. (2002). *Profesorowi Gerardowi Labudzie w 65-lecie pracy naukowej*, see above, footnote 13 (emphasis by MK). Wojciech Jaruzelski’s letter, dated February 15, was sent in response to an invitation to the anniversary in Poznań, extended to the former President of Poland on January 14, 2002.

This is not the place to describe the tumultuous, but peaceful, transition to full sovereignty and political plurality of 1980–1990. On the government side, Wojciech Jaruzelski was the main architect of this transition, but the literature on this subject is permeated by subjective attitudes or even factual falsification²¹ concealed under the elegant name of ‘historical policy.’ The struggle for ‘the souls of voters’ continues until today, even though it will soon be thirty years since the symbolic date of June 4, 1989 when the breakthrough parliamentary election was held.

On the path to democratization, Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party and Prime Minister (earlier also the Minister of National Defense from 1968), faced strong and highly petrified attitudes in the ranks of the party on the one hand, and on the other the cynicism of a large part of the opposition, concealed under the mask of noble patriotism.²² Following the parliamentary elections in October 1985, Jaruzelski stepped down as Prime Minister and took the office of President of the Council of State (which happened six months after Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Kremlin) concentrating on strategic matters. From his new site in the Belweder Palace, he could take a broader outlook on the domestic situation, and free from the burden of everyday matters he was able to keep a certain distance also to his closest coworkers.²³ He did not intend, however, to content himself with lonely musings about the future; instead, he decided to appoint an informal group – an unencumbered forum for the exchange of opinions about the state, and at the same time a kind of a conveyor between society and the Belweder Palace.

Part of the opposition responded to this decision with surprise and even mistrust. Some people were even pressured not to accept the invitation to the Consultative Board. Eventually, the Board was composed

²¹ It was not by accident that the author of this paper, who primarily dealt with the period prior to the partitions of Poland, seeing the unprecedented falsification of modern history, ventured to examine the historic role of General Jaruzelski, the last leader of the Polish People’s Republic and the first President of the revived Poland. Cf. Kosman, M. (2001). *Z rozważań nad kulturą polityczną w Polsce*. Part II, Poznań; idem (2003). *Wojciech Jaruzelski wobec wyzwań swoich czasów. O kulturze politycznej w Polsce przelomu tysiącleci*. Poznań; idem (2007), *Polska w drugim tysiącleciu*. Vol. II: *Dzieje nowoczesnego narodu i państwa*. Toruń; idem (2008), *Los Generała. Wokół medialnego wizerunku Wojciecha Jaruzelskiego*. Toruń; idem (2012), *Między Grudniem a Czerwcem. Z badań nad transformacją ustrojową w Polsce 1981–1989*. Part 1. Poznań; idem, *Wojciech Jaruzelski, mąż stanu w czasach przelomu*. Toruń (further bibliography there).

²² For more see: Kosman, M. *Los Generała*, p. 135 ff.

²³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 148 ff.

of 56 persons, primarily renowned and respected scholars, including the Chairman of PAN and the then Director of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, Aleksander Gieryszo and the President of the Polish Academy of Learning²⁴ Gerard Labuda, who was also Vice Chairman of PAN. They were accompanied by four more renowned historians.²⁵ The Council was composed of 34 carefully selected professors who formed the intellectual elite and were committed to social activities; they were able to present different opinions free from journalistic demagoguery and shallow populism. None held any state or party office at the time. Non-party members actually prevailed in the Council because President Jaruzelski sought the opinions of the representatives of the national elite.

Session topics were always well prepared in advance. The inauguration session was held on December 6, 1986, and the last one (the 12th) was convened on July 7, 1989, that is six weeks after the parliamentary elections that had radically remodeled the political arena in Poland. All this was preceded by the breakthrough negotiation at the Round Table that brought together some members of the Consultative Board representing the opposition and the government, respectively, including Aleksander Gieryszo, who was a representative of the government. Being a realist and a man of compromise while maintaining a firm political outlook, he nonetheless enjoyed the trust of both parties. Therefore, during martial law, he was able to mitigate the attitudes of some extremist activists of the underground, and take care of them in terms of their academic studies.²⁶

Gerard Labuda took the floor at the very first session of the Consultative Board. In his erudite speech, taking into account the different paths leading to the political transition in Poland, he analyzed the term revolution and contrasted it with much more efficient and risk-free evolution, which is less spectacular and demands patience, but in the course of mundane, everyday work makes it possible to take advantage of prior achievements instead of denying, or even destroying them. This was consistent with his experiences and practical work during different stages of Polish history,

²⁴ Having been suspended by the state authorities, the Academy was reactivated in 1989. The endeavors of the academic circles to reinstate the Academy met Jaruzelski's full approval, which Professor Labuda, who chaired the Council from 1989 to 1994, repeatedly stressed in our conversations.

²⁵ Jan Baszkiewicz, Jarema Maciszewski (both from Warsaw), Janusz Bieniak (a Catholic activist) and Józef Andrzej Gierowski (Rector of the Jagiellonian University).

²⁶ Session minutes, including the scripts of speeches made by their participants: *Rada Konsultacyjna przy Przewodniczącym Rady Państwa 1986–1987* (1988). Warszawa, p. 448; *Protokoły... 1988–1989*. Warszawa 1990, p. 575.

spanning the period from World War II to the end of the 20th century. He openly wrote in his studies about the lights and shadows of the recently ended martial law, and the prominent role Wojciech Jaruzelski played in the process of political transition in the recent history of Poland.²⁷

V

Formally, both historians retired in the same year the Consultative Board commenced its work, but they continued their active public life. They gradually reduced their teaching although they remained employed by non-public universities until they died. Labuda worked in Poznań, focusing on academic research and publishing impressive works, including the collections of studies and his last great synthesis: the history of his Kashubian homeland up to the modern era.²⁸ Gieysztor commuted to Pułtusk, where he marked his presence in a new humane university whose influence radiated on a considerable part of Mazovia and which took him as its patron after his demise.²⁹ In 1996, Warsaw University hosted a ceremony of his doctorate renewal and the third anniversary conference (the former two took place in 1976 and 1986, respectively).³⁰

The 85th and 90th birthdays of Gerard Labuda were commemorated by the above-mentioned publications issued in 1996 and 2003, respectively.³¹ After his death, his homeland Kashubia has become a special place of remembrance: it was there – to Wejherowo, where he graduated from high school, that Labuda donated his impressive book collection. He was buried in nearby Luzino, where he went to elementary school, and where popular and academic events are organized; his monument, created on social initiative in a Gdańsk sculpture workshop, is to be erected there on his 100th birthday.³²

²⁷ Cf. the above quoted: *Zadania i cele poznawcze*, p. 98 ff.

²⁸ See footnote 10 above.

²⁹ Currently: Akademia Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieyszтора w Pułtusku.

³⁰ Like its predecessors, this conference was also commemorated with a jubilee book: *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*. Warszawa 1997.

³¹ See footnotes 11 and 13 above. The anniversaries of Gerard Labuda were also celebrated by the academic circles in Toruń which dedicated an issue of "Zapiski Historyczne" to him where an updated bibliography of his works was published.

³² The following were issued after the death of the historian from Poznań: *Pro memoria – Gerard Labuda (1916–2010)* (2011). Collected and provided with a foreword by Józef Borzyszkowski. Gdańsk–Wejherowo (a volume of ca. 700 pages featured documentation materials and commemorative texts); *Początki państwa polskiego w badaniach Profesora Gerarda Labudy* (2011). Poznań; *W hołdzie Wielkiemu Kaszubie. Gerard Labuda (1916–2010)* (2011). Kartuzy; Kasprzyk, G. – Kraśnicka, M. (2011). *Gerard Labuda – żeglarz po oceanie nauki*. Luzino.

II. Pedagogy

Community Microspace in the Multicultural Macrospace: An Attempt at Systemic Perception

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The specificity of contemporary multiculturalism is difficult to capture from the perspective of a traditional concept of culture, perceived within the framework of homogeneity. This is on account of the fact that such inspection of culture does not entail what comes across as the distinction of contemporary multiculturalism, namely the processes of fusion and interspersion of cultures, both resulting in hybridization. Nonetheless, the culture can be analyzed in a more suitable manner on the grounds of the concept of transculturality, as thanks to that, it is possible to seize the dependencies, mutual borrowings of values, cultural artefacts, as well as the socially constituted microspaces of a community, which due to its structure and conceptualizing factors can be referred to as a specific system. As a result, the category of the borderland of cultures can be useful and applied, as it focuses on the contents and processes crucial for the shaping of intercultural space.

Key words: *Space; multiculturalism; system; transculturality; cultural borderland; community microspace*

A space and its multicultural context

Location of a person in the contemporary world concerns many spaces that establish various configurations. Some of them constitute an additive creation, generating a qualitatively new dimension of human experience and functioning. Others, despite their constant interspersion, preserve their specific identity. Some others, however, remain in their mutual, separate relations, adopting a relatively change-resistant form. None of these configurations exist within a sole and identical form. Therefore, as W. Welsch notes, "(...) the old, unifying and separatist

culture has been replaced by the external establishment of the networks of cultures. Today's cultures are profoundly entwined and related to each other. Various lifestyles mingle, not withdrawn within the borders of national cultures, but rather reaching beyond, adapting well in other cultures, too (...). Today's cultures are characteristic for their hybridization. For *each* culture, any *other* cultures gradually become the internal contents or their satellites (...); moreover, the culture understood as a form of life, as a daily routine, is also becoming more and more cross-cultural."¹ As a consequence, an area is established, which, in the context of these reflections "is (...) a human, anthropogenic, cultural and social creation, i.e. established by the individuals, groups and social or cultural communities."² It, therefore, generates a specific, complex system, that, according to M. Golka, "is comprised of mutually co-related, somewhat ordered, dependent and linked elements that influence each other entitling their properties, contributing to this system within given functions, the latter consisting of elements subject to subsequent structuralization. The system is a cognitive construct, i.e. it implies a way of perceiving the world, i.e. the manner that makes reference to the reality, and tries to reveal its objectively emerging features. The main features of the system include:

- Complexity, i.e. the fact that each system comprises some elements (parts, subjects, persons, objects, cells, etc.), yet these elements establish a unity that is not reducible to their sums or themselves;
- Integrity of the links, i.e. the fact that the compounds and relations within the links are manifested continuously, and are relatively organized as well as connected;
- Functionality, i.e. the fact that parts of the system influence the entire form, and the other way around – the entire structure has impact on the parts too."³

Systemic perception of space is useful for reflections over multiculturalism, which – as M. Golka claims – is reflected in "an conscious coexistence within the same area (alternatively in the direct neighborhood with no real distinction, or in a situation of aspiring to

¹ Welsch, W. (1998). Transkulturowość. Nowa koncepcja kultury. In R. Kubicki, Ed. *Filozoficzne konteksty koncepcji rozumu transwersalnego. Wokół koncepcji Wolfganga Welscha*. Część II. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Fundacji Humaniora, pp. 204–205.

² Jałowicki, B. (2010). *Spoleczne wytwarzanie przestrzeni*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR, p. 19.

³ Golka, M. (2010). *Imiona wielokulturowości*. Warszawa: Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie MUZA SA, p. 35.

overtake the shared space) of two or more social groups of relatively distinctive cultural (or at times racial) features: appearances, language, religious confession, hierarchy of values, etc., that contribute to the mutual perception of diversity with various consequences. Perception of this sort of diversity takes place within the individual, small local, peer or neighboring group perspective (...) Thus, the features of multiculturalism concern not the sole coexistence of these diverse elements, but rather encompass dependencies and links that emerge between them, or broadly speaking – relations that can establish some complex, elaborate structures.”⁴ Therefore, it can be assumed that multiculturalism is “a state with a form of social and cultural minority remaining in relation to the dominant group”.⁵ It is a unique microspace with stratifying and conceptualizing functions provided by cultural differences (particularly of national, ethnic and confessional provenance), attitudes to these differences, range of their acceptance, acknowledgment of similarities, or readiness to co-exist despite such cultural differences. On the other hand, with reference to the integrality of such microspace perceived as a system, it is subject to mutual links between the establishing, constitutive elements. According to Golka the latter entails:

- personal contacts and co-related activities;
- (one-way or mutual) flow of cultural creations (the artifacts but also patterns, ideas and concepts);
- transfer of meanings and values;
- transfer of information, knowledge, myths, etc;
- inspirations;
- economic, technical and other enforcement;
- steering (decisive connotations);
- the occurrence of conflicts and tensions (that can integrate the system as long as they do not surpass a given level of such tensions),
- presence of similar goals and objectives.”⁶

The above can be considered as factors conditioning the polarization of a multicultural macrospace. Subsequently, on the basis of the latter some microspaces are generated, providing points of reference for the individuals and social groups experiencing such differences. Microspace manifestations of multiculturalism in the everyday life practices of the individuals and social groups seem to be, consequently, decisive in

⁴ Ibidem, pp. 64–65.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 97.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 38.

terms of their attitudes towards cultural differences, ranging from multicultural coexistence (as a community microspace) to tensions and conflicts at the cultural meeting points. Acknowledging W. Welsch's implications, that "(...) the traditional concept of culture is a differentiating and distinguishing framework that perceives culture homogenously (...) thus not providing an adequate description of the contemporary world, as it is incapable of comprehending the internal differentiation of the contemporary cultures (...),"⁷ it is worth looking at multiculturalism from the transcultural perspective, that "(...) is widespread not only at the level of the macroculture, but also embraces the micro level, i.e. concerning the individuals. For the majority of individuals multiple cultural co-relations are crucial for their own cultural formation. Thus, they themselves become cultural hybrids."⁸ Transcultural examination of cultural diversity provides an opportunity to capture the processes of fusion and cultural interspersion, as a result establishing a community microspace, thus "(...) the aim of the transcultural concept concerns the overlapping various contents, distant from separating and excluding understandings of the culture. The objective lies in a culture and a society in which pragmatic activities will not take place only within the established limits, but will be able to join and make transfers."⁹

The community microspace at cultural meeting points

The category of a cultural borderland is a primary concept for the conceptualization of the community microspace in a culturally diverse society. In the literature, the borderland as such has many interpretations. One of the applicable theories concerning borderland is put forward by J. Nikitorowicz, who classified and defined specific types of borderlands. According to the author, a cultural borderland is an area "(...) of difference, sense of otherness, and diversity where comparisons, discoveries, amazement and negotiations take place."¹⁰ The area "in-between", as J. Nikitorowicz implies, can encompass various types of cultural borderlands, such as the following:

⁷ Ibidem, p. 57.

⁸ Welsch, W. (1998). *Transkulturowość...*, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹⁰ Nikitorowicz, J. (1995). *Pogranicze. Tożsamość. Edukacja międzykulturowa*. Białystok: Trans Humana, p. 11.

- territorial borderland (of contact or connecting nature) where “(...) a specific type of coexistence between two or more cultural (mostly ethnic, lingual, confessional or national) groups takes place”;¹¹
- content-cultural borderland, where “(...) for their own benefits, the individuals generate a number of customs and rules of tradition that enable their coexistence in the territorial borderland, which in turn shapes the cultural specificity of the community, in which such an individual is not subject to monoculturalism, but has the choice to shape values relying on multiculturalism. The systems of values the individuals conceptualize in such communities can take various forms, yet most often they constitute a fusion of values deriving from two cultural systems. Hence, we can speak of polyphony, i.e. of a melting pot, reflected in the overlapping of cultures, encouraging its participants to adopt two or more cultures and in this way shaping a dual system of identities”;¹²
- interactive borderland as “(...) a process and the effect of this process in interpersonal communication, shifting from a monologue to a dialogue of cultures, from the dominance of stereotypes and prejudices towards mutual understanding, negotiations and consideration for the common cultural heritage of the borderland (...). On the basis of a joint system of values and acknowledged hierarchy within social communities some specific similar aspirations, behaviours and activities emerge. On the other hand, each social group entails differences between individuals, expressed as the variety of individual dispositions, background, the performed tasks, etc. Social bond is established and sustained through that which brings people together and that which makes them different in group life. Mutual interactions, relations and dependencies are grounded in a given foundation and this is something that joins people, and makes them need each other, completing each other and experiencing the differences and the community”;¹³
- personal borderland, i.e. an internal one “(...) designed within the space of a human existence in a given place and time, when individual development takes place accompanied by the process of the shaping of personal identity. The outcomes can enhance not only dual judgment of the affective attitude towards “the own” and “the other”,

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 11.

¹² Ibidem, p. 12.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 13.

but also incapability of explicit, ethnic self-identification (i.e. a dispersed identity).”¹⁴

The defined types of a borderland of cultures can be perceived additively, thus a significant role can be assigned to them in terms of establishing a community microspace in the context of cultural diversity of a given social group.

The above-outlined process can be exemplified with reference to the specificity of the social and cultural functioning of the nationally diverse society of the Vilnius region,¹⁵ manifested within a historically shaped borderland of cultures.¹⁶ Through the prism of cultural identifications, approaches to the representatives of other cultures, common cultural references, obligations towards the country of residence, and the range of socially constructed interculturalism, it is possible to identify the structure of the community microspace and relations existing between its elements. The specificity of such microspace is depicted in Graph 1.

The microstructure of the community is a multilevel construct that stratifies the types of cultural borderlands. The first level of this microstructure is established by the territorial location of the cultural groups of different, diverse distinctive features. Residing in a direct neighborhood does not only disclose cultural diversities, but also sensitizes to it in different ranges and to various degrees, activating various types of dependencies and relations (conditioned by specific factors, mostly of political, economic and social nature), as well as social relations. The latter may, on the one hand, contribute, according to M. Golka, to coexistence relying on mutual accommodation and assimilation linked to a sort of mutual acceptance, adaptation, and amalgamations, but on the other hand, it may result in explicit and passive antagonisms, segregation, as well as overt or concealed isolation.¹⁷ If, however, the direct and positive interactions between

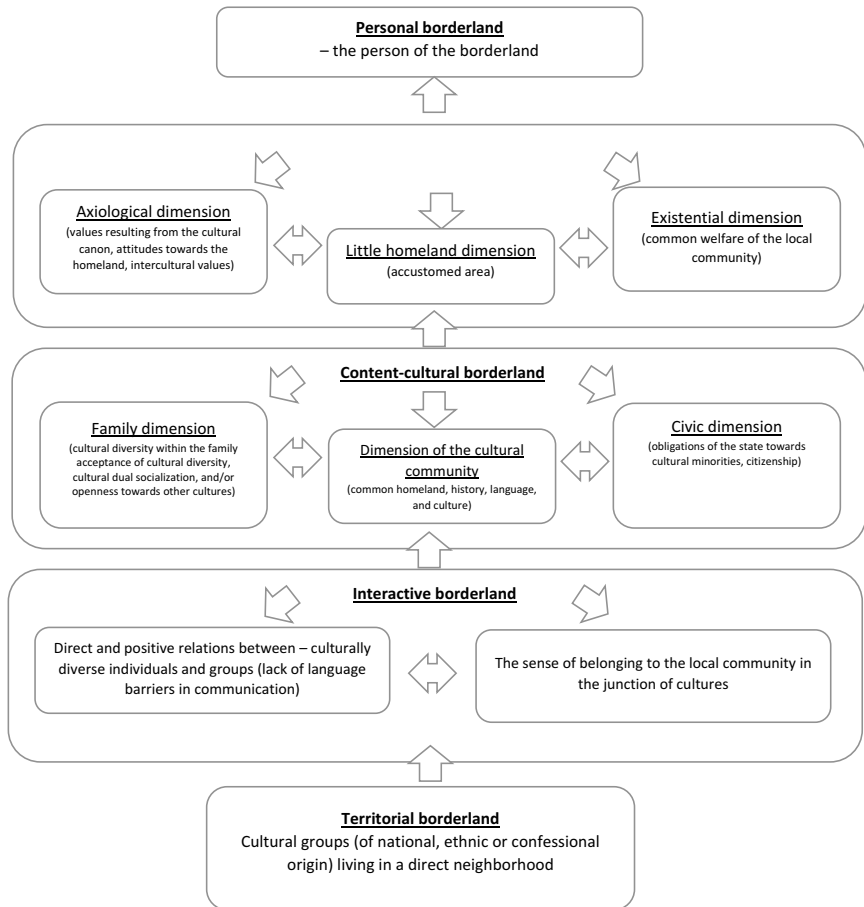
¹⁴ Nikitorowicz, J. (2009). *Edukacja regionalna i międzykulturowa*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie i Profesjonalne, p. 132.

¹⁵ Kowalski, M. (2010). Wileńszczyzna – region pogranicza litewsko-białorusko-polskiego. In Szerłaż A. (Ed.): *Wileńszczyzna małą ojczyznę*. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT, pp. 85–86.

¹⁶ In the years 2013–2015, the author accomplished an empirical research project with the aim to explain the process of culture interspersion in the Vilnius region. The outcomes of these findings have been made a point of reference for the attempt to capture systematically the micro space of the community resulting from the polarization of a multicultural macro space.

¹⁷ Golka, M. (2010). *Imiona wielokulturowości*. Warszawa: Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie MUZA SA, p. 100.

Graph 1: The multidimensional community microspace.



culturally diverse groups and individuals prevail, accompanied by barrier-free communication, the sense of belonging to culturally diverse local community is shaped, resulting in crystallization of a common sphere, where the processes of interspersion and cultural intermixing take place. This, in turn, facilitates the second level of the community, i.e. the micro level, determining the quality and range of the multicultural coexistence of the individuals and groups functioning at the cultural junctions. Concurrently, it becomes a point of reference for shaping the

subsequent level of the community microstructure, i.e. the contents-cultural borderland. Ergo, the awareness of common history, homeland, culture, language and religion shared by the culturally diverse individuals and groups becomes the borderland's constituent creator.¹⁸ The content-cultural community is deprived of duality, as it does not manifest nor expose cultural differences, but that which is common and significant at the same time. It provides favourable conditions for coping with cultural diversity at least in its two dimensions. i.e. family and civic. The first one embraces cultural differences in two forms, i.e. as the externally cultural diversity of the family (culturally diverse family members) that is perceived as culturally diverse, and as the location of a mono-cultural family in its most direct social circles with cultural diversity as the distinctive feature of the latter. In both instances the sense of community of the cultural contents allows "the otherness" of cultural differences to be overcome for the sake of their acceptance, giving rise to a culturally dual socialization in a culturally diverse family surrounding, opening up towards cultural differences in mono-cultural families.¹⁹

Within the civic framework, the common cultural references sensitize towards the obligation of the state towards cultural minorities (particularly national ones), and to those resulting from the fact of being a citizen and a member of a given society.²⁰

The community of cultural contents is therefore of an integrative character as it releases from homogenous projects of cultural dogmas, overcomes cultural borders and favours mutual interspersion of cultures, allowing to negotiate and sustain dialogue, subsequently creating an intercultural borderland, thanks to which the disappearance of the division between "us" and "them", for the sake of "we" is possible.

Contemporary cultures, with regards to the concept of W. Welsch, (...) have no island structure as they lost their uniformity and difference (...) being specified by interspersion and mutual influence. (...) Cultures transform into complex, entwined, yet co-related, cultural networks (...).²¹

¹⁸ Szerląg, A. (2013). Narodowy dualizm w codzienności polskich rodzin na Wileńszczyźnie. In J. Nikitorowicz (Ed.), *Patriotyzm i nacjonalizm. Ku jakiej tożsamości kulturowej?* Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza IMPULS, p. 209.

¹⁹ Szerląg, A. (2014). Kulturowy potencjał wychowania w rodzinie na styku kultur – orientacje rodziców i dzieci. In *Wychowanie w rodzinie*, nr. 1/2014, pp. 34–35.

²⁰ Szerląg, A. (2013). Narodowy dualizm..., *op. cit.*, p. 197.

²¹ Golka, M. (2010). *Imiona wielokulturowości*, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–58.

In a situation of progressing hybridization of culture in a microscale, different processes are activated, subsequently conceptualizing the cross-cultural borderland within, at least, the following three dimensions:

1. Axiological dimension – determined by the values resulting from the common cultural canon, values determining attitudes towards the homeland (in the case of individuals deriving from cultural minorities attitudes to two homelands), as well as intercultural values. Axiology leading towards a cultural borderland is therefore of a communal and cross-cultural nature²², specified by closeness, similarity, ease of communication, positive emotions, inclusion and integration. Constituting the attributes of the sense of “familiarity”,²³ these factors create and ensure a substantial chance for cross-cultural coexistence.
2. Cultural dimension – denoted by cultural attributes of the so called “little homeland”, establishing an “accustomed”, familiar area. The individuals functioning in the cultural borderlands, “generate their own area, shaping its given forms that entail both functions as well as meanings. This established area becomes a material frame of life, conditioning in turn human behaviour through the quantity, quality and accessibility of places where they can fulfill their needs. Such space “(...) also has a symbolic dimension, as it is subject to given emotions, feelings and values.”²⁴ Importantly, “(...) it gathers those living in a specific geographical area within the circle of the local tradition, culture, various forms of social life, and the natural environment.”²⁵
3. Existential dimension – the local dimension of the existential everyday life, particularly, concerning the common, ordinary life problems, neighborhood relations, common interest and care for the future, that altogether determine the level and degree of integration of the culturally diverse local community.

Taking the above into account, the borderland is a space creating a personal (internal) borderland, manifested within the establishment of

²² Szerłaż, A. (2016). Cross-cultural orientations of the young generation of Poles and Lithuanians – axiological connotations in the context of interaction of cultures. In Szerłaż A., Pilarska J., Urbaneck A. (Ed.) *European atomization or integration? Transborder aspects of (multi)pedagogy*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

²³ Golka, M. (2010). *Imiona wielokultuowości...*, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

²⁴ Jałowiecki, B. (2010). *Spoleczne wytwarzanie przestrzeni*, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24.

²⁵ Walancik, M. (2008). Wychowanie patriotyczne w małej ojczyźnie. In Lalak D. (ed.) *Dom i ojczyzna. Dylematy wielokultuowości*. Warszawa: Instytut Profilaktyki Społecznej i Resocjalizacji Uniwersytet Warszawski, Międzynarodowe Centrum Adaptacji Zawodowej, IW EQUAL, p. 245.

both personal as well as cultural identity. Concurrently, it gives rise to the creation of a borderland identity of a human, who "(...) uses their own cultural heritage and entails some specific developmental chances and opportunities, i.e. such an individual can shape identity through the selection of elements from different cultures and integrate them with the elements of their own culture, establishing their own system in such a way. It is often incoherent and dispersed, yet the situation of the borderland allows for the discovery and shaping of motivation to construct more elaborate forms of expressing one's own personality. (...) The person from the borderland participates in a never-ending process of communication, moving from monologue to the dialogue of cultures, from the dominance of stereotypes and prejudices to mutual understanding, negotiations and consideration for the common heritage of the culture in the borderland."²⁶

Thus, it can be assumed that the sense of similarity is the category crucially defining the process of shaping spaces (conceptualized by the types of cultural borderlands), specific for the community microspace in a multicultural macrospace.²⁷

Conclusion

Transcultural contextualization of the community microspace, with its foundation in cultural differences, implies the confirmation that despite cultural differences it is possible to move towards that which according to W. Welsch is common and shared, thanks to the potential of surpassing "(...) arbitrarily and seemingly determined monocultural points of views (...)".²⁸ As a result, a new type of cultural diversity emerges, within which that which is concurrently common and different yet simultaneously capable of inter-affiliation provides conditions for co-existence.

²⁶ Nikitorowicz, J. (2009). *Edukacja regionalna...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–135.

²⁷ Szerłaż, A. (2016). Cross-cultural orientations of the young generation of Poles and Lithuanians – axiological connotations in the context of interaction of cultures. In Szerłaż A., Pilarska J., Urbanek A. (Eds.) *European atomization or integration? Transborder aspects of (multi)pedagogy*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

²⁸ Welsch, W. (1998). *Transkulturowość...*, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

Tendencies Influencing the Educational Environment of a Child in the Contemporary Czech Family

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Střelec, S. (2016). Tendencies Influencing the Educational Environment of a Child in the Contemporary Czech Family. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 8/2, 79–89.

The paper explores the changes, problems and factors influencing the family upbringing of schoolchildren in the conditions of living in the Czech society. In terms of the effect of the family environment, there are influences and factors determined by the demographical-psychological, material-economical and cultural-pedagogical components of family life. The outlined division above is one of the possible approaches to the systematisation of the influences of family environment that also determine close ties between its individual aspects.

Key words: family environment; child of school age; education-socialisation standards; educational constellations; research finding

Background

In developed societies, the family bears the primary responsibility for children's education. This responsibility stems from the historical and cultural life traditions of the society and is rooted in its legal standards. Schools and other educational institutions are always responsible for only a part of a child's education and not even this partial responsibility is up to their full autonomy. For instance, parents take part in the choice of educational institution for their child, influence the child's relationship with education in general, pay tuition when necessary, and play an important role in the child's choice of profession, etc. Home upbringing as opposed to school education is highly individual both in its own conditions as well as in the use of methods, means and forms of education while its natural central point is the way of life in the family. The school has at its disposal trained teachers, child care workers, specially adapted programmes and organisation of the process of education. Despite the family not meeting these criteria at the same level, it has other advantages and its influence on the child is certainly dominant, including the fact that it is the family

(and even the society) that bears the positive and negative consequences of children's education.

We will now focus in more detail on the factors in the family environment that form its educational framework. With some simplification, we grouped the related aspects of the family environment into three parts. In terms of the effect of the family environment, there are influences and factors determined by the demographical-psychological, material-economical and cultural-pedagogical components of family life. We do not believe that the order of importance that may be attributed to the group of family environment factors by their impact on children's education can be generally and clearly determined. Sources on education and psychology generally hold to be of greatest importance the non-material factors of family environment that form the foundation of the emotional and cultural family climate. A differentiated and analytical consideration of the impact of individual factors stemming from these aspects of family environment has a decisive influence only during pedagogical and psychological diagnosis of specific cases. However, the material-economical conditions of the life of a particular family must not be underestimated either. In our view, the demographical-psychological conditions of the family environment comprise mainly two areas:

- * natural structure of a family and aspects determined by the influence of the father, mother, sibling and grandparent
- * internal stability of a family as the basis for the emotional atmosphere of the family environment and the prerequisite for natural development of all dimensions of family life.

The material-economical factors of the family environment can be divided into several groups. These are mainly:

- * employment of both father and mother and the influence of this on the children
- * fitting the family and its activities into the economical macrosystem of the society
- * individual consumption of the family as part of the family lifestyle and issues connected with this
- * the influence of technology on the life of a family and some other issues, e.g. material conditions for children's hobbies, for their school preparation, etc.

The cultural-pedagogical aspect of family environment reflects, apart from the factors already mentioned, the following:

- * value orientation and education of parents,

- * the degree of pedagogisation of the family environment visible in e.g. the readiness of a family to raise children, in purposeful use of educational means in accordance with private and social intentions and in some other conditions that influence the children's formation of attitudes towards people, education, work, culture, politics and life in general.¹

The borders between these groups of influences of the family environment cannot be clearly defined just as the list of the related groups of factors is not final. The outlined division above is one of the possible approaches to the systematisation of the influences of family environment that also determine close ties between its individual aspects.

Effective upbringing and socialisation of a child in a family assumes the existence of a certain standard content framework for these activities. These norms are not yet fixed in academic sources on education and psychology. They often take the shape of specific educational requirements organisationally subordinate to the traditional system of components of education. When raising children, the family must take to developing them in rational, physical, work, aesthetic, ... areas that take a specific shape in the different stages of the child's development. Z. Helus approached the definition of the standards of family education in a non-traditional way when he compiled a set of tasks that have a decisive importance for the healthy development of a child and his or her successful socialisation. He called these "Ten basic family functions". We only include a brief overview of these requirements without additional comments by the author:

1. The family satisfies the primary needs of a child in the early stages of life. This means satisfying biopsychological needs (food, drink, comfort, movement, etc.) as well as early psychological needs of safety, regularity, love and an appropriate amount and intensity of stimulation.
2. The family satisfies the very important need for organic belonging of a child: need for home, need to "have one's own person" (mother, father) and identify with him or her.
3. Since the earliest age, the family provides the child with action space, i.e. space for his or her active expression, self-realisation and cooperation with others.

¹ Střelec, S. (2011). Rodina jako výchovný činitel. In S. Střelec (ed.) *Studie z teorie a metodiky výchovy II*. Brno: Masaryk University, pp. 121–122.

4. The family gradually brings the child towards a relationship with family property – household equipment, appliances, tools and objects.
5. The family strongly determines the earliest experience of oneself as a boy or girl. It enriches this self-concept with gender content and meaning.
6. The family provides the child with immediate models and examples.
7. The family initiates, reinforces and further develops a sense of duty, responsibility, considerateness and respect in the child as something self-evident, something that is an integral part of life.
8. The family grants the child opportunities to enter into inter-generational relationships and thus gain access to a deeper understanding of people of a different age, nature or position.
9. It is by means of parents, grandparents, older siblings, relatives and friends that the family gives the child an idea of the broader surroundings, the society and the world.
10. To both children and adults, the family is an environment where they can confide in others, expect to be heard or given advice and help.²

A set of these tasks creates a general idea of a family that, in relation to a child, is dubbed a functional one. During diagnostic classification of families into degrees of functionality, however, there are other criteria that matter. For instance, one of the possibilities that has recently become a part of the standard social-paediatric family diagnostics in the Czech Republic is the definition of four degrees of its functionality according to J. Dunovský as follows:

- functional family – cohesive, able to provide good development and prosperity to the child
- problematic family – with occurrences of faults in some of the functions that do not seriously endanger the family system and the child's development within it. The family is able to address these issues on its own or with the help of others
- dysfunctional family – with more serious faults of some or all functions of a family that pose an immediate danger to the family as a whole and especially to child development; this family needs continuous specialist help
- non-functional family – with faults of such severe extent and intensity that the family fails to fulfil its basic purpose. It is a serious harm to a child or it is even a risk to his or her existence; a solution is placing the child in foster care.³

² Helus, Z. (2007). *Sociální psychologie pro pedagogy*. Praha: Grada, pp. 149–151.

³ Dunovský, J. et al. (1999). *Sociální pediatrie*. Praha: Grada, p. 45.

Educational constellations in the family environment

Many scholars believe that the European society as well as the family are undergoing a transition from the industrial period to the post-industrial – neoliberal one in which the traditional family ties lose their meaning. There are new aspects to family life. For instance, the most important parental legacy is often no longer considered to be wealth or social position but education. The highest values in this society are individual freedom, availability of choice, personal development and self-realisation. Another characteristic point of a post-industrial (neoliberal) society is the gradual adopting of some family competencies by the state, its organisations or non-government institutions – “the state quietly becomes a massive foster family of all citizens”.⁴

In connection with family life in developed European countries there have been the following trends in the past decades:

- * decrease in number of marriages and birth rate
- * increase in the age at which people enter into their first marriage
- * increased number of single-parent families
- * increase in the number of households made up of one person
- * increase in the number of people who have children together without being officially married
- * increasing number of people living together unmarried and without children
- * constantly increasing divorce rate
- * decreasing number of people who re-marry after divorce...

I. Možný and L. Rabušic offer a detailed insight into the development of these tendencies in the Czech Republic (including a comparison with other European countries).⁵ Current statistical data for each year is published periodically by the Czech Statistical Office. Most of the above-mentioned tendencies are also directly related to psychological and educational aspects of the family environment. Socialisation and educational factors such as natural family structure (involving the influence of the mother, father, siblings and grandparents) and internal (emotional) family stability are considered important in terms of healthy child development. The question remains how family life and society in general become influenced by a more frequent occurrence of one-child

⁴ Matoušek, O. – Křoftová, A. (1998). *Mládež a delikvence*. Praha: Portál, pp. 39–41.

⁵ Možný, I. (2006). *Rodina a společnost*. Praha: Slon. Rabušic, L. (2001). *Kde všechny ty děti jsou?* Praha: Slon.

families, children without siblings, upbringing of step-children, higher age of parents, etc. Psychologists have been studying the aspects determined by these specific family circumstances.⁶ Adequate and systematic attention of educators focused on educational questions related to these trends of family life is still fairly rare in the Czech Republic both in terms of the needs of children and of parents. The foundations for further pedagogical research may be findings obtained by some researchers that have been made public as framework characteristics. These findings are mostly related to faults in bringing up children. For instance, L. Šulová presents four categories of parents with serious shortcomings in the way they raise their child, i.e.:

- * the parents are unable to take care of their children (separation, illness,...),
- * the parents lack the skills to raise a child,
- * the parents do not want to take care of their child,
- * the parents take excessive care of the child.⁷

Z. Helus has also been dealing with various characteristics of the most frequent types of problematic families and has identified the following: immature family, overloaded family, ambitious family, perfectionist family, authoritarian family, spoiling family, liberal and improvising family, postponing family and dissociated family.⁸

Another example of a systemising approach towards families with dysfunctional properties is an outline by J. Kurčík. From his overview we include:

- asymmetrical family (father, mother and one child in alliance against another child/other children),
- generation gap (strong ties between the father and mother – the child/children are strongly marginalised),
- uncommitted family (family with relationships of indifference, without bonds and family cohesion),
- disintegrated family (chaotic relationships, conflict, absence of cohesion, hostility in the family, none of the family members feels responsibility, power distribution is scattered),
- schismatic family (two alliances, one child siding with the father, other with the mother, or father in alliance with daughter and mother with son),

⁶ Viz například Sobotková, I. (2001). *Psychologie rodiny*. Praha: Portál.

⁷ Šulová, L. (2004). *Raný psychický vývoj dítěte*. Praha: Karolinum.

⁸ Helus, Z. (2007). *Sociální psychologie pro pedagogy*. Praha: Grada, pp. 153–163.

- family with unclear intergenerational boundaries (children are often manipulated into inappropriate roles, also parents sometimes stylise themselves into “friend” roles, effort to erase age differences, to stylise oneself into younger roles),
- externally integrated family (immature parents who are dependent on the social and financial support of their original families and the social services, especially young families),
- socially isolated family (excessive cohesion in the family, severed contact with the outside world for fear of risks posed by society, rejection of external intervention, hazardous climate for children),
- repressive family (anxiously neurotic family, perfectionist; family that rejects venting of negative feelings which then may transform into various somatic or psychological symptoms. Blocked up emotions become the biggest problem).⁹

In connection with the characteristics of organisation of parental roles, we see three fitting models of the division of roles in the family, as presented by H. Maříková:

1. The most widespread model can be characterised as follows: “most is up to the woman”. Although men do take part in taking care of the child, in this model they act as a helper to the woman (mother) instead of an equal partner. They only actively engage when necessary or when they want to; they have time. To the children, they are not seen as those who are in charge of their free time. This type of father typically holds a traditional opinion on the mother’s role (according to them care of children is mainly a mother’s task). This type of father is typically a transition between the traditional type and a so-called new father.
2. Some families still employ the sort of model of child care that can be characterised: “everything is up to the woman”. She spends most time with the children, devotes the most attention, takes care of them daily and organises their free time. The main portion of responsibility for the children’s upbringing lies with the woman. The mother finds herself in a role of the most important person in the children’s life. Men – fathers represent in this family model the traditional father who has two versions. The first type known from the past is not very involved in the family life, even though there are no objective reasons for this. The second type is a new version, i.e. new traditional fathers for whom their profession and success (they run their own business or work in

⁹ Kučírek, J. (2014). Sociální systém rodina: geneze patologie. In T. Raszaková (ed.) *Acta sociopatologica I*. Hradec Králové: Gaudeamus, pp. 88–111.

management positions) are primary. They compensate their lack of time with the family by providing great financial support which allows the women not to work.

3. The least common model is a partner model where the parents have a relatively equal share in taking care of children. This does not necessarily mean that both do the same thing (even though it is possible); each parent takes care of the child according to his or her own possibilities and time. In this model, men are convinced that a man should take an active part in taking care of children and in running the household and they live according to this.¹⁰

The axiological basis of family education is considered its natural foundation. An outline of the concepts of parent autonomy in relation to intergenerational value transfer (according to I. Možný) is an inspiring starting point for research into value orientation in the family environment. There are the following varieties:

1. The democratic approach is a modification of the traditional one; it also involves the duty to adhere to the parents' values; however, it also admits space for discussion about other values. Children do not have to be made to accept the value of parents; they must internalise them as their own without pressure.
2. The moderate liberal concept presumes the right of parents to aim for the child to adopt their value system; however, they support the child's free exposure to other value systems at an appropriate age.
3. In the fully liberal concept of parent autonomy it is up to the child what values he or she chooses; the parents only protect the child from influences that may limit the child's choice. This concept opens the space for dynamic development of the child's personality; on the other hand its thorough application loosens the family ties and reduces inter-generational understanding.¹¹

Cooperation of parents with their children's teachers

Moving on from these reflections related to the family microclimate, we will now address tendencies reaching beyond the family environment that influence relationships between the family and school (parents and their

¹⁰ Maříková, H. (1999). *Muž v rodině: demokratizace sféry soukromé*. Praha: SÚ AV ČR, p. 86.

¹¹ Možný, I. (1999). *Sociologie rodiny*. Praha: Slon, p. 132.

children's teachers). In connection with this we can pose the question of what implications does a differentiated approach to the influences of the family environment have for the work of teachers. A successful solution to common as well as specific educational situations which teachers encounter during their work requires mainly knowledge of the pupil's personality. One of the ways of knowing his or her personality traits including individual peculiarities is the teacher's ability to keep track of the family environment where the pupil lives. This fact can be confirmed, among others, by experienced educators who worked for a long time in one place, whether in the country or a bigger city, and grew to know that location and its inhabitants. We can make an analogy with the effort to renew the institution of family physicians who work with intimate knowledge of the health condition of adult and child family members.

Tendencies influencing the activity of school in relation to parents and that can positively affect the relationship with teachers and children include the somewhat existential effort of Czech schools to win the favour of the pupils' parents or pupils themselves. They are directly connected with the principle of the person's (child or his or her legal guardian) free choice of educational direction according to his or her possibilities (choice of educational directions) and also with the principle of financing schools by the number of pupils enrolled.

This fact is also connected with another factor that can significantly influence the relationship of parents with the school and that is the level of awareness of parents about the educational goals of the school. Some experience from state and private schools from abroad is in this sense inspirational. This path towards pupils and especially towards their parents is being implemented on a larger scale by some Czech schools as well. Bulletins or information pamphlets, school newspapers and magazines, school open days and some other non-traditional means contribute to the promotion of the work of the school and shape its reputation. However, this is only one of the ways of increasing educational awareness that has a limited purpose and is not sufficient for a more significant shift in the relationship between the school and family. More permanent qualitative changes in this relationship are typically connected with other forms of teacher-parent cooperation. Domestic and foreign experience shows that there are increased demands from parents for specific information about the educational situation of their children. Some schools therefore provide the parents of their pupils with continual assessment reports on the development and progress of their children. Parents are invited into schools not only after the school day but are encouraged to take part in teaching and extra-curricular work with the

children. Increased attention is paid here mainly to the parents of new pupils at the school. Also school balls, gala evenings, sport days, performances and film screenings for children and parents contribute to bringing the parents, teachers and children together and influence the climate for school educational activities.¹²

The most important facts that influence the quality of the relationship between the family and school typically include the child's successful progress through the school years and being admitted to a school of the next level. These practical goals are connected mainly with the attention of most parents during the school year. This phenomenon must be considered as one of the natural fundamentals for cooperation of a school with a family in the changing life conditions in our society. The task of the school is to convince children and parents that the teachers and the school care about each child, that they have a personal interest in their immediate school progress and also in developing their resources for good professional and civil functioning. Using a common means for achieving this, it focuses on fulfilling the principle of an individual approach to children which gains special meaning in the transformation context; it becomes one of the dominant principles of the process of education. However, its application is and will be influenced to a considerable extent by the general teaching conditions. The substantial ones include e.g. progressive conceptions of the education system including modern curriculums and educational standards for individual stages and types of schools, quality textbooks, appropriate number of students in classes and work groups, positive and creative atmosphere at schools, dignified existential conditions for teachers and other conditions necessary for the education of citizens prepared for life in the 21st century.¹³

The relationships between schools and families see a distinctive intensification of the forms of their cooperation. This trend is directly connected with the interest of the school and teachers in searching for a deeper meaning and more effective ways of educational cooperation. So far in the Czech Republic, for instance, there is an insufficiently effective system of career advice at schools. For example, academic programmes (implemented mainly at elementary schools) "owe" their

¹² Střelec, S. (2005). Impulsy pro partnerskou spolupráci školy s rodinou (učitele s rodiči žáků). In *Retrospektiva a perspektivy v edukácii*. Nitra: UTVPFUKF, pp. 371–373.

¹³ Střelec, S. (2001). Spolupráce učitele s rodiči žáků v měnící se škole a společnosti. In *Proměny školy, učitele a žáka na přelomu tisíciletí*. Brno: Konvoj, pp. 168–172.

pupils and their parents differentiated, profession-oriented programmes, specialist careers advisors and an efficient system of informal aid for those pupils and parents who show interest in cooperation in this area. It can be rightfully called one of the missed opportunities for close cooperation of schools with families. In fact, there are even opinions that the pupils' choice of profession should be moved entirely out of schools and into specialised advisory institutions. We cannot agree with this view.

The relationship with school and family (teacher and pupils' parents) is rather often (more or less rightfully) called a partnership. Where does the key point of partner cooperation between a teacher and parents of pupils lie? For instance, M. Rabušicová sees the essence of this partnership in the knowledge that a considerable part of education and upbringing takes place in the family and that parents and teachers have different yet complementary educational functions that must be in harmony in order to be performed effectively.¹⁴

The shift and changes in the motives, opinions and attitudes of teachers and parents are determined by abandoning the traditional, sometimes conservative, unnatural historical and social circumstances of the ties being formed. In general terms, they are sometimes called internal school reform. What is meant by this are the more pressing facts determined by the social-psychological, psychological-methodological and social-educational contexts rather than facts which are normative and organisationally institutional in nature, even though both are closely related. In this sense, the school is expected to make more complex and efficient use of possibilities (inspirations, experience, projects, ...) directed at more effective preparation of pupils for their professional, civil and family life.¹⁵

¹⁴ Rabušicová, M. (1999). Možnosti spolupráce školy a rodiny. In *Partnerství rodiny a školy – současnost a perspektivy*. Ostrava: PdF OU, p. 28.

¹⁵ Střelec, S. (1998). Rodina jako výchovné prostředí. In *Kapitoly ze sociální pedagogiky a psychologie*. Brno: Paido, pp. 63–64.

The Proportion of School and Society on the Education of Gifted Pupils in the Czech Republic

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The readiness of Czech schools to work with talented pupils in the process of education is still not reflected by teachers in legislative support. This article is the reaction to this reality and offers a current view on the issues of registration of talented pupils and teachers' readiness to work with these children in school. The article indicates some of the outcomes of the research project "The special needs of pupils in the context of the framework of the training programme for basic education" ID-0021622443. It focuses on the education of children, pupils and students with special educational needs, and extremely talented pupils and students, and points to the possibilities of training corresponding to the necessary quality for appropriate development of the individual talents of each individual.

Key words: *talented pupil; science of education for gifted children; child development; research; pedagogical-psychological advisory service; knowledge; Czech schools; diagnostic*

Introduction

Each of us has heard information from various lectures, programmes, articles or books which tried to deal with the problems of recoverability and unrecoverability of various resources which are necessary for humanity, for its sustainable development. We believe that children are the most worthy resource and neglecting their care can cause us to "not register" their potential. Extremely talented and talented children can be slightly forgotten because parents and even schools tend to prefer to deal with discipline and other problems in the education of children. And so even today it is not an exception that a teacher does not react to the fact of having a talented pupil.

This study is dedicated to our present situation, trying to solve the problems of gifted pupils and the educational approach to them. The research indicates the number of talented children that are found and

how many teachers have studied this topic. The research was done across the board in the Czech Republic. Even an extremely talented pupil is not able to develop his/her talent fully in the case that he/she does not have a teacher with a good approach. Teachers should attend courses or programmes of extended teacher education offered by faculties of education, which are dedicated to this topic. Teachers should be not only interested in learning disorders and average pupils but also in talented pupils. Talent nowadays represents enrichment and means a gift not only for gifted children but also for us teachers and for all society.

We can follow an example from the ancient cultures. These cultures mostly omitted the role of women's education, but young boys were gathered by the rulers in their palaces and these were under the supervision of the most intelligent individuals in their empires. For example we can find some records about this fact in the book of Daniel in the Bible where the situation in the court of Babylon's emperor is described. The most talented individuals were chosen from the conquered nations and from these talented ones the best became the governor.

Over time people come across physical, psychological and social differences between individuals and groups of people. We see the quantitative and qualitative differences in the process of the same work being done by different people. The fact that some people are able to do certain work faster and in a better way has been mentioned by people over many centuries and those abilities that are necessary to reach extraordinary results used to be considered "God's gift". At the same time people tried to explain this fact in different ways corresponding to the level of their knowledge and at the same time the level of society development in which they lived.¹ We can find the first educational opinions and thoughts developing abilities and the individual in the writings of the ancient philosophers. Their own philosophical ideas can be classified into various streams of ideas. The schools that were founded here emphasized the development of individuals and support of learning (in ancient times the school of Isocrat was focused on rhetoric, Aristoteles Lyceum focused on sciences and Platon's Academy supported mathematics, metaphysics and politics). Aritoteles preferred balance and rejected extreme subjectivity and also insufficient application of pupils' abilities. Aristoteles emphasized the individual approach to the pupils and so became an important philosopher for

¹ Hříbková, L. (2009). *Nadání a nadaní. Pedagogicko-psychologické přístupy, modely, výzkumy a jejich vztah ke školské praxi*. Praha: Grada. p. 14.

authors in the 20th century who developed the science of education for talented pupils and worked it out for today's conditions.²

The founder and pioneer of the topic of talented pupils, American Lewis Madison Termen

The American scientist L. M. Termen is considered by many experts to be the founder and pioneer of the movement “for the support of talented pupils”. L. M. Termen (Stanford University) worked with several children on the west coast based on the Binet intelligence tests and based on the results he formulated development norms. In the year 1916 he and his colleagues did a Stanford revision of the Binet – Simon intelligence scale. This is used with some minor adjustments even today. At that time L. M. Termen took over the index of intelligence too, which happened in 1914. German psychologist William Stern is considered to be the creator of this index. The already mentioned quotient expresses intelligence as a proportion between mental age and chronological age. According to John F. Feldhusen, L. M. Termen provided the most important contribution on the topic of talented pupils. L. M. Termen examined 1528 extremely talented pupils (IQ 135–200) in 1921). The research findings were published in a five volume publication. He monitored the development of these individuals till they reached middle age. From the sample of examined individuals there were many successful people who published many books.³

The modern powers are aware of the value of talented and educated people, and thus “buying brains” happens, but in this case we talk about already educated people, adults. We must learn the ability to register the gift or talent at an early age. The ideal age for testing talent is between the ages of 5 and 8 according to Linda Silverman – manager of the “Gifted Development Center”. Linda Silverman has published a set of pieces of knowledge dedicated to talented children.

Readiness of teachers

Our aim was also to find out the readiness of teachers to deal with the issue of talented pupils. We were interested in how many teachers work in school and how many of them have studied this theme (professionally,

² Ibidem, pp. 27–28.

³ Laznibatová, J. (2001). *Nadané dieťa – jeho vývin, vzdelávanie a podporovanie*. Bratislava: IRIS, pp. 13–14.

in courses, occasionally, etc.). We are going to compare the readiness of the teachers followed with colleagues abroad. For this we are going to use the research results with statistical data giving us the information about the number of talented pupils in the U. K. and in the U.S.A. with the aim of finding out whether the percentage of talented pupils is the same or comparable in Czech schools and schools in the mentioned countries.

The approach to the topic of talented pupils in the world

During the study it became evident that it is not an exception that in some Czech schools there is no talented pupil diagnosed, whereas abroad the situation is different. Very often up to 10% of gifted pupils from the whole population are registered in schools.⁴

As an example of this approach we can mention the United Kingdom (hereinafter the U.K.) with one specialised teacher in every state school who is responsible for identifying talented pupils and supervising them. This teacher keeps the evidence of gifted and talented pupils. The list of this pupils is not constant but the number of these pupils corresponds with their development. The development of children is not stable and the need for a special approach can after disappear a certain time. The development of many children is faster at the beginning of school attendance and later their development become comparable to others.

In the U. K. there were 679 870 gifted and talented pupils in evidence which corresponds to 10.3 % of the total number of pupils.⁵

British organisations supporting gifted and talented pupils include:
Young Gifted and Talented Programme
National Association for Gifted Children
Music and Dance Scheme.

From other countries outside of Europe we can mention the U.S.A., where similarly to the U.K. almost in every school there is one teacher educated in the area of talented pupils who supervises them.

The number of gifted and talented pupils identified in individual countries varies between 5 and 20% of the whole population and this percentage is remarkably higher than in the Czech Republic.

⁴ Kupcová, M. a kol. (2010). *Vzdělávání nadaných dětí a žáků*. Přehled základních dokumentů. Praha: Výzkumný ústav pedagogický. [online] [cit. 27. 12. 2010]. WWW: http://www.vuppraha.cz/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/Nadani_prehled.pdf

⁵ Monaghan, F. (2010). *Gifted and Talented statistics: PLASC data and EAL*. Open University. [online] [cit. 27. 12. 2010]. WWW: <http://www.naldic.org.uk/docs/members/documents/NQ5.1.11.pdf>

It is noticeable that the U.S.A. represents one of the countries with the lowest number of excellent pupils in mathematics at the age of fifteen. Countries such as Switzerland, Belgium, Finland and even the Czech Republic have at least five times more talented pupils in mathematics than the U.S.A.⁶ This can provide evidence about our views in the process of identification of talented pupils – from the view of IQ measurement and reviewing the field of logic and mathematics. The total low number of talented pupils in our republic together with the relatively high number of talented pupils in mathematics gives evidence about the fact that the other areas of gift and talent are omitted.

Research methods and tools, organisation of the research

The research can be aimed quantitatively or qualitatively. “Quantitative research deals with numbers. It tries to find out the amount, extent or frequency of appearance of a phenomenon. Numeric data can be mathematically processed. Contrary to this, qualitative research states its findings in words. It is a description, both vivid and detailed.”⁷

According to P. Gavora the most frequently used methods of quantitative research are:⁸

- observation
- scale
- questionnaire
- interview
- content analysis of text
- experiment

In this research the quantitative method of research was decided on and as a research tool a questionnaire was set for finding out the number of talented pupils in elementary schools and the number of special teachers trained on the topic of talented pupils. Research questionnaires were returned from 50 schools. These were filled in by qualified staff in schools, head teachers, deputy principals, and school advisers. The questionnaires were filled in during October 2010.

⁶ *National Statistics – Why our Nation Needs to Educate our Gifted and Talented Youth.* Davidson Institute for talent and development. (2009). [online] [cit. 27. 12. 2010]. WWW: http://www.davidsongifted.org/db/Articles_id_10398.aspx

⁷ Gavora, P. (2010). *Úvod do pedagogického výzkumu.* Brno: Paido, p. 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Overview of monitoring criteria

We chose for the purposes of an overview the principal criteria relating to talented pupils and the professional readiness of teachers. As a principal criterion for the specification of talented pupils expertise from the pedagogical – psychological advisory service was chosen (further referred to as PPAS), which is regulated by the Education Act No. 561/2004. Here we see the important role of the teacher, who should have special skills (at least awareness) which would help to manage the situation. This is the second crucial research aim of this study: the readiness of teachers for finding and working out an approach to talented pupils in schools.

Attained knowledge I.

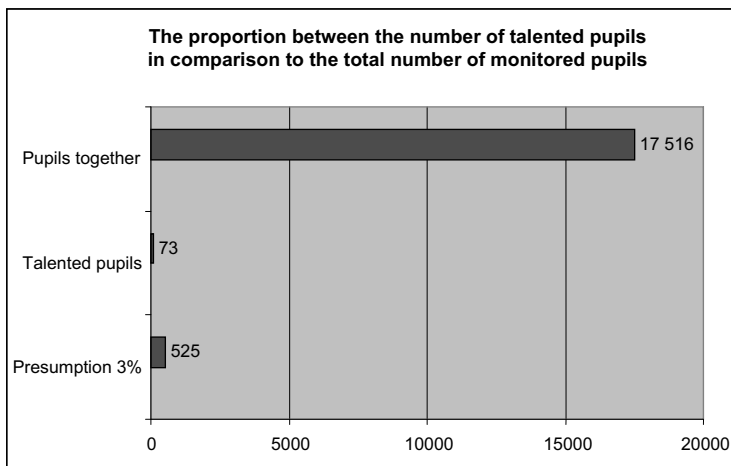
Schools do not fulfil the expected 3% of talented pupils in Czech elementary schools.

We set this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1:

There are talented pupils that are registered in the selected Czech schools, but the number of these pupils is lower than in the U. K. and the U.S.A.

Chart no. 1.



17 516 pupils attended the 50 monitored elementary schools generally spread over the whole of the Czech Republic. The experts occupying the topic of the education of talented pupils state that in a population sample there should be 3–5% of talented individuals. To strengthen the validity of the affirmation we will count on a minimal presumption of 3% in our empiric research.

From our finding a very severe handicap for Czech pupils follows. Based on a presumption limit of 3% of talented pupils there should be around 17 516 525 talented pupils. From our finding we know that there are only 73 pupils (40 boys and 33 girls – see chart n. 2), which statistically expressed represents 0.416%.

Chart no. 2.

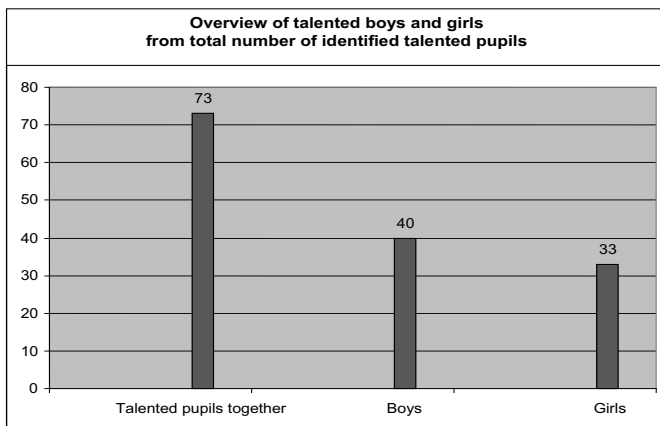
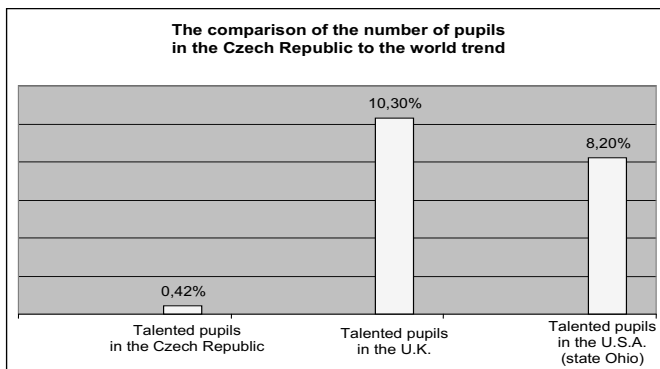


Chart no. 3.



Our hypothesis was confirmed. We found that we have less evidence of talented pupils than in the U. K. and the U.S.A.

Attained knowledge II.

Hypothesis 2:

In our schools there are not enough experts – teachers educated in the topic of talented pupils.

Chart no. 4.

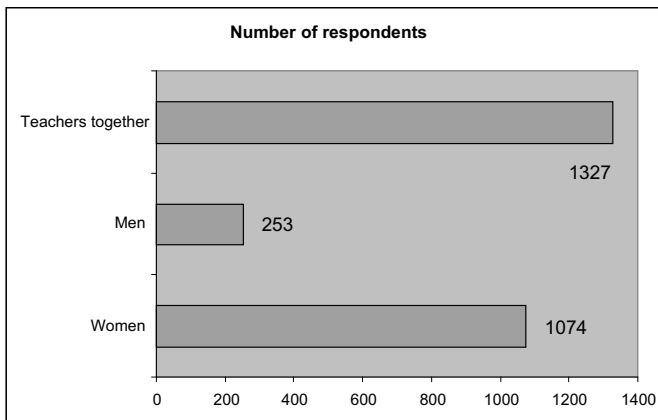


Chart no. 5.

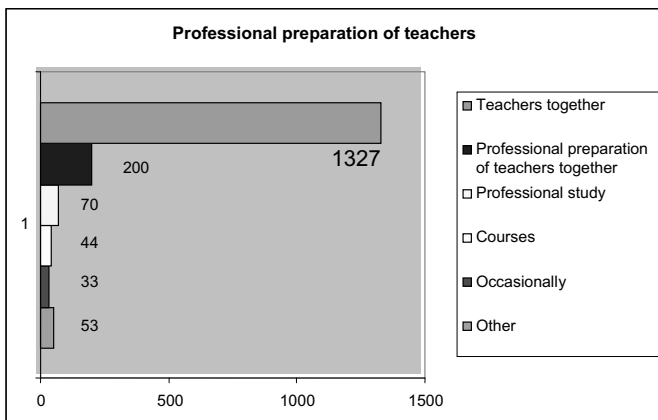
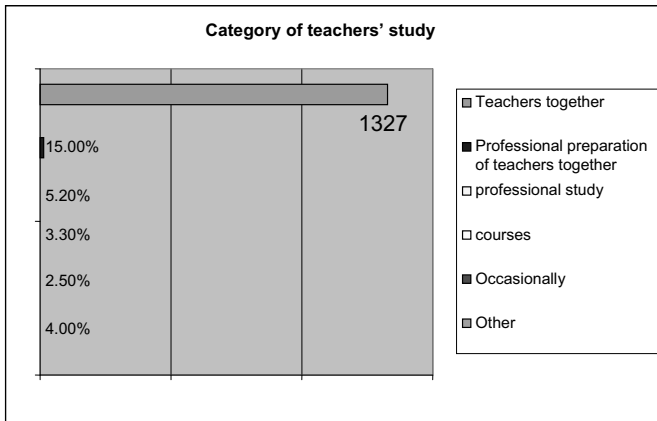


Chart no. 6.



On average 15.00% of teachers took a course or studied the topic of talented pupils. On closer analysis of their studies we can state that the majority of teachers have studied professionally. Even if the low level of professional growth of teachers (70 teachers from 1327) is positive that teachers look for professional sphere and institution which guarantee the qualified and professional readiness. Among "others" respondents is meant the Faculty of Education, PPAS and Mensa which play a dominant role in this area. (detailed description in Table no. 1)

The teachers have studied the topic of talented pupils

Table no. 1.

The category of studies
Seminar with the topic of the education of gifted pupils
Self – study of special literature
Teachers' guide of written material from PPAS
Special periodical for
Extended education programmes for educators offered by the Faculty of Education
Information from teaching conferences
Training organised by PPAS
Extended teacher education in pedagogical and psychology qualifications
Further education for teachers: Mensa – specific aspects of the work with extremely gifted pupils in school
Mensa: Education of talented pupils
Centre of talents – Mr. and Mrs. Fořtik
Conference on gifted pupils (Zlín)

The category of studies

In Czech schools there was only a low percentage of teachers who were trained in this topic in courses but the content and quality of these was not closer specified.

The research results indicate that the training about this topic is not coordinated and is irregular whereas in the U.K. and in the U.S.A. there is one teacher in each school who is an expert in this topic. Based on this knowledge we think improving the training of Czech teachers in this topic would increase the number of identified talented pupils.

Conclusion

Identification of gifted pupils is directly proportional to the readiness of teachers in this area

Vladimír Čermák⁹, based on his own and other research, estimates that the ability to develop an intellectual gift can be expected during the first grade of elementary school at least in 10% of the population of children. Based on his/her abilities and results these children get access to higher levels of education. He supposes that these pupils should attain the highest levels of education. Yet the author supposes that the biggest number of unidentified talented pupils is in elementary schools. In the background of this failure there are many factors: insufficient identification and support of these schools – instead of these children being supported in their development, they are allowed to accept mediocrity as an acceptable value for them. This insufficient support is according to Čermák caused especially by the unreadiness of teachers in the area of talented pupils.

In this work we have examined whether there are talented pupils and teachers' readiness to deal with the issue of gifted and talented pupils.

We have found out that in comparison to colleagues in the U. K. and the U.S.A. our teachers are less prepared and so we recommend how to improve this situation. Based on the facts that we got from the questionnaire about the number of teachers that were educated in this area and based on the results from the statistics from the U. K. and the U.S.A. we recommend that every Czech school should choose one

⁹ Čermák, V. – Turinová, L. (2011). *Nadaní žáci na základní škole*. Ústí nad Labem: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně.

teacher from the school who will be educated in this topic and will follow the development of this topic in the future.¹⁰

Professionally trained teachers will work as instructors for their colleagues and so the costs of education of individual teachers will be reduced and the training of the school staff will increase. This training can become a part of regular meetings of all teachers or the training can proceed within the framework of teachers' consultations. As a result some outcomes from the training would be reduced.

Further we suggest that these specially educated teachers can observe and aid the gifted children that were identified by the teacher or with the aid of family members, fellow students and other teachers provide care for them based on the teachers' guidance even without contacting PPAS. In some cases the gift is difficult to prove or qualify. Nowadays many gifted pupils do not fit the criteria set out in PPAS. It happens sometimes that pupils fulfil the criteria for gifted pupils set out by PPAS but the school wishes to avoid the administrative complication connected with preparing individual plans of education. These pupils are not presented as gifted even though the school provides them with individual care.

One question still remains whether our school system is ready to work with gifted individuals. Firstly there must be quality preparation and training of teachers who are directly in contact with gifted pupils. Regarding the fact that diagnosing the gift is a longterm question, this question should become a part of the general education of teachers. In elementary schools teachers do not consider this as an important or current issue. We must ask whether it is a symptom caused by insufficient interest from the side of the Ministry, teachers or parents. Only a coordinated effort can ensure success.

Overall we can state that the care for gifted pupils is still insufficient and not satisfactory in Czech schools. There are tendencies to change this reality but a long and distressful way is still ahead. The preparation of future teachers in the issue of the education of gifted pupils during their university studies would be a welcome start on this long journey. Our topic is as important a topic as the topic of special education, dyslexia or dysgraphia that we deal with these days. Also further postgraduate education of already working teachers should be part of the issue. The educational institutions present a wide choice of courses and these are available even to schools and to individual teachers. Very often the

¹⁰ Monaghan, F. (2010). *Gifted and Talented statistics: PLASC data and EAL*. Open University. [online] [cit. 27. 12. 2010]. <http://www.nadic.org.uk/docs/members/documents/NQ5.1.11.pdf>

initiative can come from the teachers. Information about gifted children, their education, problems that can appear, their needs and support are usually available. The Organisation of the Centre of Development of Gifted Children, and the Association for Gifted and Talented children spread information and knowledge, and organize courses and advisory services for parents, teachers and psychologists. Special literature is also more available these days. Many findings were carried out to clarify this topic, and to improve the information and quality of education of gifted pupils. The future and education of our children and the development of the gift of every gifted pupil is connected to the future of the whole globe. A very gifted pupil from one of our elementary schools could one day solve the problem of the ozone hole, come up with a replacement for the decreasing unrecorability energy or solve the ecological problems of our countries. Surely we could gather knowledge from abroad, where giftedness and the individualisation of education is a crucial theme. We must hope that our educational system will also make progress in the following years and that the gifts of our children will be developed by teachers specially trained in this area. We hope that these teachers will be supported by the state system and at the same time by their own school. We hope there will be teachers demonstrating unlimited interest in the education of gifted pupils, and that teachers will stimulate the development of the gift of every individual bearing in mind the importance of their work with the awareness of assets to society, the state and also the individual.

Epilogue

Additional open questions in the questionnaire

Two open questions were added to the questionnaire to obtain a better understanding of the problems connected to our theme. We received some interesting opinions on the open questions from the questionnaire. We have summarised the contents of these questions and we present them:

What are the main reasons for the fact that schools have low numbers of gifted pupils?

Ad.1 The respondents stated the following aspects as the main reasons:

- nobody is interested in this theme
- smaller town

- financial conditions
- care of problematic pupils, pupils finishing primary school are leaving; they start to study at a selective secondary school
- administration connected with individual plans and visiting pedagogical-psychological advisory services
- necessity of sending the pupil to PPAS
- pupils are supported by the teacher in the frame of an individual approach

What can help according to you and how can we change these low numbers of pupils?

Ad 2. Respondents stated that the following facts could help:

- making tests aimed at identification of gifted pupils (for example examining the structure of the giftedness)
- detailed knowledge about the theme of education of extremely gifted pupils
- government regulation No. 72/2005 Collection of Law, 73/2005 Collection of Law
- financial resources for paying the courses (about this topic) for teachers, paying for cover lessons while their colleagues take part in the course
- to simplify administration connected with processing individual plans and visiting PPAS.

Components of Knowledge Commercialization in the Selected Universities of the World

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Erfan, A. – Nadi, M. A.. (2016). Components of Knowledge Commercialization in the Selected Universities of the World. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 8/2, 103–111.

This paper presents a qualitative research method that has been performed based on content analysis. In this study, in order to evaluate and identify the components of the commercialization of knowledge, factors affecting the expansion and development of academic projects in five of the world selected universities (Harvard, Stanford, Cambridge, Kyoto, and Singapore) have been focused on. These components have been extracted in these universities through analyzing more than 70 scientific research studies. The researcher has used an inductive approach for the analysis of information obtained from the conducted research in this area. Results have shown that the main themes, elements of infrastructure, policymaking and identification of potential customers have facilitated the commercialization of knowledge in the selected universities.

Key words: Commercialization of knowledge; Selected universities; Infrastructure; Policymaking; Identification of potential customers

Introduction

The commercialization of knowledge produced by the universities has created a major topic in today's public discussions and it generally causes the production of scientific results in universities. The role of academic institutions in society has been investigated in various academic disciplines. Since 1960 university has been introduced as an institution that specializes in creating and spreading knowledge for the public and it has entered into the society through research and education, and its results have helped the scientific and economic growth of the country.¹

¹ Clark, B. – Neave, G. (2006). *The encyclopaedia of higher education*. Pergamon Press, New York, NY.

Since competition increasingly depends on knowledge, all companies need to manage their internal knowledge. Nonetheless, companies need the ability to manage the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge to realize their inherent potential assets of knowledge. In fact, companies exploit external knowledge more i.e. they apply the commercialization of the knowledge assets of others.²

Nevertheless, changing technology into wealth has been considered to be a risky activity that might reduce the amount of success in projects or might affect the amount of investments in such projects due to the allocated fund to each limited project. Thus, the success of science commercialization would be a serious issue for universities and governments.³

The main reasons that industry does not benefit from university technology is that technology shows no commercial value and therefore it is stopped in the initial stages and does not enter into commercialization.⁴ The other important point is that commercialization needs people to master the sources; therefore, part of the commercialization activities means transferring research from the universities to productive and commercial activities.

The competition for human capabilities takes place in a self-sorting process among the scientists and engineers who are about to migrate from academic research into the private sector. They can implement the commercial value of the knowledge they have acquired in academic research either by setting up their own entrepreneurial start-up venture or by becoming employees in someone else's entrepreneurial business. Accordingly, they either become the subject or the object of knowledge-based entrepreneurship. Yet, in either case, the peculiarities of scientific knowledge and its transfer mode imply constraints for exploiting knowledge which are changing systematically over time. As it will turn out, the – differing – responses to these constraints result in organizational arrangements which seem to be characteristic concomitants of the commercialization of new technologies.⁵

² Hansen, M. T. (2002). Knowledge networks: explaining effective knowledge sharing in multiunit companies. *Organization Science* 13(1): 232–248.

³ Aziz, K. A. – Harris, H. – Norhashim, M. (2011). University Research, Development & Commercialisation Management: A Malaysian Best Practice Case Study. *World Review of Business Research*, 1(2): pp.179–192.

⁴ Weijters, B. – Cabooter, E. – Schillewaert, N. (2010). The effect of rating scale format on response styles: The number of response categories and response category labels. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*. 27(3), 236–247.

⁵ Cohen, W. M. – Nelson, R. R. – Walsh, J. P. (2002). Links and Impacts: The Influence of Public Research on Industrial R&D. *Management Science*, Vol. 48, 1–23.

Selected universities are considered to be a great potential market for many industries. Universities are always looking for the opportunity to commercialize their research. It is a fact that companies need the scientific and technological achievements of various universities, but they cannot successfully do the commercialization of research in universities due to a variety of proposed scientific research projects by colleges and universities to meet the real needs of companies and markets as well. The issue, which was reported in 2009 by Swamidass and Vulasa, is that many university inventions have nothing to do with market needs, especially when industrial companies are reluctant to provide research funds for inventions. Also, many university inventions will always remain under the pressure of technology which is mostly considered a destructive factor in the market rather than market traction and it causes the market to continuously search for new inventions.⁶

To some extent, scientific and technological innovation in colleges and universities has often been imposed by the phenomenon of losing connection with the market. Only a few university researchers have stated a connection between university technology transfer and companies, but most of these transfers have not followed a correct understanding of markets. In addition, many colleges and universities have entered into this field with their research projects for the market needs regarding the limited knowledge in market research and understanding the technology related information. Levan et al (2010) have shown that technology and market needs are necessary to be considered by university researchers and for the commercialization of patents for effective technology transfer. In other words, a hybrid approach of research knowledge and demand in the industrial market for increasing the opportunities and achieving commercialization of research is required.⁷

The Nature of Scientific Knowledge and its Transfer Conditions

The commercial performance of knowledge and long-term competitiveness of firms in high-commercial environments seems to hinge critically on their capacity to monitor and tap, in an anonymous

⁶ Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

⁷ Luan, C. – Zhou, C. – Liu, A. (2010). Patent Strategy in Chinese universities: a comparative perspective. *Scientometrics*, 84(1): 53–63.

form, scientific and technological developments that have originated elsewhere.⁸

This means that new propositional knowledge emerging in academic research and more generally in the international innovation systems needs to be traced. Its usefulness, in terms of complementarities to the firm's own capabilities, needs to be assessed. A prerequisite for doing so is that the firm has sufficient cognitive "absorptive capacity", i.e. sufficient knowledge to understand the context and meaning of the information transmitted.⁹

The transmission of knowledge in encoded form is, however, not possible for all aspects of scientific research. Besides theoretical and empirical insights (whose publication in scientific journals constitutes the main objective of academic research), a variety of other forms of knowledge are essential to the scientific process. They are mainly differentiated from the former by their procedural characteristics and imply a substantial degree of tacitness.

The attraction of scientifically trained staff to business firms does not necessarily only serve the purpose of creating cognitive absorptive capacity in these firms. It also enables the firms to get a hold of tacit state-of-the-art knowledge from scientific research which cannot be transferred in other ways.¹⁰

However, by the very mode of transfer – the physical migration of the knowledge carriers into the commercial sphere – the knowledge carriers are cut off from the further development of that knowledge in the academic sphere. Even with considerable communication effort, it is, in most cases, not possible for a scientist who has left academic research to keep up with the rapid development of the tacit knowledge components there.¹¹

Therefore, the problem of transferring tacit state-of-the-art knowledge can always only temporarily be solved. To retain the tacit knowledge transfer, ever new cohorts of scientists and engineers from academic

⁸ Cohen, W. M. – Levinthal, D. A. (1989). Innovation and Learning: The Two Faces of R&D. *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 99, 569–596.

⁹ Szerlag, A. (2014). National diversity versus citizenship as social capital exemplified by Polish families living in the Vilnius Region. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 6/2, 3–13.

¹⁰ Duchak, O. (2014): Visual literacy in educational practice. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 6/2, 41–48.

¹¹ Zellner, C. (2003). The Economic Effects of Basic Research: Evidence for Embodied Knowledge Transfer via Scientists' Migration. *Research Policy*, Vol. 32, No. 10, pp. 1881–1895.

research need to be attracted into the commercial sphere with a frequency that depends on the decay time of the tacit knowledge they embody.¹²

Methodology

This study has been mostly conducted based on qualitative approach and an inductive method. It means that at first in the context and sentences (as units of analysis), repeatability of data was understood and the components related to knowledge commercialization were extracted from existing models and then the intended classification was done. Content analysis of qualitative data is mainly considered inductive and it attempts to reach a theoretical conclusion through direct reference to the data.

In this study, Harvard, Stanford, Cambridge, Kyoto and Singapore Universities were studied. The reason behind choosing these five universities was according to the Times rankings based on five criteria (education, research, citations, international image and relations with industry) that were evaluated to identify how universities succeed and why in the commercialization of knowledge and changing ideas into wealth. Therefore, based on the method of this study that was qualitative, the conducted studies on innovations and inventions and the way of connections of these centres with technology and the use of knowledge and research in universities were analyzed.

The research population included the conducted studies about commercialization of knowledge by researchers and teachers and students in and out of the selected universities in a thirty-year time period (from 1986 to 2016) on about 70 domestic and foreign articles.

Research tools

In this study, the method of triangulation was used for data gathering. This method is essentially a way of qualitative evaluation and an attempt to achieve convergent data.¹³ For data collection, the

¹² Bowden, V. (2000). *Managing to Make a Difference – Making An Impact On the Careers of Men and Women Scientists*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

¹³ Delavar, A. (2001). *Scientific and theoretical principles of a research in social and humanistic sciences*. Tehran: Roshd Publications.

researcher used the triangulation method of data gathering in three library ways (reading books, articles and related texts available on the Internet).

Findings

According to the conducted studies, in the commercialization of knowledge in universities, the factors of science and technology, realistic analysis of the market, identifying opportunities, knowledge dissemination, privatization, university planning, financing, investment for research and information management were identified as pervasive themes in the commercialization of knowledge. Infrastructures, policymaking and recognition of potential customers were major themes in these studies. Table 1 presents a summary of these items along with the organizer themes based on research findings.

Table (1) the main, pervasive and organizer themes in the commercialization of knowledge¹⁴

Organizer theme	Pervasive theme	Main theme
Knowledge should have commercial value	Science and technology	Infrastructures and policy
Knowledge as a particular commodity		
Availability		
Technological thinking		
Technology parks		
Disclosure of potential knowledge in marketing	Dissemination of knowledge	
Dealing in the transfer of intellectual property		
Technology transfer services		
Transition from the stage of pure science		
Transaction to the transfer of intellectual assets		
Transferring concession for intellectual assets derived from research		
Technology transfer service	University Planning	
Creating structures and needed investment to support intellectual property		

Protection of research results through intellectual property rights		
Paying attention to the public interests as well as those of inventors and authors		
Identifying the university external commitments to the intellectual property despite the arrangement of financial support to other advocates for the development of intellectual property by agents outside the university		
Strong protection of intellectual assets in value creation for university or community		
Conflict management and encouraging synergies with the mission of the university		
Intellectual Asset Management		
Culturalization of university		
University-industry Linkage		
Services and financial support		
Helping the researchers in obtaining patent protection for technology		
Services funding for the formation of new companies and risky transactions		
Securing the technology	Funding for research	
Supporting the common rights of researchers in relation to their products and intellectual efforts		
Focusing on countries of technology commercialization		
Universities should play a strengthening role in knowledge production and innovation		
Provider of human resources		
Creating intrinsic motivation		

¹⁴ Refer to the following resources and websites for accessing the main sources of the above Table www.provost.harvard.edu
Intellectual property, patents and licences, UK
Yal policy in intekental property patents and licensing agriments www.enterprise.com.ac.uk
www.imperialinnovations.co.uk

development of new adventurous businesses associated with management technologies	Data management	
Advising the university president on issues related to intellectual property management		Identifying potential customers
Protection of research results through intellectual property rights		
University professors should be supporters of non-local economic development Commercial capacity assessment		
Marketing for invention		
Focusing on the things that have most positive impacts on business		
Focusing on business incentives		
Registration of patent in due time		
Searching for business partners		
Identifying commercialization opportunities in the industry		
Dialogue on reasonable and fair conditions that reflect the role of transferred assets and expertise		
Market Analysis		
Negotiation of concession		
Assessing the social benefits of commercialization		
Business assessment of intellectual property	Identifying (internal) opportunities	
Identifying the research results that have potential commercial value		
Exploitation of foreign knowledge		
Training the managers for identifying commercialization opportunities		
Identification of practical programmes		

Conclusion

This research study reviewed the effective factors in the commercialization of knowledge in the world in selected universities. Nowadays the commercialization of university research has changed into one of the important fields of state and university research. Universities and active research institutions intend to create financial resources in both research and commercial activities. According to the results of the study, policymaking, university infrastructure, identifying opportunities and potential customers are some of the most important factors in the commercialization of knowledge. In this era of globalization and fierce competition, the aim of commercializing and its direction has an important role in the expansion of research activities and development of the country. The results of the present study show that in the commercialization of university research only support and financial services are not sufficient and acculturation, focusing on policies, management infrastructure, and rapid recognition of the market demands are also required for the successful commercialization of university research.

Development of Creativity in Schoolchildren through Art

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Fazylova, S. – Rusol, I. (2016). Development of Creativity in Schoolchildren through Art. Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal 8/2, 112–123.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the development of creativity, and the extent to which it can be fostered through arts within primary and junior classrooms. The paper presents an approach towards understanding and development of creativity, an overview of the current state of research and thinking on the relationship between the arts and creative development in schoolchildren. The study examined a number of issues about the effective development of creative abilities, offering some solutions and recommendations.

Key words: *creativity; schoolchildren; art; education; development*

Introduction

Human creativity is not a new subject of study by scientists. The nature of human abilities caused and causes huge interest in people at all times. In the past, the community did not have a special need to master art.

In the past, the society didn't attempt to understand the special needs of creative people. Talents emerged by themselves. People spontaneously created masterpieces of art, made scientific discoveries and invented, thus satisfying the needs of a developing human culture.

In modern times the situation has radically changed. And it requires from societies not stereotyped habitual actions, and dynamic, flexible thinking, or knowledge of contemporary art, but adaptation to the new conditions of the time, a creative approach to solving both large and small problems.

Given that the share of mental work dominates in almost all professions and constantly grows, and more and more practical work is passed on to machines, it is obvious that creative human abilities should be recognized as the most significant part of the intellect and issue of their development. That is one of the major problems in the education of the modern human.

After all, Cultural Property, accumulated by mankind, is the result of creative human activities. And how human society will move forward in the future will be determined by the creativity of the younger generation.¹

The article's inquiry subject is a pedagogical process, namely the process of development of schoolchildren's creative abilities.

The objective is to study the issue of the development of schoolchildren's creative abilities, namely those aspects that are necessary for teachers in this field. The following tasks:

- determining the main components of creativity based on the analysis of literature;
- stipulation of conditions favourable to the development of children's creativity;
- determination of guidelines and pedagogical tasks for the development of the creative abilities of students.

For the research topics described by this article the following methods of scientific and pedagogical research were used:

1. study, analysis and synthesis of the literature on this topic;
2. diagnosis of children's creative abilities;
3. study and generalization of pedagogical experience in the development of children's creative abilities.

1. Theoretical background

The development of creativity is a psychological concept that has been studied for generations. Existing literature shows that the concept of creativity has expanded into diversified fields, including the arts, science and business disciplines.² Researchers have long recognized that creativity can refer to a person, process, product, or environmental response within even a single context.³

Creativity is an elusive and contested concept. There have been many attempts to define it. Creativity has been described as 'a state of mind in which all our intelligences are working together' and as 'the ability to solve

¹ Березина, В. Г. – Викентьев, И. Л. – Модестов, С. Ю. (1994). *Детство творческой личности*. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Буковского.

² Stumpf, H. (1995). Scientific creativity: A short overview. *Educational Psychology review* 7, 225–241.

³ Rhodes, M. (1961). *An analysis of creativity*. Phi Delta Kappan 42, 305–310.

problems and fashion products and to raise new questions'.⁴ Few experts agree on a precise definition, but when we say the word 'creativity', everyone senses a similar feeling. When we are creative, we are aware of a special excitement.

Creativity can be understood as having the power or quality to express yourself in your own way. Children are naturally creative. They see the world through fresh, new eyes and then use what they see in original ways. One of the most rewarding aspects of working with children is the chance to watch them create.

The term "creativity," as it relates to the classroom, goes beyond art class and school projects. At its best, creativity in the classroom is about how a teacher captivates students and inspires them to learn. Teachers who are practised in the art of developing creativity are generally focused on creating a classroom culture that thrives on creativity. They build a repertoire of strategies designed to spark new ideas and bring out a spirit of creativity in students, and they adapt and create ideas for their own curriculum needs. What is needed is teaching that is innovative. Children need to experience the unpredictable and the uncertain. They need lessons that produce surprise. As Fisher argued, creative learners need creative teachers who provide both order and adventure, and who are willing to do the unexpected and take risks.⁵

Mihaela Roco⁶ states that being creative means creating something new, original and appropriate for reality. H. Jaoui⁷ refers to creativity "as the process of associating and combining pre-existing elements in new structures". Roșca⁸ defines creativity as "the ability or the capacity to produce something new and valuable". Other authors such as Margaret A. Boden⁹ believe that in general creativity means "creating new and original combinations using old ideas", but that these combinations should have a certain value.

⁴ Gardner, H. (1993). *Frames of mind: the theory of multiple intelligences* (2nd ed.). New York: Basic Books.

⁵ Fisher, R. (2002) *Creative Minds: Building Communities of Learning for the Creative Age. Paper presented at Teaching Qualities Initiative Conference*. Hong Kong Baptist University.

⁶ Roco, M. (2004). *Creativitate și inteligență emoțională*. Iași. Editura Polirom.

⁷ Jaoui, H. (1990). La créativité. Mode d'emploi. *Applications pratiques*. Paris: ESF.

⁸ Roșca, Al. (1981). *Creativitate generală și specifică*. Editura Academiei, București.

⁹ Boden, A. (1995). *The Creative Mind: Myths and Mechanism*. Basic Books, New York.

J. P. Guilford claimed that all people are creative and they can be distributed on a continuous scale of creativity. I. A. Taylor distinguishes five levels of creativity: expressive creativity, productive creativity, inventive creativity, innovative creativity and emerging creativity.

Sternberg¹⁰ argues that literature on creativity is limited, and often lacks conciseness. While scholars often disagree on what the definition of creativity entails, they do, however, agree that conceptualizations of creativity across the spectrum are variable and highly subjective. Lacking a sound definition of what creativity entails has many implications for studying this concept within classroom practices and the context of the educational system. The definition of creativity is subject to cultural and regional divergence, as westernized nations tend to perceive it as being innate intelligence and ability that is substantiated by a product or an effect.¹¹ Contrary to this, eastern views surrounding creativity see it as an act that an individual pursues in order to achieve personal fulfilment. While a degree of confusion arises from psychological theorists attempting to define creativity, a recurring theme throughout the literature is the systematization of four distinct facets of creativity:

- a) the creative person;
- b) process;
- c) environment;
- d) product¹²

The present study focuses on the development of creativity through art. Art has long been used as a tool to stimulate creativity, and early years professionals are set to benefit from a government strategy which forms partnerships with artists and other creative early years professionals.

Literature suggests that the arts are at the crux of this pedagogical shift to fostering creativity within the educational context.¹³ In the wake of preparing youth to thrive within the future societal domain, arts education develops creative individuals who view the world through a unique lens,

¹⁰ Sternberg, R. J. (2006). The nature of creativity. *Creativity Research Journal*, 18(1), 87–98.

¹¹ Schmidt, A. L. (2011). Creativity in science: Tension between perception and practice. *Creative Education*, 2(5), 435–445.

¹² Battey, M., Furnham, A. (2006). Creativity, intelligence, and personality: A critical review of the scattered literature. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs*, 132(4), 355–429.

¹³ Sheridan-Rabideau, M. (2010). Creativity repositioned. *Arts Education Policy Review*, 111, 54–58.

blurring the boundaries of national, racial and socioeconomic boundaries.¹⁴ Sheridan Rabideau suggests that it is the creative thinking manifest in arts-education that elicits entrepreneurial thinking. Furthermore, Christensen and Kirkland support this notion as they posit that art making is associated with higher order cognitive skills, allowing learners to develop a strong sense of self in relation to the greater society. Additionally,¹⁵ they assert that “artistic education can be considered a fertile area for the development of creativity, and is now a general learning goal within the current primary education curriculum.”¹⁶ Ultimately, it is vital to consider that curriculum documents at a global scale explicitly reference the importance of creative thinking within an educational context as a curricular goal.¹⁷ According to W. Lambert Brittain,¹⁸ author of *Creativity, Art, and the Young Child*, “The child’s personality often shines through loud and clear when he or she draws or paints. Brittain says that “Art activities not only reflect a child’s inner self: they help form it.”

2. Statement on the main results of the study

One of the areas in addressing the challenges of creativity, the aesthetic education of students, or education through art, is inseparably linked with the problem of the rational use of schoolchildren’s free time and the problem of how to redirect their interests towards creativity. These days the interests of students and teenagers are mainly aimed at computer technology (games, etc.).

Teenagers perceive art only as contemplators, without taking part in the making, not testing their creativity. The solution to this problem is expanding the network of clubs based on arts and crafts, drawing and

¹⁴ Christensen, L. M. – Kirkland, L. D. (2010). Early childhood visual arts curriculum: Freeing spaces to express developmental and cultural palettes of mind. *Childhood Education*, 86(2), 87–91.

¹⁵ De Backer, F. – Lombaerts, K. – De Mette, T. – Buffel, T. – Elias, W. (2012). Creativity in artistic education. Introducing artists into primary schools. *International Journal of Art & Design*, 31(1), 53–66.

¹⁶ Prummel, J. (2006). *Het deurenpaais, over creativiteit en onderwijs. The Palace of Doors, about Creativity and Education*. Brussels: CANON.

¹⁷ Hadzigeorgiou, Y. – Fokialis, P. – Kabouropoulou, M. (2012). Thinking about creativity in science education. *Creative Education*, 3(5), 603–611.

¹⁸ Brittain, W. (1979). *Creativity, Art, and the Young Child*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.

design, using art therapy, holding workshops and competitions, and bringing it a large number of students.¹⁹

It is important to reach students in their extracurricular time with various forms of group and individual educational work.²⁰ Arts and crafts work gives a great opportunity for professional awareness, familiarization with the creative laboratories of artists and professions of artistic production and traditional crafts, the development of which our country pays great attention to.

Parents and teachers have many opportunities to help children develop mentally, socially and emotionally. Art promotes creativity, builds self-confidence, and teaches task analysis and participation in group and individual work.

One of the goals of art education, whether in the home or school, is to make children more creative regardless of where their creativity will be used. Parents know that even siblings are highly individual. No two youngsters express themselves in the same way. Creativity brings out the child's personality. Viktor Lowenfeld,²¹ in *Creative and Mental Growth*, says, "To suppress these individual differences, to emphasize the final product, to reward one youngster over another, goes against the basic premises of creative expression."

The problem is that few people engaged purposefully and consciously develop these skills in their children or students in general. All this is left unattended, to the discretion of the student or to chance. And the child who possesses great creative talents, who had great creative potential and who could manifest him or herself in a particular area, becomes ordinary and commonplace.²²

This should be done in such a format where students will be tempted to do art because of their personal interest and because of a sense of teamwork, self-responsibility, and responsibility to classmates, friends and teachers. A pupil, like any person, aims for something new, original,

¹⁹ Выготский, Л. С. (1997). *Воображение и творчество в дошкольном возрасте*. Санкт-Петербург: Союз.

²⁰ Абдулханова-Славянская, К. А. (1988). *Активность и сознание личности как субъекта деятельности: Психология личности в социальном обществе*. Москва: Наука.

²¹ Lowenfeld, V. (1957). *Creative and Mental Growth*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co, Inc.

²² Бака, И. И. (1985). *Теоретические основы подготовки школьников к творческому труду в сфере материального производства*. Москва: Издательство Московского государственного педагогического института.

and extraordinary. People glance at familiar forms but stop at something unknown, even strange at first.

Even preschoolers, having understood and learned their toys, are not inclined to use them in their games. They try to apply and use them as another subject with other features not characteristic and intended for them originally. Therefore, the ability to create and understand art and beauty lies in the child from an early age, initially through nature.

Recently a lot of people have become ordinary, second rate, not seeking any constructive purpose – non-creative people. They are interested in computers, the Internet and technology. However, it is also necessary to develop creativity in a child in the first place for their own sake. Only a creative person can always find a way in extraordinary situations. It is necessary to develop creative skills at the pre-school age and we should deal more seriously with this problem at school age. It is here that the full identity of the child is developed.²³ The teachers' task is to help the child to develop their creative talents and become creative.

Often, children come to school and after a while they no longer want to go there. Do they lose their interest? How can we encourage schoolchildren to keep their creativity, their personality, how can we help them to become creative, extraordinary personalities, how can we help them to cope with their childish but no less important issues? If we remember what is particularly important for the formation of children's abilities, their feelings, and ability to think, we can help them to enable their fullest possible development. It is necessary to provide children with as many opportunities as possible and, of course, help them to join the world of creativity, imagination, fantasy, and art. Many educators and psychologists have considered creativity in different ways.

From a philosophical point of view this activity serves as generating something qualitatively new and interesting never having been done before. But from the point of view of psychology, creativity acts as a process of creating a new set of personal properties which promote children's involvement in the creative process. Acting as the abilities of an individual and being the subjective conditions for the successful implementation of creative activity, creativity is understood as pedagogical.²⁴

²³ Levin, V. A. (1993). *Educating creativity*. Tomsk: Peleng.

²⁴ Андреев, В. И. (1988). *Диалектика воспитания и самовоспитания творческой личности*. Казань: Издательский Дом Казаньского Университета.

The following is referred to as creativity by psychologists: vigilance in search of problems, the ability to “curtail”, the ability to “clutch” (linking new information with the old), the ability to transfer, the willingness to give the right information, intelligence flexibility, speech fluency, ability to finishing something, and so on. Thus, creativity is a vital matter at all times. As mentioned above it is necessary to develop creative abilities from the pre-school age and more seriously to deal with this problem at school age as it is a more conscious age. It is here that the complete, versatile personality of the child is formed.

One of the pressing problems of extra-curricular activities that requires a timely solution is the development of creative abilities, and it is particularly important to ensure a successful start to children’s life at the school stage. In pre-school education in kindergartens, there are classes in Fine Arts, Arts and crafts, design, extracurricular activities such as a club called “Skilful hands” and others, where children are taught to work with different materials (clay, paper, natural materials, etc.). Modelling clay is a preparatory stage before working with papier-mâché.

Acquaintance with some handicrafts, particularly toys, certain types of utensils, paintings and decorative molding techniques available will have a positive impact on the comprehensive development of the individual child and will raise their aesthetic taste and creativity, ingrain in children the basics of spatial thinking, develop their fine motor skills, prepare the child's hand for more complex activities, and develop imagination.²⁵ With the same purpose children are taught creativity, or art with other materials which have their own specific functions provided by other technological expression of creative possibilities.

This is an initial and important step in feeling the interest in learning something new, in experiencing a sense of joy from the results of their work. At school, educational work with students in the classroom and extra-curricular activities on technology, fine arts, design, and decorative art, must be presented first in the curriculum, and then at the request of the children, we should invite them to sessions at a club on artistic material.²⁶ Work with clay and paper, etc., is often associated with hard, fine study of details, decorative compositions, so only the most diligent and hard-working children may be interested in this work and do it for a long period of time.

²⁵ Астахов, А. И. (1986). *Воспитание творчеством: Книга для учителя*. Москва: Просвещение.

²⁶ Волков, И. П. (1985). *Приобщение школьников к творчеству*. Москва: Педагогика.

If younger students are taught the basics of craft – the first steps of working with clay, the older students are able to perform more complex work, to embody some decorative images of conventional materials. The principal aim is the need to develop creativity through understanding art. First, it is necessary to look at the development of creative abilities and methods of development of pupils' creativity at different ages. The task of teachers is to help the child to discover and develop his/her creative talents and capabilities, to become creative. To do this we should:

- introduce the main types of arts and crafts and reveal the complex nature of folk art
- develop the emotional responsiveness of children to works of decorative art
- form the basics of aesthetic perception
- contribute to the development of children's cognitive and creative activity in fine, decorative and artistic creativity
- intensify independent creative research in solving artistic problems
- engrain love towards work and towards their country

Creativity also can be an effective tool in psychotherapy. Most people think, "How is it possible to connect creativity with psychotherapy?" But it is. Since creativity is the means of human expression and reflection on the world surrounding us, psychologists use creativity to help children start a dialogue, to overcome stress, and explore the various aspects of their own personality. In this case, arts and crafts is a good way to achieve this goal.

In psychology, the use of creativity, artistic techniques for the treatment of mental disorders and the stabilization of the mental state of the person is referred to as art therapy.²⁷ In art therapy psychotherapeutic techniques integrate with the creative process to improve mental health. Recently the method of art therapy has frequently been used in training.

The aesthetic education of students is an ongoing process versatile by nature. Arts and crafts is one of these parts, and at the same time a means of art-therapy, using the creative process of creating a work of art to improve the physical, mental and emotional state of people of all ages.

This method is based on the belief that the creative process and artistic expression helps people to resolve conflicts and problems, to practise interpersonal skills, manage behaviour, reduce stress, increase

²⁷ Никитин, Б. (1994). *Развивающие игры*. Москва: Знание.

self-esteem and achieve an understanding of ourselves. All this allows the teacher and the student to improve the educational process.

In the learning process most of today's children face several challenges that impede aesthetic education. The main task of the teacher is to help in overcoming the various human problems through art using the method of art therapy. The leading concept in this type of therapy is art and everything that is not associated with it must be swept aside. The use of art therapy in educational institutions remains an important question. On the one hand this is a fashionable innovation, which makes it possible for a relatively short period to obtain results, thanks to Western developments and domestic experts.²⁸

In the traditional system of education there are such subjects as fine art, design and labour (technology), where the child acquires certain skills of drawing and modelling. Unlike art therapy, in the lessons children receive marks for their work in numerical terms, while in the classes in art therapy they do not receive evaluations such as: it is drawn, fashioned, cut, woven "well" or "bad". They have the right to speak on the progress of their work, the emotions, thoughts which they had during the work.

Interaction with paints, modelling clay, clay, paper, and different materials allows people to carry out the following tasks of the therapeutic and learning process:²⁹

- secure operation with aggression;
- overcoming emotional problems;
- expression through creative thought and feeling that you cannot always express verbally;
- developing pre-school and primary school children's fine motor skills and colour perception;
- overcoming language barriers;
- encouraging interaction with other children.
- developing aesthetic perception.

The education system is always in the focus of public attention, and any responsible government is committed to its improvement.

However, the higher the educational standards and the heavier the workload, the more frequently teachers begin to experience increasing "burnout." Therefore, keeping the art method in different classes has a positive effect on learning, enabling them to more fully realize the

²⁸ Полуянов, Д. (1985). *Воображение и способности*. Москва: Знание.

²⁹ Shusterman, M. N. (1994). *A tutor's "Cookbook"*. Norilsk.

potential of personal development. Similar lessons can improve self-esteem and help students control their behaviour. And this is very important because control of behaviour and emotions helps people make decisions, make the right choices and take responsibility for the subsequent results.

Setting goals of development of the creative abilities of the individual, you must clearly understand the qualities of the personality structure in all its complex diversity.³⁰ Understanding the personal identity of a young person allows us to create the necessary conditions for the opening and development of his or her creative abilities.

The teacher requires a deep understanding of the basic concepts characterizing the possibilities of the individual for successful design of his or her educational activities for the development of the creative abilities of students. It is necessary to understand the meaning and significance of the concepts of “ability” and “talent”. Sometimes the terms “capacity” and “talent” are closely related, and it is not always possible to distinguish them.

It should be understood that ability is a natural talent of being able and skilled to do something. It is known that the capacity cannot be reduced to human knowledge and skills only. They manifest themselves primarily in the speed, depth and mastery of methods and techniques in some activities and they are internal psychological adjustments, which are conditions of the possibility of their acquisition.³¹

The work on the development of students’ creative potential cannot ignore such phenomena as talent and genius.

Talent is a high level of ability. It is characterized by the product originality of the representative of any profession that requires creative problem solutions. In a particular field talent includes a number of abilities.

Genius is the highest degree of giftedness, which is expressed in work historically significant to society.

All these personal qualities to a certain extent are linked to each other. They are based on different abilities, high cognitive process level, motivation and orientation of the individual that allows goals to be achieved.

³⁰ Выготский, Л. С. (1986). *Психология искусства*. Москва: Искусство.

³¹ Чекмарёв, Н. П. (1982). *Уроки творчества*. Москва: Высшее образование.

Conclusion

Creativity is an important human characteristic. It is perhaps best to think of it as a process, requiring a mixture of ingredients, including personality traits, abilities and skills. Early years staff can help young children to develop their creativity by providing a creative environment, helping children to build up their skills through play, behaving creatively themselves and praising children's creative efforts.

Schools and society must help our children develop to become happy, well-adjusted citizens, rather than pupils who can just pass a test and get through school. We must ensure that our children can think creatively, skilfully, and "outside the box". The arts are a vital part of doing this and of ensuring that every student can achieve his or her potential and contribute fully to our society. By considering how educators define and implement various strategies to develop creativity among their students, hopefully we will better be able to understand how creativity can be fostered through arts integrations at the primary-junior level.

Cohabitation – the Alternative Life of Dyad

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The article presents cohabitation as a substantial form of social life. It is characterized by the common life of two people without formalization of their relationship. It constitutes the phase preceding the marriage, it may occur between the marriages or replace them directly. Cohabitation becomes more and more popular due to its formula of lack of commitment. Despite of the various opinions on thus cohabitation, it constitutes a social phenomenon being more widely spread in a society encompassing with its span people of different age and status.

Key words: *cohabitation; alternative forms of family life; marriage*

Introduction

There is no doubt that cohabitation is an extremely important form of social life – ‘the parallel life’. It constitutes a phase that precedes the marriage, it is the stage that occurs between the marriages or it replaces them directly. In the view of the abovementioned arguments, I would like to take into consideration of this analysis the heterosexual relationships only. My attempt is to analyze this unusual phenomenon of social life, which bonds people together making them want to be together, even only for some time. Cohabitation can be perceived and analyzed differently, nevertheless the fact that it is an actual and significant phenomenon cannot be ignored. It cannot be disregarded, because of its contemporary social popularity as well as its span embraces the few preceding generations. Without any doubt, this dyad has to be noticed and reflected upon since it constitutes a model of building a communities within the modern social groups.

There is also an educational point of view to consider. Cohabitation educates in the narrow sense – a couple of people in an informal relationship learns how to coexist as well as in a broad sense – cohabitation is a culturally popularized, or even a promoted phenomenon. Media coverage that approve of such forms of social life can also be regarded as programs promoting educational content.

What the cohabitation really is?

Krystyna Slany lays an inquiry about its quintessence and she responds to it in a synoptic way: *Putting it the easiest way, cohabitation relates to a common, but informal life.*¹ Cohabitation constitutes an alternative form of the family contributing to the extension of this concept in a commonly understood and perceived way.² Pondering upon the universality of the notion of the family, one can extend its definition from its classic understanding as a relationship between the man, woman and a child, which is created when the more or less formal bond appears between the partners.³ The term *cohabitare*, which means a life together denotes *a legally unsanctioned relationship of a heterosexual couple.*⁴ It is also defined as *a state in which a sexually active, unmarried couple run a household together.*⁵ The term cohabitation is replaced by such terms as: informal, unsanctioned relationship.⁶ The informal phrases describing this phenomenon are the following: “to shack up” or “live in sin” etc.

Concubinage is a parallel term to cohabitation used in similar contexts. *It relates to a permanent, informal relationship between a man and woman, who are not married, but they maintain the mental, physical and economic relations. It constitutes a factual relation as opposed to a legal relation.*⁷

Forms and shapes of cohabitation

There are many forms of cohabitation. The two major categories this phenomenon falls into are: premarital and extramarital. K. Slany

1 Slany, K. (2008). *Alternatywne formy życia małżeńsko-rodzinnego w ponowoczesnym świecie*, Kraków: Nomos, p. 135.

2 Kwak, A. (2005). *Rodzina w dobie przemian. Małżeństwo i kohabitacja*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak”, p. 88.

3 Marody, M. – Giza-Poleszczuk, A. (2004). *Przemiany więzi społecznych*, Warszawa: „Scholar”, p. 186.

4 Janicka, I. (2008). Dynamika związku a wzajemna zależność kohabituujących partnerów, In M. Bogdanowicz, M. Lipowska (ed) *Rodzinne, edukacyjne i psychologiczne wyznaczniki rozwoju*, Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza „Impuls”, p. 71.

5 Kwak, A. (2001). Kierunki przemian kohabitacyjnych. In T. Rostowska (ed), *Psychologia rodziny. Małżeństwo i rodzina wobec współczesnych wyzwań*, Warszawa: Difin, p. 47.

6 Ibidem, p. 48.

7 Piechnik-Borusowska, J. (2001). Czy wolne związki będą alternatywą dla życia małżeńskiego i rodzinnego w Polsce? „*Edukacja Dorosłych*”, Issue 2, p. 61.

distinguishes a short and long-lived cohabitation.⁸ Taking into consideration its disparate functions Anna Kwak recognizes the following types of cohabitation.⁹

- *It precedes the marriage and constitutes a period of the prolonged dating,*
- *It precedes the marriage and constitutes a preparation time for getting married, testing each other, strengthening the mutual relations without the responsibility for the spouse and children,*
- *Is an alternative for marriage, especially for the couples which do not intend to get married,*
- *Is an alternative form of unmarried life stemming from the ideology of independence.*

Jolanta Piechnik-Borusowska distinguishes two groups:¹⁰

- free relationships, which have no history,
- free relationships (of previously married partners).

The scale of this phenomenon is actually barely measurable. Without any doubt, such relationships are common, however they cannot be exactly determined statistically.¹¹ This aspect is pointed out by Krystyna Slany.¹² There can be observed a significant change consisting in the popularization of the cohabitated relationships. Census from 1988 indicated that the families created from the informal relationships constituted only 1.2 % of all the families. In the end of the 1990s, such relationships' span amounted to about 300 thousands and in about 10% of which children were born.¹³ Despite such a span, in 2001 Krystyna Kluzowa stated that *the extent of the cohabitation are scarce in Poland in contrast to the scale it has reached in the other west European countries.*¹⁴ Cohabitation however, is not easily statistically classifiable.

⁸ Slany, K. (2008). *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁹ Kwak, A. (2001). Kierunki przemian rodziny – alternatywy dla małżeństwa, „*Roczniki Socjologii Rodziny*”. Issue XIII, p. 23.

¹⁰ Piechnik-Borusowska, J. (2001). *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

¹¹ Janicka, I. (2003). Małżeństwo czy związek niezalegalizowany?, In I. Janicka – T. Rostowska, *Psychologia w służbie rodziny*, Łódź: Wydaw. Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, p. 68.

¹² Slany, K. (2008). *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

¹³ Piechnik-Borusowska, J. (2001). *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁴ Kluzowa, K. (2001). Sytuacja demograficzna rodziny polskiej lat dziewięćdziesiątych i jej konsekwencje społeczne. In M. Ziemska (ed), *Rodzina współczesna*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, p. 17.

There are no statistically clear-cut social frames of this phenomenon as relationships of this kind are characterized as disparate, informal, non-standard and they are spread through the long period of time. Similarly to the state of engagement, which has a nearly legalized status, but is not fully institutionalized, statistically unregistered. The second phenomenon described is actually linked by a formal private act – proposal, engagement and the final decision of a couple to get married. The most precise data would probably be drawn from the jewelers selling engagement rings. In other cases, the family, friends and facebook share the knowledge. Information about cohabitating couples is much scarcer.

The reasons for choosing cohabitation as a form of relationship

The few examples of opinions indicating reasons for choosing this kind of informal relationship are presented below. Iwona Janicka includes the following patterns of perceiving cohabitation:¹⁵

- the time for institutionalization of our relationship has not come yet,
- the unwillingness to formalize the relationship,
- testing the relationship.

In Iwona Janicka's understanding, the most common reasons for living in cohabitation are the following:¹⁶

- decision that this is not the right time to move the relationship to the next level, determination of the external factors,
- unwillingness to formalize the relationship via marriage, which is compensated by the cohabitation constituting an alternative, which is stipulated by the emotional factors and expectations,
- putting the relationship to test, which is based on the emotional-logical analysis. The partners wish to live together, but first they have to verify whether they will be fine together.

J. Piechnik-Borusowska indicates that the motives for which, people remain in the free relationships depend on its type. The following incentives for choosing the free relationships are accentuated in the group of people, who have never been in the relationship before:

- one's own immaturity to start a permanent relationship,
- the wish to be independent,

¹⁵ Janicka, I. (2009). *Perspektywy związków..*, op. cit., p. 48.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 48.

- the economic necessity (living together is easier and more economic),
- the willingness to get to know each other better,
- the lesser responsibility,
- the necessity forced by the living conditions (e.g., getting a job nearby),
- one's own negative experiences from the childhood.

On the other hand, in the relationships between people, who had been married before the following reasons for choosing cohabitation are highlighted:

- the impossibility to get married (one of the partners is divorced),
- disillusion connected with the previous relationships and reluctance to repeat those patterns,
- the value of independence (including financial one),
- fewer stressful situations in case of parting.¹⁷

Marriage and cohabitation

The opinions on marriages and cohabited relationships are divergent. There are more and more views advocating cohabitated relationships as the only true and authentic relationships of the future, at the same time marriage is perceived as an archaic form, which does not live up to the contemporary conditions and expectations. On the other hand, there is an opinion that marriage constitutes the only valid and irreplaceable form of people's coexistence.¹⁸

The attempt to compare the experiences of cohabitating and married couples can provide an intriguing insight into those phenomena. A collation of the aspects of those two types of relationships is presented beneath.

¹⁷ Piechnik-Borusowska, J. (2001). *op. cit.*, p. 63–64.

¹⁸ Janicka, I. (2003). *Matżeństwo czy związek ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

Comparison of the chosen aspects of cohabitation and marriage

L.p.		Marriage	Cohabitation
1.	Status	Permanent relationship	Temporary/permanent relationship
2.	Commitments	Permanent	Short-lived or none
3.	Dependence	Demarcated by the financial community, predictable and real	Lack of financial community, Emotional community
4.	Reliance and trust	Long-lived	Spontaneous
5.	Sociability	More common friends, no distance	Lesser number of common friends, exposed to distance
6.	Goals	Common and individual	Individual needs and development

Janicka, I. (2008). Dynamika związku a wzajemna zależność kohabituujących partnerów, In M. Bogdanowicz, M. Lipowska (ed). *Rodzinne, edukacyjne i psychologiczne wyznaczniki rozwoju*, Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls", pp. 71–82.

Marriage except of the emotional sphere, common responsibilities and rules – financial community. Cohabitation is based on the emotional sphere, which is in this case elevated to the priority. Married couples constantly provide support to each other and in cohabitation it may happen casually. The reason for such state stems from the lesser reliance and stability of their mutual responsibilities. The cohabitating couples have less mutual friends and they are much more likely to be exposed to the distance from their families and friends. Social support is more readily translatable to the marriage as opposed to free relationships.

It is related to the fact that cohabitating couples are more focused on realization their individual than common goals. As a consequence, such relationships are more prone to failure and change of partners.¹⁹ The concept of marriage is not rejected by the cohabitating couples as it strictly interweaving with it. Cohabitation constitutes a prologue to it, it occurs after its resolution or between another marriages. Thus, cohabitation can be perceived as a two-way solution.²⁰

The other significant differences between these two concepts pertains to the age of the partners. People entering into marriage are often prevaillingly young and the middle-aged partners constitute a minority in this case. Cohabitating couples are more diverse group as far as the age is concerned. While married couples are concerned about the interdependent relations, couples in the free relationships care about

¹⁹ Janicka, I. (2008). *Dynamika związku...*, op. cit., pp. 71–74.

²⁰ Kwak, A. (2001). *Kierunki przemian*, op. cit., pp. 23–26.

their own independence. Representatives of the formal relationships take up commitments with their families in an unequivocal and clear way, while the cohabitating couples undertake the common tasks more inconsistently.²¹

Iwona Janicka, who investigates the phenomenon of cohabitation suggests that the lower quality of the informal relationships in comparison to the marriages is observable, especially when it does not precede it, but constitutes an alternative for it. The quality of married relationships turns out to be poorer between those partners, who have cohabitated beforehand. By contrast, the time of the cohabitation is a variable in the view of the so called "the cohabitation effect", which in case of the prolongation of the cohabitation may threaten that such a couple may never enter into the marriage.²²

Lack of formal structure is the aspect that is indicated by the cohabiting partners as a positive side. They emphasize the importance of building the individual and personal side of life. Certainly, there is the other side of the coin. Jean Guitton relates to the parents of young couples entering into marriage as *those who must accept the birth of the couple constituting a new structure, not the parallel collation of two individuals*. The researcher associates the marriage with the metaphor: *"the closed and sealed garden"*. Guitton indicates that the relations between parents and children, who have their own families differ substantially from relations they had before marriage.²³

Meanwhile, the informal relationship does not have such clear-cut boundaries separating the couple from the families they come from. In fact, the separation does not bear such strong consequences as it is not connected with the change in structure as in the case of marriage. Surely, it does not concern the so called "inveterate cohabitants". Cohabitation results in characteristic suspension of the social roles. The young adults are partners for each other. If the cohabitation constitutes a premarital stage they eventually become engaged, who promise each other that they will formalize their relationship. Otherwise, if they acknowledge the status of their relationship as informal one, they do not fully enter into and fulfill their social roles of parents-law, son-in-law and daughter-in-law. Undoubtedly, this nomenclature can be used by the family members in more free, casual and humorous than serious way.

²¹ Ibidem, p. 24.

²² Janicka, I. (2009). *Perspektywy związków...*, op. cit., pp. 48–49.

²³ Guitton, J. (1994). *Kobieta, Miłość, Rodzina*. Warszawa: PAX, p. 153.

Does the cohabitation constitute an alternative for marriage? To some extent yes. It appears to raise as a new form of family life. Anna Kwak conceptualizes it rather as a process not as an event. However, the same thing can be applied to a contemporary marriage. It undergoes a process of change as well. It is subject to alternation from the institution to the relationship fulfilling the personal needs of the partners. It starts from the particle of community to the emotional relationship. This aspect links marriage and cohabitation bringing their common features.

Aldona Żurek poses a serious question. Can cohabitation be linked as a phenomenon, which causes that people withdraw from the family oriented models of living?²⁴ It cannot be answered unanimously. Cohabitation constitutes an open book of contemporary living, which consist in liberalization of the norms and customs. It is approved of by representatives of few generations, but at the same time it excites many controversies. Cohabiting couples take up their decisions on their own and often are under pressure of their families. Such situations happen in case of young people, who are capable of entering into marriage, but their decisions are impeded by their parents, who think the right moment has not appeared yet. There has a new social phenomenon arisen, namely the cohabiting seniors, who are not only not encouraged, but even deterring from the decision to formalize their relationship in the fear of losing the right to succession.

There remains a question unanswered: how the informal relationship influences marriage. Cohabitation is for sure a family-based relationship characterized by the individual approach connecting the partners together, which focuses on fulfilling their needs and temporary goals. It can be perceives both as a prelude to marriage and as its alternative – a substitute of marriage.

A. Kwak answers the question whether cohabitation can be treated as marriage's "rival" in the following way: both relationships have the same aim to attain – fulfilling the needs of the individual person in the relationship. They both change their character. Cohabiting couples, especially young people are planning their marriage.²⁵

²⁴ Żurek, A. (2001). Orientacja na mikrostrukturę a rodzina. In *Rodzina współczesna*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, p. 17.

²⁵ Kwak, A. (2005). *Rodzina w dobie.., op. cit.*, p. 295.

Few words about the dilemmas connected with the informal relationships

Cohabitation – the aspect of which is rarely mentioned – is related to the ethical dilemmas whether one can live with the man/woman, who are not espoused. Such reflections pertain especially to religious people.

Partners involved in informal relationship can be encumbered with the apprehensions connected with their common future. The close bond that appears between them lasts around few months, or even years. This state of affairs may spark the natural hopes for the stabilization. Sometimes, cohabitation does not end in marriage, which may bring about apprehension and irritation. Separations, on the other hand, after long years spent together do not in fact differ from divorce at all. Taking into consideration, the formal simplicity of separation, they cause such traumas as divorces.

There is also a phenomenon of the too much carelessness of entering into new relationships as well as ending the other ones. Such cohabitants may have troubles in attaining stabilization and balance understood in the context of one's stable existence with one partner.

There are many didactic spheres that need to be reflected upon within the researched phenomenon. They relate to questions concerning the idea of living together before the wedding and its impact on the quality and continuity of the subsequent marriage, the tendencies to a relationship breakdown by the cohabitating couple. From the pedagogical point of view, there is an important aspect of the formation of egocentric attitudes and actions based on individualistic tendencies, greater acceptance of divorce and lesser attachment to the institution of marriage. As a consequence women and men living in the free relationships may experience difficulties in developing the altruistic qualities, openness to sacrificial service, formation of the community spirit, including unconditional love, which is a crucial element of building the relationship. One may consider and reflect upon the fact to what extent people entering the cohabitating relationship are less prepared to enter the marriage. The significant issue is the level of safety reached in the cohabitating relationship. It especially relates to women who care about the stabilization in life. In the light of these multiple, but surely not sufficient range of questions and doubts, there emerges another essential matter that can be formulated in a following shape: Is it worth to decide oneself to cohabitation as a form of common life, which burdens young people with the various kinds of risk? To what extent can one experiment on oneself and other person's life being aware of the lesser or greater

consequences of the cohabitation as a relationship put to a test?²⁶ It seems that it is impossible to provide fully-fledged answers to these questions. Nonetheless, it is worth asking them to the young generations being about to choose their ways in life and encouraging them to consider these matters intellectually.

²⁶ J. Wojtczak, *Kohabitacja*, Centralna Diakonia Życia, www.oaza.pl/cdz/index.php/pl/spotkanie/2473-kohabitacja [15. 12. 2016.].

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