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## EARLY MODERN GDAŃSK IN MARIA BOGUCKA'S RESEARCH

### Abstract

Research on the socio-economic history of early modern Gdańsk marked the various stages of Maria Bogucka's research career, from her doctorate in 1955 to full professorship in 1981. She came from the research grouping of Marian Małowist, and her works, along with the contributions of other students from this circle, are among the most outstanding achievements of Polish historiography of the twentieth century. This article is devoted to discussing the most important Gdańsk-related works of Bogucka against the background of German-Polish controversies, which touched upon an assessment of the city's role in the history of Poland.

**Keywords:** Maria Bogucka, history of Gdańsk, history of trade and crafts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, German-Polish historical disputes

### I PRELIMINARY REMARKS

An attempt to evaluate the research and achievements of Professor Maria Bogucka (1929–2020) pertaining to early modern Gdańsk requires an outline of the political conditions that influenced the activities of historians dealing with these issues in the twentieth century. The thousand-year history of this port city located at the mouth of the Vistula River has often been something of a political football, arousing controversies that prevented the attainment of relatively objective scholarly results. Difficulties have arisen, in particular from interpretations of the role played by Gdańsk's German townspeople in the trade and politics of the Polish lands lying in the Vistula basin. The shared identity of Gdańsk from 1920 onwards, together with the adjacent rural areas of the Free City, did not solve the problem; on the contrary, the compromise made Gdańsk a lightning rod for the German-Polish

discord.<sup>1</sup> This was finally expressed on 1 September 1939, when the German forces attacked Polish military posts in Westerplatte, a district of Gdańsk, thus effectively starting the Second World War. The war – of course – did not break out because of the events in Gdańsk, but the emotions accompanying the discussion about the significance of this city, about its inhabitants, about the specific *genius loci*, continued after the end of the war significantly influencing the historical mentality of contemporary Poles (particularly relating to the symbolism of the defence of Westerplatte and the Polish Post Office in Gdańsk).<sup>2</sup> The war was also remembered from the German perspective; for example, the acclaimed novel of Nobel Prize winner Günter Grass,<sup>3</sup> published in 1959, spoke of general attitudes towards the expulsion of the German populace and the memory of the lands lost in 1945 to Poland. This also concerned the specific ‘Polonization’ or ‘Slavicization’ of the history of the city of Gdańsk, coupled with the reconstruction of the historic centre of Gdańsk;<sup>4</sup> and here we must also consider how the city is part of the contemporary history of Poland: the massacre of workers in 1970; the Solidarity revolution led by Lech Wałęsa in 1980; or the recent fractious discussions around the Museum of the Second World War.<sup>5</sup>

After 1989 and the establishment of relations between Poland and a reunified Germany, some emotional lines of this historical dispute

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<sup>1</sup> The historical past of Gdańsk (‘Gdańsk a Polska’) was the theme one of the last pre-war issues of *Wiadomości Literackie* (23 July 1939), which featured a leading article by Ksawery Pruszyński, ‘Miasto niegdyś nasze’, *Wiadomości Literackie*, xvi, 31/32 (1939).

<sup>2</sup> See the films *Wolne miasto* [The Free City] by Zespół Filmowy Rytm, 1958, and *Westerplatte* by Zespół Filmowy Rytm, 1967, both films directed by Stanisław Różewicz.

<sup>3</sup> Günter Grass, *Die Blöchtrommel* (Neuwied–Berlin, 1959), published in Polish as *Blaszany bębnek*, transl. Sławomir Błaut (Warszawa, 1979), and the Gdańsk trilogy *Katz und Maus* (Neuwied–Berlin–Spandau, 1961) as well as *Hundejahre* (Neuwied–Berlin, 1963); *Kot i mysz*, transl. Irena and Egon Naganowski (Warszawa, 1963); *Psie lata*, transl. Sławomir Błaut (Gdańsk, 1990). See Hanspeter Brode, *Die Zeitgeschichte im erzählenden Werk von Günter Grass. Versuch einer Deutung der Blechtrommel und der ‘Danziger Trilogie’* (Bern–Frankfurt am Main, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> On the controversy relating to the reconstruction of the historic centre, see Jacek Friedrich, *Odbudowa Głównego Miasta w Gdańsku w latach 1945–1960* (Gdańsk, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> See Paweł Machcewicz, *Muzeum* (Kraków, 2017); Janusz Marszałec (ed.), *Historia jako pokusa. Spojrzenie przez pryzmat Westerplatte* (Gdańsk, 2021).

were addressed. Given the fact that this war-time generation has mostly passed, we can now look more objectively at the debate over the historical identity of the city, the character of the local urban culture, and its German inhabitants, not only in the period 1920–45 but also when the city was under the rule of the Teutonic Order in the Middle Ages (1309–1454), when Hanseatic culture was preeminent; and in early modern times, when the Protestant metropolis was under the rule of Catholic Polish kings until 1793.<sup>6</sup> Gdańsk's historiography until 1920, and then during the period of the Free City, as well as after the end of the Second World War, when Maria Bogucka began her historical studies, encompassed nationalist, state-building and ideological pressures (nationalism, Nazism, communism).

It is also worth emphasising that more intensive research on the history of Gdańsk against the background of the region developed relatively late and was primarily associated with the establishment of the West Prussian Historical Society [Westpreußische Geschichtsverein] in 1880.<sup>7</sup> These studies conducted by German historians were not wanting for their surfeit of facts, but they principally looked to emphasise the differences and problems that the inhabitants of Gdańsk had with the Polish-Lithuanian state, which led to the conclusion that the flourishing of Gdańsk in the sixteenth to mid-eighteenth centuries had happened not because of the city's ties with Poland, but despite them. Describing early modern Gdańsk through Prussia's national optics of the late nineteenth century, the *Kulturkampf* period, and then the nationalism of the early twentieth century gave rise to the omission of inconvenient facts that failed to fit with the negative stereotype of Polishness cultivated in German popular culture and historical memory. It needs to be emphasised that Gdańsk, a provincial city in the nineteenth century, suddenly and unexpectedly found itself as the focus of international politics

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<sup>6</sup> On Gdańsk in Polish-German historiography see the synthetic work: Peter O. Loew, *Danzig und seine Vergangenheit, 1793 bis 1997. Die Geschichtskultur einer Stadt zwischen Deutschland und Polen* (Osnabrück, 2003), published in Polish as *Gdańsk i jego przeszłość. Kultura historyczna miasta od końca XVIII wieku do dzisiaj*, transl. Janusz Mosakowski (Gdańsk, 2003).

<sup>7</sup> Rudolf Damus, 'Der Westpreußische Geschichtsverein in den ersten 25 Jahren seiner Tätigkeit', *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, xlvii (1904), 1–16; Jerzy Serczyk, 'Gdańskie czasopismo historyczne', *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins, 1880–1941*, *Zapiski Historyczne*, xlvii, 3 (1982), 23–43.

and historiography only during the peace negotiations after the First World War and Germany's territorial losses to a reborn Poland in 1918–20. Examples are the readings on history by Szymon Askenazy (1919)<sup>8</sup> and the polemics of Erich Keyser (1921), published in various languages.<sup>9</sup> Apart from works with primarily propaganda overtones, the Polish side, unlike the German side, tried to situate the history and development of the city within the vast structure of the entire Polish state, which the Vistula River linked. Late medieval and early modern Gdańsk, from the incorporation of Royal Prussia into Poland in 1454 (1466) until the end of the eighteenth century, was treated as an integral part of the economic, social and cultural structure of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, despite its German population, its Hanseatic culture and its political autonomy. Therefore, it is possible to imagine studying and understanding the history of Prussia and Germany without Gdańsk, which is visible in numerous German syntheses of the history of Prussia or Germany as a whole. But without the presence of Gdańsk, it is impossible to reconstruct the correct image of a pre-partitioned Poland. This applies both to the participation of the inhabitants of Gdańsk in the political life of the country, the influence on the elections of Polish kings, and above all on the

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<sup>8</sup> Szymon Askenazy, *Gdańsk a Polska* (Warszawa, 1919). This work, prepared for the peace talks in Paris in order to present the arguments of the Polish side, was also published in French (*Dantzig et la Pologne*, Paris, 1919), German (*Danzig und Polen*, Warszawa, 1919; Warszawa, 1930<sup>2</sup>) and English (*Dantzig and Poland*, [London], 1921).

<sup>9</sup> Erich Keyser, *Danzigs Geschichte* (Danzig, 1921; Danzig, 1928<sup>2</sup>); see Erich Keyser (ed.), *Der Kampf um die Weichsel: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des polnischen Korridors* (Berlin–Leipzig, 1925). Unfortunately, we do not have a critical analysis of the achievements of this outstanding and controversial nationalist researcher, who was a member of the NSDAP, and in 1950 a co-founder of the Herder-Institut in Marburg, see Zenon H. Nowak, 'Historycy gdańscy – Erich Keyser i Walther Recke', in Andrzej Tomczak (ed.), *Dzieje historiografii Pomorza Gdańskiego i Prus Wschodnich 1920–1939 (1944): kierunki, ośrodki, najwybitniejsi przedstawiciele. Materiały sesji w Toruniu 15–16 XI 1991 r.* (Toruń, 1992), 103–12; Alexander Pinwinkler, 'Volk, Bevölkerung, Rasse, and Raum. Erich Keyser's Ambiguous Concept of a German History of Population, ca. 1918–1955', in Ingo Haar and Michael Fahlbusch (eds), *German scholars and ethnic cleansing: 1919–1945* (New York, 2005), 86–99. For a synthetic approach to Keyser's role in German-Polish historical disputes, see Jörg Hackmann, *Ostpreußen und Westpreußen in deutscher und polnischer Sicht. Landeshistorie als beziehungsgeschichtliches Problem* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 205–52.

economy and organisation of grain and forestry (gentry manor farms as the basis of the economic system of Poland in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries).

Without this necessary nationwide backdrop, Paul Simson's great unfinished synthesis of 1918 remains only an erudite collection of facts.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, Polish research was directed primarily towards determining long-term economic trends related to price movements and the terms of trade.<sup>11</sup> The most important achievements of Polish historiography before 1939 include source collections by Julian Pelc and Tadeusz Furtak, devoted to price movements on the Gdańsk market from the sixteenth century to 1815,<sup>12</sup> as well as lists of elementary disasters affecting the economic situation of Gdańsk and the whole of the country.<sup>13</sup> These works referred to the methodological postulations created in the circle of the Lwów school of Franciszek Bujak (1875–1953).<sup>14</sup> Despite these efforts, until 1945, the history of Gdańsk remained the domain of German historiography. This changed radically as a result of the Second World War and the incorporation of Gdańsk into the borders of post-war Poland, with its resultant ethnic changes, when German researchers lost access to basic source materials from Gdańsk or other Polish archives (or even taken away by the Soviet authorities) for several decades. The place of German researchers was taken by Polish historians, thus creating a new chapter in research on the entire region.<sup>15</sup> Some of the works published immediately

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<sup>10</sup> Paul Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, i-ii, iv (Danzig, 1918). The third volume covering the period from 1629 to 1793 has not been published.

<sup>11</sup> See *Dzieje historiografii Pomorza Gdańskiego i Prus Wschodnich*.

<sup>12</sup> Jerzy Pelc, *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI i XVII wieku* (Lwów, 1937); Tadeusz Furtak, *Ceny w Gdańsku w latach 1701–1815* (Lwów, 1935). See also Edmund Kizik, 'Dzieje gospodarcze nowożytnego Gdańska w polskich badaniach okresu międzywojennego (1918–1939)', in Ewa Barylewska-Szymańska (ed.), *Teraźniejszość przeszłości. Gdańskie i pomorskie muzealnictwo do 1945 r.* (Gdańsk, 2021), 358–69.

<sup>13</sup> Antoni Walawender, *Kronika klęsk elementarnych w Polsce i w krajach sąsiednich w latach 1450–1586*, i: *Zjawiska meteorologiczne i pomory* (Lwów, 1932); ii: *Zniszczenia wojenne i pożary* (Lwów, 1935).

<sup>14</sup> For a critical overview, see Witold Kula, *Problemy i metody historii gospodarczej* (Warszawa, 1983<sup>2</sup>), 540–63.

<sup>15</sup> After 1949, German research was concentrated at the Herder-Institut in Marburg, see Jan M. Piskorski, Jörg Hackmann, and Rudolf Jaworski (eds), *Deutsche Ostforschung und polnische Westforschung im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik. Disziplinen im Vergleich* (Osnabrück, 2002); Hackmann, *Ostpreußen und Westpreußen*, 257–304.

after the war were simplistic national propaganda aimed at historically justifying Polish rights to Gdańsk and the so-called ‘Western and Northern Territories’ [*Ziemia Zachodnie i Północne*], as the former German areas were euphemistically referred to. Until 1948, they were largely published by the reopened Baltic Institute (which existed since 1925).<sup>16</sup> At the same time, referring to the methodological thought of the pre-war era, there was a return to the idea of a comprehensive source recognition of the role of Gdańsk in the international trade of modern Poland. Professor Marian Małowist (1909–88), representing the University of Warsaw, emphasised during the Szczecin conference ‘Polish Baltic Historiography’, which took place in April 1948, that:

It is essential to conduct studies on the history of Polish grain and wood exports. From the point of view of Polish economic historiography, this is a key issue, because the boom in these products was a decisive moment in the economy of Poland and had a huge impact on the entire country’s fate.<sup>17</sup>

Because until the end of the 1950s, there was no significant scientific or scholarly community in the Tri-City (Gdańsk–Sopot–Gdynia),<sup>18</sup> and the first post-war issue of *Rocznik Gdański* was published in print only in 1954, the research on the economic history of the city focused in the two academic centres of Warsaw and Toruń. From the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when it belonged to Germany, Toruń became an important place for Polish historical research on the history of Royal Prussia, including Gdańsk itself.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, in 1945,

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<sup>16</sup> Kazimierz Piwarski, *Dzieje Gdańska w zarysie* (Gdańsk, 1946), according to the author’s introduction (p. 4), the work was written in June 1944, and emphasised the resistance of the city and the burghers of Gdańsk to a closer integration with Poland. In turn, the study by Marian Pelczar (*Polski Gdańsk*, Gdańsk, 1947) emphasised the connection with Poland and Polishness.

<sup>17</sup> *Polska historiografia bałtycka. Najpilniejsze potrzeby badawcze, organizacyjne i wydawnicze. Referaty i dyskusja z Konferencji Naukowej Instytutu Bałtyckiego w Szczecinie dnia 8–9 IV 1948 r.* (Gdańsk, 1949), 15. An overview of the Baltic issue in the Polish 20th-century historiography: Jörg Hackmann, “Zugang zum Meer”. Die Ostsee in der polnischen Historiografie, *Nordeuropa Forum. Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur*, *Nordeuropa Forum*, 7 (2004), 43–66; online: <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/nordeuropaforum/2004-2/hackmann--joerg-43/XML> [Accessed: 1 May 2022].

<sup>18</sup> The University of Gdańsk was established only in 1970 from the merged Pedagogical and Economic Schools.

<sup>19</sup> It was related to the establishment of the Scientific Society in Toruń and the publication of the journal *Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* in 1878; see

the first university was opened in Toruń, in the city that escaped war's destruction. It allowed to gather part of the community of Polish researchers who left Wilno (Stefan Batory University) and Lwów (Jan Kazimierz University) lost to the Soviet republics (Lithuanian SSR and Ukrainian SSR).<sup>20</sup> Regardless of the Warsaw and Toruń circles mentioned above, studies on modern Gdańsk, primarily in the broad contexts of the political history and maritime policy of the seventeenth century, were conducted by Władysław Czaplinski (1905–81), who had settled in Wrocław after the war.<sup>21</sup> Research on economic issues in Gdańsk found itself divided into various research schools. Małowist's Warsaw seminar focused on issues related to the organisation of production, such as Polish crafts in the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries; while the issues of trade and price movements were dealt with by students and collaborators of Stanisław Hoszowski (1904–87).<sup>22</sup> Before the war, Hoszowski was associated with Lwów and continued the traditions of Franciszek Bujak's research school in the Toruń community. On the other hand, issues related to the land economy and serfdom in the interior of the country became the domain of the circles centred around Jan Rutkowski (1886–1949) and his students (including Jerzy Topolski, 1928–98) from Poznań's Adam Mickiewicz University;<sup>23</sup> Rutkowski, together with Hoszowski, was the publisher

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Magdalena Niedzielska, 'Toruń jako ośrodek nauki historycznej', in *Dzieje historiografii Pomorza Gdańskiego i Prus Wschodnich*, 7–22, and Stanisław Salmonowicz, 'Historycy kręgu toruńskiego – Alfons Mańkowski, Stanisław Tync, Zygmunt Mocarski i Marian Magdański', *ibid.*, 23–33.

<sup>20</sup> In 1958, Stanisław Hoszowski moved to Cracow and began working at the Wyższa Szkoła Ekonomiczna [The Higher School of Economics], from 1974 – Akademia Ekonomiczna [The Academy of Economics].

<sup>21</sup> The ambitious editorial project 'Acta Poloniae Maritima' was completed by Władysław Czaplinski, together with Bernard Janik, and titled *Akta do dziejów Polski na morzu*, published in two parts: vii: 1632–1648, part 1, ed. Władysław Czaplinski (Gdańsk, 1951) and vii: 1632–1648, part 2, ed. Władysław Czaplinski (Gdańsk, 1959).

<sup>22</sup> Jolanta Wadas, *Stanisław Hoszowski, uczonec i nauczyciel* (Kraków, 2012). The most outstanding students of Hoszowski, who combined his work in Toruń (1947–58) with lectures at the Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna [Pedagogical University of Gdańsk] (1947–52), were Czesław Biernat (PhD: 1961, habilitation: 1977) and Stanisław Gierszewski (PhD: 1960, habilitation: 1965). See relevant entries in Eugeniusz Koko and Zbigniew Opacki (eds), *Słownik biograficzny historyków Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego* (Gdańsk, 2020).

<sup>23</sup> Jerzy Topolski, *O nowy model historii. Jan Rutkowski (1886–1949)* (Warszawa, 1986).

of *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* [The Annals of Social and Economic History].

## II

### MARIA BOGUCKA AND THE HISTORY OF GDAŃSK

Maria Bogucka, who had been a student of Marian Małowist, focused her research on the organisation of crafts in Gdańsk from the fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century; other young scholars, and future historians of note, were tasked with various areas of research: Benedykt Zientara (1928–83) – the Lesser Poland iron industry (the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries), Henryk Samsonowicz (1930–2021) – rural crafts, and Antoni Mączak (1928–2003) – the cloth industry in Greater Poland (the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries). In line with Soviet models, Bogucka went to Gdańsk, where she conducted archival research in the years 1951–3. This work led to the completion of her doctoral dissertation, submitted in 1955, and published a year later in the book series edited by Małowist ‘Badania z Dziejów Rzemiosła i Handlu w Epoce Feudalizmu’ [Research on the History of Crafts and Trade in the Era of Feudalism].<sup>24</sup> The work, devoted to the organisation of weaving crafts, was the first Polish monograph dedicated entirely to the socio-economic issues of early modern Gdańsk based primarily on local archival material. During the course of her research, Bogucka sought the help of Dr Elisabeth Kloß (1897–1970),<sup>25</sup> an experienced German archivist who had remained in Gdańsk after the war and continued her work in the city archive. Bogucka would find sources that were little known or had not previously been used for research, among others: the guild and ordinance records, and the materials of the city court [*Wettegericht*]. At the same time, however, the overall work was adjudged to have had methodological flaws, which drew the attention of reviewers. Stanisław Hoszowski, in a generally very positive review, emphasised that “the striving to present the full process of change, otherwise very valuable, resulted in a schematic formulation of statements that were often too hastily

<sup>24</sup> Maria Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne od XVI do połowy XVII wieku* (Wrocław, 1956).

<sup>25</sup> Dr Elisabeth Kloß (1897–1970) was allowed to stay in Gdańsk after 1945; in 1957 she moved to West Germany.

made”.<sup>26</sup> From today's point of view, the 'hasty' remarks about the alleged beginnings of manufactories and the original accumulation of capital in the first half of the seventeenth century may seem controversial (pp. 153–64), albeit the organisation of Gdańsk craft had been very anachronistic and removed from capitalist forms in terms of the organisation of production. Bogucka's considerations were not free of quotations from the works of the classics of Marxism and Leninism, typical for Polish scholarly writings in the years 1950–55/56, and indeed she included references to the findings of the 1952 methodological conference in Otwock, and elements of Soviet historiography.<sup>27</sup> However, despite the introductory remarks on class struggle and ideological tenets, the work, primarily due to the extensively cited archival material (including extensive property inventories, statutes of guild corporations), would emerge as a singularly important contribution. And here the interdisciplinary sensitivity of Bogucka was particularly noteworthy; as she tried to combine issues in the field of craft production techniques, and material culture with sources of legal origin, such as guild regulations. In erudite footnotes, the author devotes much attention to issues that would only appear in more detail in later works, namely the social situation of working women, single women (widows) and various issues of the social culture of everyday life.<sup>28</sup> The descriptions note the ease of moving from exemplification and detail to sometimes very daring generalisations, as well as the convincing fluency of the style that will soon become the hallmark of her prolific output.

This book was not Bogucka's first text devoted to the history of Gdańsk; it was preceded by an article from 1954 about the conflict between the common people [*trzeci ordynek*] and the patriciate in the

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<sup>26</sup> See Stanisław Hoszowski, [Review], *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, iv, 4 (1958), 705–10; see also Zbigniew Binerowski, [Review], *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, iv, 2 (1958), 353–7.

<sup>27</sup> The first 'Methodological Conference of Polish Historians' (28 December 1951 – 12 January 1952) took place with the participation of Soviet historians. The aim was to strictly subordinate historical research to ideological goals of the Soviet authorities. Rafał Stobiecki, 'Pierwsza Konferencja Metodologiczna Historyków Polskich', in *id.*, *Historiografia PRL. Ani dobra, ani mądra, ani piękna... ale skomplikowana. Studia i szkice* (Warszawa, 2007), 96–116; Piotr Hübner, 'Przebudowa nauk historycznych w Polsce (1947–1953)', *Przegląd Historyczny*, lxxviii, 3 (1987), 451–81.

<sup>28</sup> Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne*, 40, fn. 123 and 124.

second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The text had been prepared to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the incorporation of Gdańsk and Prussia into Poland and based primarily on the research literature; it passed without much attention being given to it. And, in fact, the issue of the internal struggles in Gdańsk from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century soon became the domain of research by Edmund Cieślak (1922–2007), a historian who, from 1955, headed the local Gdańsk history lab, which gathered to itself an emerging local research community.<sup>30</sup> Bogucka and Cieślak, apart from research cooperation within the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences (established in 1953), would remain friends until the end of their lives.

Moving from textile crafts, treated as the basis of capital concentration in the pre-capitalist period and a source of technical innovations, to other branches of production, Bogucka in 1961 submitted her habilitation thesis, which was a synthesis of Gdańsk manufacturing from the fourteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>31</sup> The work was discussed during Małowist's seminar,<sup>32</sup> attended by, among others, Samsonowicz and Mączak, who also specialised in the history of Gdańsk and Prussia. The book was published with a print run of 1,000 copies, large for such a specialised topic; and it showcased Bogucka's ability to build synthetic set pieces based on very extensive archival documentation, often of varied provenance. Also, the easing of ideological pressure, which took place in Polish academia following the thaw of 1956, alleviated the methodological burden. Despite the broad scope and controversial timeframe of the research, which resulted in the omission of many issues (e.g. shipbuilding, bakery, construction),

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<sup>29</sup> Maria Bogucka, 'Walka opozycji mieszczańskiej z patrycjatem gdańskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku', *Przegląd Historyczny*, xlv, 2/3 (1954), 408–59. The entire issue of the journal is devoted to Gdańsk or Pomerania in connection with the Pomeranian Conference, organised on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the region joining the Polish Crown in 1454. See Edmund Kizik, 'Uroczystości 500-lecia "powrotu Gdańska do Macierzy" w latach 1954–1955', in Edmund Kizik, Mirosław Golon, in co-operation with Sylwia Bykowska (eds), *Gdańsk 1945–1990. Studia – materiały – analizy*, ii (Gdańsk, 2019), 148–75.

<sup>30</sup> See Edmund Kizik, 'Edmund Cieślak (1922–2007)', in *Słownik biograficzny historyków*, 65–80.

<sup>31</sup> Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny od XIV do połowy XVII wieku* (Warszawa, 1962), habilitation thesis, unpublished.

<sup>32</sup> See the author's thanks to the participants of the seminar in *ibid.*, 7, fn. 2.

the work retained much of its former cognitive value, constituting an instructive review of the Gdańsk source collections.

In 1970, the book *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* [Foreign Trade in Gdańsk in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century] was published.<sup>33</sup> Moving from research on craftsmanship to commercial issues, the author joined one of the main trends in twentieth-century Polish historiography. Bogucka's monograph, which had been preceded by many significant analytical articles,<sup>34</sup> was the basis for her appointment as an associate professor. Against this background, a research dispute arose in 1972 between the author and Czesław Biernat (1925–2015), a student of Stanisław Hoszowski. Other scholars would join in the debate on Bogucka's findings, researchers such as Antoni Mączak,<sup>35</sup> who, after noting the active balance of trade, after Bogucka, observed the symptoms of a gradual shrinking of export surpluses and a decrease in the activity of Gdańsk inhabitants in terms of sea trade. Biernat's contribution to debate emphasised the importance of her work, but remained critical of the choice of source material, coupled with Bogucka's methods of statistical calculation relating to the economic results of Gdańsk's trade in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>36</sup> He expressed doubts about

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<sup>33</sup> Maria Bogucka, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* (Wrocław, 1970). The work was reviewed by Stanisław Gierszewski in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lxxviii, 2 (1971), 145–59; and Antoni Mączak, 'Ceny, obroty i zyski w handlu gdańskim pierwszej połowy XVII w. (na marginesie pracy M. Boguckiej, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*)', *Przegląd Historyczny*, lxxii, 2 (1971), 280–94.

<sup>34</sup> Maria Bogucka, 'Handel bałtycki a bilans handlowy Polski w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku', *Przegląd Historyczny*, lix, 2 (1968), 245–52; *ead.*, 'Handel niderlandzko-gdański w latach 1597–1651 w świetle amsterdamskich kontraktów frachtowych', *Zapiski Historyczne*, xxxiii, 3 (1968), 171–92; *ead.*, 'Gdańskie kontrakty zbożowe w pierwszej połowie XVII w.', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, xvii, 4 (1969), 711–19; *ead.*, 'Handel bałtycki Amsterdamu w pierwszej połowie XVII w. w świetle kontraktów frachtowych', *Zapiski Historyczne*, xxxiv, 2 (1969), 7–33; *ead.*, 'Handel Gdańska z Półwyspem Iberyjskim w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku', *Przegląd Historyczny*, lx, 1 (1969), 1–23.

<sup>35</sup> Mączak, *Ceny, obroty i zyski*, 280–94. Apart from a very broad and positive discussion of Bogucka's work, Mączak presented his own conclusions from research concerning, among others, the sea trade balance of Gdańsk and, indirectly, Poland in the first half of the 17th century.

<sup>36</sup> Czesław Biernat, 'Apogeum handlu gdańskiego w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku. (Na marginesie pracy Marii Boguckiej, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w pierwszej połowie*

the presented geography of overseas trade and, ultimately, the profits accumulated by Gdańsk merchants.<sup>37</sup> It should be mentioned that Bogucka's findings pertaining to the presence of Moscow (Russian) grain on Western European markets<sup>38</sup> had also been discussed earlier by Hoszowski, who had been Biernat's mentor and supervisor.<sup>39</sup> Biernat also questioned Bogucka's thesis on the competitiveness of Russian grain for Polish agricultural production in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, contending that no sources could confirm that domestic farm production had been squeezed in any way.<sup>40</sup> Bogucka responded to Hoszowski's position very categorically, maintaining her position by pointing to the Dutch perception of Russia as the granary of the Netherlands. Indeed she reminded her interlocutors that her findings had been based on Dutch sources.<sup>41</sup> Be that as it may, the basic research material which Bogucka had used for her analysis were customs records [*księgi palowe*] kept in Gdańsk, with Bogucka indicating the level of exports achieved in 1618.<sup>42</sup> For Biernat, however, the basic indicator was not the quantity but the value of trade receipts recorded in the municipal account books

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XVII wieku, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1970, ss. 72)', *Zapiski Historyczne*, xxxvi, 4 (1971), 145–59.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 155–9.

<sup>38</sup> Maria Bogucka, 'Zboże rosyjskie na rynku amsterdamskim w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku', *Przegląd Historyczny*, liii, 4 (1962), 611–28.

<sup>39</sup> Stanisław Hoszowski, 'W sprawie konkurencji zboża rosyjskiego na rynku holenderskim w pierwszej połowie XVII w.: Na marginesie artykułu M. Boguckiej, Zboże rosyjskie na rynku amsterdamskim w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku), *Przegląd Historyczny*, liv, 4 (1963), 688–99. Met with a polemical response on the part of Bogucka, see M. Bogucka, 'Jeszcze o zbożu rosyjskim na rynku amsterdamskim w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku: Na marginesie artykułu S. Hoszowskiego, W sprawie konkurencji zboża rosyjskiego na rynku holenderskim w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku', *Przegląd Historyczny*, liv, 4 (1963), 688–99', *Przegląd Historyczny*, lv, 1 (1964), 118–31.

<sup>40</sup> Edmund Kizik, 'Problematyka gospodarcza w badaniach Czesława Biernata', in Rafał Kubicki and Alina Przywuska (eds), *Historia – archiwa – Gdańsk, Studia dedykowane Profesorowi Czesławowi Biernatowi w 90. rocznicę urodzin* (Gdańsk, 2014), 59–76.

<sup>41</sup> Bogucka had made recourse to Western European sources (from the Netherlands and France) thanks to a small stipend she obtained in 1957 to carry out research in the Netherlands. Patryk Pleskot, *Intelektualni sąsiedzi. Kontakty historyków polskich ze środowiskiem 'Annales' 1945–1989* (Warszawa, 2010), 281.

<sup>42</sup> Bogucka, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska*, 15.

[*Kamlaria*].<sup>43</sup> To minimise the inflationary effect, he converted the value of money into silver. Biernat also criticised the legitimacy of the method of estimating the data from the missing financial records for the years 1642–3, proving that Bogucka had two books, and for the years 1645–9 only one book.<sup>44</sup> In the summary of his considerations, Biernat stated that, in his opinion, the 'apogee' should instead be moved to the 1640s–1650s:

... the greatest period of prosperity in the first half of the seventeenth century occurred in the last decade; in the five-year period 1640–4, the average annual value of Gdańsk's overseas trade turnover reaches 259,000 kilograms of silver, and towards the end (1649–51), the annual turnover increases to 266,000 kilograms on average. These are the highest sums in such periods up to the nineteenth century.<sup>45</sup>

The correctness of Biernat's reasoning would later be indirectly supported by the research on the Gdańsk demography carried out by Jan Baszanowski (1943–89). Precise tables of vital activity from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made it possible to calculate that only in the decades preceding the catastrophe of the Polish-Swedish war did the number of inhabitants reach its highest level in the pre-partition period. In the periods 1616–20 and 1621–5, the number of inhabitants was 58,800 and 61,200, and in the five-year periods: 1641–5 and 1646–50 – 68,700 and 67,600. In the following years, the population decreased and stabilised at around 60,000, approaching peaks again in the 1686–90 five-year plan – 68,100 people.<sup>46</sup> Also, the highest indicator of 'a building boom', i.e. the number of building concessions granted in Gdańsk, came in the years 1643–7,<sup>47</sup> also at a time which saw a gradual settlement in the previously uninhabited areas of the Lower Town. It is worth noting that the population growth and construction boom in the decade preceding

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<sup>43</sup> Biernat, *Apogeu handlu gdańskiego*, 146.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, table 5, 152.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>46</sup> Jan Baszanowski, *Przemiany demograficzne w Gdańsku w latach 1601–1846*, ed. Anna Baszanowska and Stanisław Mielczarski (Gdańsk, 1995), 132–4 (tables 2.4–2.5), 144–5, table 2.10.

<sup>47</sup> Edmund Kizik, 'Materiały Sądu Wetowego z XVII–XVIII wieku jako źródło do dziejów budownictwa w Gdańsku', in *id.* (ed.), *Studia i materiały do dziejów dawnego domu gdańskiego*, part 1 (Gdańsk, 2009), 121–44.

the Cossack uprisings and the Polish-Swedish war in 1655 could have been a consequence of the delayed effect of this economic flourishing, which had already reached its export ceiling. Biernat's hypotheses were certainly supported, and it would be extremely interesting to re-examine the argumentation of both sides by verifying the data from the municipal account books and custom records using the software available to us today.

However, Biernat's criticism at the time met with opposition from Bogucka, who upheld her position and additionally justified the method for estimating the missing data.<sup>48</sup> But Biernat only met this riposte by questioning once again the legitimacy of the calculation method.<sup>49</sup> Initially full of mutual courtesy and respect, the discussion turned into an exchange of blows without any discernible meeting of minds.<sup>50</sup> It was undoubtedly one of the most important debates on trade between Gdańsk and Poland in the seventeenth century, against the background of the trade balance of the Polish-Lithuanian state. Many years later, Maria Bogucka returned to the issue in an extensive study of the history of crafts and trade in Gdańsk until the mid-seventeenth century, which was included in the monumental synthesis of *The History of Gdańsk*, edited by Edmund Cieślak (1982).<sup>51</sup> This allowed the author to maintain and further justify her position.<sup>52</sup>

Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz widely used the experience in research on Gdańsk in an extensive, and so far the only synthesis devoted to the history of cities in Poland until the end of the eighteenth century (1986).<sup>53</sup> Apart from the popular books devoted to the relationship between the inhabitants of Gdańsk and the sea (1984),<sup>54</sup> the chapters in the synthesis mentioned above of the history of Gdańsk were the last such large, original texts that Maria Bogucka

<sup>48</sup> Maria Bogucka, 'Spór nie tylko wokół apogeum gdańskiego handlu', *Zapiski Historyczne*, xxxvii, 1 (1972), 117–27.

<sup>49</sup> Czesław Biernat, 'Głosy do sporu wokół apogeum handlu gdańskiego', *Zapiski Historyczne*, xxxvii, 2 (1972), 95–101.

<sup>50</sup> Maria Bogucka, 'W sprawie Głosy do sporu... Czesława Biernata', *ibid.*, 103–7.

<sup>51</sup> *Ead.*, 'Zmiany w handlu bałtyckim na przełomie XVI i XVII w.', in *Historia Gdańska*, ii: 1454–1655, ed. Edmund Cieślak (Gdańsk, 1982), 445–578; and extensive sections devoted to crafts and everyday life: 176–259, 330–51, 658–85.

<sup>52</sup> Bogucka, 'Zmiany w handlu bałtyckim', 474.

<sup>53</sup> Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedzoborowej* (Wrocław, 1986).

<sup>54</sup> Maria Bogucka, *Gdańscy ludzie morza w XVI–XVIII w.* (Gdańsk, 1984).

devoted to the social and economic history of Gdańsk.<sup>55</sup> The opinions formulated therein have been valid in Polish historiography until now and have not been revised; perhaps apart from some additions. Apart from the high level of analyses at that time, this state of affairs was also influenced by the general departure from comprehensive research on the economic history of the early modern period, which has been present in Polish historiography since the 1980s.<sup>56</sup>

### III

#### POPULARISATION OF THE HISTORY OF MODERN GDAŃSK

Maria Bogucka was involved in the popularisation of the achievements of Polish historiography in an unprecedented way, overseeing, among others, for twenty years (1958–78) the publication of the popular history journal, *Mówią Wieki*, addressed to students, teachers and enthusiasts of the past. It is also difficult to overestimate her contribution to the work of popularising and teaching the history of Gdańsk and the city's relations with Poland. For the masses of Polish readers, who only became residents of Gdańsk in 1945, she prepared books that co-created the basis of a specific mentality and selective historical memory, one that absorbed selected issues from the history of the city. The first of them *Szkice gdańskie (XV–XVII w.)* [Gdańsk Sketches, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries] was published in 1955 (reissued in 1957) in a circulation of 10,000;<sup>57</sup> this book served to present the period of Gdańsk's splendour from the second half of the fifteenth to the

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<sup>55</sup> Since then, these specific issues pertaining to Gdańsk have cropped up in various guises in articles and scholarly contributions. From a research perspective, the most prominent publications are the following: Maria Bogucka, 'Testament burmistrza gdańskiego Hansa Speymana z 1625 r.', in Danuta Gawinowa *et al.* (eds), *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej* (Warszawa, 1991), 587–93; *ead.*, 'Wdowi skarb z roku 1566. Inwentarz ruchomości Małgorzaty, wdowy po Tidemanie Feldstete', in Zenon H. Nowak (ed.), *Balticum. Studia z dziejów polityki, gospodarki i kultury XII–XVII wieku ofiarowane Marianowi Biskupowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Toruń, 1992), 615.

<sup>56</sup> See Jerzy Topolski and Cezary Kukło (eds), *Studia nad gospodarką, społeczeństwem i rodziną w Europie późnofeudalnej* (Lublin, 1987); Marcin Kula (ed.), *Dziedzictwo Witolda Kuli* (Warszawa, 1990).

<sup>57</sup> Maria Bogucka, *Szkice gdańskie (XV–XVII w.)* (Warszawa, 1955), see Zbigniew Binerowski, [Review], *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lxiv, 3 (1957), 122–5.

mid-seventeenth century. In the first part ('Gdańsk Returns to Poland'), the author discussed the situation of the Pomeranian population under Teutonic rule, whereas the following chapters ('Venice of the North' and 'From the Life of the Gdańsk People'), offered overviews of various aspects of economic development and the everyday lives of the inhabitants. The fourth chapter was devoted to craftsmanship issues, wherein Bogucka extensively used source materials. The work ended with a chapter discussing the place of Gdańsk in the structure of Polish statehood. Bogucka concluded the book with a fiery sentence: "Today, we look with pride and joy at old Gdańsk, which is being rebuilt after having been so brutally damaged during the war. It is forever connected with Poland, and together with the whole country, the city is embarking on a road that will lead to a socialist future".<sup>58</sup> Years later, Bogucka would return to the same ideas and threads in preparation for a book about everyday life in Gdańsk.

Subsequent books from 1957, *Opowieści wiślane* [Vistulan Tales]<sup>59</sup> and sketches published in 1959, *Gdańsk: port szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Gdańsk: the Port of the Noble Commonwealth] are a kind of historical fiction addressed to younger readers. In the *Opowieści wiślane*, the history of Gdańsk is one of many threads because the sketches are intended to show the role of the Vistula River as having been the main Polish trade route from its source to mouth and the role of Gdańsk in the export of goods through its the port.

Notably, the Germanness of Gdańsk and its inhabitants in the works mentioned above is left unmentioned, thus creating the impression that, apart from the elites, the rest of the inhabitants, especially in the lower plebeian classes, were Poles, possibly of Kashubian origin. The lack of sources to support such a thesis was treated rather as proof of the poor's inability to read and write, and not that the Polish community in Gdańsk itself had been quite small. Bogucka's popularising oeuvre would serve the process of Polonisation and the realignment of the city's history with the post-war version of the national history of Poland as understood by the then communist authorities. These books were published during intensive work on the reconstruction of the Main Town, which had been destroyed in 1945 (Długa Street, Długi Targ and its environs). However, unlike traditional

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<sup>58</sup> Bogucka, *Szkice gdańskie*, 213.

<sup>59</sup> Published in 5,000 copies.

national syntheses focused on political issues (apart from the previously mentioned books by Szymon Askenazy and Kazimierz Piwarski, also by Marian Pelczar<sup>60</sup> and the slightly later Edmund Cieślak),<sup>61</sup> Bogucka endeavoured to present a social picture of the city's history, showcasing in the process her extraordinary knowledge of the archival material.

In 1967, Bogucka published a book that confirmed her position both as an experienced populariser of the social history of old Gdańsk, and as a promoter of research on everyday life, which was reflected years later in the creation of certain theoretical concepts. It was *Życie codzienne w Gdańsku* [Everyday Life in Gdańsk], published in 10,000 copies; a book which, based on selected examples, shows various aspects of the life of individual strata of the Gdańsk townspeople from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century,<sup>62</sup> combining anecdotes with micro-historical research. In addition to its considerable didactic values, the work once again showcased the wealth of source documentation preserved in Gdańsk's archival collections. The author, often referring to well-selected, extensive source quotations, used them as exemplifications that allowed for the development of a number of hypotheses.

#### IV

#### THE INTERNATIONAL RECEPTION OF BOGUCKA'S WORKS

Unlike in Western European countries occupied by the Third Reich (e.g. France, the Netherlands, Belgium or Denmark), during the occupation of Polish territories by German (1939–45) and Soviet (1939–41) armies, the activities of Polish higher education and all forms of public or independent scientific or scholarly activity were prohibited, and some scholars were deliberately repressed.<sup>63</sup> The resumption of scientific

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<sup>60</sup> Marian Pelczar, *Polski Gdańsk* (Gdańsk, 1947).

<sup>61</sup> Bogucka's book inspired Edmund Cieślak to write a book that would reveal the ties between Gdańsk and Poland, see Edmund Cieślak, *Miasto wierne Rzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa, 1959).

<sup>62</sup> Maria Bogucka, *Życie codzienne w Gdańsku. Wiek XVI–XVII* (Warszawa, 1967). The second edition, which appeared in 1997, was published with a different title: *Życ w dawnym Gdańsku* [To Live in Old Gdańsk].

<sup>63</sup> Marian Walczak, *Szkolnictwo wyższe i nauka polska w latach wojny i okupacji 1939–1945* (Wrocław, 1978); Andrzej Bolewski and Henryk Pierzchała, *Losy polskich pracowników nauki w latach 1939–1945. Straty osobowe* (Wrocław, 1989).

life in Poland after the end of the Second World War was fraught with difficulties; which extended to the issue of being able to link up with international research communities. In addition, to the difficult financial situation and the issue of severed contacts, the foreign reception of Polish historical research was conditioned by the division of Europe into two hostile political blocs – the states of Central and Eastern Europe dependent on the USSR (including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, East Germany – from 1949, the German Democratic Republic, and partly also Yugoslavia), and liberal Western democracies. By the end of the 1940s, the ruling communist party (PPR, from 1948 – PZPR) managed to control and completely subordinate higher education and all public forms of scientific research, which was sealed by proscribed methodological frameworks, or by removing ‘politically suspect’ scientists from universities. Administrative difficulties related to scientific exchange, as well as subjecting scientific research to strict censorship, significantly hampered the flow of information, making it impossible to conduct scholarly discussions between historians from the East and the West. Although the restrictions imposed on Polish historians lasted for a relatively short time (1952–55/56), the difficulties in the practising of research and scholarship related to travel (passport policy, the lack of foreign currency), along with the difficulty of accessing current research literature, lasted until 1989. In addition, the borders of post-war Poland included vast areas (Silesia, West Pomerania, part of the Neumark), which from the Middle Ages had been linked to the German states and as such had not previously been the subject of serious Polish research. The political situation influenced various receptions of Polish research on old Gdańsk in the German states. The East German side (GDR) paid attention to the ideological basis of the narrative, emphasising issues related to the class struggle, consistently using Polish geographical nomenclature, i.e. ‘Gdańsk’ instead of ‘Danzig’; whereas the West German side, after removing openly Nazi motifs, conducted a polemic with the Polish side in what could be described as a pre-war spirit (Erich Keyser, Walther Recke). The mutual reception of the achievements was hindered not only by personal obstacles (war experiences of the parties), but also by the small circle of German readers who knew Polish. Also traditionally, discussions on the issues of Gdańsk, the Hanseatic League or the Baltic region took place primarily in the German language. One cannot

overlook the reluctance and disregard which prevailed in West Germany for the achievements of Polish researchers regarding the former German lands or those considered German.

Polish research on the history of Gdańsk was regularly discussed or noted in the scholarly journals of East Germany (GDR); indeed, Bogucka's first article from 1954 was discussed in *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*,<sup>64</sup> in the following years, commentary on Bogucka's subsequent works would be made in this journal on a regular basis. In Western European historiography, Bogucka's works were regularly reported on by Hugo Weczerka in the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*.<sup>65</sup> As a rule, these writings were more or less detailed, one- or two-page descriptions and with developed bibliographic notes, but without closer assessments or polemical commentary. The situation was slightly better in the GDR where, in 1967, Bogucka published a four-page article,<sup>66</sup> which contained the theses of an article published in 1962 on the Polish grain trade in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>67</sup> Bogucka would return to the paradigm related to the issues of primary capital accumulation in a later article published in the GDR.<sup>68</sup> The first publication in Western Europe appeared only in 1971 and concerned Poland's maritime trade. The occasion was the preparation of a volume containing studies by Polish, Czechoslovak, Hungarian, Austrian and German historians on trade in Central Europe in the late Middle Ages and early modern times.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Gerhard Heitz and Johannes Kalisch, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Walka opozycji mieszczańskiej*', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, v, 6 (1957), 1350–1.

<sup>65</sup> See Hugo W[eczerka], [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne*', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 75 (1957), 160–2.

<sup>66</sup> Maria Bogucka, 'Bemerkungen über den polnischen Ostseehandel mit Getreide in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock, Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Reihe*, xvi, 1/2 (1967), 117–22.

<sup>67</sup> Bogucka, 'Zboże rosyjskie na rynku amsterdamskim'.

<sup>68</sup> Maria Bogucka, 'Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Handelskapital und der städtischen Produktion in Danzig im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in Konrad Fritze, Eckhard Müller-Mertens, and Johannes Schildhauer (eds), *Bürgertum – Handelskapital – Städtebünde* (Weimar, 1975), 58–69.

<sup>69</sup> Maria Bogucka, 'Die Bedeutung des Ostseehandels für die Außenhandelsbilanz Polens in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', in Ingomar Bog (ed.), *Der Außenhandel Ostmitteleuropas 1450–1650. Die ostmitteleuropäischen Volkswirtschaften in ihren Beziehungen zu Mitteleuropa* (Köln–Wien, 1971), 47–55; see Walther Kirchner, [Review], *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, xx, 3 (1972), 433–5.

Apart from small circles of specialists, the reception of Maria Bogucka's work in the West was relatively limited, or it coincided with the period when the researcher had already completed work based on the Gdańsk archives and when she had moved on to other scientific and scholarly topics. From the 1980s, her interests increasingly evolved towards research on everyday life, historical anthropology and the history of mentality. To some extent, this was the result of Bogucka having established closer ties, under the auspices of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, with the French community of scholars from the *Annales* School, making it possible for Bogucka to become acquainted with the new Western European research and, above all, to conduct archival work. Against this background, however, contacts with West German researchers, the most important from the point of view of research on Gdańsk, were limited.

Bogucka looked for a way to reach Western readers by publishing translations of her texts in Polish publications, intended for readers who did not speak Polish, i.e. *Acta Poloniae Historica* (published by the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences), *Studia Maritima* (published by the Committee of Historical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences) and *Studia Historicae Oeconomicae* (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań). However, a wider group of German readers came into contact with Maria Bogucka's works only after the translation in 1980 of her book from 1967 about daily life in old Gdańsk. Slightly shortened compared to the Polish version, the book was published by the East German publishing house Koehler & Amelang in Leipzig,<sup>70</sup> with an introduction – an outline of the history of Gdańsk provided by Johannes S. Kalisch (1928–2002), a professor at the University of Rostock, and a researcher involved in the process of rapprochement between Polish and (East) German researchers. The book, in the title of which the term 'Danzig' was used (a departure from the strict adherence to the Polish nomenclature of cities in the GDR), met with considerable interest from specialist and non-specialist readers.<sup>71</sup> The book was reissued under license by

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<sup>70</sup> Maria Bogucka, *Das alte Danzig. Alltagsleben vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1980, 1987<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>71</sup> Among the most important, see Iselin Gundermann, [Review], *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, xxxi, 1 (1982), 146–7.

the Munich-based Beck publishing house in 1987, thus also reaching West German readers.<sup>72</sup>

Bogucka's membership from 1976 (along with Aleksander Gieysztor and Antoni Czacharowski) and participation in the works of the International Commission for the History of Towns (ICHT) were of great importance for the dissemination of achievements. The annual meetings of this body resulted in articles published in post-conference collections. Bogucka referred in these texts primarily to earlier research on Gdańsk.<sup>73</sup> An extensive collection of older articles previously published in English, German and French, modified and supplemented with more recent literature, was published in 2003.<sup>74</sup>

The period from 1954 to the end of the 1970s was the acme for Bogucka's research on Gdańsk, which would prove to be a pivotal contribution to Polish historiography in the field of socio-economic history. Having built a scientific workshop primarily on knowledge of Gdańsk sources (the chancellery of a large Hanseatic city, Gothic neography, commercial books, and statistical analysis), Bogucka would find herself gradually moving from studies on the economy of Gdańsk and the Baltic region to an analysis of the structures of the everyday lives of townspeople between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. Bogucka's oeuvre would also include biographical works and great syntheses of Polish history and culture. In the late period, which was focused on contemporary cultural and research paradigms, Bogucka devoted herself to writing works on the history of women and formulating a synthetic characterisation of Old Polish culture. She repeatedly returned to opinions articulated in older works; and these new utterances betrayed a growing bitterness with respect to the contemporary world, and the new realities with which academics had to contend.

Maria Bogucka would never establish her research grouping, but her work did significantly influence imaginations and shaped opinions about the history of early modern Gdańsk against the background

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<sup>72</sup> Bogucka, *Das alte Danzig* (1987).

<sup>73</sup> For example, Maria Bogucka, 'Marriage in Gdańsk in Early Modern Times', in Thomas Riis (ed.), *Tisch und Bett. Die Hochzeit im Ostseeraum seit dem 13. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), 51–8.

<sup>74</sup> See, e.g. Maria Bogucka, *Baltic Commerce and Urban Society, 1500–1700: Gdansk/Danzig and its Polish Context* (Aldershot, 2003); ead., 'Les dernières recherches sur l'histoire de la Baltique', *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 7 (1962), 103–22.

of the history of Poland and the Baltic region. She did not engage in time-consuming editorial projects, but her source erudition allowed many researchers to learn and understand the specificity of the source material relating to the social history of old Gdańsk. In this way, Bogucka left a lasting legacy for the younger generation of Polish historians. Appreciating the importance of Maria Bogucka's achievements for Pomeranian humanities, in 2007, the University of Gdańsk awarded her the title of *Doctor Honoris Causa*.<sup>75</sup>

transl. Barry Keane

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<sup>75</sup> The ceremony took place on 22 February 2007. The laudator was Edmund Kizik, whereas Andrzej Groth, Edmund Kotarski, and Henryk Samsonowicz were the attendant reviewers of Maria Bogucka's output.

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