REVIEWS

Acta Poloniae Historica
128, 2023
PL ISSN 0001–6829

Space as a Category for the Research of History of Jews in Poland-Lithuania 1500–1900, ed. by Maria Cieśla and Ruth Leiserowitz, Wiesbaden, 2022, Harrassowitz Verlag, 155 pp., series: Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau: Quellen und Studien, 40

The issue of space, especially in the context of settlement orders and restrictions, comes up quite frequently in studies on the history of the Jewish diaspora in Europe, conducted not only by historians. This does not indicate that this topic has been researched thoroughly or at various levels. The texts in the present volume represent a new approach to this issue.

The publication was edited by historians associated with two Warsaw research centres: Maria Cieśla from the Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and Ruth Leiserowitz from the German Historical Institute. In an extensive introduction, they presented their main assumptions. The aim was to demonstrate how the category of space can be used for research into the history of Jews and Christian-Jewish relations.

The main research area intended was the early modern period and the beginning of the nineteenth century, which allows answering questions such as how the Jewish space was shaped in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and what remained after the partitions while also showing how the Jewish population used these spaces and how they shared them. These issues were intended to be addressed in a multifaceted manner, not only from a historical perspective but also from a cultural and social one.

The core of the volume consists of eight articles by Polish and German researchers, divided into three parts based on the theoretical concepts introduced by Henri Lefebvre. Considering the issue of time and space, he distinguished the following areas: spatial practices – the experience of space, i.e., creating space in everyday activities and relations with both people and objects; representation of the space – the perception of space, i.e., the shaping of space using specific solutions; representational space – the representation of space encompassing the sphere of symbols and cultural codes, in the present volume referred to as imaginary space.

The first part contains three articles. Ruth Leiserowitz considered the economic changes that took place in the borderlands between Prussia and Samogitia in the period between the First Partition of Poland in 1772 and the

appearance of the railway in the 1860s. She focused on the revival of foreign trade and the participation in this process of Jews from various parts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including the Russian partition. Analysing the changing role of selected towns such as Memel (Klaipėda) or Wiłkomierz (Ukmergė), she showed the rapid economic development of the borderland, which was accompanied by the expansion of the area of activity of Jewish merchants coming even from distant areas, e.g., from Volhynia, and thus the expansion of the space of Jewish activity.

In addressing the issue of social space, Cornelia Aust focused on theoretically neutral spaces, where representatives of different ethnic or religious groups meet due to everyday duties and needs. These include markets and fairs, judicial institutions, but also notary offices where legal transactions were registered. The author also recognizes that this was an apparent neutrality due to the presence of Christian symbols in the public space. As far as markets and fairs are concerned, the author focuses on those organised in Frankfurt am Oder and Leipzig, where many merchants from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth came. In the next section, the author examined a trial conducted before the Berlin court of law of a Jewish merchant Berend Symons from Amsterdam, pointing out that the court had appointed an expert who knew Hebrew and 'Jewish-German' so that the judge could familiarise himself with the trade records kept in these languages. Moving on to the creation of Jewish space in the Warsaw notary office, which had been in operation since 1808, the author pointed out the frequent practice of signing documents in Hebrew and, in the case of illiterate Jews, drawing three circles rather than crosses as was done by Christians. However, the topic was not set in a broader context. It is worth noting that Hebrew entries and signatures appeared in Warsaw court records as early as the fifteenth century, and in the second half of the eighteenth century, a translator was employed to assist in court cases of Jews who knew only Yiddish, largely for practical reasons.

Maria Cieśla, on the other hand, focused on using the concept of space to explore the everyday coexistence and relations between the Christian and Jewish communities. She based her study on the example of Slutsk, a private town with a multi-denominational religious and ethnic structure, providing a good example for illustrating mutual relations in the multicultural Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Although the majority of the town's inhabitants belonged to the Orthodox Church and spoke Ruthenian, and the Third Statue of Lithuania, which formed the legal basis for this area, was written in this language, the owner was a Catholic, with ties to Polish culture, and for this reason, most of the records were produced in Polish. Jews who were primarily engaged in trade also lived in this multicultural environment.

Therefore, the market square remained the main area of interaction. Inns were also frequented by all residents, but they did not play an integrating function. If conflicts did occur there, according to court records, they were

limited to representatives of the same religious group. This means that multiethnicity may have fostered tolerance but was not an integrating factor.

The second part of the volume begins with an article by Hanna Zaremska demonstrating the circumstances of change in the location of the Jewish community in Cracow in the second half of the fifteenth century and its ultimate relocation to Kazimierz, where a Jewish community had already existed.

The text presents these processes in a multi-layered way, considering the interests of the parties involved – the Jews, the Church, the city, and above all, the king, and the methods of finding a consensus. It recognises the importance of integrating the Jewish community in the Cracow agglomeration for its further development. It emphasises the importance of the agreements that accompanied these events and the rationality of the decisions made. These findings formulate new views on Christian-Jewish relations at the turn of the Middle Ages and the early modern era, different from those that have existed to date.

A similar issue was raised by Michael Schulz. He was concerned with the relocation of Jews living in the suburbs of Gdańsk and the process of their absorption into the city's community. He discussed the legal and mental changes that took place between the Second Partition in 1793 and the municipal elections in 1841. As in the case of Cracow, Schulz showed the multi-stage nature of this process, setting it in the context of the history of the German Jews and German cities. In doing so, he showed the growing conflict between local Jews who were already strongly adapted to local living standards, which manifested, for example, in their attire, and Jews from Polish lands or Russia. He thus proved that the negative image of the so-called *Ostjuden* began to take shape as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, much earlier than previously assumed.

The last article in this section by Małgorzata Hanzl is rather theoretical and refers to changes in Jewish space in the nineteenth century and especially in the first half of the twentieth century, which was, among other things, a consequence of industrialisation processes. The author refers to numerous concepts covered in the literature to date and is inclined to the view that Jews were attached to tradition in the spatial arrangement of their places of residence. However, she does not analyse specific examples. Although the title of the article indicates that the research area is central Poland, the reference point for the ideas presented is mainly Łódź, especially one of the districts, Bałuty. This city, however, was not a typical centre in the central part of Poland but had a unique character due to both its history and economic role.

The next part of the volume – 'Imaginary space', opens with an article by Agnieszka Pufelska on the influence of the Haskalah on Polish Jews. The author discusses the activities of some relatively well-known people who came

to Berlin from the Polish-Lithuanian lands and found themselves in Moses Mendelssohn's entourage. She shows that this was not just a group of passive recipients of the Haskalah idea but, thanks to their in-depth knowledge of the Bible and Hebrew, they had an influence, among other things, on Mendelssohn's translation activities. She also draws attention to the attachment of Polish Jews to tradition, noticeable, for example, in their attire, but also in their conviction that it was necessary to adapt the methods of spreading the Haskalah to Polish conditions.

The volume closes with a very important article by Małgorzata Maksymiak on the growing differences between German Jews and Jews from Eastern Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. This process was accompanied not only by a lack of understanding of this difference but also by concerns and even fear, which fostered the creation of the *Ostjuden* stereotype already in the eighteenth century. The author analysed what contributed to the rising concerns not only of German Jews but also of German intellectuals. They feared the rapid demographic growth of Jews from Eastern Europe and their taking control of important institutions such as the stock exchange and the press. It appears that the rhetoric of the discussions held in the eighteenth century was similar to the arguments used in the twentieth century by the Minister of Propaganda, Josef Goebbels. Significantly, German publicists saw a difference between German Jews and newcomers from the East, which fostered an internal division within the Jewish diaspora.

The volume under review contains many interesting texts bringing new findings, especially on the perception of Eastern European Jews by their Western neighbours. Nevertheless, the reading leaves an impression of a lack of coherence concerning the assumptions made, especially about the chronological and territorial scope. Of course, the very concept of showing the Jewish space in the early modern period and depicting changes during the partition period is promising and clear, but it limits the research to the early nineteenth century, whereas the chronological scope of the volume has been extended by at least 100 years. Given the ground-breaking political, economic, social, and cultural changes taking place at that time, it is difficult to determine, not only in territorial terms, what the term Poland or Lithuania may mean in relation to this period.

It should also be noted that only two texts concern the pre-partition era – by Maria Cieśla and Hanna Zaremska – dedicated to single, distinct centres, shown from different perspectives in various chronological periods. These texts, although very interesting, can only, to a limited extent, provide a starting point for the discussion set out in the introduction on the changes that took place after the partitions. They raise important issues but do not illuminate them in a cross-sectional manner, showing the specificity and diversity of the position of Jews, which necessitated different forms of action shaping their own space. An example of a topic that requires a broader

discussion is the issue of notes and Hebrew signatures placed in documents and court books from many cities, not only Slutsk or Warsaw. It would also be interesting to analyse the development of the Jewish space in the context of the *de non tolerandis Iudaeis* law, as was the case in Warsaw, for example.

Most of the texts included in the volume concern the nineteenth century, and the starting point for the considerations are the changes taking place in Prussia, while the Polish-Lithuanian Jews appear in a secondary role. Nonetheless, the importance of the topics discussed should be emphasised, especially the division of the European Jewish diaspora at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the formation of a negative image of *Ostjuden*. In the context of this issue, it would be interesting to explore the attitude of Italian or Dutch Jews towards refugees from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Khmelnytskyi Uprising, i.e., a hundred years earlier.

The abovementioned remarks testify to the need to continue research on Jewish space, for which the texts included in the reviewed volume will provide an important starting point.

transl. Sylwia Szymańska-Smolkin

Hanna Węgrzynek
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2842-0894

Moshe Rosman, *Categorically Jewish, Distinctly Polish. Polish Jewish History Reflected and Refracted*, London, 2022, Littman Library of Jewish Civilization and Liverpool University Press, 523 pp., series: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization

The title of the book under review, *Categorically Jewish, Distinctly Polish. Polish Jewish History Reflected and Refracted*, perfectly defines its themes and scope. Moshe Rosman, professor emeritus at Bar-Ilan University, is one of the most important contemporary historians of the Jewish community of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the author of many groundbreaking works. His latest publication provides an overview and critical approach to the history of Jews in the Commonwealth. The two main axes around which Rosman builds his story are functioning within the Jewish world (*Categorically Jewish*) and the peculiarities of the Commonwealth (*Distinctly Polish*). (Auto)historiographical reflection and using previously unknown sources enabled him to change (*Refract*) the angle of previous research.

The book is a collection of articles published since the late 1990s, with its core formed by 28 texts previously released in various languages. However, it should be emphasized that the volume is not a mere reprint but the author's very well-thought-out selection. All the texts have been reworked, supplemented with the results of the latest international research; some

of the chapters are also a compilation of several already published works. The selection ensured that the texts correspond with and complement each other. The volume is accompanied by an introduction and conclusion, and each of the thematic blocks begins with a brief introduction. Extremely useful is also an updated bibliography that lists all the most important works on the history of the Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Due to these choices, we can enjoy a completely new publication, which is, on the one hand, a conscious and critical summary of the author's years of research and, on the other hand, a synthesis of the history of the Jewish population in the Polish-Lithuanian state.

The introduction doubles as a synthetic study which presents the most important facts of the social history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as an outline of the history of the Jews in that confederal state. We should mention the extensive and robust bibliographical foundation of this part, proof that Rosman is well-versed in the latest Polish and international research. This block is exceptionally valuable for readers who are delving into the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for the first time, but it can be also used successfully in didactic work.

The introduction, however, also has a personal touch. The author, while describing the evolution of his interests and noting his various inspirations, very critically and consciously situates his research within broader historiographical trends. And precisely this criticism and methodological awareness – i.e., the practical application of 'reformed positivism'[1] as defined earlier by the author – are the fundamental features of all the texts collected in the volume. The author deliberately draws on the most important themes of Jewish historiography, poses questions, and challenges long-established theories, thus creating a complex and diverse panorama. In Rosman's research, meticulous analysis of source material is extremely important. What characterises most of the chapters in the reviewed volume is the extensive use of both Jewish and Christian sources. This choice makes it possible, on the one hand, to emphasise that which is categorically Jewish – i.e, connectivity with the Jewish world and its past reaching further back than the Commonwealth – and that which is distinctly Polish: the peculiarities of the Jewish community in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its being a component of the state system. Moshe Rosman was one of the first historians to introduce Christian sources into the wide circulation of Jewish studies, a highly innovative approach at the time of the initial publication of his texts. Today, reaching out to testimonies produced by Christian neighbours is the norm in Jewish studies as a whole. However, as the majority of contemporary Polish research treats Jews as a separate group outside the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth society, the

[1] M. Rosman, *How Jewish is Jewish History?* (Oxford–Portland–Oregon, 2007), 182.

fact that Rosman draws attention to the fact that Jews were an integral part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth society provides an inspiring perspective.

The volume consists of five separate thematic blocks divided into nineteen chapters, reflecting the author's diverse interests. The introduction is devoted to historiography, as Rosman examines the development of research on the Jewish history in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (after 1945), the paradigm shift in Israeli studies of Hasidism, and the metahistory underlying the concept of the permanent exhibition at the Polin Museum of the History of Polish Jews. Rosman critically illustrates the diverse and multilingual historiographical traditions, analyses the various historiographical schools, and emphasizes the importance of metahistory in research, which is usually influenced by external factors. In this section, the author expands the metaphor of a 'marriage of convenience' from his earlier work on the relationship between Jews and magnates in order to describe the Jewish--Christian relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in general. He argues that "in such a relationship the partners are bound not by love but by interests, yet they are bound" (p. 116). Of interest is the chapter on the Israeli historiography's attitude toward Hasidism, in which the author traces how paradigms in the study of this movement have changed (pp. 65–103). While reading the chapter on post-1945 historiography (pp. 41–65), I wondered whether the watershed set by Rosman was entirely correct; it would be interesting to consider to what extent post-1945 historiography drew on pre-war experience, a question particularly intriguing in the context of the research by scholars such as Raphael Mahler.

In the next block, entitled 'Jews and other Poles', the author, referring to research by Gershon David Hundert,[2] elaborates on issues concerning Christian-Jewish relations in the Commonwealth and poses the fundamental question: "Were the Jews in Poland or also of it?" (p. 127) Individual chapters deal with the attitude of Jews towards the state, the perception of persecution by Jews and a microhistorical analysis of the situation in the town of Dubno in the mid-seventeenth century. The conclusion also includes an essay on the Jewish problem in the Constitution of 3 May 1971 (the first publication of Rosman's lecture delivered on 3 May 2014 at the Constitutional Tribunal in Warsaw). In this section, the author paints a complex picture of the relations between Jews and Christians and highlights the divisions within both the Jewish community and the entire population of the Commonwealth. Discussing detailed examples in each chapter, Rosman asserts that "The Jews were actually part and parcel of the country they lived in" (p. 127),

[2] 'Jews and Other Poles' is the title of one of the chapters in a monograph on the history of the Jews in Opatów, cf. Gershon David Hundert, *The Jews in a Polish Private Town. The Case of Opatów in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore–London, 1992), 36–46.

with their functioning within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth society defined equally by alienation and belonging. Contacts and mutual exchanges between the two groups took place on many levels, but cooperation was accompanied by conflicts and competition. By analysing the history of the Jewish community in Dubno during the Khmelnytskyi Uprising through Christian sources and confronting them with Hebrew accounts of the period, he shows that the scale of destruction of these events was much smaller than assumed by traditional Jewish historiography (pp. 151–67). In discussing this part of the volume, I would like to reflect on the use of the term 'Poles'. Rosman, following Gershon David Hundert to some extent, uses it to describe all the non-Jewish inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Given its contemporary, national connotations, the term is not quite accurate. It seems that the eighteenth-century residents of Międzybóż or Dubno, in addition to Jews, were Christians of various denominations, rather than Poles.

In parts three and five, Rosman discusses two of the most classic themes of Jewish historiography of the early modern era. In both cases, the author manages to raise new research questions and present well-known phenomena from a new perspective. In the third section, he analyses the functioning of Jewish autonomy in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, while in the fifth he examines selected issues from the history of Hasidism.

Rosman examines the functioning of Jewish institutions by drawing heavily on Christian sources, which allowed him to present the autonomous bodies of government as an integral part of the Polish-Lithuanian state system. An important reference point for this part of the volume is the theses of classical Jewish historiography: the notion of the "unmitigated tragedy" (p. 185) which supposedly characterized Jewish history, especially in the eighteenth century. Rosman's well-executed intention was to show a more balanced picture – including both positive and negative aspects of Jewish life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Individual chapters deal with the attitude of the state authorities toward the organs of Jewish autonomy, the activity of the *Va'ad Arba' Aratzot* (The Council of Four Lands) outside the Commonwealth, the debts of the Jewish community of Lublin in the eighteenth century, and violence in Jewish communes. The third block concludes with a chapter on the Commonwealth, perceived as the centre of Jewish religious studies after 1648. The final essay in this block corresponds perfectly with the previous part of the volume. Rosman here emphasizes, again, that the devastation of the mid-seventeenth century was short-lived. Rapid reconstruction in the second half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was also evident in the further development of religious studies.

Part five, dedicated to the history of Hasidism, is primarily intended to show the social aspects of the movement. Rosman's reference point is the focus of the earlier research on theological issues. As in the previous chapters,

non-Jewish sources become the key component in redefining Hasidism. In this block, the author examines the rise of the movement in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Jewish community in Międzybóż and the role of Baal Shem Tov within it, the significance of *Shivtei Ha-Besht* for the study of Hasidism, and the perception of Hasidism as a contemporary phenomenon. Using an extensive analysis of non-Jewish sources, Rosman argues that Baal Shem Tov, considered in Jewish tradition and historiography to be the founder of Hasidism, did not create a new religious movement; he was merely a representative of the already existing mystical-ascetic formation. In the chapter on the situation in Międzybóż, Rosman perfectly combines Jewish and non-Jewish documents, showing how fruitful this kind of 'source dialogue' can be; he analyses the social background of Hasidism, contacts of its members and their functioning within the Jewish community. The volume closes with an essay on various concepts of modernisation, in which the author argues that Hasidism was a modernizing movement.

The fourth block, devoted to Jewish women, addresses issues that have so far been very under-researched. It aims, first and foremost, to fill this gap and show that the history of Jews in the former Commonwealth is also herstory. Rosman's intention is to analyse the historical agency of Jewish women and to integrate women into the historiographical narrative in general. The section includes a methodological essay that discusses possible modes of women studies in the modern era, a text on the functioning of Jewish women in the society of the Commonwealth, and a discussion of *Tkhine Imohos*, a volume of women's prayers by Lea Horowitz, supplemented by an English-language edition of the source text. In all of the texts featured in this part, Rosman demonstrates that the early modern era was characterized by a significant increase in the importance of women's roles both in the religious (the rise of the women's section in the synagogue [*ezrat nashim*], and prayers 'for women') and the social spheres (the professional activity of Jewish women). Examples taken from both Jewish and non-Jewish sources prove that some female members of the Jewish community in the modern era received a decent religious education, and many were professionally active. Rosman points out that subsequent emancipation movements had roots in that period.

In conclusion, *Categorically Jewish, Distinctly Polish* should be compulsory reading for anyone involved professionally in the studies of the Polish--Lithuanian Commonwealth or just interested in this subject. The texts in the reviewed volume are both an overview of the current research and an inspiration for future historians.

transl. Krzysztof Heymer

Maria Cieśla
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2595-1553

Linda Erker, *Die Universität Wien im Austrofaschismus. Österreichische Hochschulpolitik 1933 bis 1938, ihre Vorbedingungen und langfristigen Nachwirkungen*, Göttingen, 2021, Vienna University Press bei V&R unipress, 326 pp., 40 ills; series: Schriften des Archivs der Universität Wien, 29

For a long time now, the history of the University of Vienna in the twentieth century has been critically studied and covered by a group of researchers from the Institut of Contemporary History of the University of Vienna. Vienna's academic community is slowly coming to terms with its complicated past – the entanglement of its predecessors in authoritarian and totalitarian regimes – and its structures of discrimination, exclusion and institutional violence. Extensive studies have already been devoted to the year 1938 and the expulsion of Jewish students and professors from the university campus by the Nazis,[1] the long history of academic anti-Semitism and violence,[2] the involvement of professorial staff in Nazism, and the ineffectiveness of the post-1945 denazification process in the academic world.[3] The debate is wide--ranging, as scholarly monographs are accompanied by more popular works, such as *Hochburg des Antisemitismus* or *Der Deutsche Klub*,[4] and exhibitions or commemorative actions.[5] Such as the deconstruction of the Head of Siegfried, a monument to the soldiers of the First World War, which had become a key memorial in the imaginarium of the far right and in 2006 was moved to the courtyard and annotated with critical commentary. Linda Erker, a scholar of the politics of memory and university history, right-wing networks and migrations to South America, as well as the co-author of historical exhibitions on universities as a zone of conflict and violence, has played an essential role in many of these fields. The book presented here is a revised version of her doctoral dissertation, defended by Erker in 2018 at the University of Vienna,

[1] Herbert Posch, Doris Ingrisch, and Gert Dressel, *"Anschluß" und Ausschluss 1938: vertriebene und verbliebene Studierende der Universität Wien* (Wien, 2008); Friedrich Stadler, *Kontinuität und Bruch 1938–1945–1955: Beiträge zur österreichischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Münster, 2004); Friedrich Stadler (ed.), *Vertriebene Vernunft: Emigration und Exil österreichischer Wissenschaft 1930–1940* (Münster, 2004).

[2] Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *Der lange Schatten des Antisemitismus. Kritische Auseinandersetzungen mit der Geschichte der Universität Wien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2013).

[3] Andreas Huber, *Rückkehr erwünscht: im Nationalsozialismus aus "politischen" Gründen vertriebene Lehrende der Universität Wien* (Wien–Münster, 2016); Huber, *Universität und Disziplin: Angehörige der Universität Wien und der Nationalsozialismus* (Wien, 2011).

[4] Klaus Taschwer, *Hochburg des Antisemitismus: der Niedergang der Universität Wien im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wien, 2015); Andreas Huber, Linda Erker, and Klaus Taschwer, *Der Deutsche Klub: Austro-Nazis in der Hofburg* (Wien, 2020).

[5] For instance, the exhibition at the Jewish Museum Vienna: *Die Universität. Eine Kampfzone*, 3 Nov. 2015 – 28 March 2016.

but also the result of her numerous findings presented in articles and the book mentioned above on the German Club (*Der Deutsche Klub*). The latter was an association of professors with the goal of promoting German science and 'combating foreign influence', which primarily took the form of limiting the relevance of professors and scholars of Jewish origin.

Die Universität Wien im Austrofaschismus is devoted to the functioning of the University of Vienna between 1933 and 1938, therefore, the period of the regime of Engelbert Dollfuss, who was assassinated and replaced by Kurt Schuschnigg. The author closely follows the political affiliations of professors and students, examines the university's development during this time and its personnel policy, and analyses the regime's interventions and academic policies. In writing about the University, which, in the 1930s, comprised 70–75 per cent of the total number of university students in Austria, she does not lose sight of the bigger picture: the atmosphere of civil war and fighting in 1934, the process of constituting authoritarian rule and the changing Austrian domestic relations in the face of increasing pressure from the Third Reich. It also sheds light on the far-reaching consequences and continuation of Austrofascist actions and attitudes in Austrian academia both in the post--Anschluss period and after 1945. Thus, we obtain a multidimensional and factual picture of the university in a broad political context.

Erker chooses to label Dollfuss and Schuschnigg's rule as 'Austrofascism', as political scientist Emmerich Tálos does in his works, although, as she admits, the term remains controversial. The years 1933–8 in Austrian history are referred to as the 'Dollfuss/Schuschnigg dictatorship', the 'Dollfuss/Schuschnigg era', 'authoritarian corporate state' (in reference to the definition of the regime as a *Standestaat*) or the 'chancellor dictatorship'; furthermore, Austrofascism is sometimes considered an ideologically loaded term in Austria. Erker motivates her choice by the fact that the term functioned in the interwar period: it was used by not only political opponents of the regime but also many Dollfuss's supporters who identified with fascism. The choice is also justified by Erker's analysis of the practices and legal measures of university policy, which, as she concludes, were very similar to those of other fascist states such as Mussolini's Italy, the Third Reich or Francoist Spain (pp. 25–6). In the course of the argument, the author tries to identify the influences drawn by the Dollfuss/Schuschnigg regime from Italy or the Third Reich, and in the conclusion, she shows parallels and similarities between the dictatorships.

Nevertheless, she could certainly add weight to her argument in this respect. Moreover, it is surprising that she makes no reference to the definition of 'generic fascism' and to many years-long extensive discussions around Austrofascism and its nature. Nor does she take a stance, not even a negative one, toward the distinctions made by researchers of fascist regimes, such as Stanley Payne or Roger Griffin, who place the Dollfuss dictatorship on the

side of conservative-Catholic authoritarianism (Griffin also speaks of ultra-nationalism) and the radical right, but not of fascism.[6] Thus, a reader less familiar with the debate around the nature of the 1930s Austrian regime may remain unconvinced due to the shortcomings of Erker's argument and a priori statements. However, this does not change the assessment of the quality and considerable value of the extensive analysis conducted by the Viennese researcher.

Linda Erker's study is based on impressive archival research. The author consulted the vast archives of the University of Vienna, the archives of other universities and the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the ministerial and police files and the Austrian press, which are the basis for the topic under consideration. But in tracing the fate of individual professors, she also accessed private collections and foreign archives, including the NSDAP personnel files at the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, the archives of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich and the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, DC. She analysed the accumulated material with a variety of tools, creating case studies and portraits of both right-wing decision-makers and excluded male and female researchers (as Erker treats gender issues with extreme care), as well as compiling exacting statistical summaries. All this was done to capture the significance of the Dollfuss/Schuschnigg regime's academic policy and the scale of the state interference in the University's life.

The scholars and students were not merely subjected to the authoritarian policy but also were its active actors. They either laid the ideological foundations of the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg regime or tried to throw a wrench in its works, but undoubtedly influenced the shape of state policy. Suffice it to say that Engelbert Dollfuss was an alumnus of *Alma Mater Rudolphina* and a politically active member of the Franco Bavaria fraternity. To reduce everything to biographical tropes, however, would be trivial. Erker does, obviously, point out such connections, but in keeping with the studies of fascist movements and regimes, which look for the roots of fascism in earlier ideological and political currents, she creates a genealogy of (academic) authoritarianism and violence, going back well before 1933. It reveals the politicisation of the academic field after 1918 and its domination by Volkist academic fraternities, which became fertile ground for the Nazi movement. She analyses the instrumental use of academic autonomy, which sought not so much to protect freedom of research as to defend the lawlessness and violence of professors and students used against Jews and socialists. Above all, Erker brings to light and closely examines the far-right social networks and (semi-) secret associations of scholars operating at the University of Vienna, such as the *Bärenhöhle*, an informal group of eighteen professors of the Faculty

[6] See Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (Madison, 1995), 252; Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (London, 1991), 240.

of Philosophy, or the German Club mentioned above. These circles influenced the filling of posts and academic appointments. Erker demonstrates not only how anti-Semitic networks led to stripping Jewish professors of their appointments but also how these networks secured a soft landing for academics who had been members of the NSDAP, both under Dollfuss and after the war. Her analysis reveals two strands of policy: the official one, declared in formal letters and decrees, and the concealed underground one, which often determined the actual shape of the decrees.

Erker focuses both on institutional determinants and on ideological structures while painting a picture of the University as a stronghold of 'Black Vienna', a milieu which cultivated anti-democratic and authoritarian ideas, was extremely anti-leftist, anti-Semitic, anti-Masonic, and reluctant to promote the emancipation of women.[7] Thus, she follows in the footsteps of the eminent historian Erika Weinzierl, who, in a lecture at the University of Salzburg in 1968, highlighted the intellectual climate of Austrian universities, which was unfavourable to the development of Austrian democracy. In the case of the University of Vienna, the influence of Othmar Spann's circle, who had promoted the idea of the corporate state as early as the 1920s, was significant and met with enthusiasm among German nationalists and Catholic students; the vision was to become a reality after 1933. Many members of the milieu became political figures in the regime.

In the adopted perspective, the University of Vienna appears not just as one of the political spaces but as an important institution in the Dollfuss/Schuschnigg system, which was to provide new elites, co-create an Austrian identity and help reshape the cultural profile of the state in a more Christian-Catholic vein. Civic education became the third pillar of the University, alongside didactics and research. Compulsory lectures (on ideological and civic education and on the ideological foundations of Austria) were introduced, and compulsory participation of male students in military exercises and university camps was decreed. Furthermore, university staff had to take an oath to serve the regime. The general goal was to create a university with a Catholic identity and to establish a new type of Austrian 'Germanness'. Hence, after a crackdown on the academic left, National Socialist influences were fiercely combated. Unwanted lecturers were temporarily retired, suspended indefinitely or even placed in so-called detention camps as enemies of the regime. The habilitation standard was changed so that only Austrian citizens were entitled to teach, contributing to academic provincialisation.

The thoughtful analysis and narrative allow Linda Erker to demonstrate the continuity of authoritarian and discriminatory strategies and attitudes throughout the inter-war era, up to the post-war period. Anti-democratic

[7] Janek Wasserman paints a vivid picture of the Black Vienna in his book: *Black Vienna. The Radical Right in the Red City, 1918–1938* (Ithaca, 2014).

and exclusionary practices did not just happen at the University of Vienna; they were already part of the academic culture before the advent of the dictatorship. Paradoxically, it was the authoritarian order and the placing of guards on the university grounds that curbed political and anti-Semitic violence, and the regime's hostile attitude towards the Nazis in the initial period helped to limit their influence at the University.

Erker, however, does not accept the narrative of 'good authoritarian Catholics-Austrian patriots', 'who were the first victims of Hitler' on the one hand, and 'evil Austrian Nazis' on the other hand. Instead, she clearly illustrates the meeting (and diverging) points between the two formations and shows how the regime's order and laws, already in the pipeline, helped the Nazis to introduce university receivership, coupled with the persecution of students and professors, post-March 1938. She also proves how the war experience did little to change attitudes and how professorial networks and lobbying groups continued to operate after the Second World War, finding safe haven under the umbrella of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW).

In moving passages, the historian reveals how, after 1945, the symbolic exclusion of professors of Jewish origin continued, as their names and achievements were omitted from the lexicon of natural sciences prepared by the ÖAW. Furthermore, Erker demonstrates that it was easier to rehabilitate, retire and provide a state pension for the Nazi-involved Professor Oswald Menghin than to secure a pension for the widow of the philosopher Heinrich Gomperz, who had been forced to emigrate before 1938 under the pretext of budgetary austerity and had been stripped of his title. This entanglement of Austrian academia continued until the 1970s, with the history of the University and the names of professors who had held academic posts in the 1930s and 1940s written in gold on marble tablets, disguising an unaccounted-for past.

I wish that Erker had devoted a little more space to social and cultural factors and that she had at least examined some of the sociological or psychological mechanisms of political radicalisation, discrimination, or opportunism during the dictatorship. To some extent, her work can be viewed as an analysis of the process of institutionalisation of exclusion at the University of Vienna, which had its roots in religious and ethnic prejudice or social tensions. Erker recognises, of course, the role of modern antisemitism and political Catholicism in Austrian life or the impact of the economic crisis and the economic difficulties the University faced, such as the dramatic lack of lecture hall space and seats. However, she does not interpret the decisions and emotions of social actors through these phenomena. Certainly, the emotions, disillusionment and sense of insecurity that Austrian society had to face as a result of the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy, the losing war and the reinvention of itself as a nation-state were reflected in the biographies of students and professors who were turning ever more to the right in terms of their politics. Tackling these topics would require turning to other disciplines

and borrowing research methods from anthropology, sociology or psychology. Erker stays in the field of political and social history and post-war politics of memory, trying more to hold people accountable than to understand their attitudes. And she is, of course, entitled to do so.

There is also a slight deficiency in the absence of broader comparative references to the functioning of universities and academic politics in other authoritarian or fascist regimes. Erker's doctoral thesis was originally comparative in nature, as it juxtaposed the University of Vienna with the history of the Complutense University of Madrid during the Spanish Civil War and Francisco Franco's regime. It is a real pity that the comparative component has been removed in the published version. This decision is understandable, as the content of the dissertation clearly indicated the author was mainly concerned with Austrian problems and the chapters on Spain were rather pretextual. Nevertheless, had Erker chosen to elaborate on this comparison, it could have uncovered the commonalities of authoritarian policies at European universities and deepened the reflection on the place of science and student youth within these institutions. Such a comparative study could also provide an important impetus in the debate mentioned above on the nature of Dollfuss' rule and reveal the fascist character of his regime, as diagnosed by the author.

This minor criticism, however, in no way invalidates Erker's achievement, and it should additionally be tempered with praise for the fact that in a mere 320 pages, the author has managed to touch on so many issues and make many pioneering findings while keeping her argumentation flowing and clear. The reader is convinced, an impression not so common in historical works, including those written in German, that this is an excellently documented historical work and an important voice in the debate on Austrian memory. Erker is not afraid of putting forward unequivocal statements and incisive theses; at the same time, however, she draws attention to nuances and specific misinterpretations, even when adopting them could have supported her own argument. For example, she describes the murder of the outstanding philosopher, Professor Moritz Schlick, a case which, following other historians, she could easily include in the narrative of university anti-Semitism; however, Erker calls attention to the complexity of the situation and the voices from the ruling camp that sympathised with the victim. This shows the scholar's research integrity and unwillingness to cut corners. Linda Erker's monograph is an undeniably significant contribution to the history of the University of Vienna and the Dollfuss regime, whether we call it a corporate state or Austrofascism. It sets the standard for bold and nuanced writing about the involvement of the Central European academy in far-right politics.

transl. Krzysztof Heymer

Izabela Mrzygłód
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7312-9361

Yechiel Weizman, *Unsettled Heritage. Living next to Poland's Material Jewish Traces after the Holocaust*, Ithaca and London, 2022, Cornell University Press, xiii + 289 pp.

Yechiel Weizman traces the evolution of Polish attitudes towards the surviving Jewish population and material remnants of its recent past across Poland after the Second World War. He investigates the actions of local officials and leaders tasked with shaping these spaces in post-war Poland within their respective neighbourhoods.

The author draws upon a collection of sources consisting primarily of letters exchanged between local administrators, the communist government, and organisations representing Polish Shoah survivors (which in the Polish People's Republic were supervised by the state authorities); they originate from various Polish towns and villages, including but not limited to Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Nowy Sącz, Kępno, Radom, Zamość, Tarnogród, Olkusz, Bełchatów, Chełmno, Przemyśl, Kraśnik, Kałuszyn, Szydłowiec or Łask. Meticulously analysing this paper trail, Weizman delves into the discussions surrounding the remaining Jewish landmarks and examines how they influenced the future symbolic status and usage of those spaces. As a result, he skilfully uncovers the intricate factors that shaped Polish attitudes towards Jewish communal property and their evolution over time.

Using the concept of "the performativity of bureaucratic discourse", Weizman demonstrates how the language and implicit meanings in these documents laid "the conceptual grounds for shaping the new post-war demographic and cultural order" (p. 57). The author's exceptional ability to conceptualise terms which might have been self-explanatory within the Polish discourse on the Holocaust is of utmost importance. His work provides a comprehensive understanding not only of the literal meanings but also the socio-cultural implications of terms such as 'Judeo-Communism', 'Recovered Territories', 'formerly Jewish/German property', or the pejorative term 'Yids' [*Żydki*]. Thanks to his explanatory prowess, readers outside of Poland can now easily navigate these terms and grasp their significance in the historical context.

The opening chapters of the book portray how, in the immediate aftermath of the war, the communist government displayed a greater sensitivity towards the devastated Jewish community in Poland than the local governing bodies (p. 36). Petitions requesting the conversion of synagogues into facilities like cinemas or the utilisation of Jewish cemeteries for activities such as grazing livestock were predominantly rejected at the central level. However, regional authorities perceived such adaptations as the most pragmatic choice, given the catastrophic impact of the war on their districts and the prevailing belief that the Nazi annihilation of the Jewish community in Poland was irreversible and absolute. Nevertheless, pre-war perceptions of Jewish property often

persisted at the grassroots level. Some local officials expected the decimated Jewish population in their neighbourhoods to look after "their [Jewish] own cemeteries" (p. 53). These demands disregarded the fact that such arrangements were unrealistic and groundless in the post-war reality. The newly introduced policy of nationalisation severed the continuity of inheritance of public properties between pre- and post-war Jewish communities, depriving them of their property rights. In certain instances, local officials sought approval from Jewish organisations to repurpose synagogues, even though this action involved entering into now illegal agreements.

The following chapters cover the period of the 1950s and 1960s. The late 1960s witnessed the peak of anti-Semitic policies by the Polish government and the development of nationalistic tendencies to 'Polonise' the Holocaust. Weizman illustrates how Jewish cemeteries and synagogues progressively suffered from neglect, leading to their physical decay and symbolic devaluation. As time passed, they became objects of contempt within local communities, regarded as unhygienic, dirty, and unsightly spaces (pp. 137–48). During this period of the communist era, Jewish sites were viewed as hindrances to the modernisation endeavours of the Polish state, symbolic challenges to Polish post-war self-identity, and practical nuisances for nearby residents. The increasingly antagonistic policies of the government towards Jews and the prevalence of anti-Jewish sentiments in provincial and national discourses further contributed to the eventual dismantling of synagogues and closure of Jewish cemeteries.

The concluding chapters focus on the period from approximately 1970 onwards, set against the backdrop of a gradually escalating political crisis that eventually led to the collapse of the Polish People's Republic. Weizman explores how transnational European contexts influenced the perception of Jewish sites in Poland, elevating them to historically significant landmarks. He demonstrates how, during this period, Jewish communal spaces gradually acquired a contested and counteractive status within the dominant cultural and political discourse, becoming substantial components in the struggle for emancipation from communist rule.

In each chapter, Weizman convincingly discusses the complexity of the issues, enriching the analysis with illustrative excerpts from his sources. Going beyond a generic overview of communist rule in Poland, he diligently reveals the logic which underlies the Polish stance on remnants of pre-war Jewish public property, providing readers with a deeper understanding of the factors that elucidate cases like that of the Dąbrowa Tarnowska synagogue. In the 1950s, the town authorities initiated efforts to obtain the government's approval for converting the local 'former synagogue' (p. 94) into a cultural centre. Despite their endeavours, the plans to repurpose the synagogue were ultimately unsuccessful. During the 1960s, the local authorities adopted a different stance and strongly advocated for the demolition of the synagogue.

Their rationale was based on concerns about sanitation, potential construction hazards, and the synagogue's perceived negative impact on the town's aesthetic appeal (p. 138). By the early 1970s, township leaders in Dąbrowa Tarnowska underwent a change in perspective. They began to recognise the historical value of the synagogue as a significant cultural heritage site. Actively engaging in efforts to obtain national funding to restore and preserve the building, they now acknowledge its importance as a 'monument of universal value' (p. 186).

The author's comparative approach is another noteworthy feature of the book, as it offers original insights into the subject. Weizman juxtaposes Polish attitudes towards the remnants of the Jewish communities with those towards the remnants of other minority groups within the Polish milieu. Additionally, he examines the situation of Jews in the so-called 'Recovered Territories' in Poland, which were predominantly inhabited by Germans before the war. Consequently, Jews in these areas had to confront a dual sense of stigma in Polish society, both as Germans and as Jews. At the same time, they faced the psychological burden of participating in the reclaiming of possessions of the displaced German population, a challenge widespread in and typical for post-war Polish society.

The book's persuasiveness wanes only when the author introduces interpretations of plausible motivations behind observed phenomena. In conclusion, Weizman states: "From […] outsider-insider perspective, I have attempted to make sense of Poland's material Jewish remnants […] through the eyes of post-war Polish society" (p. 205). The author acknowledges the constraints on freedom under communist rule in Poland, as he mentions certain practices as initiated by "Moscow-backed authorities" (p. 19) or "inspired by Moscow" (p. 79). But at the same time, he overlooks the dependency dynamic that shaped the relationship between Polish society and state authorities. Weizman fails to address the varying levels of trust and complicity (whether ideological or practical) towards communist governance among Poles and does not recognise his sources as a potential reflection of these dependencies. The reader may thus come to an erroneous conclusion that Polish society uniformly embraced communist rule in 1945, only to gradually lose faith in the regime over time, leading to a complete collapse of hope in the aftermath of the events of 1968.

Despite this weakness, Weizman's work avoids oversimplified answers and demonstrates the necessary attentiveness required when dealing with the memory of the Holocaust in Poland. Through its diligent and multifaceted approach, the book skilfully integrates the ambivalent relationships between Jewish and non-Jewish Poles in the post-war communist era into the larger context of Poland's complex perception of its own history. Weizman adeptly disentangles this perception, allowing readers within and beyond the country's borders to access and understand it. Consequently, they not only gain valuable

insights into one of the most sensitive aspects of Polish post-war history but also find a useful starting point for understanding the present-day political and cultural issues related to the Jewish community in Poland.

Katarzyna Anzorge
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5566-9586

Luso-Tropicalism and Its Discontents. The Making and Unmaking of Racial Exceptionalism, ed. by Warwick Anderson, Ricardo Roque, and Ricardo Ventura Santos, New York–Oxford, 2019, Berghahn Books, 346 pp., 15 ills, index

Gilberto Freyre's *Casa-Grande e Senzala* (English title: *The Masters and the Slaves*), published in 1933, was one of the most influential, albeit often debated and controversial books in the Portuguese-speaking world academia. Its theses about the 'gentle' nature of Portuguese colonisation, the exceptional tolerance of the Portuguese, and their predisposition to develop intimate relationships with people of different races have influenced many publicists, academics and politicians (Adriano Moreira, José Osório de Oliveira, Jorge Dias). This essentialist component was considered an attribute of the Portuguese spirit, not subject to temporal and spatial changes. The Portuguese, who had been exploring and settling the territories they colonised since the fifteenth century, supposedly created a unique world, free of all the systematic forms of racism and discrimination typical of the British, Dutch and French spheres of influence.

The work under review presents a joint discussion by a group of anthropologists and historians over Freyre's opus. In eleven case studies on the history of anthropology, eugenics and race in the broadly defined 'Portuguese world', they aim to show that practices, theories and intellectual formation founded upon scientific racism and prejudice could be found both in Portugal and the regions influenced by the presence of its empire. The central assumption of the volume can be summarised in a claim that 'exceptionality' is not an objective characteristic of any nation but just a cultural construct determined by different models of intellectual exchange. Freyre is a prime example of this thesis, as he wrote his book in opposition to the racism he had seen in the American South. *Case-Grande e Senzala* was part of a long tradition of comparing Brazil and the US, practised for many decades by researchers rooted in both countries (Manuel de Oliveira Lima, Donald Pierson). The second point made is that all national or racial 'exceptionalities' are qualities of a particular people inhabiting a specific nation-state. Portugal thus transferred its national characterology to the complex structure of the

entire empire in the twentieth century. Therefore, critically assessing any all-encompassing pretensions offered by such projects is extremely important. The work covers the period from the first decades of the twentieth century until the 1970s. The authors use the concept of the so-called Global South, which they characterise as an active area of intellectual exchange involving colonies and settler communities located mainly in the Southern Hemisphere. The book demonstrates how the exchange of ideas between different regions of this part of the world took place.

In the first chapter, Cláudia Castelo analyses the genealogy of Gilberto Freyre's thought as expressed in *Casa-Grande e Senzala* and the reception of his ideas in the Portuguese colonial empire from the 1930s to the 1960s. As she points out, the direct influence of the father of American cultural anthropology, Franz Boas, on Freyr's views is not as apparent as is often cited in the literature. It was more his conversations with his friend Rüdiger Bilden, who worked on the history of slavery in Brazil, that supposedly opened him up to the influence of American anthropology. Using numerous examples, Castelo shows just how varied the reception of his thought was across the Portuguese world. It was embraced by Cape Verdean intellectuals and some Europeanized Africans and Angolan *mestizos*, who appreciated Freyre's emphasis on the role of Black people in the formation of Brazil. However, the situation was quite different in the metropolis, where reactions were mixed, if not overtly hostile. Castelo cites statements by physical anthropologists Eusébio Tamagnini and Mendes Correia, who considered racial mixing risky and dangerous. One can also see how the term *mestizo* was equated with 'mental degeneration', 'inferiority' or 'immorality'. Fundamental changes were to be brought about by the Second World War and the decolonisation pressures mounting from various sides. Castelo notes that Freyre's book inspired many scholars in the post-war period, following the adoption of Lusotropicalism as Portugal's official state doctrine. In particular, the scholar draws attention to Portuguese eugenicist Almerindo Lessa, who initiated serological studies on populations living in Cape Verde and Macau in an effort to find biological evidence of the existence of the new man in the tropics that Freyre wrote about.

In chapter two, Jerry Dávila sees the Brazilian writer as a self-image creator and a publicly engaged author who wanted to be a central figure in the process of defining Brazil's national identity. Like Castelo, Dávila also draws attention to the relationship between Freyre and Boas. He points out that the American anthropologist taught only two courses during his studies at Columbia University. Additionally, Freyre was said to have had more contact with historians than with his supposed mentor. Later in the chapter, Dávila highlights how the researcher used his scholarly authority to silence and marginalise voices who opposed his vision of Brazil and Portugal. Several examples show how Freyre sought to discredit the voices of Brazil's black

population and African nationalists fighting to break away from Portuguese rule. Dávila sees this figure in two dimensions: a populist who creates an image of Brazil that features benign race relations and an ethnic nationalist who believes in the moral and cultural superiority of the Portuguese. As the researcher points out, Freyre wrote *Casa-Grande e Senzala* when the black community in Brazil was mostly illiterate and, due to its social position, lacked the opportunity for the kind of educational path Freyre had. This prevented the community from telling its own story of participation in Brazil's formative process. As some of its members sought their African identity and protested discrimination in the 1950s and 1960s, Freyre attacked them, painting them as communists or 'negrophiles'. Dávila also shows how Freyre became more politically involved, aligning himself with the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal and supporting the military junta in Brazil in 1964.

In chapter three, Lorenzo Macagno tackles the biography of Kamba Simango, a Protestant missionary born in Mozambique in 1890, who later became an *assimilado*.[1] As a young man, Simango received education from American missionaries, and with the help of the Christian organisation American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he travelled to the US to study; there he met Franz Boas. His involvement with the American Board, however, prevented him from taking the academic path. Despite this, Boas was keen to keep in touch with his student, sending him letters and trying to persuade him to become an anthropologist. Remarkably, Macagno depicts the relatively close relationship between Simango and Boas in contrast to the one Freyre was said to have maintained with the American anthropologist. Making the comparison, he concludes that the relationship between the author of *Casa-Grande e Senzala* and Boas was not at all as portrayed by the Brazilian researcher. Indeed, one may ask that if their relationship had been close, wouldn't some kind of written correspondence between them have survived? No such letters, however, have been found in Boas's papers in the Columbia University archives. Moreover, on one occasion in the 1930s, Boas is said to have inquired about the name of the author of *Casa-Grande*, which he did not quite remember. Macagno also shows how Simango's life adventures (studying at Columbia, contacts with the Pan-African movement) influenced his identity as a Portuguese *assimilado*. With his education, he could not acquire a status equal to the Portuguese. This, Macango argues, demonstrates the paradox of Portuguese colonisation, which sought to integrate natives on the one hand and isolate them on the other, not least by restricting their upward social mobility. The effects of such living conditions are said to have been the main reason Simango emigrated from Mozambique to Ghana in 1936.

[1] *Assimilado* – status given to black subjects of Portuguese colonies in Africa who had attained the level of "civilisation" desired by the authorities.

The fourth chapter was devoted to the history of eugenics in Brazil and its relationship to anthropology and genetics. Robert Wegner and Vanderlei Sebastião de Souza chose to discuss the issue using the example of four Brazilian eugenicists: Edgar Roquette-Pinto, Octavio Domingues, Salvador de Toledo Piza and Renato Kehl. In the first section of the text, they show that neo-Lamarckian theories were prevalent in Brazil in the early decades of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, Gregor Mendel's theories also gained recognition among some eugenicists; as the chapter demonstrates, however, they were interpreted differently and led to varying conclusions and assessments regarding racial mixing. Roquette-Pinto and Domingues, through their own interpretation of Mendel's laws, dismissed the influence of the environment and tried to prove that there are no inferior and superior races, meaning that there is nothing in the genetic makeup of the Brazilian *mestizos* that would indicate their alleged degeneration. Toledo Pisa and Kehl represented a different worldview. Kehl seems to have been the more distinctive of the two, advocating racial segregation, marriage control and sterilisation of the mentally ill. Disputes within the divided eugenicist community erupted at the First Brazilian Eugenics Congress, where Roquette-Pinto opposed Kehl, arguing that social conditions, not biology, were responsible for the misery of the *mestizos*. Notably, the chapter's authors point out that even before Freyre, the seeds of anti-racist theories had been emerging, which were further developed in his 1933 book.

In the next chapter, Marcos Chor Maio examines the relationship between Freyre and UNESCO. The context of the section is a research project carried out in Brazil in the early 1950s on the causes of armed conflict, rivalries between nations and racial stereotyping. Brazil, regarded as a country free of racial discrimination – the reputation it owed in part to Freyre – was chosen by the organisation for the project. Initially, the state of Bahia, which had a large population of *mestizos* and mulattoes, was selected as the object of study. The researchers were to examine, among other factors, the impact of new technologies on the residents' lives and the link between social mobility and race. In discussions with the head of UNESCO, Freyre managed to include his hometown, Recife, in the project. This part of the research was to be handled by Rene Ribeiro, an anthropologist employed by the Joaquim Nabuco Institute for Social Research, which Freyre had established. As part of the project, he was to study the impact of Catholicism, Protestantism and African religions on race relations in Recife. Interestingly, while relying on assumptions inspired by Freyre's work (the underdeveloped racial consciousness of the Portuguese, a patriarchal society, the small number of white women in Brazil), he came to different conclusions. He believed that Brazil still had to face the problems that slavery had left in its wake. Vast landed estates were supposed to restrict upward mobility, halt the formation of the middle class and the internal market, and slow industrialisation. The project showed

that Brazil was not free of discrimination, intensifying criticism of Freyre. Criticism, as the author shows, has been evident since the 1940s. Even then, he was accused of overgeneralisations, such as equating Brazil's northeast with the entire country, or of lacking scientific rigour and an essayistic, unprofessional writing style.

Chapter six by Rosanna Dent and Ricardo Ventura Santos focuses on a book by two Brazilian geneticists, Francisco M. Solzano and Newton Freire-Maia: *Populações brasileiras*: *Aspectos demograficos*, *geneticos e antropologicos*. In the 1960s, researchers decided to characterise the Brazilian nation from a genetic perspective. As the chapter's authors argue, Freyre's work served as a conceptual legacy that influenced the choice of research topic. The study of national populations was not popular at the time. It was thought that populations had to be genetically consistent, a difficult condition to satisfy in multiracial Brazil. Solzano and Freire-Maia, like Freyre, emphasised the uniqueness of Portuguese colonisation and the inevitability of intimate contacts between colonists and native populations. Just like the sociologist, they tried to justify that mixing the three races was a nation-building factor. This time, however, they searched for its uniqueness in genes. As the authors of the chapter point out, the personal motivations of the geneticists, i.e., promoting Brazil's nascent field of population genetics, were also important. *Populações brasileiras* also represented another anti-racist voice that opposed global inequality and openly called for educating white people so that they would reject racism. Dent and Santos point out, however, that some of the solutions the geneticists had adopted hindered their fight against racism. By painting the mixing of races as friendly and inevitable, they oversimplified history and reduced sexual violence to biological processes.

In chapter seven, Ricardo Roque demonstrates how racial theories in post-the Second World War Portugal assumed an affective, spiritual or even mystical character. He proves this thesis with the example of an anthropological mission organised by the Portuguese state in the 1950s to study the population of East Timor. Since 1930, a number of such scientific endeavours have been led by the physical anthropologist Mendes Correia, founder of the so-called Porto School of Anthropology. Correia was a leading figure in Portuguese anthropological studies from the interwar period until the late 1950s. He viewed the empire as a creation under the custody of which different races lived, united by invisible patriotic feelings toward Portugal. Roque places Correia's views against the backdrop of messianic and mystical interpretations of the historical vocation of the Portuguese empire, ideas resurgent in the post-war period. He also points out that Correia's reluctance towards racial mixing and emphasis on the community of spirit can be linked to the Christian interpretation of the relationship between soul and body. The author points out that the Second World War, during which the colony fell under Japanese occupation, played a significant role in the perception

of Timor. Many residents perished at the hands of the aggressors, and Dom Aleixo, one of the Timorese chiefs, became a symbol of their struggle. The plight of the island and its people attracted public attention in Portugal and reinforced the anthropologist's views on the spiritual relationship between the Portuguese and the Timorese. Finally, Roque points out that the Second World War did not discredit racism everywhere. In Portugal, it changed form and became embedded in many scientific projects.

In chapter eight, Samuël Coghe addresses the evolution of racial concepts regarding the Bushmen population during Portuguese rule. The Bushmen originally inhabited vast areas of Africa but were pushed into the southern regions of West Africa with the invasion of the Bantu peoples. Their plight and primitive lifestyle based on hunting and gathering was the reason they had been regarded as one of the lowest races. At the end of the nineteenth century, many social Darwinists argued that since the Bushmen had been displaced by the stronger Bantu peoples, it meant they were weak and destined for extinction in the future. These discussions made their way to Portugal, which, at the time, did not conduct research on the peoples of its empire and had no way of verifying such theories. Coghe shows that these ideas were among the factors that led to the Bushmen being released by the Portuguese authorities from the obligation to work, which was forced upon all inhabitants of the African colonies. Things began to change with the end of the Second World War when anthropological missions travelled to Angola to study the populations on site. The Bushmen were given considerable attention, their physical characteristics being analysed in detail. The author compares the Portuguese scientists' research with analogous studies conducted in the Union of South Africa, where Bushmen tribes also existed. Coghe emphasises, using this example, how slowly the typological paradigm in anthropology was shifting to an evolutionary one, based on biological anthropology. He points out that while some researchers questioned the existence of a separate race of Bushmen, as, among other things, steatopygia is not found only among them; others argued that there are diseases specific only to this group. Finally, Coghe explains how Portuguese colonial authorities sought to settle the Bushmen and how perceptions about the group influenced Portuguese policy during the colonial wars.

In the ninth chapter, Ana Carolina Vimieiro-Gomes compared biotypological research conducted in Portugal and Brazil in the 1930s. In particular, she addressed the scientific publications of the Anthropological School of Porto, led by its main figure, Mendes Correia, and the Medical School of Rio de Janeiro. Vimieiro-Gomes shows that the two countries differed on the use of the notion of race in biotypological research. In both authoritarian states, the field was embroiled to varying degrees in debates about race and national identity. In the case of Brazil, biotypology was closely linked to discussions about the heterogeneous composition of the Brazilian population. For this

reason, in an effort to establish ideal body parameters for the inhabitants of that country, biotypologists used racial terms to categorize populations and created not one but several patterns of so-called normal biotypes. In the case of Portugal, where there were many different biotypological taxonomies and terminologies of racial classifications, the issue of racial mixing did not play such a major role.

In chapter ten, Cristiana Bastos looks at three Portuguese populations that never featured in Freyre's analyses. Using the example of Portuguese settler communities in Angola, the author analysed the views of the Goan-origin physical anthropologist and physician Alberto Germano da Silva Correia. She shows that his writings were filled with references to racial purity, both when he wrote about his group of so-called *lusodescendente* and the Angolan colonists he studied in the 1920s. Unlike Freyre, da Silva Correia concluded that it was due to endogamy and not racial mixing that the Portuguese were able to acclimate to that environment. In the second case, Bastos analyses the doctoral dissertation of Donald Taft, an American researcher at Columbia University, who, in the 1920s, investigated high death rates among infants born in Portuguese communities in New England. He concluded that they did not differ from those recorded among the black population, which he explained by racial connections between the groups. The work provoked protests by the Portuguese community, which disagreed with that vision of their past. The final topic in this chapter is about the Portuguese immigrant community in Hawaii. Hawaii, as a separate kingdom, invited people from all over the world in the late nineteenth century to take up contract labour on the islands. Between 1878 and 1913, several thousand settlers from Portugal arrived and scattered around the archipelago, forming local micro-communities. This caused them to marry within their own group for a long time. In conclusion, Bastos states that when the multiracial origin of the Portuguese was hinted at, they would defend against it by invoking their own genealogy and history.

In the final chapter, Pamila Gupta addressed the Goan diaspora that inhabited the Zanzibar area. She shows how their history contradicted Freyre's theses. Gupta points out that this group of emigrants should be viewed from the perspective of so-called 'interimperialism', i.e., showing the history of colonial subjects in terms of not one, but many colonial empires. Their identity, as the researcher points out, was malleable and not essentialist as Freyre perceived it. Leaving the confines of the Portuguese empire made them feel they were not only Goanese, but also Indians, living alongside the Parsis or emigrants from Gujarat. In turn, their Portuguese past manifested itself in Catholicism, which distinguished them from other groups of Indian origin.

In conclusion, the book is a vital contribution to the ongoing discussion of the Freyre's concept and its political and social implications. It shows how different notions about race coexisted in Portugal and the regions defined

by its empire. It was not as tolerant as Freyre wanted it to be. Among many Portuguese (Mendes Correia, Eusébio Tamagnini) and Brazilian (Renato Kehl) scholars, there were voices openly opposing racial mixing. The alleged tendency of the Portuguese to easily establish intimate contacts with other peoples was considered by such academics rather as a flaw, a blemish which produced sickly individuals and hindered the development of the nation. In addition to some academics, 'ordinary' people also referred to Portuguese national heroes and literary works rather than their mixed ancestry in instances where their racial ancestry was questioned. Others, like the Goan people in Zanzibar, showed that Portuguese identity was not at all as fixed as the Brazilian sociologist claimed. The book also shows that even before Freyre, there were people like Edgar Roquette-Pinto who challenged the ideas of scientific racism and fought for the recognition of the *mestizo* population. *Casa-Grande e Senzala* seems in this context to be a link in a long chain of awareness transformations, not a revolution brought over from Columbia University. One may then ask why exactly it succeeded and inspired so many people. It is likely that Freyre's readers simply wanted to believe the author. Since the end of the nineteenth century, science began to question the commonly held theories about the detrimental effects of tropical climates and racial mixing on human physical and mental development. Both determinisms condemned the Brazilian people to degeneration, mental incapacity and backwardness. *Casa-Grande e Senzala* was the final straw in that debate, a culmination of attitudes long present in intellectual circles.[2] The explanatory effect of race and climate was reversed, as Freyre presented them as the foundation for the emergence of Brazil's unique society. Undoubtedly, the book's rejection of an academic style and its embrace of the subject of everyday life enabled it to attract a large readership.

transl. Krzysztof Heymer

Szymon Głąb
*https://orcid.org/*0009-0007-5744-0380

[2] Thomas Skidmore, 'Raízes de Gilberto Freyre', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 34 (2002), 13–14.