

**EVOLUTION OF A PERSONAL AND MORAL MODEL OF WOMAN
IN POLISH HISTORY BOOKS IN THE YEARS 1945–1999**

MAŁGORZATA SZYMCZAK

Ve snaze charakterizovat nejzajímavější směry vzdělávací práce v průběhu hodin dějepisu, autorka příspěvku sáhla po učebnicích dějepisu pro střední školy vydaných v letech 1945–1999. Stojí za připomenutí, že představy o ženách vytvářené učebnicemi dějepisu a výukovými programy jsou ve velké míře důsledkem vlastního vzdělávacího systému. Během období existence Polské lidové republiky byly politické změny spojeny s rozsáhlými revizemi učebnic a výukových programů.

Klíčová slova: Dějiny 20. století; historické knihy; žena; Polsko

One of the foundations of a school history education, apart from giving skills and knowledge, is the forming attitudes, values and models. As a social science, history can be a source of values in the area of creating, as well as expressing them. As J. Maternicki notices, every culture puts the human at the top place of its rank system of value hierarchy. It is also the human who stands as a basic value in history education¹. “Placing the human on the pedestal of history education, one should interpret his or her role in two ways, as a subject and object of the teaching process. Every time we talk about certain personal models.”² – stresses J. Brynkus. Considering history as a science forming the present and the future as well, one should remember the values and models the authors of history books create in the images of their characters. Textbooks are still a final product of the author’s selection of facts. Andrzej Grabski notices: „It’s not the facts talk about us in history, but those who organise them according to an idea, and who use them precisely to convince us of their right. The so-called objective meaning of the facts, which we so often appeal to, is nothing but a conclusion suggested by those who organise the facts into a whole.”³. School history, popularized by textbooks and teaching programmes, creates certain universal models dealing with which a student can revise his or her own behaviours, as well as create new values.

Willing to characterise the most interesting directions of educational work led during history classes, the author of this dissertation has reached for history textbooks published for secondary schools between 1945 and 1999. It has been decided that the illustration of the ideals and models should be limited to the characters of women appearing in those textbooks and how they were changing under the influence of political and social transformations should be monitored. It is also worth remembering that the images of women built by school history in textbooks and teaching programmes are to a large extent the effect of changes in the education system itself. During the period of the People’s Republic of Poland, political changes were connected with a sometimes very great revision of textbooks and teaching programmes. Every syllabus change

¹ MATERNICKI, J.: *Historia i wychowanie*. Warszawa 1990, p. 59.

² BRYNKUS, J.: *Człowiek jako wartość podstawowa w edukacji historycznej*. In: *Wartości w edukacji historycznej*. Bydgoszcz 1999, p. 105.

³ GRABSKI, A.: *Historia a edukacja polityczna. Uwagi metodologiczne*. In: *Studia nad świadomością historyczną Polaków*. Poznań 1994.

stressed history teaching and the contents of history books differently. Between 1945 and 1989, the Polish education system had been structurally reformed three times: in 1945, 1961 and 1973. All the reforms were holistic attempts at adjusting education to the political and social changes, yet they led to education becoming political and ideological. Officially, after the end of World War II legislation of the 2nd Republic was still in force in which the basis of the education system had been introduced in 1932. Therefore a socialist ideal of education and organisation in the first years after the War was not yet organised. The years 1945–1948 in the educational sphere were characterised by rather temporary solutions. There was an attempt to adjust the system to the new authorities needs by use of short-term actions. Properly selected information concerning the western countries and the Polish-Soviet alliance was introduced into the teaching programmes for history and Polish, the programmes were saturated with clearly anti-German accents. The second direction of changes aimed at the creation of a moral and social model of a Pole – a hard-working patriot of a highly sociable personality, eager to sacrifice for higher goals⁴. It has been underlined that the values preferred in education were the ideals of democracy and humanistic culture, which were meant to become the basis for shaping moral attitudes and relations towards work⁵.

In 1948, a reform structurally standardising the education system was started and with few changes it survived until 1961⁶. In 1949 at a School inspectors congress J. Barbag pointed out tasks for history in school education: “History cannot be a thoughtless gathering of facts, limiting the entire history to become the annals of wars and biographies of kings. (...) History ought to be a school for folk patriotism and internationalism, it should develop pride in what has been modern in a nation’s past and what served its interests, and it should spread fondness for the best traditions connected with the struggle of progressive forces of all peoples for a social and national liberation”⁷.

Another reform of the system of education came into force under an act from July 15, 1961. Article 1 of the act defined teaching objectives as ensuring: “a versatile development of students and forming them into conscious and creative citizens of the People’s Republic of Poland. It aimed at providing the students and pupils with knowledge of the laws of nature and of social life, of his nation’s and humanity’s history and culture, in order to form a scientific view of the world”⁸.

Political and social changes of the 1980s and 1990s did not leave Polish educational system unaffected. Changes in the contents of teaching concerned not only the teaching programmes⁹, but also the textbooks. They were especially visible in the humanitarian subjects. The contents were gradually “unlied”, and history depicted in the textbooks contained less and less “blank patches”, became more and more reliable. The biggest reform concerned the newest facts, especially the periods of the 2nd Republic and of the People’s Republic of Poland. The most important issues, apart from the system changes, were the programme changes, which

⁴ MAUSBERG, S.: *Reforma szkolnictwa w Polsce w latach 1944–1948*. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1974, pp. 66–67.

⁵ Sprawozdanie ze Zjazdu Delegatów ZNP w Bytomiu w dniach 25–28. XI. 1945. AAN/KC PPR, sygn. 295/XVII/50, p. 23 after; MAZUR, J.: *U progu zmian ideału wychowawczego w powojennej Polsce* (dylematy nauczycieli). In: *Wartości w edukacji historycznej*. Bydgoszcz 1999, p. 207.

⁶ Official Journal of the Minister of Education, 1948, No. 7, pt. 127, p. 271.

⁷ BARBAG, J.: *Zagadnienia programów szkolnych i wyników nauczania. Referat wygłoszony na Ogólnokrajowym Zjeździe Inspektorów Szkolnych w Warszawie w maju 1949r.* Warszawa 1949, p. 15.

⁸ Journal of Laws, 1961, No. 32, pt 160.

⁹ *Program Liceum ogólnokształcącego, liceum zawodowego, technikum. Historia*. Warszawa 1997; *Program nauczania. Historia dla liceum ogólnokształcącego*. Warszawa 1998.

consisted in reducing the teaching material and dividing it into an optional and a compulsory part¹⁰. The deepest changes however took place in 1999, when the reform of the educational system was introduced into the Polish schools¹¹. Teaching objectives for history were established as follows: “1. Deepening and developing knowledge and skills acquired at a previous educational level in order to know and understand the past of one’s own region and country as well as the history of the world better. 2. Deepening the understanding of connections between the past, the present and the future. 3. Building one’s own identity and forming a system of values. 4. Developing public and patriotic spirits, a sense of belonging to family, local, regional, ethnic or national communities. 5. Preparing to participate in lives of various communities, based on the principals and values of democracy; forming an attitude of understanding and tolerance for different cultures, customs and beliefs fitting into a civilisation’s standards of values¹².”

Moral models and attitudes in history textbooks from the period of the People’s Republic of Poland

The dissemination of a model of full equality of rights took place after World War II, and the systemic changes which began in the USSR and spread to the other parts of Central and Eastern Europe implied the creation of a new image of woman. The propaganda endeavours run by the authorities led to the origin of a specific image of woman. It resulted in a great measure from the state aiming to make use of every possible productive strength of the society for the needs of the economy. “Enthusiastic factory girls in various types of propaganda materials are the examples of the images of women which in the first years after the war were to show the range of changes planned, and to become a promotion of sex equality”¹³ – writes R. Siemińska. Slogans for equality were also used to encourage women into professional careers, simultaneously leaving them all the duties of being a mother and house keeping. In this way the role of women doubled. On the one hand, the traditional mother and wife, on the other – a working woman. “The communist female emancipation has either been grotesque or illusory, and was aiming for actual economic effect”¹⁴ – notices M. Środa. The propaganda used both stereotypes efficiently, distributing them by use of all accessible media¹⁵. It resulted from the will to impose a defined view of the world on the society, being in fact an attempt “to subordinate the citizens to the ruling élite, and not to allow the creation of a situation in which the mass media could be used for criticising the existing order”¹⁶. Models of the treatment of women from the USSR were used by increasing the meaning of factory workers. Women gained access to jobs traditionally recognised as male only, also to active social work, politics and new educational opportunities. The press often used fictitious symbols of women who gained social advancement thanks to new chances. The propaganda stereotype eagerly used as its icons the images of “ex-illiterate women promoted to the posts of forewomen. Profiles of work leaders who have not only achieved recognition in their workplaces, but also an improvement of their

¹⁰ RADZIWIŁŁ, A.: *Tezy o oświacie 1989-1994*. In: *Spoleczeństwo Otwarte* 1994, No. 12, p. 38.

¹¹ *Act of 8 January 1999 Przepisy wprowadzające reformę ustroju szkolnego*, J. of L. from 1999, No. 12, pt 96.

¹² http://bip.men.gov.pl/index.php?option=com_wrapper&view=wrapper&Itemid=50.

¹³ SIEMIŃSKA, R.: *Środki masowego przekazu jako twórcy obrazu świata*. In: *Portrety kobiet i mężczyzn w środkach masowego przekazu oraz podręcznikach szkolnych*. Warszawa 1997, pp. 15–16.

¹⁴ ŚRODA, M.: *Kobieta: wychowanie, role, tożsamość*, in: *Głos mają kobiety. Teksty feministyczne.*, Kraków 1992, pp. 15–16.

¹⁵ SIEMIŃSKA, R.: *Portrety kobiet i mężczyzn ...*, p. 19.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 9–10.

financial status, being symbolised with the assignment of a newly-built flat, were described”¹⁷. Although the situation of women differed from the propaganda view, it changed significantly. Women gained a new status through joining life conditions and connected the new social roles with the expectations resulting from tradition with them.

During the period of the PRP, all the elements were reflected in the history textbooks. Educational aims were reduced to basic issues – raising a citizen, a Pole and raising a man. While learning history, students had to acquire the principles of a civil education, gain a feeling for the relationship with the Polish nation and with the ideal of a citizen of a socialist state in particular. For the authors of the textbooks, the “political correctness” of the presented character was important, as well as the model it could become for the readers. Actions for combining the ideas of patriotism and heroism, fighting for rights, but also social activists were valued and emphasised.

A specific example of a character combining the ideas of patriotism and heroism is Joan d’Arc. Her profile appears in every textbook from the discussed period. This young heroine was described especially widely in textbooks from the 1950s and 1960s, where her behaviour remains an example of personal heroism, but also of the class struggle. In the person of Joan, shown as a liberator of the peasant masses, her plebeian origins are strongly emphasised by the authors. This young girls’ manifestation is quite explicitly recognised as the burning patriotism of French society. In some textbooks a religious reason for her actions appears¹⁸. As every hero – “Joan in a knight’s armour took part in battles, fought in the first ranks and enthralled the army with her courage. She showed a clear mind and the ability of orientation in the battle situation”¹⁹. Even after being taken prisoner, while being judged she kept her courage – “She was tried to be intimidated and embarrassed with tricky, cunning questions. Nevertheless Joan kept her bravery and amazed her judges with her clear and simple answers”²⁰. So Joan rises to the role usually played in textbooks by men – she fights, is brave and tenacious – she is a model for every young reader. However the character of Joan as a bearer of educationally wanted values loses its meaning in the analyses from the 1980s and 1990s²¹.

In the textbooks edited in the 1990s, another symbol of bravery and courage is Emilia Plater²², who – as A. Garlicki writes – “fought desperately at her uncle Cezary’s side in Zmudz and Lithuania and died from exhaustion on her way to Warsaw”²³, becoming a literary legend thanks to this fact.

Models of a heroine-patriot are especially visible in the studies of the 19th century. The writers’ attention is grabbed by the profiles of women being heroic – either through fighting in national uprisings or taking part in revolutions. The Paris Commune was particularly interesting for the authors of the first post-war textbooks. Women, as pointed out by the 1964-study authors,

¹⁷ JAROSZ, D.: *Polacy a stalinizm 1948–1956*. Warszawa 2000, pp. 118–120.

¹⁸ *Historia dla klasy I technikum*. Eds. J. GIEROWSKI, St. KOWALCZYK, B. KRZEMIĘŃSKA, R. ROSIN, J. TAZBIR, J. WŁODARCZYK, Z. WÓJCIK, B. ZIENTARA, B. ZWOLSKA. Warszawa 1956, p. 188.

¹⁹ KOSMIŃSKI, E.: *Historia wieków średnich*. Warszawa 1950, p. 145.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 146.

²¹ SZELAŃGOWSKA, K.: *Wykłady z historii powszechnej dla szkół średnich*. Warszawa 1994, p. 75. See also LAPIS, B.: *Historia średniowiecza. Podręcznik dla szkoły średniej*. Warszawa 1998, p. 248.

²² SZELAŃGOWSKA, G.: *Historia. Dzieje nowożytne i najnowsze 1815–1870. Podręcznik dla klasy III liceum ogólnokształcącego*. Warszawa 1993, p. 201.

²³ GARLICKI, A.: *Historia 1815–1939. Polska i świat. Podręcznik dla klas III liceów ogólnokształcących*. Warszawa, 1998, p. 39.

²⁴ *Historia dla klasy II techników*. Eds. W. BORTNOWSKI, I. DANIELEWICZ, I. GIEROWSKI, H. KATZ, P. KORZEC, M. SIUCHNIŃSKI, B. ZIENTARA, W. ZWOLSKA. Warszawa 1964, p. 276.

stood by their men, supporting them in battles and at their workshops²⁴. Another example of a character who was not afraid to fight and led other women to create a female battalion²⁵ is Louise Michel, a teacher, described by the authors as “a beautiful, brave person”²⁶. Continuing the previous reflections, profiles of women are shown against the background of the Paris Commune’s fall. The authors clearly distinguish between the heroic, admirable victims of the system and despicable followers of the old order. The heroines are described in a solemn way: “So a systematic murdering of captured fighters for the Commune began, and apart from them also common, ordinary, helpless people, elderly, women and children, everyone whose appearance, bowed shoulders, heavy step or clothes betrayed a stigma of proletarian origins”²⁷.

When the narration concerns struggles for workers’ rights, or when women appear as the fighters at city barricades equal to men, they become a model of virtues, conscience and pride in their role. The PRP’s textbooks multiplied the examples of great engagement of women in the struggle for workers’ and proletarians’ better lives. Subjects reinforcing a bond with one’s own nation were taken willingly, appealing eagerly to the suffering of women and children. Provoking anger towards the owning classes, deepening reflections concerning the conditions of preserving independence or life were, in the authors’ opinion, the best methods to develop patriotic feelings. That is why women are shown as devoted mothers and wives, working hard to support their families²⁸. The 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries were the times of massive employment of women and children in factories and mines. This fact gave huge possibilities for showing the hard lives of the characters and turning one’s attention towards the exploitation of the working class, which was performed by the authors willingly. It is worthwhile to pay attention to the propaganda tones in the descriptions characteristic for 1950s textbooks²⁹. The authors generally disapproved of low earnings, inhumane conditions and long working hours exceeding every norm, “brutal” exploitation, being imposed especially on women and children³⁰. All the images of female workers are a group portrait. There is not a single character known for the reader by her full name.

One of the most important models and ideals popularised in education during history lessons and in textbooks as well was a vision of a social activist. Folk activists like Maria Wyslouch, founder of the “People’s Friend” magazine – encouraging the peasants to gain political self-sufficiency and to free themselves from the influences of the nobles and the clergy, were highly

²⁵ GAŁKIN, I. – ZUBOK, L. – NOTOWICZ, F. – CHWOSTOW, W.: *Historia nowożytna 1870–1918. Książka pomocnicza dla nauczycieli (w szkole stopnia podstawowego i licealnego) oraz dla uczniów stopnia licealnego*. Warszawa 1950, p. 20.

²⁶ KERSTEN, A. – LEPKOWSKI, T.: *Historia dla klasy II liceum ogólnokształcącego*. Warszawa 1968, p. 528; GAŁKIN, I. AND OTHERS: *Historia nowożytna 1870–1918. Książka pomocnicza dla nauczycieli (w szkole stopnia podstawowego i licealnego) oraz dla uczniów stopnia licealnego*. Warszawa 1951, p.19.

²⁷ *Historia dla klasy II techników...*, p. 277.

²⁸ *Historia Polski 1864–1945. Materiały do nauczania w klasie XI*. Ed. Ż. KORMANOWA. Warszawa 1952, p. 267. Similar description see: *Historia. Materiały pomocnicze dla klasy III techników*. Ed. H. ORSKI. Warszawa 1958, p. 30; *Historia 1914–1945 dla klasy III techników*. Warszawa 1959 pp. 38–39; KOPRUKOWNIAK, A. – MENCEL, T.: *Historia dla klasy II technikum*. Warszawa 1981, p. 222.

²⁹ *Historia Polski 1864–1945...*, p. 55.

³⁰ GALOS, A. – GIEROWSKI, J. – LESZCZYŃSKI, J. – WAPIŃSKI, R.: *Historia dla klasy II technikum*. Warszawa 1973, pp. 175, 340; *Historia Polski 1864–1945...*, p. 378; SYTA, A.: *Dawne i nowe czasy. Podręcznik historii dla zasadniczej szkoły zawodowej*. Part 2. Warszawa 1994, p. 62; SZCZEŚNIAK, A. L.: *Dzieje nowożytne i najnowsze 1815–1918 od połowy XIX wieku do roku 1918. Podręcznik dla szkół średnich klasy III liceum ogólnokształcącego oraz dla klasy II technikum i liceum zawodowego*. Warszawa 1990, p. 238; SZELAĞOWSKA, G.: *Historia. Dzieje nowożytne i najnowsze 1815–1870. Podręcznik dla klasy III liceum ogólnokształcącego*. Warszawa 1993, p. 22.

regarded³¹. A similar role was played by Emilia Szczaniecka, acting in the Prussian annexed territory, who was a founder of a female organisation named “Women Society”³². The authors also recall the character of Aniela Tułodziecka, engaged in the actions of Mutual Enlightening Friends and Caring for Children Association “Warta”, which came into existence in 1894. The organisation was established in order to protect the Polish language and focused women (called “Warcianki”) conducting Polish lessons³³. The authors emphasise merits of the activists of the beginnings of the socialist movement – Filipina Płaskowicka among others³⁴. She was arrested for her actions in 1879. The heroine died on her way to exile at the stage near Krasnoyarsk and became a prototype of Stefan Żeromski’s “Siłaczka” (“A strongwoman”).

The 1950s put a large propaganda emphasis on showing women as work leaders. It is perfectly visible in Polish textbooks³⁵ as well as in textbooks concerning Poland and contemporary world studies³⁶. A few notices of J. Wojdon, who was studying the language of propaganda in the primary schools textbooks, are worth quoting at this place. The author writes about women in Polish textbooks: “Professional success has been in a way the measure of her value. Female tractor drivers, electricians, mill workers, female engineers supervising the building of a house, a ticket inspector, a primary school teacher, a dentist in a district medical centre and a seamstress in a service cooperative were presented. Women in the army were shown. In the 1940s one could only meet housewives, then no earlier than in the 1970s the ordinary mum appeared”³⁷.

Women appear also in charity activities in the textbook narratives. Incidentally, the authors’ attitude towards the Church is worth pointing out, which was depicted as a mainstay of reaction, an institution exploiting society³⁸. Institutions and people who opposed the Church however were looked at quite kindly, when the anti-ecclesial activities were connected with social or national movements. That is why in the PRP’s textbooks characters connected with the charity actions of the Church are hard to find. In the studies, a great number of heroines appear, but usually they are people far from the ecclesial institutions. The image of the Silesian Hedwig appeared no earlier than in the 1970s editions. She is described at the forefront of events – as a good Christian, protector of the poor and the peasants’ supporter – but the authors avoid describing the actions themselves. Typically the information is followed by a picture from a 14th-century illustration of the legend of the Saint’s life³⁹. Apart from Hedwig, other female saints appear marginally: Jolanta, Kinga, Salomea⁴⁰. Female nunnery convents occupy a very

³¹ ŁAZUGA, W.: *Historia czasów nowożytnych (1815–1918). Podręcznik dla szkoły średniej*. Warszawa 1996, p. 208; KOPRUKOWNIAK, A. – MENCEL, T.: *Historia dla klasy II ...*, p. 230; GALOS, A. J. AND OTHERS: *Historia dla klasy II technikum...*, p. 353; WAPIŃSKI, R.: *Historia dla klasy 3 liceum ogólnokształcącego. Część druga*. Warszawa 1969, p. 58; SZCZEŚNIAK, A. L.: *Dzieje nowożytne i najnowsze 1815–1918...*, p. 249.

³² SZCZEŚNIAK, A. L.: *Historia. Dzieje nowożytne i najnowsze 1815–1918...*, Part 1, p. 43.

³³ A. SYTA, *Dawne i nowe czasy...*, Part 2, p. 177.

³⁴ KOPRUKOWNIAK, A. – MENCEL, T.: *Historia dla klasy II ...*, p. 22.

³⁵ WOJDON, J.: *Propaganda polityczna w podręcznikach dla szkół podstawowych Polski Ludowej (1944–1989)*. Toruń 2001, pp. 176–177.

³⁶ BARBAG, J. – LIDER, J. – NAJUS, W. – MARIAŃSKI, K. – SŁUCZAŃSKI, E.: *Nauka o Polsce i świecie współczesnym. Książka do użytku szkolnego*. Warszawa 1949, pp. 180–181, 257.

³⁷ WOJDON, J.: *Propaganda...*, pp. 176–177.

³⁸ WOJDON, J.: *Propaganda...*, p. 216; KOSMIŃSKI, E.: *Historia wieków średnich...*, p. 119; ARNOLD, S. – MICHAŁSKI, J. – PIWARSKI, S.: *Historia Polski od połowy XV wieku. do roku 1795*. Warszawa 1953, p. 206.

³⁹ DOWIAT, J.: *Historia dla klasy I liceum ogólnokształcącego*. Warszawa 1963, p. 216; CHMIEL, L. – SYTA, A.: *Dawne i nowe czasy...*, Part 1, p. 70; TOMALSKA, H.: *Od pierwszych cywilizacji do czasów nowożytnych. Historia dla szkół średnich zawodowych*. Warszawa 1993, pp. 161, 164.

⁴⁰ *Historia Polski do roku 1795...*, p. 81; TOMALSKA, H.: *Od pierwszych cywilizacji...*, p. 164

small margin of the considerations. They are mentioned only in two textbooks⁴¹. Hedwig the Andegavonian is another character, through the description of whom an idea of charity, but also sacrifice and heroism appears. She is recalled in the categories of a good ruler honoured by her subjects, a great-granddaughter of king Władysław Łokietek, who despite of her young age and separation from her mother country, made her way to Poland to claim its throne⁴². She is depicted in military acts leading the forces annexing Red Russia to Poland⁴³, as well as being the restorer of the Krakow Academy⁴⁴.

In my considerations I have tried to reflect the evolution of moral standards which are recommended to young people through history textbooks. They do not exhaust the whole range of educational issues related to the development of teaching history. Looking at the moral standards propagated by the history textbooks, one should also remember the fact, that the author's inner attitude towards the historical character has huge consequences, and it can lead to a deformation called a valet's regarding of the past. A. Zielecki explained this term as follows: "The deformation consists of combining attitudes, character, temperament and components of personality of a distinguished historical character with the judgements of the results of the person's actions. Usually a stereotype of transferring negative features of personality, attitudes, character onto the historical role of the person appears. In the opposite situations, the positive results of an outstanding historical person's activities imply neglect of his negative character features. A hero must be flawless if his achievements are to be immortal. Otherwise, if the person has been morally worthless, his achievements must have been reprehensible, too"⁴⁵. This mechanism worked in many of the given examples. Students got a selected, saturated with insistent propaganda, incomplete, and sometimes completely false picture of the past. Nevertheless it can be admitted that the moral standards shown on the examples of women were in the majority of cases positive models, and they promoted cultural values universal for all people. Love, happiness, work, social activity, help for the weaker – these are humanitarian values, which are also essential for contemporary youth⁴⁶. It is important to preserve them as priorities for future generations and to consider them as timeless values.

Shrnutí

Vývoj morálního vzoru ženy v polských učebnicích dějepisu v letech 1945–1999

Ve své úvaze jsem se pokusila představit vývoj morálních standardů, které jsou doporučovány mladým lidem prostřednictvím učebnic dějepisu. Při pohledu na morální standardy propagované učebnicemi dějepisu by měl člověk pamatovat na skutečnost, že autorův vnitřní postoj k historické postavě má obrovské následky a může vést k deformaci. Deformace spočívá ve spojení postojů, charakteru a temperamentu osobností význačné historické pověsti se soudy o činech dané osoby.

⁴¹ ZIELIŃSKA, K. – KOZŁOWSKA, Z.: *Historia 2. Dzieje nowożytne 1492–1815. Podręcznik dla klasy II liceum ogólnokształcącego*. Warszawa 1994, p. 47; ARNOLD, S. – MICHALSKI, J. – PIWARSKI, S.: *Historia Polski ...*, p. 244.

⁴² BARANOWSKI, B. – KRAKOWSKI, S. – SIUCHNIŃSKI, M. – ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, S.: *Podręcznik do historii średniowiecznej*. Warszawa 1949, p. 185; MANIKOWSKA, J. – TAZBIROWA, J.: *Historia. Średniowiecze. Podręcznik dla szkół średnich klasy I liceum ogólnokształcącego, technikum i liceum zawodowego*. Warszawa 1988, p. 177.

⁴³ BARANOWSKI, B. and others: *Podręcznik do historii, ...* p. 185.

⁴⁴ DĄBROWSKI, J.: *Historia średniowieczna i nowożytna dla klasy I (dawnej II) gimnazjum*. Kraków 1946, p. 110.

⁴⁵ ZIELECKI, A.: *Niebezpieczeństwo deformowania szkolnych narracji historyczno – dydaktycznych*. In: *Wiadomości Historyczne*, 1994, No. 5, p. 270.

⁴⁶ MARJAŃSKI, J.: *Między nadzieją i zwątpieniem: sens życia w świadomości młodzieży*. Lublin, 1998.