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# Summary

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# S U M M A R Y

Józef Chałasiński, *Twórcy socjologii polskiej [The Founders of Polish Sociology]*. As suggested by its title, the subject of the paper are the origins of Polish sociology, connected by the author with Ludwik Krzywicki's critical essay on the sociological system of Herbert Spencer. Ludwik Krzywicki (1859—1941), dealing with this problem at the turn of the 19th century, rejected Spencer's concept of social organism as a fictitious one and inconsistent with the historical social reality. What was opposed to it by him was the society as a community of people with definite needs and aspirations, the community moulded historically and with a differentiated class structure. Krzywicki also stemmed separation of sociology in Poland from the independence tendencies of the Polish nation and from socialism. Ludwik Krzywicki, one of the translators of Karl Marx' *Das Kapital* combined, in his sociological views, evolutionism with historical materialism and with empirical socio-economic, sociological, and socio-psychological research.

Józef Chałasiński, *Ludwik Krzywicki*. The author of the paper aims at pointing out the characteristic feature of Krzywicki's sociological studies, starting with his first works and ending with the last ones. That specific trait of theirs was the study of the society and culture from the angle of the people creating them. It was man that constituted the supreme object of his interest as testified by his scientific works and other publications. Krzywicki's humanistic turn of mind as a sociologist was also marked by a friendly attitude towards man. The latter as the maker of history, culture and society had — in the scholar's opinion — something heroic about him. No wonder that his work entitled: *Ludy — Zarys antropologii etnicznej [The Peoples — An Outline of Ethnical Anthropology]*, Warszawa 1892, was dedicated by him "to the savage heroes of mankind". Krzywicki also saw, and proved, the elements of heroism to lie in the masses of peasants and workers. Krzywicki — the scholar engaged in research on primitive peoples and a pioneer of the Polish labour movement was the very same person as Krzywicki — the great humanist and sociologist of many-sided interests. He was addicted to his scholarly work which he carried on in private until Poland's liberation in 1918, at the same time taking an active part in the proceedings of various educational societies. In 1918—1919 he held the post of Rector of the Independent Polish College and, then (1921—1935) occupied the Chair of the History of Social Systems at the University of Warsaw, the Chair specially established for him. Professor Krzywicki retired in 1936.

Florian Znaniecki, *Znaczenie socjologiczne badań Ludwika Krzywickiego nad społeczeństwami niższymi* [*Sociological Significance of Ludwik Krzywicki's Research on Primitive Societies*]. The dissertation bases mainly on Krzywicki's two works — that published in Polish under the title: *Ustroje społeczno-gospodarcze w okresie dzikości i barbarzyństwa* [*Socio-Economic Systems of Savage and Barbarian Communities*], Warszawa 1914, and *Primitive Society and Its Vital Statistics* (Warszawa-London 1934) which appeared in English.

Znaniecki finds the most important trait of Krzywicki's sociological views to be his linking of two types of problems: those of mass processes and the question of social systems and, especially, of social groups considered by him in terms of the dynamics of their development. Znaniecki concluded his paper in the following statement: "He was ahead of his time. If sociology follows the road mapped out by him, the disciplines concerned today with mass processes, having given up futile attempts at nomothetical generalizations, will take up the study of the seminal and weighty questions of modern social history while research on social systems will acquire a new unprecedented vitality, due to the problems of social dynamics having been introduced into the largely static descriptions."

Ludwik Krzywicki, *Tradycja zorganizowana* [*Organized Tradition*]. The subject matter of the paper is the analysis of collective "thinking subject," i.e. of a community of persons embraced by a certain common feeling. Such a "collective spirit", characteristic of primitive tribal communities is compared by Krzywicki with the linkages characteristic of the capitalist society at the end of the 19th century. A tribe is compared by him to a regiment performing manoeuvres with the difference, however, that in the case of primitive community that gregarious instinct is generated systematically by means of adequate institutions. "We who have emerged — in the not-too-distant past — from the dispersion typical of feudalism," says Krzywicki, "are lagging behind our barbarian ancestor. Moreover, the measures applied by us are meagre and poor, if I should not say, mean, compared with those of the drill of primitive life. Press, art and, sometimes, humbug which act as a screen concealing an egoistic interest. "The impoverished patriotism of a capitalist society is opposed by Krzywicki to that of primitive tribes, the patriotism of which the civilized world has no idea."

Ludwik Krzywicki, *Sociologia* [*Sociology*]. The dissertation, first published in 1900, was meant by the author to prove that the vast scope of phenomena and problems dealt with by sociology makes it necessary that the preparatory studies in the field of sociology also cover biology, psychology, anthropology and history of culture. Sociological research also calls for making oneself acquainted with the theory of statistics, economics, law, moral philosophy and aesthetics. Lack of such an educational background is the cause of the low level of many sociological works. "As a matter of fact" — says Krzywicki — "we think it is more useful for a future sociologist systematically to study those preparatory sciences than the available sociological literature, for such a sound preparation provides for more rewarding results also in sociological pursuits."

Józef Chałasiński, *Ludwik Gumplowicz w socjologii europejskiej i amerykańskiej* [*Ludwik Gumplowicz in the European and American Sociology*]. Ludwik Gumplowicz born in Cracow, 1836, graduated from the University of Vienna in 1861. A lawyer in Cracow, he was also the editor (1869—1874) of the liberal

information and political daily *Kraj* [The Country] published there in Polish. Since 1876 an Assistant Professor and, then, Professor at the University of Gratz. His work: *Grundriss der Soziologie* (1885) was the first book in German to include the word "Soziologie" in its title. Another work of his: *System sociologii* [The System of Sociology] was published by Gumplowicz in Polish, 1887. The English version of *Grundriss der Soziologie*, entitled *Outlines of Sociology*, appeared in the USA, 1889, and the French one — *Precis de Sociologie* — in France, 1896. Gumplowicz maintained close contacts with Lester Ward, one of the pioneers of the development of sociology in the USA.

Ludwik Gumplowicz, *Słowo od socjologa* [Message from a Sociologist]. Written in connection with the 25th anniversary of Eliza Orzeszkowa's literary work (1893), his article comprises the statement that her novels contain not only gems of literary art but also a wealth of sociological material.

Józef Chałasiński, *Filozofia społeczna Bolesława Limanowskiego i Floriana W. Znanickiego* [Social Philosophy of Bolesław Limanowski and Florian Znanicki]. B. Limanowski's *Socjologia* [Sociology] published in 1919 was followed three years later by Florian Znanicki's *Wstęp do socjologii* [Introduction to Sociology], 1922. "The main difference between those two works consists in the fact that for Limanowski sociology was linked with socialism while Znanicki found it to be a purely theoretical science. Limanowski and Znanicki were two entirely different individualities. The former actively engaged in the social and political movement of the day, was one of the founders of the PPS (Polish Socialist Party). Znanicki did not join any political party and was wholly committed to his intellectual pursuits" — says the author. Towards the end of his life Znanicki took, however, the position somewhat closer to socialism. In 1957 he said in a letter written to one of his former students: "I am ever more appreciative of the significance of socialism and opposed to any large-scale private capitalistic organizations."

Robert Bierstedt, *Florian Znanicki*. The author depicts — against the background of bibliographical information about the whole of Znanicki's scholarly output in Polish and English — the wealth and many-sided character of the philosophical and sociological problems dealt with in his works. Bierstedt says that the fundamental assertions on which Znanicki laid special stress therein were as follows: 1) sociology is a social science and not a natural one, the humanistic factor differing the phenomena examined by sociology from those studied by natural sciences; 2) sociology is a specific, and not a general, science, it does not concern itself with everything that occurs within the society but restricts itself to the study of conscious human beings producing, in their mutual relations, the systems of social activity; 3) the method of sociology may be as objective, precise and searching as that of physical sciences whatever the differences between the former and the said sciences. Referring to Znanicki's book *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* (1940) Bierstedt states that the essay on scholars is a small masterpiece in sociological literature.

Jerzy Piotrowski, *Zagadnienie roli społecznej w systemie socjologicznym Floriana Znanickiego* [The Problem of Social Role in the Sociological System of Florian Znanicki]. For the entire, more than fifty-year long, period of his

intellectual work Florian Znaniecki was constructing his own comprehensive and internally coherent sociological system, which was meant by him to meet the criteria of science in the same degree as natural sciences and, the same time, take into account the essential differences between phenomena in the world of nature and in that of culture. The theory of social personality and social role is the keynote in that system. According to Znaniecki's methodological assumptions man — as objective social phenomenon — exists but in so far, and in such a way, as he finds it in his own experience and is found by others. He does not make a natural entity. "Man as social value is but one of the aspects of himself, the one perceived by others as the object of their interest." What he differs in from other objects is the fact that he is simultaneously a subject as well. Thus, the basic social pattern is interaction, social relationship. The integration of social relations produces the social role and social group makes, in turn, a creative synthesis of those roles. In Znaniecki's final works social role became a basic methodological category in analysis of social patterns. Describing the views expounded by Znaniecki in this regard the author examines various national categories specified by him and pertaining to the elements of roles, their evolution and integration — both present-day and historical as well as their stabilization and initiation of new roles as depicted by that scholar especially in his *Socjologia wychowania* [*Sociology of Education*], *Ludzie terażniejsi* [*The People of Today*], *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge*, and *Social Relations and Social Roles*, and other works.

Florian Znaniecki, *Spółeczne role uczonych a historyczne cechy wiedzy* [*Social Roles of Scholars and Historical Qualities of Knowledge*]. The work was first published in Polish in "Przegląd Socjologiczny" [The Sociological Review] Vol.V,1937. Znaniecki's book *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* was published in English in 1940 (Columbia University Press, New York 1940). It was reprinted by Octagon Books, Inc., New York in 1965, to be followed by the first Harper Torchbook Edition in 1968 (Harper and Row, Publishers Inc., New York). The Introduction to the Torchbook edition, by Lewis A. Coser, begins as follows: "To Florian Znaniecki, whose long neglected and yet seminal *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* is now again made available, belongs the unique distinction of being a Founding Father of two distinct national traditions of sociology: the Polish and the American [...] Of the nine volumes he wrote in English, *The Method of Sociology* (New York 1934), *Social Actions* (New York 1936) and *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge*, in addition, of course, to *The Polish Peasant*, are likely to prove the most enduring."

Florian Znaniecki, *Autobiografia jako materiał do badań socjologicznych* [*Life-record as a Material for Sociological Research*]. The dissertation was written and published in Polish as Preface to Władysław Berkan's *Życiorys własny* [*Autobiography*], Poznań 1923. Władysław Berkan was born into a Polish peasant family in Pomerania 1859. As a 22 year-old tailor's journeyman he emigrated to Germany (1880). After some time he acquired by his work a tailor's shop of his own in Berlin where he lived until his return to Poland in 1917. His *Autobiography* was written in connection with the competition opened in 1922 by the Institute of Sociology at the University of Poznań. The said Institute, of which Florian Znaniecki was a founder and director, organized then a competition for a worker's life-record. That entered by Władysław Berkan was published as

volume I of the Institute's Materials and preceded with a Preface by Professor Florian Znaniecki. The volume has XIX + 362 pages. Berkan's *Autobiography* marked the beginning of publication in Poland of the life-records of peasants and workers. As a result of numerous competitions organized in Poland in the period between the two World Wars and after the Second World War there has been collected a huge and unique collection of those life-records. At present work is under way on sociological elaboration of those materials.

But it is only fair to point out that the first publication dealing with the life-records of peasants was the five-volume work *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* published in the USA (1918—1920) and edited by William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki. The third volume is the *Life-record of An Immigrant*, of more than 300 pages. It is to the latter life-record that Florian Znaniecki refers to in his Preface to Berkan's *Autobiography*. The said Preface contains the statement saying that from among various scientific objectives which a sociologist may set himself with regard to a life-record it is the study of the moulding and evolution of the psycho-social personality of its author — under the impact of his environment — that comes to the fore.

Jan Szczepański, *Chłop polski w Europie i w Ameryce* [*The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*]. In connection with publication of the Polish version of W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki's work: *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918—1920) the author says that after fifty years which have elapsed since the first edition of that work it has acquired a new value as an important chapter in the history of the Polish people and Polish emigrants. Jan Szczepański reduces his deliberations but to description of the historic importance of that work to the development of sociology. It was the first monograph on a definite group of phenomena and processes, describing them on the basis of concrete empirical materials and explaining by means of a coherent theoretical system. The authors employed in their work the following kinds of materials: series of family letters, collected over long periods of time, and thus enabling a study of the development of the attitudes and the lives of the members of the families exchanging those letters; life-records, letters written by readers to editors of Polish newspapers; entries in parish church records, annals of the association of American Poles; protocols of various institutions and social agencies concerned with such social problems as delinquency, alcoholism, etc. and court records. Nevertheless, it was the use of autobiographies that seemed particularly promising to the authors since they provided for an insight into the life of individual concerned and his relations with the groups which he belonged to. In Thomas and Znaniecki's methodological concept, the value of autobiographies consists in the fact that they depict, as a rule, the actions and behaviours within the frameworks of the system: value — attitude. Referring to the method introduced by those authors, Jan Szczepański says that its impact upon the development of empirical sociology was enormous even if not all its principles and tendencies have found continuators.

Florian Znaniecki, *Stefan Czarnowski, Stefan Czarnowski (1879—1937)* Professor of the study of religions, at the Independent Polish College, Warsaw 1923—1930, Assistant Professor (1926—1930) and since 1930 Professor of the history of culture at the University of Warsaw also occupied there the Chair in sociology (beginning with 1933).

Following the course of Czarnowski's intellectual pursuits one can hardly

escape the impression that the whole of human culture — the past as well as the present one — made to him an animated spiritual reality, reviving and developing in a diversity of concrete cultural phenomena and that each of his investigations was something more than a theoretical induction. Indeed, it was an act of personal participation in that reality. The whole of Czarnowski's life abounded in manifestations of profound, Polish patriotism. Moreover, he also took an exceptionally intensive share in the cultural life of other nations.

Stefan Czarnowski, *Podłoże ruchu chłopskiego. Uwagi socjologiczne* [*Foundations of the Peasant Movement. Sociological Remarks*]. Within the peasant masses the operation is observed of two opposed tendencies. The first of them derives from financial differentiation and aims at setting the landless proletariat and that possessing but tiny plots of land against rich peasants exploiting the labour of that proletariat. At the same time the second tendency is to be noted, having a long tradition like the former one, and striving for amalgamation into a compact mass of both the village poor and rich peasants on a "clientele" relationship basis and within the frameworks of the commune. The peasant movement at the turn of the 19th century, and at the beginning of the 20th, was strongly influenced everywhere, by the tendency to integration of the interests, specific aspiration and specific attitude of the rich peasants followed by their clientele composed of small-holders and the landless peasants. "Except for sporadic cases the peasant social and political movement in Poland has so far not identified itself with that of urban proletariat." Czarnowski made this statement in the said work published in 1935.

Józef Chałasiński, *Jan Stanisław Bystroń. Historyk kultury, etnograf, socjolog (1892—1964)* [*Jan Stanisław Bystroń. Historian of Culture, Ethnographer, Sociologist, 1892—1964*]. Jan Stanisław Bystroń — Professor of ethnology at the University of Poznań since 1919 — the year of the latter's foundation. It is worth mentioning Poznań had a university as early as the 16th century — the Lubrański Academy grounded in 1520 with two departments: of theology and humanities.

Jan Stanisław Bystroń combined his ethnological interests with the sociological ones. The doctor's degree was conferred upon him by the Jagiellonian University, Cracow. His thesis: *Teoria rzeczywistości społecznej* [*The Theory of Social Reality*] was published in 1915, as a summary entitled *O istocie życia społecznego* [*The Essence of Social Life*]. Next year saw the publications of Bystroń's *Pojęcie narodu w socjologii polskiej* [*The Concept of the Nation in Polish Sociology*], *Zwyczajne zniwiarskie w Polsce* [*Harvesting Customs in Poland*] and *Słowiańskie obrzędy rodzinne* [*Slavonic Family Rites*]. Those works were followed by: *Rozwój problemu socjologicznego w nauce polskiej* [*Evolution of the Sociological Problem in Polish Science*] and *Studia nad zwyczajami ludowymi* [*Studies in Folk Customs*] both published in 1917. In the works of Bystroń, which appeared in later years, the problems of national culture were closely interconnected with those of folk culture. Bystroń's notable contribution to sociology are also his works dealing with the sociology of education to mention but *Szkoła i społeczeństwo* [*School and Society*] (1930) and those devoted to the sociology of literature.

Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Literatura jako zjawisko społeczne* [*Literature as Social Phenomenon*]. The work comprises a review of the publications on social aspects of literature, beginning with Madame de Stael's *De la littérature...* with the

following authors discussed therein: Philarète Chasle, Hipolite Taine, F. Brunetière, A. Beljame, Ch. M. Des Granges, J. P. Belin, L. Maigron, J. Bédier, H. M. Posnett, H. Ellis, G. Sighele, V. F. Calverton.

Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Szlaki migracyjne na ziemiach polskich* [*Migration Routes in Polish Lands*]. The subject-matter of the dissertation is the problem of the contacts of the Polish population with that of the neighbouring countries and the resultant cultural interactions.

Stefan Nowakowski, *Franciszek Bujak jako socjolog* [*Franciszek Bujak as a Sociologist*]. The author points out to the profound influence exerted by that scholar upon sociology in the period between the two World Wars. A historian by education and head of the Chair in economic history at Jan Kazimierz University, Lvov, F. Bujak went in his interests far beyond the boundaries of that branch of science. He was concerned as well with geography, statistics, and the study of the progress of science. What he has contributed to historical science would be defined today as the sociological approach, many of his works fringing upon history, political economy and sociology.

Bujak's interest in economic history was by no means limited to the past but embraced the contemporary problems as well. Contrary to traditional historian, basing exclusively on extant sources, Bujak, as a true empirical sociologist created and organized his sources, collecting materials pertaining to contemporary territorial communities of town and country, and also to the family groups and the broader ones — to social classes and strata, covered by his investigations. Franciszek Bujak is a typical example of a scholar who — as defined by Ludwik Krzywicki referring to Morgan's works — has switched over from "the scholar's room sociology" to the pursuit of sources and analysis of social phenomena on the basis of the material obtained either by way of observation or of other methods.

His sensitivity to social problems and, especially, to the poverty and backwardness of peasants, his affiliation with the socialist and, then, the peasant movement have made Franciszek Bujak take up research on the village and the rural family. He is the author of a monographic method in Polish sociology. Its telling illustration are his monographs of the villages of Maszkienice and Żmiąca and the little town of Limanowa. The said works published still before the First World War found many imitators in the inter-war period and contributed to vigorous development of rural sociology in Poland. It is also worth stressing that Bujak carried out the research on his native village of Maszkienice twice — at ten years' interval — which is reflected in two relevant publications. There are good grounds for the statement that the said investigations were something in the line of panel research, preceding Lynds' Middletown and later studies on the latter, the findings of which were published in: *Middletown in Transition*.

In order duly to assess Bujak's influence on Polish sociology one should consider — in somewhat greater detail — his personality and contribution to that branch of science.

Andrzej Waligórski, *O Argonautach Zachodniego Pacyfiku Bronisława Malinowskiego* [*Bronisław Malinowski and His Argonauts of the Western Pacific*]. "What was most touching to us — Malinowski's former students assembled in that hall," says the author, — "were the words of Raymond Firth, who clearly



moved himself, described with great warmth the person of Bronisław Malinowski as a teacher of Socratic type." Waligórski refers here to the speech delivered by Raymond Firth at the commemoration meeting held in connection with Bronisław Malinowski's death, at the Royal Institution, London. Malinowski was one of the five British scientists on whom the degree of *doctor honoris causa* was conferred upon by Harvard University in connection with its tercentenary. He also held the post of Chairman of The Polish Institute of Arts and Science in America (New York). Bronisław Malinowski (born in Cracow, 1884 died in New Haven 1942) studied at the Jagiellonian University, Cracow, and then with W. Wundt (Leipzig) and E. Westermarck and G. Frazer (London). His first work in Polish, dealing with Frazer's concept of totemism and exogamy, was published in the periodical *Lud [Folk People]* (1911—1912).

Bronisław Malinowski's work: *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) marked the beginning of functional method, which has for ever been associated with his name in the history of world ethnology. The work does by no means make a schematic, dry specification of more or less distorted ethnographic facts but a story about living people whom we learn to know in various circumstances — during the activities of daily living, at the time of intensive work in the gardens or of relaxation and festivities in the little villages, on their seafaring or in their family life. Those are no "savages" but people like us, however, described against the background of their specific environment, customs, rites, and aspirations different from ours. The author's approach to them is invariably marked with sympathetic understanding.

The last great work of his: *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (1935) is an all-round description of Trobriand gardening and its broad cultural connections. Such a wealth of material pertaining to so small a section of the terrain made that work assume the rank of a unique scientific experiment. It is also a work of enormous methodological significance and an invaluable compendium of the theory and methods of field studies.

Józef Chałasiński, *Bronisław Malinowski*. The author of the paper, published in 1963, gives a review of the articles which appeared in various periodicals on the occasion of Bronisław Malinowski's twentieth anniversary of death. The paper concludes with the following excerpt from his book: *Freedom and Civilization*:

"Humanity has now become one and united through means and mechanisms which have nothing to do with conquest. Conquest also nowadays ceases to be feasible, since even a primitive tribe in Africa, Asia, or the Pacific must be educated if it is to be useful to its conquerors. Universal education and the spread of news and ideas has now imbued the whole world with the legitimate claims of national, that is, cultural independence...<sup>1</sup>.

Józef Obrębski — *O dziele Malinowskiego: Coral Gardens and Their Magic [On Malinowski's Work: Coral Gardens and Their Magic]*.

The innovation introduced in this book and accounting for its extraordinary value is the fact that the descriptive part and chapters dealing with synthesis have been balanced by an unusual wealth of ethnographic and sociographic documentation accentuating the value of "purely descriptive" details for sociological

<sup>1</sup> B. Malinowski, *Freedom and Civilization*, Roy Publishers, New York... p. 330.

syntheses and conclusions of more general nature. On this route the reader gets better acquainted than in the preceding works of that author with the methods by which he arrives at his syntheses. Obrębski says that the essence of an ethnologist's work has been depicted therein i.e. the entire, slow and difficult mental process leading from steadily corrected and verified preliminary observations to final generalizations and theoretical conclusions. The last chapters of the book, which deal with the Trobriand system of land holding — are specific in this respect. They have been purposely designed by the author in such a way as to depict the technique of the ethnologist's field-work and, especially, the constructive character of the observations striving for sociological synthesis. What has been brought into relief there, more clearly than elsewhere is the fact that the ethnographer's field-work is not reduced to mechanical registration of the bare facts but consists in examination of the invisible factors making the resultant of the attitudes and cultural values of the members of the community subject to investigation, manifest in the actions performed within the group and concerned with certain fundamental objectives and tasks, organizing themselves into different cultural institutions.

Jan Szczepański, *Spoleczeństwo pierwotne [The Primitive Community]*. The author reviews Bronisław Malinowski's work *The Sexual Life of Savages [Życie seksualne dzikich]*, translated into Polish by Józef Chałasiński and Andrzej Wali-górski, and published in 1938. The review reads in part: "The basis of that theory is the concept of function. Let us devote to it then some attention. Irrespective of the whole gamut of the shades of its meaning and the latter's fluctuations, Malinowski uses this term in two senses. In the first, when he refers to the function of the object within the frameworks of certain institutions, it is equivalent to that of an action. It exercises a function, i.e. performs certain actions or is used for the latter's performance. We may rest confident that the other aspects of culture are also imbued with function, that means, with, the capacity to go on working, to satisfy the needs, to be correlated with human wants."<sup>2</sup> Occasionally, the word "function" is used as a synonym of the "role" to mention but such an expression as "procreative ideas and their social function". The second basic meaning of the word in Malinowski's methodology is where he applies it as equivalent to the term "functional dependence" understood by him as correlations between phenomena in the sphere of culture and their course. "And by function here I mean the manner in which a house or a canoe or a ceremonial rite is correlated with the bodily and spiritual needs of the tribesmen."<sup>3</sup> One should be aware of those differentiations in order to avoid misunderstandings liable to arise in view of Malinowski's free way of formulating his views.

As has already been mentioned the assumptions of functional theory of culture mentioned above were worked out in the course of field-work. Malinowski's idea was formulation of a purely empirical method and theory.

"Modern field-work therefore needs a theory of a purely empirical nature, a theory which does not go beyond inductive evidence, but which provides for a clear understanding of how human culture in its primitive forms works."<sup>4</sup>

The works of Bronisław Malinowski carry authority precisely on account of the field-research method evolved by him.

<sup>2</sup> B. Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North Western Melanesia*, London George Routledge 1932, p. XLIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. XXXI.

Bronisław Malinowski, *Śmiertelny problemat [The Fatal Dilema]*. It is against the background of a review of the wars waged at various stages of the history of mankind, and of the struggles between individuals and groups within various communities, that the author asks the question whether war is a biological imperative. Proceeding with his deliberations the author says that the answer at which one arrives as regards the earliest cultures is clearly negative. He also goes on to say that to shoot a poisoned arrow from behind a bush is no proof of pugnacity. The same applies to head-hunting, man-hunting or killing for food which are neither instinctive nor natural. In the author's opinion there is no sufficient ground for the wars waged by ancient Egypt, Peru or China or for Tartars' invasions, the crusades or *jihad* to be recognized as manifestations of instinctive pugnacity. The view that war is a biological imperative is absolutely untenable. However, from biological point of view, a war waged by direct attack where force is set against force, courage against courage and dexterity against dexterity — does wholly comply with the principle of survival of the ablest one.

Tadeusz Kotarbiński, *Ludwik Krzywicki*. The author describes Ludwik Krzywicki's lectures which he attended at the beginning of this century. "Krzywicki used to talk in such a way as if he was disclosing to us the mysteries of historical events, the secret of their coming about. Those were excellent lectures. And no wonder. Their author was a former mathematician, trained to clear and precise thinking and, at the same time, an expert on the facts discussed, from which he never departed to plunge into the clouds of incoherent speculation.

"The facts, in turn, were associated by him by means of the soundest of the explicative hypotheses — the theory of historical materialism."

*Translated by Teresa Święcka*

