

## SCIENCE IN POLAND | NAUKA W POLSCE

### Joanna Nowak

ORCID [0000-0001-9706-9271](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9706-9271)

Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences  
(Warsaw, Poland)

[joanna.nowak@ispan.waw.pl](mailto:joanna.nowak@ispan.waw.pl)



### Katarzyna Wrzesińska

ORCID [0000-0002-5533-5540](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5533-5540)

Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences  
(Warsaw, Poland)






[katarzyna.wrzesinska@ispan.waw.pl](mailto:katarzyna.wrzesinska@ispan.waw.pl)

## Between Biology and Culture. Polish Reflections on the Concept of Race in the Nineteenth Century

### Abstract

In the nineteenth century, the Polish reflection on race and derivative terms was strongly influenced by the Western thought. New achievements and terminology in the field of natural sciences were adopted. Gradually, there was a change of look at peoples, their origin and diversity. In the Enlightenment, while hierarchizing humankind, its biological variety was emphasized. The Romanticism focused on human culture and spirituality. The Positivism, in turn, based on the achievements of natural sciences, saw the basis for evaluation of human groups in biological criteria. The state of contemporary ideas and knowledge favoured the formulation of various racial theories, which also had their own political context. The analysis of Polish sources made it possible to show the specificity of the domestic view in this field. It was often critical, but also approving the division of humankind into lower and higher races. This resulted from the adoption of a Eurocentric point of view. Historiosophy, seeking factors determining a historical role of a given race, also contributed to the search for differences between the white nations of Europe.

**Keywords:** *Polish science of the nineteenth century, anthropology, popularization of knowledge, race, racial theories, tribe, nation, ethnicity*

PUBLICATION INFO		e-ISSN 2543-702X ISSN 2451-3202		 DIAMOND OPEN ACCESS
Nowak, Joanna; Wrzesińska, Katarzyna 2023: Between Biology and Culture. Polish Reflections on the Concept of Race in the Nineteenth Century. <i>Studia Historiae Scientiarum</i> 22. DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.4467/2543702XSHS.23.009.17700">10.4467/2543702XSHS.23.009.17700</a> .				
RECEIVED: 18.02.2023 ACCEPTED: 21.05.2023 PUBLISHED ONLINE: 05.10.2023	ARCHIVE POLICY <a href="#">Green SHERPA/</a> <a href="#">RoMEO Colour</a>	LICENSE 		
WWW	<a href="https://ojs.ejournals.eu/SHS/">https://ojs.ejournals.eu/SHS/</a> ; <a href="https://pau.krakow.pl/Studia-Historiae-Scientiarum/archiwum">https://pau.krakow.pl/Studia-Historiae-Scientiarum/archiwum</a>			

---

## Między biologią a kulturą. Pojęcie rasy w polskiej refleksji XIX wieku

### Abstrakt

W XIX wieku polska refleksja na temat rasy i pojęć pochodnych podlegała silnym wpływom myśli zachodniej. Przystrojono sobie nowe osiągnięcia i terminologię z zakresu nauk przyrodniczych. Stopniowo doszło do przemiany spojrzenia na człowieka, jego pochodzenie i zróżnicowanie. W epoce oświecenia, hierarchizując gatunek ludzki kładziono nacisk na jego biologiczną różnorodność. Romantyzm zwrócił się ku kulturze i duchowości człowieka. Pozytywizm natomiast, opierając się na osiągnięciach nauk przyrodniczych w kryteriach biologicznych widział podstawę wartościowania grup ludzkich. Stan ówczesnych wyobrażeń i wiedzy sprzyjał formułowaniu rozmaitych teorii rasowych, które miały także swój kontekst polityczny. Analiza polskich źródeł umożliwiła ukazanie specyfiki rodzimego spojrzenia w tej dziedzinie. Często było ono krytyczne, ale jednocześnie aprobujące podział ludzkości na rasy niższe i wyższe. Wynikało to z przyjęcia europocentrycznego punktu widzenia. Historiografia upatrująca w danej rasie czynnik determinujący jej rolę w dziejach przyczyniła się także do poszukiwania różnic między białymi narodami Europy.

**Słowa kluczowe:** nauka polska XIX w., antropologia, popularyzacja wiedzy, rasa, teorie rasowe, plemię, naród, etniczność

### 1. Introduction

Racism, which in the twentieth century left its mark on the history of European and world societies, did not come from nowhere. Its emergence resulted from earlier trends and ideas that had initiated a certain way of thinking – segregating and judging people according to various criteria. The aim of the article is to analyse the nineteenth-century Polish-language scientific and popular science sources. It will help follow through the development of the ideology which, by hierarchizing human groups, justified discrimination, colonialism and genocide. It is a synthetic study on the history of ideas. Concepts and clues under analyses are explained within the context of the epoch, such as past images, state of knowledge and a general political and social situation in which the categories and notions, especially text and interpretation codes of racial differences were shaped.

The Polish reflection was specific compared with the Western thought. Poles lost statehood in 1795 and were deprived of the possibility of free development. All activities were oriented at the idea of independence. This affected not only political issues, but also those related to culture and science. The analysis of Polish deliberations on the issues of race during the partition period was based on several assumptions. From the end of the eighteenth century, this reflection was inspired by French Enlightenment ideas. In the first half of the nineteenth century, it was influenced by the German thought, especially the Romantic one,<sup>1</sup> in which the concepts of physical differences among human race were popular and uncontroversial. The loss of statehood resulted in the focus on preserving the national community of spirit, which became a superior category in the hierarchy of notions. The Positivist literature was of another character. Unlike the Romantic one focused on ideas, it brought closer also the practical side of racial issues. Thanks to the intensive development of the press in the second half of the nineteenth century, scholars, who had previously remained in their own circles, began to popularize knowledge. They drew readers into a world which was both interesting – exotic distant lands and people living there – and dangerous – it was full of violence. The idea came into contact with the practice of social life, and as a result science was used as a tool for political purposes.

This article is a part of a contemporary academic discourse in which race is defined as an imagined thought construct as well as an important social category determining human

---

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah Berlin even called Eastern Europe a “de facto German intellectual province” in the context of the reception, see Berlin 2003, p. 143; English edition Berlin 1978

identity from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup>. Due to methodological reasons it was necessary to apply the approach of racial postcolonial criticism. The criteria of sources selection involved a few crucial points. The aim was to select a complex body of source materials which would lead to a coherent analysis, and on the other hand was representative for the early anthropology in the Polish lands. Thus, views of scholars (especially zoologists, physicians, historians, anthropologist) as well as authors from outside of the world of science who dealt with the popularization of knowledge about racial differences and their categories were taken into account. In the period from which the sources under consideration originate, no formal divisions of studies on man existed or they were in their initial origination process. In effect, till mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, authors were not always distinguished due to their “vocational” expertise. The roles overlapped – the role of the scientist with identified with a mission of the ideologist or the journalist. Source material was selected also with the purpose to demonstrate differences in the views found within various intellectual formations – i.e., qualities of thinking about “race” from the Enlightenment, Romantic, and Positivist perspectives. The criteria of material selection included territorial specifics in the lands of all the Polish partitions and from the Polish diaspora. The analysis covers books, i.a. on natural history, handbooks of zoology, geography, history, works that popularize science, as well as a variety of periodicals.

## 2. Enlightenment image of human races

In the Polish reflection of the end of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, the interest in categorizing humankind according to external features was slight compared to the achievements of Western European countries.<sup>3</sup> A narrow circle of researchers dealing with physical anthropology was particularly gathered in the Vilnius centre. They tried to develop and popularize knowledge of the diversity of humankind in rare scientific papers, articles, occasional lectures or exhibitions. The lack of financial resources for research and travel significantly limited the originality of approaches, thus condemning the Polish thought to imitativeness.<sup>4</sup>

The first Polish definition of anthropology, by Józef Jasiński, doctor of philosophy and medicine, which was distinguished by the Vilnius researcher, and earlier by Dutch anthropologist Petrus Camper, assumed that it was a “science of physical and moral properties of a human, showing their dignity raised above all physical beings”.<sup>5</sup> However, he was not as enthusiastic as Camper about the division and evaluation of populations on the basis of physiological features (*angulus facialis* theory). He believed that it was incorrect to assess mental abilities of a person by a skull and brain size, as they depend on a “soul”, and a brain is only the place where it is located. He thought that it was necessary to combine physicality with spirituality, body with soul, physiology with psychology.<sup>6</sup>

The starting point for the contemporary considerations on the origin and nature of human was the conviction of the unity of the human race. Monogenism and deep conviction about human equality before God prevailed. However, the question about the reasons for the diversity of people in both physical and cultural terms remained open:

Since a man is different from a woman, young from old, strong from weak, healthy from sick, white from black or other colour, quick from sluggish, learned from

---

<sup>2</sup> Lopez 1999, p. 165; Ahearn 2013, p. 213; Eriksen 2013, chapter 1.

<sup>3</sup> Nowak 2021b.

<sup>4</sup> Bielicki, Tadeusz; Krupiński, Tadeusz; Strzałko Jan 1987, pp. 3–6.

<sup>5</sup> Jasiński 1818, p. 3; see Meijer 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Jasiński 1818, p. 100; see. Jasiewicz 2010, pp. 36–51.

unskilful, rich from poor; but such differences which depend on fate do not eliminate inherent equality.<sup>7</sup>

In the eighteenth century, creationist concepts based on the biblical tradition dominated. It was commonly believed that God “is the inventor of all nature”, the world and people. Thus, humankind comes from one source – the biblical paradise, from its first inhabitants, Adam and Eve. The phenomenon of scattering people and forming nations in various parts of the world was also explained by God’s intention to “confuse languages” while building the Tower of Babel and by the migration of Noah’s descendants.<sup>8</sup>

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a new approach appeared, which, on the basis of natural, philosophical, philological and anthropological research, tried to explain the questions of people origin and their physical and mental diversity. Johann T. Blumenbach’s five races typology was used most frequently, and Georges Cuvier’s three race system was less frequently adopted.<sup>9</sup> In turn, Julius Klaproth’s linguistic research was the basis for inquiries about the origin of primitive tribes, especially in Asia.<sup>10</sup> The authorities for early Polish anthropology were also: researcher-traveller Aleksander Humboldt, geographer Victor A. Malte-Brun, naturalist Julien-Joseph Virey, and naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon. Interestingly, the most eminent Polish researchers and popularizers of knowledge rarely used the term “race”. They used various terms already popular in the Polish literature: “tribe”, “great tribe”, “generation”, “species”, “variety”, “family”.<sup>11</sup>

At the beginning of the period, it was believed that climate was the overriding factor responsible for the diversity of humankind, inspired by Charles Montesquieu’s and Immanuel Kant’s views.<sup>12</sup> With time, the omnipotence of climate was doubted, as in the new interpretation it was only one of the factors differentiating humankind. Therefore, other answers were sought. It was assumed that at the dawn of history there had to be one “primeval generation”. According to Stanisław Jundziłł, a naturalist from the Imperial University of Vilnius, it was a white “Caucasian tribe”. Its skin colour changed because of climate, lifestyle and, as the scientist stressed, other yet unknown reasons. He substantiated the superiority of the Caucasian race with the differences in the structure of skulls of different racial types, making their evaluation:

The more the facial angle is open, the more noble and magnificent (...) the face is; (...). The sharper this angle is, the longer the face and similar to animal. It is noteworthy that the degrees of moral perfection are sometimes perceived in line with these dimensions.<sup>13</sup>

Following Albrecht Haller, the creator of experimental physiology, Jundziłł assumed that the “place of black paint” of the Black people, and copper or chestnut paints of other “generations” is located in the so-called mucous tissue (Latin: *textus mucosus*) under the surface of the skin. He added, however, that “the cause of this blackness, despite numerous speculations, is unknown”.<sup>14</sup> It was assumed that apart from the influence of air temperature and type of food,

---

<sup>7</sup> Jasiński 1818, p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> Wyrwicz 1787, pp. 21–22; 1770, p. 669; Marczyński 1817, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Blumenbach 1776; Cuvier 1817.

<sup>10</sup> Klaproth 1823.

<sup>11</sup> Wyrwicz 1770; Śniadecki 1811; Jundziłł 1807; Jasiński 1818; Majewski 1827–1828; Surowiecki 1824; zob. Nowak 2021a.

<sup>12</sup> Chmielowski 1746, p. 498; Wyrwicz 1770, p. 40, pp. 567–568; see Bernasconi 2002, pp. 145–166.

<sup>13</sup> Jundziłł 1807, pp. 23–25.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*, p. 25.

differences in skin colour could also result from morbidity. Among many diseases, “why cannot there be one that infects people with black or white colour?”<sup>15</sup>

Sometimes heredity was intuitively indicated as the reason for human diversity.<sup>16</sup> It was explained that the physical features of different races are passed on to offspring, and the parents of two different “generations” with different skin colours pass on the medium colour to their children. Wawrzyniec Surowiecki, historian and anthropologist, argued that separate physical properties in particular races are permanent and inborn:

If today people wanted to claim that warmth, cold or any other external cause affects human innate qualities, one could show a lot of clear evidence against it, which raises no doubt, because it results from the experience of long centuries.<sup>17</sup>

Deeper analysis does not allow to regard Jędrzej Śniadecki, chemist, physician and philosopher, as a precursor of the theory of evolution. In the synthesis of *Teoria jestestw organicznych*, he emphasized the constant movement in the organic world, the continuous, repetitive transformations of one organism into another – higher beings are created at the expense of lower ones, as a result of their annihilation. He considered the entirety of these phenomena only from the perspective of chemical transformations. Śniadecki thought that the “whole physical constitution of a place” (e.g. latitude, climate, population, wildlife, terrain) had a significant yet not the only influence on the development of “beings”.<sup>18</sup> He adopted one of the aspects of Kant’s concept of the decisive influence of external conditions on the psychological traits of human, seeing in them a factor responsible for the different way of thinking and behaviour of communities, their character and customs.<sup>19</sup> However, he disagreed with the view (P. Camper, E. de Saint-Hilaire, J. B. de Lamarck) about the critical influence of climate on the physical transformations of human, e.g. skin colour. Such changes are achieved only through heredity, but only within one species. Thus, following Carl Linnaeus’s old view about the constancy of species, he argued that their form is permanent and unchangeable. If two species with separate “organic powers” responsible for reproduction were to cross, a creature incapable of reproduction would appear.<sup>20</sup> “Race”, in Śniadecki’s terminology “tribe” or “variety” of the human species, is a set of differences in human structure. The skin colour of *homo sapiens*, indicated for example by Cuvier as the basic characteristic of human races, was insufficient for him.<sup>21</sup> Śniadecki preferred Blumenbach’s division based on many factors, including the skull shape. Comparing a “Negro” to a European, he assessed that

a Negro has a completely different composition of head and face: his jaw is elongated, his forehead receding, the volume of the skull and the brain far smaller, thick and protruding lips, black, fat and woolly skin.<sup>22</sup>

Attempts to reconcile religion and science were a characteristic feature of contemporary ideas. According to Hugo Kołłątaj, historian and philosopher, the history of humankind began with the biblical flood. However, he did not see the explanation of this phenomenon in a supernatural factor, but in geological transformations. He was convinced of the primordial unity of humankind, its origin from a single community that was connected with Noah. He saw

---

<sup>15</sup> Kołłątaj 1842b, p. 314. Kołłątaj’s manuscripts come from 1803, and were published in three volumes only after the author’s death.

<sup>16</sup> Śniadecki 1811; Jundziłł 1807.

<sup>17</sup> Surowiecki 1824, p. 70.

<sup>18</sup> Śniadecki 1811, pp. 356–357.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.*, pp. 358–363.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*, p. 366.

<sup>21</sup> Cuvier 1817, pp. 94–100.

<sup>22</sup> Śniadecki 1811, p. 366; see Zubek et al. 2018, p. 174.

the confirmation of this thesis in the similarity of languages, behaviours, legends, rites. On the other hand, he explained the clear differentiation within the species by the gradual separation of individual human groups from the original one. Having gone separate ways, people, living in different conditions, developed different features, both physical and moral. The principle was clear: the earlier a population left the original community, the fewer similarities it retained. To some extent we can see here an analogy to the concepts of known monogenists (Blumenbach, Buffon) about originating subsequent races from the white race, as a result of its degeneration due to environmental factors. However, in Kołłątaj's approach, physical differences between populations were less important. Cultural affinities proved the unity of human and nature:

For us it is enough when we find similarities between the whites and blacks in language, tales, marks of the first enlightenment, customs, rites and opinions. Everyone can be convinced by this evidence that these people must have come from one first community, and therefore their savage state today is caused by the reasons listed above.<sup>23</sup>

Importantly, Kołłątaj criticized approaches that valued people according to physical characteristics. He believed that similar speculations, with no reliable knowledge on this subject, could only bring moral damage. "Let us not be like those theologians who doubted whether the Negroes are even people", he warned.<sup>24</sup>

### 3. Romantic turn towards culture

Against the background of the European thought, the specificity of the Polish Romantic reflection on the categorization of humankind resulted from several reasons. The most important of them, as already mentioned, was the poor development of anthropological sciences in the annexed Polish lands, and further the influx of new ideas, mainly German, with their historicism and fascination for the intangible side of existence. Moreover, the concept of nation as the organization of human world prevailed in the Polish reflection from the late 1820s to the early 1860s. In terms of contemporary terminology, nation was imagined as a historico-political, multicultural, multiethnic community. Biological kinship was therefore of little importance, as the most important was a spiritual bond based on the Polish tradition of the centuries-old coexistence of different ethnic elements in one community of thoughts, feelings and purpose.<sup>25</sup> An important feature of the Polish Romanticism was also a strong emphasis on the sense of tribal community, belonging to the supranational community of Slavs. Like in the approach to a nation, cultural similarity was important – common ideas, thoughts, language, customs – creating a higher level of union than the original biological relationship. A bond based on the idea of common blood is definitely not enough. According to Adam Mickiewicz, people cannot be taken back to their "physical beginning"; a spiritual bond is necessary – "some common idea, a big idea" which will unite the Slavic peoples.<sup>26</sup>

Polish thinking about the divisions of humankind was distinguished by a hierarchy of values in which a nation was the supreme, the excellent concept. In contrast, "tribalism" was often identified with a race and combined with more primitive relationships and primitive history of humankind. In the patriarchal times, communities focused on the idea of common

---

<sup>23</sup> Kołłątaj 1842b, p. 315.

<sup>24</sup> *Id.*, p. 316.

<sup>25</sup> Walicki 2009; Nowak 2008; Bilenky 2012.

<sup>26</sup> Mickiewicz [1842] 1997, pp. 110–111.

blood. It was a period of fighting, violence, exclusion, because according to Cyprian K. Norwid, “a race or tribe (morally speaking) is a contradiction, a separation, it is a negation – it exists because it is different”.<sup>27</sup> A race was thus understood as a form of primary social organization of related elements. The division of the human race according to physical factors was, in the Polish Romantics’ opinion, a reactionary, primitive and destructive thinking. If it was based only on the difference in blood, it did not build anything. It was believed that only uniting races/tribes with one purpose led to the creation of a nation as the highest form of community unified by moral force, more perfect than biological bond. The unity of spirit counted, and not physical, arbitrary divisions leading to prejudice and hatred.

The word “race” itself appeared more often than in the Enlightenment thought, but the terms “tribe”, “strain”, “big family”, “generation” still dominated. The term “race” seemed foreign and incomprehensible also in scientific studies, so it was replaced with synonymous terms. Andrzej Kucharski, ethnographer and Slavicist, deliberately replaced the term “race”, commonly used in the works of Western researchers, with the term “tribe”, which he considered more appropriate for Polish readers.<sup>28</sup> Stanisław Rzewuski, philosopher, historian and philologist, in his pioneering thesis in Polish science, which promoted the need to start research on the physical types of human groups, does not mention the following concepts: “race”, “racial features”, “racial types”. The author consistently replaces them with the words “tribe”, “tribalism”, “physiological features”.<sup>29</sup> In the zoology book by Norbert Kumelski and Stanisław Górski, “five strains or generations of the human race” were adopted according to the “superficial composition and body paint”.<sup>30</sup> In the work of historian Franciszek Duchiniński the term “race” is synonymous with “tribe”, “kind”, “family”.<sup>31</sup> In *Historia Naturalna* by Antoni Waga, ornithologist and entomologist who strongly preferred the term “generation” to refer to separate physical types, the term “race” appears several times.<sup>32</sup> In the press and literature, there was also a conceptual confusion, and the word “race” could mean the social layer of a nation,<sup>33</sup> but also a community united by the law of blood,<sup>34</sup> and sometimes a nation, e.g. Russian, Japanese, German race, etc.<sup>35</sup>

The influence of geographical and climatic factors on the formation of different types of races/tribes, considered to be superior in the Enlightenment thought, was less significant in the Romantic tradition.<sup>36</sup> In the philosophical reflection of Romantics, the spiritual sphere was the most important, therefore classifications based on permanent physical types could not be accepted. These types were perceived as something arbitrary, unchanging, which ignored a voluntary factor and historical change. From this criticized perspective, the “Black” would always be condemned to oppression of the “White” and “wild” tribes would be subject to more civilized communities. But everything is changing: “a race, language, customs and tradition, character and temperament, inclinations and abilities are becoming individual”.<sup>37</sup> Racial theories were presented as inherently erroneous and, moreover, infected with a false ideology, recognizing the superiority of some over others. Popular, especially in Germany, they reinforce the pejorative belief about the superiority of the Germanic race and the German nation

---

<sup>27</sup> Norwid [1849] 1957, pp. 39–40.

<sup>28</sup> Kucharski 1854, p. 550.

<sup>29</sup> Rzewuski S. 1830.

<sup>30</sup> Kumelski, Górski, 1836, p. 53.

<sup>31</sup> Duchiniński [1858] 1901, pp. 89–90.

<sup>32</sup> Waga 1859, pp. 194–195.

<sup>33</sup> Rzewuski H. 1851, pp. 76–79.

<sup>34</sup> Kilka słów..., 1839, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Krasieński 1999, p. 116; L. J. 1852, p. 317.

<sup>36</sup> Adamowicz 1839, pp. 661–662.

<sup>37</sup> Libelt 1869, p. 3.

as a “chosen tribe”.<sup>38</sup> A critical attitude towards judgments on the mental and moral predispositions of human based on physical properties appeared in the negative opinions about Franz Gall’s and Johann Spurzheim’s concepts.<sup>39</sup> S. Rzewuski in his treatise on the need for research on the set of physical characteristics of human groups states, having presented the division of humankind into five conventional “great families” according to the colour of the skin, that there are no pure races. In his opinion, after centuries of migrations and crossbreeding peoples with each other:

(...) it would be too bold to claim that any of them survived in their original separateness. Mixing tribes often meant their improvement; and the new ones stemming from the old ones often became far more beautiful.<sup>40</sup>

Therefore, according to Rzewuski, the process of crossbreeding human tribes/races was a positive phenomenon. He thought that in the studies on the origin of individual communities, it was not enough to make just observations about physiognomy, but it was necessary to combine them with historical, ethnographic and philological research.<sup>41</sup> Joachim Lelewel, historian, expressed a similar opinion, he was convinced that the constant mixing of tribes changes the language, customs, and also physical features, which effectively erases the marks of primordial origin.<sup>42</sup>

In the dominant discourse, apart from circles representing sciences of nature and medicine, biology and the biology-derived division of the humankind into permanent physical types were replaced by culture, with which one can identify freely. The significance of cultural characteristics and the influence of psychological inclinations of peoples to develop differences between them, which grew out of feelings, imagination and reason, were emphasized. Following Claude Blanckaert, we refer to the tendency of combining biology and culture as the cultural approach to naturalistic observation of humans.<sup>43</sup> This spiritual affinity was the most important, closely related to the development of humans and their enlightenment. Polish Romantics “made up for” the lack of interest in physical anthropology and reflected upon the diversity of humankind according to the so-called state of civilization. Although they refrained from valuing human groups according to biology, they did not avoid it when describing the cultural and civilizational shaping of a community.

The evolutionary character of the process of “maturation” of humankind in history was assumed – from primitive tribes/races to self-aware communities, contemporary of Romantics, based on voluntary integration. The process of uneven development – simultaneous existence of civilized nations and wild primitive peoples – was explained by the formation of individual populations in different geographical and climatic, demographic, historical conditions and, most importantly, by the distance from Europe – the centre of civilization. Although Asia was the cradle of humankind, as it was stressed, the development of local communities was hindered and Asia has remained stagnant for centuries. Since the ancient Greek and Roman era, Europe has taken over the role of civilizational leader, and it was Europe that set the course for the human progress. Therefore, the Eurocentric attitude, apart from some exceptions, completely dominated the thinking about the world at the time. According to the romantic idea, humankind is “a large family whose patriarch is a European tribe and others are children in need of a protective leader, which would guide them in their uncertain steps and show them the way

---

<sup>38</sup> F. Z. 1843, p. 188.

<sup>39</sup> Libelt 1844, pp. 4–5; Wiszniewski [1837] 1988, p. 54; Dziekoński 1841, pp. 659–660.

<sup>40</sup> Rzewuski S. 1830, p. 16.

<sup>41</sup> *Id.*, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Lelewel 1814, pp. 4–5.

<sup>43</sup> Blanckaert 2007, pp. 140–141, 155.



they have to go". All the other "tribes", even those "half-wild", gradually adopting European patterns, with time will join the "refined" members of the human family.<sup>44</sup> This attitude towards non-European communities and cultures had little in common with a racist attitude in the sense of recognizing inequalities between people caused by physical differences, and promoted the only progressive model of thinking and lifestyle accepted at that time. By contrast, those who shattered the myth of a magnificent, morally and civilizationally leading Europe criticized the colonial system introduced "in the middle of terrible murders and conflagration, tainted by bloodshed of the innocent, under the banner of devilish desire for greed". The aspect of the barbaric harassment by European white colonizers towards "the poor tribes of America who were only interested in their lands" was raised.<sup>45</sup> The contemporary "skin superstitions" undoubtedly affected the treatment of conquered populations.<sup>46</sup>

#### 4. Positivist popularization of knowledge about human races

For the Polish intellectual elites, an important element of work on the improvement of Polish society was the popularization of the achievements of foreign science. Despite the independent development of Polish anthropology in the second half of the nineteenth century (first cathedral of anthropology, after Paris, at the Jagiellonian University, 1873; field research of anthropologists Józef Majer and Izydor Kopernicki,<sup>47</sup> the Polish thought concerning knowledge about human races should be largely considered as reconstructive.<sup>48</sup> The journals published discussions or summaries of texts mainly from French (*Revue de deux Mondes*, *Tour de Monde*, *Revue d'Anthropologie*, *Revue philosophique*, *Revue scientifique*, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*), English (*Nature*, *Science*), German (*Archiv für Anthropologie*, *Allgemeine Ethnographie*) and American periodicals (*Cosmopolitan Review*, *Popular Science Monthly*). However, there was also some critical reflection. The sociologist Ludwik Krzywicki distinguished in this field, he popularized knowledge and wrote works on anthropology.<sup>49</sup> It is noteworthy that in the period under consideration anthropology as a science was defined in different ways. Its scope and aims were still discussed. Its wider scope (not only as a science on a physical construction of man) is demonstrated by past debates and instructions issued by the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences.<sup>50</sup>

Exploring knowledge about human nature, analysed through the prism of popularization of natural sciences, nowadays gives the impression of chaotic search. Initially, it was only important to provide curious and exotic information. We encounter a variety of theories and hypotheses, some of them contradicted the others. Having adopted the existence of races, following the world science, the classifications of races were discussed and theories presented to explain physical and spiritual differences between people. The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of intense search for the truth about humans: their origin, differentiation, relations between the spirit and the body, and finally the role that humankind was supposed to play in the work of progress. The latter issue was of considerable importance. The question was whether all races are equally talented at it. Evolutionism assumed continuous development: only those nations and races that were leaders at improving civilization were important. There

<sup>44</sup> W. P. 1852, pp. 21–22.

<sup>45</sup> Południowa Ameryka..., 1851, p. 258.

<sup>46</sup> Nowe książki..., 1864, p. 72.

<sup>47</sup> Lorkiewicz et al. 2011, pp. 331–332; see Majer, Kopernicki 1874–1886.

<sup>48</sup> Barth, Gingrich, Parkin, Silverman 2007. Jasiewicz 2011; Wrzesińska 2021b, pp. 31–59.

<sup>49</sup> Krzywicki [1893] 1969a; [1897] 1969b; [1902] 1969c; Hołda-Róźiewicz 1969; see also: Daniłowicz-Strzelbicki 1897; Kopernicki, 1885; Lutostański 1881; Radliński 1882, 1900; Stefanowska 1891; Talko-Hrynczewicz 1888; Olechnowicz 1902; Szyszło 1872.

<sup>50</sup> Majer 1874, p. LXVII; Wrzesińska 2021b.

were opportunities for those who were able to adjust to the European pattern to keep up with this progress. Developing natural sciences also shaped human consciousness itself, approach to different peoples and cultures, distance to strangeness. Although evolutionists attributed the ability to progress to all peoples, they described them as existing at different stages of civilizational development, and thus they hierarchized them.<sup>51</sup> Such approach justified not only military and economic, but also cultural conquest. The white man had a duty to civilize wild peoples, even if they were dying out, encountering European civilization.<sup>52</sup>

The alleged racial inferiority became an excuse for conquests aimed at spreading civilization also towards white people, as they were believed to be degenerated by living conditions. This was the case of the Boers, descendants of Dutch settlers in South Africa. Basing on Anthony Trollope's novel, *South Africa*,<sup>53</sup> the Boers were described as "reluctant to any progress, leading a sloppy and crude life", "never washing themselves, day and night wearing the same clothes".<sup>54</sup> Disgusting expressions allowed readers to understand the processes aimed at exterminating peoples civilizationaly different from Europeans. The language of description accustomed readers to contempt and cruelty towards another person, who not only differed in skin colour, had tattoos and adornments incompatible with civilized taste, but also towards an imperfect, poor person, helpless in the face of exploitation, culturally or physically different – to a white person. In the past descriptions, people living outside Europe were typically compared to animals, both in terms of physical look and the way of life.<sup>55</sup> This dehumanizing language affected relations, both between social classes within one nation and among nations.<sup>56</sup>

Eurocentrism left its imprint on the racial classifications. They were elaborated by white people who placed their own physicality and culture at the highest level. Even Linnaeus, dividing humankind according to a geographical criterion, ascribed not only a specific appearance to its varieties (Latin: *varietas*), but also a lifestyle and character traits. *Homo europeus* was therefore noble, talented and law-abiding, while *Homo africanus* was lazy, dissolute, reckless and capricious.<sup>57</sup>

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the terminology used to describe particular populations was influenced by natural sciences, biology and medicine. The majority of Polish anthropologists were also educated in the fields mentioned above. They stopped focusing on the community of spirit and culture. They seek bond in biological factors: heredity, origin, blood, external appearance.<sup>58</sup> By borrowing terms from natural sciences, "humankind" was replaced by the term "species"; "race" displaced the term "generation" and "racial types" – "strains" and "branches". In the Polish case, all of these terms were not used consistently, they were often used interchangeably. There were several reasons for this phenomenon. Firstly, in the transition period between the Romanticism and Positivism, the old system of values and concepts was passing and the new one was coming. Secondly, there was a lack of precision in the field of natural knowledge – the terms "race" and "variety" were treated as synonyms.<sup>59</sup> Thirdly, it is not possible to state at today's stage of research to what extent the authors of Polish translations were consistent as regards terminology. Finally, none of these terms were clearly defined. Following the world scientific literature and popular writing, the existence of human

---

<sup>51</sup> Szaeki 1981, pp. 303–304; Lubock 1873; Formy... 1881, pp. 210–211.

<sup>52</sup> Wyprawa... 1880, pp. 378–379.

<sup>53</sup> English edition Trollope 1878.

<sup>54</sup> J. W. 1881, p. 237.

<sup>55</sup> Plemiona ludzkie 1863b, p. 382; Z Peru do Brazylia... 1866, p. 51; Niemojowski 1872, pp. 369–370.

<sup>56</sup> See Budrewicz 2018.

<sup>57</sup> Krzywicki 1907, p. 428.

<sup>58</sup> See Gawin 2003, pp. 39–52

<sup>59</sup> Wrzeńska 2021a.

racas like the animal ones was accepted. As more and more “types” were discovered, the need for their classification grew, which actually was nothing new. In ancient times already, although geographical horizons at that time reached only the Mediterranean Sea, divisions based on geographical and morphological criteria were created, distinguishing separate groups of people.<sup>60</sup>

Another characteristic adopted by anthropology was the genealogical criterion. Accepting that external features were not sufficient to distinguish a species – and Blumenbach and Cuvier based their theories on it<sup>61</sup> – the assumption was that the offspring, having inherited the traits of similar parents, formed a species.<sup>62</sup>

Despite developing research on human communities, about which the Polish periodicals wrote and the publishing market provided translations of works by e.g. Charles Darwin, Ernst Haeckel, Thomas Huxley, Oscar Peschel, John Lubbock, Lewis H. Morgan, Edward B. Tylor, Paul Topinard, races were still something unknown. It was taken for granted that they really existed in nature, though today we know that they were the product of human mind.<sup>63</sup> Krzywicki, aware of the great variety of races and the lack of uniformity of traits within each of them, preferred to use the term “racial-anthropological types”.<sup>64</sup> However, this did not contribute anything new. In the second half of the nineteenth century, scholars confirmed the earlier romantic conviction that there were no pure races in the anthropological sense.<sup>65</sup> What was considered as pure races, was a mixture of different races – “anthropological types”, which in turn were created by crossing even earlier, primeval forms. These conclusions, however, did not mean that the term “race” was abandoned in various contexts. Moreover, racial theories became politically valuable. Colonized peoples were believed not to have mental qualities useful in the work of civilization. “Some kind of inability to progress” was often regarded as a common feature of “lower races”.<sup>66</sup>

## 5. Biology as a determinant of culture

Scientists, while making racial systematics – although looking for patterns related to the external appearance and anatomical structure – linked physicality with culture. They also attributed cultural features to certain types determined by biological criteria. As the columnist Feliks Bogacki wrote, “each race develops in its proper way, faithfully preserving its peculiarities. (...). The dependence of psychological and physical traits (...) is striking and firm”.<sup>67</sup> The second half of the nineteenth century, together with faith in the power of knowledge, brought a desire to study human diversity scientifically. The differences in appearance and culture were to be justified not only by external determinants such as climate, geographical conditions, food, but also by biological factors, which were considered innate features of a given race.<sup>68</sup> Popularizers of knowledge published texts that were to present authentic images of the life of peoples inhabiting exotic lands.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, from today’s point of view, it should be stated that the criteria of this authenticity were different at the time,

---

<sup>60</sup> Tyrała 2005, pp. 13–15; Krzywicki 1907, pp. 373–375.

<sup>61</sup> Peschel 1876, p. 8; German edition Peschel 1874.

<sup>62</sup> Quatrefages 1873, pp. 182–186. French edition Quatrefages 1870; see Klecki 1924, p. 17.

<sup>63</sup> Strzałko 2009.

<sup>64</sup> Krzywicki [1893] 1969a, p. 19; see Makuch 2018.

<sup>65</sup> Nałkowski 1890, p. 305; Krzywicki 1907, p. 440.

<sup>66</sup> Colon... 1876, p. 309.

<sup>67</sup> Bogacki 1881, p. 125.

<sup>68</sup> O rasach... 1871, p. 158; see Łukasiewicz 2012; Małczyński, Mincer 2014.

<sup>69</sup> F. S. 1869a, pp. 47–48.

the authors of accounts were casual and unprepared for research challenges, and they often were academic scholars using unreliable information.

It should be emphasized that valuing people according to their appearance and culture was not a novelty in the Polish Positivism science and journalism. The previous era – Romanticism – despite the declared respect for diversity and spirituality of peoples and nations as important values, brought patterns which hierarchized races and were ready for repeating. The language of their description could also deepen the sense of disgust at wild peoples, as well as the superiority of civilized societies in Europe. Only the European pattern, the introduction of Christianity and constant progress could “save” the wild.<sup>70</sup> Comparisons between wild and civilized people often appeared in the Polish press. An anonymous author wrote:

What (...) a huge difference is between a scientist who is a true pride of humankind and a wild man, for example an inhabitant of Australia who lives in a tree trunk burned out with fire. He eats reptiles and grass, is covered with dirt and vermin, his entire skill is making a hook from a piece of shell and tying it on a string, twisted of fibres, his thought does not reach any further than meeting the basic needs.<sup>71</sup>

From the point of view of Europeans, it seemed that all other peoples were lower as regards civilizational development. The look of the white man was also seen as the ideal of beauty. According to zoological patterns concerning the desirable appearance of breeds of farm animals, attempts were made to demonstrate that the external features are strongly associated with culture. The relationship between skin colour and mental abilities was found – the whiter the skin was, the more developed these abilities were supposed to be.<sup>72</sup> This view proved to be long-lasting, as at the end of the nineteenth century we can still find in the press a discussion of the concept on this subject by Julius Lippert.<sup>73</sup> Polish travellers regarded the white skin not only as a determinant of beauty in the physical sense, but also as a feature that influenced the shaping of the human psyche. The degree of whiteness of the skin, as among the population of French Guyana – “mulattoes, Negroes, Indians and coolies” – was supposed to positively show moral qualities.<sup>74</sup> The white race was described as the one which “reached the perfect form of body”, thus “(...) is close to the original beauty”.<sup>75</sup> Also, the more different was the lifestyle from the European patterns, the more negatively it was assessed. This particularly concerned the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, who were doubted to be human. By nature they were shapeless, did not wear clothes, deformed their bodies, did not build permanent residences, and consumed raw food.<sup>76</sup> Although there was a view that all peoples were able to develop, at the same time it was believed that only the white race could create a “true” civilization and that it was the creator of history.<sup>77</sup>

The focus was also on the socio-cultural aspect of the life of the described races. The following races were distinguished: nomadic and settled, active and passive,<sup>78</sup> slave and free.<sup>79</sup> The criterion for the division was also the attitude towards women (quoted following Charles Letourneau) – more or less civilized<sup>80</sup> and the type of buildings: round buildings were common

---

<sup>70</sup> Domeyko 1860, pp. 121–122, 173.

<sup>71</sup> Plemiona... 1863a, p. 357.

<sup>72</sup> Plemiona... 1863b, p. 381.

<sup>73</sup> Ihnatowicz 1887, p. 200.

<sup>74</sup> Jelski 1898, pp. 41–44.

<sup>75</sup> Zapałowicz 1899, p. 128.

<sup>76</sup> Siemiradzki 1896, p. 134.

<sup>77</sup> O rasach... 1871, p. 160.

<sup>78</sup> Gumpłowicz 1906, pp. 297–298.

<sup>79</sup> O geograficznych... 1881, p. 53.

<sup>80</sup> O położeniu... 1885, pp. 350–351.

in a “still wild generation”, while quadrangular ones “in all civilized races”.<sup>81</sup> Such classifications were of a more sociological nature. Due to the development of linguistics (in the press, among others, F. Bopp, J. Grimm, A. Kuhn, A. Schleicher, M. Müller were cited) peoples were classified, as in the Enlightenment, also according to languages.<sup>82</sup> The source material from the Polish periodicals shows that the division of the white population in Europe was made by shifting the language criterion to the biological one.<sup>83</sup> Despite the protests,<sup>84</sup> terms such as Germanic, Romance and Slavic races permanently entered the language of description of European peoples, though the language community was not synonymous with the physical one. Combining biology with culture, Gustave Le Bon divided the European population according to moral and intellectual properties: “Every race or nation has constant and permanent spiritual characteristics as well as physical properties”. Thus, various “spiritual races”, antagonistic to each other, developed, which, as Krzywicki repeated after Le Bon, should be considered as permanent beings, not subject to the influence of time.<sup>85</sup> Georges V. de Lapouge elaborated different divisions: in each nation he saw a “race of initiators and troublemakers” and a “obsequious and servile race”. The former, more valuable, was always the long-headed population, the latter – the short-headed people.<sup>86</sup> The Polish press reported on such research findings as skull measurement, skull classification according to shape<sup>87</sup> and comparative juxtapositions of brain capacity or weight, leading to the hierarchy of races.<sup>88</sup>

All the mentioned divisions had an evaluative overtone. They show, however, that attempts were still made to grasp the causes of human diversity. The mentality of that time allowed for the hierarchy of races, such practices were not perceived as reprehensible. In the case of wild peoples, the conviction of their lower value gave European colonization the character of a civilization mission.<sup>89</sup> Without justifying this expansion, it cannot be denied that people believed in the existence of lower races incapable of progress. It is true, however, that scientists such as Samuel G. Morton, Josiah C. Nott, George R. Gliddon and Louis Agassiz supported slavery and European colonization with their racial theories.<sup>90</sup> Readers could find a critical look at this issue in the Polish translation of Oscar Peschel’s work. This author pointed out that faith in polygenism allowed people to justify “humiliation of a human” and “condemning him to a deputy of a pack animal”,<sup>91</sup> similarly, Edward B. Tylor, when describing the diversity of human types, showed that racial differences were often used for political purposes.<sup>92</sup> Krzywicki, one of Polish scholars, pointed out this fact.<sup>93</sup>

In the context of reflections on human races, the creative approach to this issue of the Polish sociologist Ludwik Gumplowicz deserves attention. He presented the history of humankind through the prism of the theory of conflict – the constant struggle of races. Hence, he was accused of promoting racism. But these were superficial assessments. The term “race” in Gumplowicz’s approach had a sociological character. It meant a social group with a common

---

<sup>81</sup> Mozambik... 1877, p. 242.

<sup>82</sup> Zawiliński 1885, p. 521.

<sup>83</sup> Baudouin de Courtenay 1881, pp. 198–199.

<sup>84</sup> Krzywicki [1893] 1969a, p. 19; Krakowski 1904, p. 376.

<sup>85</sup> L. 1894, p. 232.

<sup>86</sup> K. 1896a, p. 175.

<sup>87</sup> a. l. 1887, pp. 166–168; Krzywicki 1888b, pp. 186–187.

<sup>88</sup> Dunin 1882, p. 162; W. Sz. 1902, p. 316.

<sup>89</sup> Pomian 2005, p. 397–398.

<sup>90</sup> Krzywicki 1888b, p. 186; 1907, pp. 396–403.

<sup>91</sup> Peschel 1876, p. 8.

<sup>92</sup> Tylor 1902, p. 3. English edition Tylor 1881. The first Polish edition of Tylor’s *Anthropology* was published in 1889, the third in 1910.

<sup>93</sup> Krzywicki 1888b, p. 186.

culture. Gumplowicz considered the unity of origin as a secondary phenomenon towards cultural unity – so he did not distinguished races in the anthropological sense and did not value them.<sup>94</sup>

## 6. Critical reflection on racial concepts of the second half of the nineteenth century

The Polish literature almost fully reported on the achievements of the world anthropology. We will encounter there some doubts about the scientific nature of the theories discussed. Izydor Kopernicki wrote about digressions about human physiognomy that this field:

(...) is, at least today, an idle field for our science, an enticing field for doctrinaires and scientific liars, but nothing promising to meticulous researchers. (...). There is so much rubbish and absurdity there as in famous craniology and phrenology of Gall and Spurzheim.<sup>95</sup>

Anthropologists, trying to prove that the volume or weight of the brain determines the mental abilities of human, went astray in science. According to Kopernicki, the brain of Gauss, mathematician, was in no way different from “the most handicapped Black or Australian”, and the brain of Russian writer, Turgenev, who was not a genius, was more impressive than Cuvier’s. The Polish anthropologist asked:

With such knowledge, will anyone dare to soberly weigh the intelligence of outstanding people, or search for their innate talent for brilliant creativeness in some field?<sup>96</sup>

In Polish magazines, we also encounter criticism of violence that Europeans committed as colonizers.<sup>97</sup> The commentary on the people of Tasmania may be an example:

They did not yield to civilization, as presented by a certain modern theory, but to the barbarity of the white man. They were shot like wild animals, hunts were organized. (...). They were driven to a small corner of the island and were actually exterminated (...). There are no possible justification for the Whites.<sup>98</sup>

Similar critical comments can be found in the case of the conduct of the English towards the Boers<sup>99</sup> and the actions of the Germans in African colonies.<sup>100</sup>

In the era of creating nation states in Europe, and then the rivalry for the superpower position, the concepts hierarchizing peoples, which had previously been considered a biological and cultural community of white people, began to become popular. Also Polish critics of such theories pointed out the political reasons for their elaboration. The most common charge faced by propagators of scientific racism and the German race superiority (Otto Ammon, Ludwig Woltmann, Lapouge, Houston Stewart Chamberlain) was the groundlessness of their concepts. They treated a physical race as a determinant of all social, economic, cultural and political phenomena.<sup>101</sup> Both Krzywicki and Gumplowicz considered it a pure fantasy to attribute

---

<sup>94</sup> Gumplowicz 1883; Szacki 1983, pp. 409–411.

<sup>95</sup> Karłowicz 1892, p. 16.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>97</sup> F. S. 1869b, p. 63.

<sup>98</sup> Sulimirski 1883, p. 772.

<sup>99</sup> Plain Truth 1901, p. 996.

<sup>100</sup> Teczka... 1901, p. 1017

<sup>101</sup> K. 1896a, p. 174.

an exceptional role in history to long-headed blonde humans – Aryans.<sup>102</sup> Such views emerged already in the 1870s.<sup>103</sup>

Simultaneously, in the Polish science there was a fascination for the racial theories mentioned above. When discussing Penka's and Lapouge's concepts, Krzywicki claimed that they open new intellectual horizons – they help see explanations of the history of nations in their racial, mental and physical properties.<sup>104</sup> He presented changeable beliefs in this matter. Zoologist Józef Nusbaum approved Ammon's view linking a long head with higher mental abilities.<sup>105</sup> At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, despite the lack of full acceptance of such theories, an ideology was born, driven by an irrational sense of superiority, seeing biology as the determinant of culture and, in the case of "higher races", defining their leading role in history. It should be noted that also in the Polish thought of the nineteenth century we encounter theories according to which the Polish nation was purely Aryan, and thus predisposed to perform a historical mission.<sup>106</sup>

Krzywicki disseminated theses (close to Le Bon's theories about the "soul of the race" and Lapouge's about the superiority of the Aryan race), which we would consider groundless today. Although he considered morphological and histological features of races to be indifferent to social development, he did not deny the influence of "racial factors" on history.<sup>107</sup> The difference was that Krzywicki was against considering them separately from a combination of social, economic, political and cultural factors. He did not see human biology as the factor determining history. Historiosophy, built on the notion of Aryan superiority (including Arthur de Gobineau's reflections), was defined by him as a theory which:

(...) understands the relationship between race, on the one hand, and the events and symptoms of social life, on the other hand, in a causative manner: according to it, if there were not a particular race, appropriate civilizations would not exist. In this case, a race is not only a custodian of symptoms, but also their source, the power shaping institutions by itself.<sup>108</sup>

Anyone who created racial historiosophy, considering races as unconnected beings, was suspected by Krzywicki either of deliberately hiding immediate interests under the mask of science, or of the superficiality of analysis resulting from the lack of a scientific method.<sup>109</sup> In the situation when some of the Polish lands were part of Germany, theories about the inequality of human races already had a political dimension in the second half of the nineteenth century. These theories helped German politicians justify the liquidation of Polish statehood by proving that the Slavs, including Poles, were a lower race, unable to develop independently. From the Polish point of view, international relations as early as in the 1890s

transformed (...) into supercilious, blind chauvinism, and finally into wild racial cannibalism, propagating the extermination of foreign races through the lips of (...) philosophers and publicists.<sup>110</sup>

Searching for an answer to the question about the kind of relationship between race and nation had therefore a practical dimension. If there are races, which was assumed, and they form

---

<sup>102</sup> Krzywicki 1888b, pp. 185–186; K. 1986b, pp. 186–187; Gumplowicz 1906, pp. 291–305.

<sup>103</sup> Peschel 1876, p. 319.

<sup>104</sup> Krzywicki 1888a, p. 447.

<sup>105</sup> Nusbaum 1893, p. 53.

<sup>106</sup> Wrzesińska 2013; Taperek 2018.

<sup>107</sup> Krzywicki [1902] 1969c, s. 578.

<sup>108</sup> *Id.*, p. 588.

<sup>109</sup> *Id.*, p. 587; 1907, pp. 459–462.

<sup>110</sup> J. L. P. 1888, p. 165.

nations, there should be a correlation between the strength (weakness) of a nation and its racial composition. Such approach also has an explanatory significance, if we would like to find the sources of racism in the European and American reflections on the diversity of humankind and its reception in Poland.

## 7. Conclusion

The analysis of the Polish literature on the subject of race enables us to follow through the formation of the thought about the human world and its visible diversity, both biological and cultural, to see the directions in which it was developing. In the whole of the nineteenth century reflection, motifs that hierarchized particular populations were constantly present. Gradually more theories appeared which pointed out physical factors as determining the spirituality, culture and civilizational development of people. On the one hand, scientific theories and opinions, often bearing gross value judgements, contributed to the emergence of racism and its consequences, but, on the other hand, they were the next stage of the development of human sciences. Contemporary genetics, comparative anatomy, embryology verified these earlier and often controversial hypotheses.

The series of various circumstances of ideological and political nature determined the direction of transformations leading to the twentieth-century racism. The developing mass culture and, simultaneously, the progress of natural sciences, sociology and anthropology favoured not only the emergence of nationalism, but also chauvinism and racism. Since the end of the eighteenth century the Polish thought has led to the new era – modernism, which maintained the authority of science and combined it with the irrational threads of ideology based on a community of origin, blood and primordial racial bonds. Grażyna Kubica discusses this fundamental problem of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century anthropology, when biological distinction between humans was seen in the racial scope only. The notion “race” became discredited as late as after WWII when socio-cultural anthropology became independent, and scholars began to apply distributive understanding of culture<sup>111</sup>. Differences among humans – real or imagined – can always lead to discrimination. According to Magdalena Tendera, „(...) the existence of racial differences does not justify racism, just like the existence of different sexes does not justify sexism”<sup>112</sup>. Both phenomena should be seen as secondary despite the fact that they are crucial in the context of different approaches to man in political terms.

## Sources of funding this publication

National Science Centre 2016/21/B/HS3/03696

## REFERENCES

### *Abbreviations*

*Ateneum* – *Ateneum. Pismo naukowe i literackie*

*Biblioteka Warszawska* – *Biblioteka Warszawska. Pismo poświęcone naukom, sztukom i przemysłowi*

*Głos* – *Głos. Tygodnik literacko-społeczno-polityczny*

*Prawda* – *Prawda. Tygodnik polityczny, społeczny i literacki*

*Wędrowiec* – *Wędrowiec. Pismo obejmujące podróże i wyprawy połączone z opisem zwyczajów i obyczajów ludów cudzoziemskich; życiorys sławnych cudzoziemców, powiastki i przekłady literatury zagranicznej, wiadomości z dziedziny nauk przyrodzonych, przemysłu i technologii, różności*

*Wisła* – *Wisła. Miesięcznik geograficzno-etnograficzny*

*Wszechświat* – *Wszechświat. Tygodnik popularny poświęcony naukom przyrodniczym*

<sup>111</sup> Kubica 2015, ss. 108–109.

<sup>112</sup> Tendera 2015, p. 162.



- a. l. 1887: Wyludnienie Francji. *Głos* 11, pp. 166–168.
- Adamowicz, Adam F 1839: Człowiek. [In:] *Encyklopedia powszechna: zbiór wiadomości najpotrzebniejszych dla wszystkich stanów*. Vol. IV, pp. 660–668. Wilno-Warszawa: August Glücksberg, Teofil Glücksberg.
- Baudouin de Courtenay, Jan 1881: Pogadanki naukowe. O gramatyce porównawczej języków indoeuropejskich. *Prawda* 17, pp. 198–199.
- Blumenbach, Johann F. 1776: *De generis humani varietate nativa*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck.
- Bogacki, Feliks 1881: Tajemnice życia duszy. *Prawda* 11, pp. 125–126.
- Chmielowski, Benedykt 1746: *Nowe Ateny Albo Akademia Wszelkiej Scyencyi Petna*. Part II. Lwów: Drukarnia Pawła Józefa Golczewskiego.
- Colon i Aspinwall. 1876: *Wędrowiec* 333, p. 309.
- Cuvier, Georges 1817: *Le règne animal distribué d'après son organisation*. Vol. I, Paris: Chez Deterville, Libraire.
- Daniłowicz-Strzelbicki, Kazimierz 1897: Odrębność etniczna i cywilizacyjna. *Ateneum* 4(3), pp. 543–572.
- Domeyko, Ignacy 1860: *Araukania i jej mieszkańcy: wspomnienia z podróży po południowych prowincjach republiki Chilejskiej*. Translated from Spanish by Jan Zamostowski. Wilno: Nakładem i drukiem Józefa Zawadzkiego.
- Duchński, Franciszek H. [1858] 1901: *Zasady dziejów Polski, innych krajów słowiańskich i Moskwy*. [In:] *Pisma*. Vol. I. Rapperswil: Nakład i Wydawnictwo Muzeum Narodowego Polskiego.
- Dunin, Bolesław 1882: Z antropologii (według P. Topinard). *Prawda* 14, pp. 161–162.
- Dziekoński, Józef B. 1841: Związek sił żywotnych z organizmem. *Biblioteka Warszawska* 3, pp. 635–668.
- F. S., see Sulimirski, Filip
- F. Z. 1843: Jutrzenka. *Biblioteka Warszawska* 2, pp. 186–191.
- Formy i siły polityczne według Herberta Spencera. 1881: *Prawda* 18, pp. 210–211.
- Gall, Franz J., Spurzheim, Johann G. 1809: *Recherches sur le système nerveux en général et sur celui du cerveau en particulier*. Paris: F. Schoell & H. Nicolle.
- Gumplowicz, Ludwik 1883: *Der Rassenkampf. Soziologische Untersuchungen*. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Univ.-Buchhandlung.
- Gumplowicz, Ludwik 1906: Nieco o "rasologii" niemieckiej. *Przegląd Historyczny* 3, pp. 291–305.
- Gumplowicz, Władysław 1904: Niemiec przeciwko pangermanizmowi. *Prawda* 40, pp. 475–477.
- Ihnatowicz, Stanisław 1887: Julius Lippert, Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit in ihren organischen Aufbau. *Głos* 13, pp. 200–201.
- J. L. P., see Popławski Jan Ludwik
- J. W. 1881: Boerowie i Transvaal. *Prawda* 20, pp. 237–238.
- Jasiński, Józef 1818: *Anthropologia o własnościach człowieka fizycznych i moralnych*. Wilno: Nakładem Józefa Zawadzkiego.
- Jelski, Konstanty 1898: *Popularno-przyrodnicze opowiadania z pobytu w Gujanie francuskiej i po części w Peru (od roku 1865–1871)*. Kraków: Drukarnia „Czasu”.
- Jundziłł, Stanisław 1807: *Zoologia krótko zebrana*. Part I. Wilno: Nakładem Józefa Zawadzkiego.
- K., see Krzywicki, Ludwik
- Karłowicz, Jan 1892: *Izydor Kopernicki*. Kraków: Nakład i druk Wł. L. Anczyca i Spółki.
- Kilka słów o rozprawie Janusza Woronicza. 1839: *Trzeci Maj* 10 grudnia, pp. 3–8.
- Klaproth, Julius 1823: *Asia Polyglotta*. Paris: A. Schubart.
- Klecki, Walerian 1924: *Gatunek i rasa. Wykłady o biologicznych podstawach hodowli*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Kasy im. Mianowskiego.
- Kołątaj, Hugo 1842a: *Rozbiór krytyczny zasad historii o początkach rodu ludzkiego*. Vol. I. Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytecka.
- Kołątaj, Hugo 1842b: *Rozbiór krytyczny zasad historii o początkach rodu ludzkiego*. Vol. II. Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytecka.
- Kopernicki, Izydor 1885: Odrębność etniczna i cywilizacyjna. *Ateneum*, 4 (3), pp. 543–572.
- Krakowski, Władysław, see Gumplowicz, Władysław
- Kraśniński, Zygmunt 1999: *Pisma filozoficzne i polityczne*. Compiled Paweł Hertz. Warszawa: Czytelnik.
- Krzywicki, Ludwik 1888a: Antropologia w historii zoologii i socjologii. *Wiśła* II (3), pp. 445–467.
- Krzywicki, Ludwik 1888b: Rasa a społeczeństwo. *Głos* 16, pp. 185–187.
- Krzywicki, Ludwik 1894: Nowa próba w dziedzinie psychologii rasowej. *Prawda* 20, pp. 232–233.
- Krzywicki, Ludwik 1896a: Dobory społeczne. *Prawda* 15, pp. 174–175.
- Krzywicki, Ludwik 1896b: Dobory społeczne. *Prawda* 16, pp. 186–187.
- Krzywicki, Ludwik 1907: *Dzieje antropologii*. [In:] *Poradnik dla samouków*. Vol. II. Part VI, pp. 367–470. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo A. Heflicha i S. Michalskiego.
- Krzywicki, Ludwik [1893] 1969a: *Ludy. Zarys antropologii etnicznej*. [In:] *Dzieła*. Vol. VII. Warszawa: PWN.

- Krzywicki, Ludwik [1897] 1969b: *Kurs systematyczny antropologii. Rasy fizyczne*. [In:] *Dziela*. Vol. VII. Warszawa: PWN.
- Krzywicki, Ludwik [1902] 1969c: *Kurs systematyczny antropologii. Rasy psychiczne*. [In:] *Dziela*. Vol. VII. Warszawa: PWN.
- Kucharski, Andrzej 1854: Etnografia Turków i ich pobratymców. *Biblioteka Warszawska* 3, pp. 548–561.
- Kumelski, Norbert A.; Stanisław B. Górski 1836: *Zoologia albo historia naturalna zwierząt*. Wilno: Teofil Glücksberg.
- L., see Krzywicki, Ludwik
- L. J. 1852: *Japonia. Księga Świata: wiadomości z dziedziny nauk przyrodzonych, historii krajów i ludów, żywoty znakomitych ludzi, podróże, opisy ciekawych miejscowości, wód słynniejszych, odkrycia i wynalazki, ważniejsze zajęcia przemysłowe, obrazy towarzyskie, statystyczne, ekonomiczne itp.* Warszawa: Nakładem S. H. Merzbacha.
- Lelewel, Joachim 1814: *Pisma pomniejsze geograficzno-historyczne*. Warszawa: s.n.
- Libelt, Karol 1844: O posłannictwie dziejowem narodów. *Przegląd Naukowy literaturze, wiedzy i umnictwu poświęcony* 1 (1), pp. 1–12.
- Libelt, Karol 1869: *Wcielające się idee czasu*. Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Lubbock, John [1870] 1873: *Początki cywilizacji. Stan pierwotny człowieka i obyczaje dzikich współczesnych*. Translated from French by B. i Z. Warszawa: Nakładem Redakcji „Przeglądu Tygodniowego”.
- Lud. Krzy., see Krzywicki, Ludwik
- Lutostański, Bolesław 1881: Antropologia. [W:] *Encyklopedia wychowawcza*. J. T. Lubomirski, E. Stawiski, S. Przystański, J. K. Plebański (red.). T. I. pp. 262–275. Warszawa: Skład Główny w Księgarni Gebethnera i Wolffa.
- Majer, Józef 1874: Posiedzenie komisji antropologicznej dnia 16 maja. *Rozprawy i sprawozdania z posiedzeń Wydziału Matematyczno-Przyrodniczego Akademii Umiejętności* I, pp. LXVI–LXXXIV. Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności.
- Majer, Józef; Kopernicki Izidor 1874–1886: *Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej*. T. I–IX. Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Majewski, Walenty 1827–1828: *Zbiór rozpraw podług działów nauk i umiejętności, historią wędrowek, przesiedleń i przenosin, ogólną i szczególną, ludów i narodów odrębnych rass czyli plemienni z jednej do drugiej krawędzi kuli ziemskiej wyjaśniających*. Warszawa: Nakład Autora.
- Marczyński, Wacław 1817: *Dzieje od Stworzenia Świata aż do Roku 1816, czyli Rys Historii, Powszechney wszystkich narodów chronologicznie ułożony s przydatkiem wynalazków, uczonych ludzi, i opisaniem dokładnem batalii w ostatniej Epoce zaszłych*. Poczajów.
- Mickiewicz, Adam [1842] 1997: *Literatura słowiańska*. [In:] *Dziela*. Vol. VIII. Compiled Julian Maślanka. Warszawa: Czytelnik.
- Mozambik. 1877: *Wędrowiec* 16, p. 242.
- Nałkowski, Wacław 1890: Neoritterianizm w geografii. *Prawda* 26, pp. 305–306.
- Niemojowski 1872: Przejażdżka po stepach. (Dokończenie). *Wędrowiec* 1872, t. 6, nb. 152, pp. 369–370.
- Norwid, Cyprian K. [1849] 1957: *Pisma polityczne i filozoficzne*. Compiled Zenon Przesmycki. Londyn: Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy.
- Nowe książki o Ameryce 1864: *Biblioteka Warszawska* 4, pp. 65–75.
- Nusbaum, Józef 1893: Dobór naturalny w rozwoju ustroju społecznego. *Biblioteka Warszawska* 4, pp. 44–55.
- O geograficznych błędach, na których opierają się historiograficzne poglądy profesora Duchyńskiego 1881: *Wędrowiec* 239, pp. 52–53.
- O położeniu kobiet u różnych ludów i plemion, z Letoumeau 1885: *Wędrowiec* 30, pp. 350–351.
- O rasach ludzkich, przez Emila Montegut. Translated by Zofia Grabowska 1871: *Wędrowiec* 62, pp. 158–160.
- Olechnowicz, Władysław 1902: Rasy Europy i wzajemny ich stosunek dziejowy. *Wiśła*. XVI (1), pp. 17–44.
- Peschel, Oscar 1874: *Völkerkunde*. Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humboldt.
- Peschel, Oscar [1874] 1876: *Nauka o ludach (Ethnologia)*. Translated from German and expanded T. Wiśłocki. Warszawa: Nakład Spółki Wydawniczej Księgarzy.
- Plain Truth 1901: Na szerokim świecie. *Wędrowiec* 50, p. 996.
- Plemiona ludzkie 1863a: *Wędrowiec* 23, pp. 356–358.
- Plemiona ludzkie 1863b: *Wędrowiec* 24, pp. 380–382.
- Południowa Ameryka. Księga Świata: wiadomości z dziedziny nauk przyrodzonych, historii krajów i ludów, żywoty znakomitych ludzi, podróże, opisy ciekawych miejscowości, wód słynniejszych, odkrycia i wynalazki, ważniejsze zajęcia przemysłowe, obrazy towarzyskie, statystyczne, ekonomiczne itp.* 1851: Warszawa: nakładem S. H. Merzbacha.
- Popławski, Jan L. 1888: Posiew miłości. *Głos* 15, pp. 165–166.

- Quatrefages, Armand 1870: *Charles Darwin et ses précurseurs français. Étude sur le transformisme*. Paris: Germer Baillière, Libraire – éditeur.
- Quatrefages, Armand [1870] 1873: *Karol Darwin i jego poprzednicy: studium nad teorią przeobrażeń*. Warszawa: Nakładem Księgarni Gebethnera i Wolffa.
- Radliński, Ignacy 1882: Próbką nowej historiozofii. IV. Czynniki cywilizacyjne. *Prawda* 18, pp. 209–210.
- Radliński, Ignacy 1900: Powstanie antropologii jako nauki odrębnej. *Wszechświat* 36, pp. 565–570.
- Rzewuski, Henryk 1851: *Wędrowniki umysłowe przez Autora zamku krakowskiego*. [In:] *Pisma*. Vol. I. Petersburg: Nakładem B.M. Wolffa.
- Rzewuski, Stanisław 1830: *Myśli o zastosowaniu fizjologii do historii, mianowicie polskiej*. Warszawa: s. n.
- Siemiradzki, Józef 1896: *Nakresach cywilizacji. Listy z podróży po Ameryce Południowej odbytej w roku 1892*. Lwów: Związkowa Drukarnia we Lwowie.
- Stefanowska, Michalina 1891: Kilka słów o dzisiejszym stanie nauczania antropologii. *Wszechświat*, 1, pp. 9–12.
- Sulimirski, Filip 1869a: Nasze przesady. *Wędrowiec* 341, pp. 47–48.
- Sulimirski, Filip 1869b: Chińczycy i ich język. *Wędrowiec* 342, pp. 61–63.
- Sulimirski, Filip 1883: Lud przedhistoryczny a jednak współczesny. *Wszechświat* 49, pp. 769–772.
- Surowiecki, Wawrzyniec 1824: *Śledzenie początku Narodów Słowiańskich*. Warszawa: w drukarni Księży Pjarów.
- Szyszyło, Wincenty 1872: *Przegląd dziejów przyrody. Studia filozoficzne*, Vol. II. Warszawa: Nakładem Autora i Prenumeratorów w Drukarni „Gazety Lekarskiej”.
- Śniadecki, Jędrzej 1811: *Teoria Jestestw Organicznych*. Vol. II. Wilno: Nakładem Józefa Zawadzkiego.
- Talko-Hryncewicz, Julian 1888: Antropologia w ogóle i w zastosowaniu do kraju naszego. *Wisła. Miesięcznik Geograficzno-Etnograficzny* 2 (3), pp. 547–562.
- Teczka Wędrowca. Bezprawa Niemców w koloniach afrykańskich. 1901: *Wędrowiec* 51, p. 1017.
- Trollope, Anthony 1878: *South Africa*. London: Chapman and Hall
- Tylor, Edward B. 1881: *Anthropology. An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilisation*. London: Macmillan and CO.
- Tylor, Edward B. 1902: *Antropologia. Wstęp do badania człowieka i cywilizacji*. Translated from English by Aleksandra Bąkowska. (second edition) Warszawa: Nakładem Stefana Dembego.
- W. P. 1852: Wstęp. [In:] J. J. d’Omalius d’Halloy. *Orasach ludzkich czyli Zasady etnografii*. Wilno: Nakładem i drukiem Józefa Zawadzkiego
- W. Sz. 1903: Waga mózgu a inteligencja. *Wszechświat* 21, p. 316.
- Waga, Antoni 1859: *Historia naturalna: dzieło wskazujące pomoc do nauczania się tej umiejętności, uważanych w głównych stanowiskach jej wzrostu*. Vol. I. Warszawa: W drukarni Karola Kowalewskiego.
- Wiszniewski, Michał [1837] 1988: *Charaktery rozumów ludzkich*. Warszawa: PWN.
- Wyprawa do Australii. 1880: *Wędrowiec* 206, pp. 376–379.
- Wyrwicz, Karol 1770: *Geografia Powszechna Czasów Teraźniejszych Albo Opisanie krótkie Kraiów całego Świata [...] Znajszywszych wiadomości, Kraiopisarzowy Wędrowników Zebrana, ku pożytkowi Młodzi Narodowej na Szkoły Publiczne Wydana*. Warszawa: Drukarnia Jezuitów.
- Wyrwicz, Karol 1787: *Historia powszechna skrócona*. Vol. I. Warszawa: Drukarnia Nadworna J.K.Mci i Prze. Komissyi Eduk. Narodo.
- Z Peru do Brazylii. Drugi wyjątek z podróży po południowej Ameryce Pawła Marcoy, *Wędrowiec* 1866, t. 7, nb 160, pp. 49–53.
- Zapałowicz, Hugo 1899: *Jedna z podróży na okołozemi*. Vol. I, Lwów: Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Schmidta
- Zawiliński, Roman 1885: Pokrewieństwo języków europejskich. *Wędrowiec* 44, p. 521.

## STUDIES

- Ahearn, Laura M.: 2013. *Antropologia lingwistyczna*. Translated by Wojciech Usakiewicz. Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ.
- Barth, Fredrik; Gingrich Andre; Parkin Robert; Silverman Sydel 2007: *Antropologia. Jedna dyscyplina, cztery tradycje: brytyjska, niemiecka, francuska i amerykańska*. (przeł. J. Tegnerowicz). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Berlin, Isaiah 1978: *Russian Thinkers*. London: The Hogarth Press.
- Berlin, Isaiah 2003: *Rosyjscy myśliciele*. Translated by Sergiusz Kowalski. Warszawa: Prószyński i S-ka.
- Bernasconi, Robert: 2002. *Kant as an Unfamiliar Source of Racism*. [W:] *Philosophers on Race: Critical Essays*. Edited by Julie K. Ward, Tommy L. Lott. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, pp. 145–166.
- Bielicki, Tadeusz; Krupiński Tadeusz; Strzałko Jan 1987: Historia antropologii w Polsce. *Przegląd Antropologiczny* 53 (1–2), pp. 3–28.

- Bilenky, Serhiy 2012: *Romantic Nationalism in Eastern Europe. Russian, Polish and Ukrainian Political Imaginations*. Stanford University Press.
- Blanckaert, Claude 2007: Un fil d'Ariane dans le labyrinthe des origines. Langues, races et classification ethnologique au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines* 2 (n° 17), pp. 137–171.
- Budrewicz, Tadeusz 2018: Rasa jako kategoria waloryzująca i estetyczna (na przykładzie opisu postaci). *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 3, pp. 69–82.
- Eriksen, Thomas 2013: *Etniczność i nacjonalizm. Ujęcie antropologiczne*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ.
- Gawin, Magdalena 2003: *Rasa i nowoczesność. Historia polskiego ruchu eugenicznego (1880–1952)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Nerition.
- Hołda-Rózewicz, Henryka 1969: Prace antropologiczne Ludwika Krzywickiego na tle początków antropologii polskiej. *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 4, pp. 649–659.
- Jasiewicz, Zbigniew 2010: Początki etnologii/antropologii kulturowej w Polsce. Poszukiwanie nazw dla zainteresowań badawczych i rodzącej się dyscypliny. [In:] *Antropolog wobec współczesności*. Warszawa: Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej UW, pp. 36–51.
- Jasiewicz, Zbigniew 2011: Początki polskiej etnologii i antropologii kulturowej (od końca XVIII wieku do roku 1918). Poznań: Instytut im. Oskara Kolberga, Komitet Nauk Etnologicznych PAN.
- Kubica, Grażyna 2015: Antropologiczny dyskurs rasowy: jego twórcy i dekonstruktorzy. [In:] *W krainie metarefleksji. Księga poświęcona Profesorowi Czesławowi Robotyckiemu*. Red. J. Barański, M. Golonka-Czajkowska, Anna Niedźwiedz. Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ, pp. 88–109.
- López, Ian F. Haney: 1999. *The Social Construction of Race*. In: *Critical race theory – the cutting Edge* by Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (Eds.). Temple University Press Philadelphia, pp. 163–176.
- Lorkiewicz, Wiesław, Iwona Teul, and Paulina Kubicka. 2011: Introduction: A Brief History and Current State of Physical Anthropology in Poland. [In:] *The Routledge Handbook of Archeological Human Remains and Legislation: An international guide to laws and practice in the excavations and treatment of archeological human remains*, edited by Nicholas Márquez-Grant, Linda Fibiger, pp. 331–339. London and New York: Routledge. Tylor and Francis.
- Meijer, Miriam C. 1999: *Race and Aesthetics in the Anthropology of Petrus Camper (1722–1789)*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Łukasiewicz, Krzysztof 2012: Z dziejów ujmowania relacji rasy i kultury. *Prace Kulturoznawcze* (14)1, pp. 193–199.
- Makuch, Damian Włodzimierz 2018: Kłopoty z “rasą” – przypadek Ludwika Krzywickiego. *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 3, pp. 37–55.
- Małczyński, Piotr, Mincer, Tadeusz. 2014: W stronę polskiej teorii rasy. *Tematy z Szewskiej*, 13(3), ss. 6–8.
- Nowak, Joanna. 2009: *Duchowe piętno społeczeństw. Złożoność i przeobrażenia polskiej refleksji nad narodem w XIX wieku*. Warszawa: SOW.
- Nowak, Joanna 2021a: „Rasa czyli plemię”. Problemy z nomenklaturą u początków polskiej antropologii. *Studia a Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej* 56, pp. 1–20. DOI: [10.11649/sfps.2040](https://doi.org/10.11649/sfps.2040).
- Nowak, Joanna 2021b: U początku kształtowania się na ziemiach polskich nowoczesnych nauk o człowieku i jego zróżnicowaniu „rasowym”. *Studia Historiae Scientiarum* 20, pp. 61–86. DOI: [10.4467/2543702XSHS.21.004.14035](https://doi.org/10.4467/2543702XSHS.21.004.14035).
- Pomian, Krzysztof 2005: Niższe? Wyższe? Równe? Cywilizacja europejska wobec innych. *Przegląd Historyczny* 3, pp. 391–401.
- Strzałko, Jan 2009: Darwin jako antropolog ewolucyjny. Problem ras ludzkich. *Kosmos. Problemy nauk biologicznych*, 58(3–4), pp. 273–278.
- Szacki, Jerzy 1981: *Historia myśli socjologicznej*. Vol. II. Warszawa: PWN.
- Taperek, Marta 2018: „Polscy Aryjczycy”. Pomiędzy naukowymi podstawami mitu a mitycznymi korzeniami nauki w dyskursie słowiańskim XIX wieku. *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 3, pp. 151–165.
- Tendera, Magdalena 2015: “Etyka” rasy jako wybrane mechanizmy wewnątrzrasowe a kontrowersyjny charakter kategorii ras ludzkich. [In:] *Spółczesność odpowiedzialna? O aspektach odpowiedzialności w życiu społecznym jednostek*. K. Cikała, W. B. Zieliński (ed.). Kraków: Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II, pp. 152–163. DOI: [10.15633/9788374384254.14](https://doi.org/10.15633/9788374384254.14).
- Tyrała, Radosław 2005: *O jeden takson za dużo. Rasa jako kategoria społecznie problematyczna*. Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa.
- Walicki, Andrzej 2009: *Naród, nacjonalizm, patriotyzm*. [In:] *Prace wybrane*. Vol. I, Kraków: Universitas.
- Wrzesińska, Katarzyna 2013: Megalomania narodowa w ujęciu twórców polskich początku XX wieku. *Sprawy Narodowościowe. Seria nowa* 42, pp. 67–87.
- Wrzesińska, Katarzyna 2021a: Termin *rasa* i jego synonimy w polskiej refleksji naukowej i popularnonaukowej w latach 1864–1918. *Studia a Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej* 56, pp. 1–17. DOI: [10.11649/sfps.2041](https://doi.org/10.11649/sfps.2041).

- Wrześcińska, Katarzyna 2021b: Zanim skryształizował się zakres badań, czyli o rozwoju nauk o człowieku i rasach ludzkich na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XIX wieku. *Studia Historiae Scientiarum* 20, pp. 31–59. DOI: [10.4467/2543702XSHS.21.003.14034](https://doi.org/10.4467/2543702XSHS.21.003.14034).
- Zubek, Aniela; Barciszewski, Jakub; Belter, Agnieszka; Barciszewski, Jan 2018: Teoria jestestw organicznych Jędrzeja Śniadeckiego. Rewolucja w spojrzeniu na życie. *Nauka* 4, pp. 165–175.