

of Enslaved Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia held in November 1943, and, finally, a parody of the Soviet national anthem. Included also are photographs and illustrations, a map, an organizational chart of the UPA, a glossary, and an index.

English summaries are provided at the end of each section. These are often helpful, although sometimes misleading (for example, calling undocumented historical sketches "analysis" and claiming that they are based on "extensive research materials") and full of typographical errors. Most materials are in Ukrainian, a few are in Russian.

The question this work raises, in the reviewer's opinion, is how the collection might be used by a historian. There seem to be two possible answers: (1) it may be useful for the study of the ideology of the UPA, which was democratic socialist, advocating the liberation and equality of nations and envisaging Ukrainians as being in the forefront of this movement; (2) it may also be helpful in determining whether the UPA was engaged in guerrilla or conventional warfare, and why it failed. For answers to these questions, however, the volume alone is inadequate. One is left with the impression that a history of this episode, based directly on these and other sources, might have been more satisfying and useful than the publication of these documents alone.

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A STATE WITHOUT STAKES: POLISH RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. By *Janusz Tazbir*. The Library of Polish Studies, vol. 3. New York: The Kosciuszko Foundation, 1973 [1967]. 232 pp. + 16 pp. plates.

The vast Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with its numerous peoples and cultures and its unique political system, will not receive its due in West European historical writing until more monographic literature is available in Western languages. The religious diversity of this area and the relative religious tolerance in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries make the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania interesting to students of the interaction of religious groups. The decision by the Kosciuszko Foundation to publish an English translation of Janusz Tazbir's *State Without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (published in Poland in 1967, under the title *Państwo bez stosów: Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVI i XVII w.*) must be applauded.

Professor Tazbir is not only one of Poland's leading scholars of the Reformation (in particular of the Anti-Trinitarians), but he is also an eminent historian of early modern Polish cultural and intellectual history. His essays in this field are models of well-written interpretations based on sound scholarship, and the Foundation has chosen well in sponsoring this volume for translation.

The essays, which form a cohesive unit, examine the traditions of religious pluralism and the relationship between state, church, and society that resulted in a policy of official toleration and trace the breakdown of this policy during the Counter Reformation. Tazbir discusses European thought on the issue of tolerance and its development during the Reformation and Counter Reformation. Examining those Polish traditions formed by the opposition to the Teutonic Knights and the presence of a large Orthodox minority, Tazbir shows how the *szlachta's* resistance to the church's power and its vigilance in defending its collective political privileges made Poland a haven for many Reformation sects. Most of the book consists of an analysis of the debates over toleration during which the stalemate between sects led to the enactment of official toleration in 1573. The decline in the strength of the Reformation groups resulted in an erosion of de facto toleration. Yet, even after the increasingly strong

Counter Reformation forces denounced the concept of toleration, the constitutional structure of the Commonwealth ensured that the policy could be abandoned only gradually.

Tazbir's work is not the product of new research, but is, rather, a new synthesis. Its chief merit rests in its examination of the evolution of religious thought in the context of the Commonwealth's society and political structure. The book is not as comprehensive as its title indicates; Tazbir's focus is on the relationship of Reform groups (Lutherans, Calvinists, Polish Brethren, and Czech Brethren) and Roman Catholicism. Relatively little space is devoted to the large population of Eastern Christians (Orthodox, Armenian, and Uniates), and almost no attention is paid to Jews and Muslims.

The English edition is not just a translation of the Polish original: a new introduction containing background information on the Commonwealth is provided, but without any indication that the text has been revised. More troubling, the English translation by A. T. Jordan is so free that it often omits passages and at times distorts the Polish original. For example, comparing pages 135–36 of the Polish original with pages 109–10 of the English text, one finds that "Orthodox" is translated by the awkward phrase "Orthodox Poles," that Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi (Konstanty Ostrogski) is described as an advocate of the status quo, although the Polish reads "*status quo ante*" (*dawnego stanu rzeczy*), and that the translation omits substantive material from the Polish edition's discussion about pressure on the Orthodox church. In general, the English edition appears to be a simplified version of the Polish original. It is possible that Professor Tazbir agreed to many of these omissions, but the reader should be informed that the English version varies significantly from the original.

A series of translations of works such as Tazbir's would be a major service to Western scholars, but greater care must be taken to assure the accuracy of the English texts or to state clearly what type of modifications have been made.

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UPADEK KONSTYTUCJI 3 MAJA: STUDIUM HISTORYCZNE. By Jerzy Łojek. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1976. 321 pp. Plates. 80 zł., paper.

The trauma of the eighteenth-century partitions has not ceased to affect twentieth-century Polish consciousness. It is, perhaps, not surprising then that the modest edition of this monograph (2,300 copies) allegedly vanished from Polish bookstores within a few days of its appearance.

The work surveys in considerable detail the period of the functioning of the 1791 Constitution—from its adoption in May of that year to its demise fifteen months later. Although much of the subject matter has been treated in earlier studies, such as the works of Smolenski, Korzon, Rostworowski, and others, no one has yet marshaled such extensive and diverse source material on this narrow period. Some facets of the topic, for example, Polish defense policy in 1792, have never before been covered. In general, the sections devoted to Poland's international situation based on research of extant archival fragments of relevant Polish diplomatic correspondence are informationally quite valuable.

Łojek's principal thesis is an indictment—perhaps the harshest yet in Polish historiography—not so much of the Russians or their Targowica quislings, as of the Polish leadership. He sees the principal responsibility for Poland's failure to maintain the new state structure as internal and political rather than external. The brunt of his attack is directed at the hapless Stanislaus Augustus for his political ineptitude. Łojek dismisses the king's later apologia of having been forced to operate with his