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# Marian Gruzewski and the “Homocratic Movement” in the Archives of the Polish Communist Department of Security

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## Abstract

This paper concerns Marian Gruzewski (1885–1963), a spiritist painter, psychic medium and occultist associated with the Polish Metapsychic Society, who created homocracy, a socio-political movement based on occult and esoteric foundations, after the Second World War. The article discusses and analyses the most important features and standpoints of homocracy through materials (internal statutes and personal notes) confiscated by the Polish communist Security Service. The paper also describes a secret investigation against Gruzewski and his supporters, which resulted in their arrest and conviction on charges of attempting to overthrow the People’s Republic of Poland.

**KEYWORDS:** *Marian Gruzewski, esoteric studies, homocracy, synarchism, occult, communism*

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** *Marian Gruzewski, studia nad ezoteryzmem, homokracja, synarchizm, okultyzm, komunizm*

Marian Gruzewski was born most probably on 22 September 1885 in Warsaw,<sup>1</sup> to the family of the merchant Piotr Gruzewski. His father owned a colonial goods store in Vilna, where Marian spent his young years. In 1910 he graduated from the local Russian *gymnasium*, a secondary school, and stayed at home afterwards, living with his mother Paulina née Jankowska (his father had died in 1906). Around the year 1914, influenced by a relative, the landowner Bronisław Jan Wróblewski, Gruzewski became interested in the then-fashionable spiritist practices (AIPN 1952, 25). According to his later followers, his alleged mediumistic talents had been apparent since his earliest youth. They manifested themselves as unidentified voices that could be heard in his presence and invisible entities that moved objects. Some witnesses had also perceived material apparitions in his vicinity; this, incidentally, was typical of spiritist séances of the period. Paulina Sołowianiuk wrote about the spiritist sessions held by the Polish medium Jan Guzik, who had been very popular at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that

extraordinary things happened during the séances: various object levitated in the air, musical instruments played in closed cases, pencils held by invisible hands wrote mysterious messages on paper, and light phenomena occurred. Yet the greatest sensation were the apparitions, which took the shape of faces, entire figures, and even animals. As time went by, Guzik’s ghosts improved: they made sounds, moved, communicated with one another, and even assumed the shapes of the dead who had once been in close relationships with the participants in the séances. (Sołowianiuk 2014, 32–33)

In addition, Gruzewski’s mediumistic sessions brought about visions of the future, which he would later describe (Mikołejko 2013, 132).

From 1919 onwards, owing to the patronage of the eminent spiritist Prosper Szmurło, chairman of the Psycho-Physical Society (Towarzystwo Psycho-Fizyczne) and member of the quasi-Masonic “Great Loge of the Knights

<sup>1</sup> Alicja Łukawska noted: “His life is shrouded in a certain mystery. It is, for instance, difficult to establish the date of his birth, since various publications contain different versions of it. One T. R., the author of an article concerning Gruzewski printed in the esoteric monthly *Hejnał* (no. 11/1936), gave the date 1896, Leszek Szuman (*Życie po śmierci*) mentioned the year 1898, whereas the authors of the encyclopaedic *Psychotronika* (i.e. Leszek Matela, Lech Emfazy Stefański and Jan Antoni Szymański) wrote the artist had been born in 1885”. In investigation documents pertaining to Gruzewski’s case and in the subsequent trial documentation, his date of birth is given as 22 September 1885 (Łukawska 2018, 248; AIPN 1952–1957, 3). All passages from printed sources are translated solely for the purpose of the current article.



of the Spirit", Gruzewski earnestly devoted himself to painting. In that period, he allegedly created works in a variety of styles, including the Renaissance, Baroque, Classicism and Impressionism (Chajn 1984, 479; Grzybowski 1999, 179). Szmurło later reminisced:

One day in 1919, I advised him to prepare paper and pencils and, before he fell into a trance, to awaken in himself a strong desire to draw something... The first attempt of this kind already yielded a positive result, and the following were even more successful... While drawing, he had his eyes closed, or perhaps half-closed. Not lifting his lowered eyelids, the medium takes the pencil and, seemingly at random, without drawing any contour, quickly and chaotically throws on the paper, here and there, some lines, strokes, splotches, which only towards the end merge into a harmonious whole...<sup>2</sup>

Gruzewski believed that his hands were guided by an invisible otherworldly force, of whose authority his works were to constitute a proof. (Sołowiwniuk 2014, 57).

In the year 1920, during the Bolshevik invasion on Poland, Marian Gruzewski and his brother Ludwik moved together to the capital, Warsaw, where Marian devoted himself entirely to mediumistic painting. A year later, the first solo exhibition of his works was organised at the Salon of Polish Modern Art in Warsaw by the painter Wincenty Trojanowski, a professor of art history and vice-chancellor of the Free Polish University (Wolna Wszechnica Polska) (AIPN 1952, 26). Gruzewski's unusual oeuvre and painting technique was the subject of an anonymous article in the Vilna periodical *Kresy. Pismo ilustrowane niezalezne i bezpartyjne* from 19 November 1922:

Owing to long studies and pertinent practice, Gruzewski sends himself to sleep unprompted by means of a certain system of breathing, whereupon he falls into a trance in which, as a result of the incarnation of a given artist's astral body, he executes perfect drawings, paints extraordinary pictures, and having regained consciousness, he is not at all aware of what he has accomplished and views the image he has created with a curiosity equal to that of his audience. ("Obrazy Gruzewskiego" 1922, 5)

<sup>2</sup> Quoted after: Stefański 2008, 53–54.



This article specifies that Gruzewski’s promoter, Wróblewski, belonged to a group known as the “White East”,<sup>3</sup> whose aim was “to spread esoteric knowledge”.

In his work *Polskie wolnomularstwo 1920–1938 [Polish Freemasonry 1920–1938]*, Leon Chajm described Gruzewski as a “leading member of occult masonry with a metapsychic angle” who, together with members of the Polish Metapsychic Society, the psychologist and professor of the Łódź University Albert Dryjski and the architect and academic teacher Alfons Emil Gravier, allegedly conducted a “circle of occult masonry” (Chajm 1984, 480). This is how the sociologist of religion Anna Mikołajko, who analysed Gruzewski’s essayistic output, describes his esoteric views:

Gruzewski claimed that the “esoteric worldview” was based on belief in God and for this reason esoteric schools had always been linked with religious systems. “In its symbolism, esotericism defined God as unity”, he asserted, “and the created universe was the multiplicity”. The manner in which a given esoteric system (and also a religious one) understood this “unity” of God and its relation to the “multiplicity” of the world determined the monotheistic or pantheistic character of the system. Ultimately, however, claimed Gruzewski, both types of systems perceived that relation in an overly substantial manner and hence were in error. This was because unity is indivisible. Hence, if God was a unity, he could not manifest himself substantially in a creation. [...] The idea of a God reflected in a creation that is alike him yet is not him but only his image is found in the myth of Anthropus, which is fundamental to hermeticism. This myth is contained in *Poemandres*, one of the basic tractates of the Corpus Hermeticum. According to this myth Reason, the father of all, who was both life and light at the same time, and a man and a woman, gave birth to Anthropus and come to love all creatures [...] [A] human being, like Anthropus, is immortal and rules over many things, but is also limited by Nature and subject to the passage of time and to fate. Following this thought, Gruzewski also assumed

<sup>3</sup> This group was mentioned in a 1933 pamphlet entitled *Przestańcie tworzyć sekty [Stop Creating Sects]* with a subtitle *Prośba o duchowe pojednanie [A Plea for Spiritual Reconciliation]*, authored by Błażej Włodarz (1896–1979), an esotericist, philosopher, translator of literature on occultism, astrologer, and promoter of vegetarianism and natural medicine. The pamphlet gave an overview of the fragmented and often fractious Polish esoteric scene in the interwar period, and at the same time issued a warning against “spiritual teachers who lay claim to a monopoly on truth”. Przemysław Sieradzan and Monika Rzczycka wrote about this pamphlet: “According to Błażej Włodarz, the sectarian model of the esoteric groups’ activity served only to gratify their leaders’ ambitions and to bring financial gain, and it concurrently caused further rifts and provoked grudges” (Sieradzan, Rzczycka 2019, 236–237).



that there existed an intermediary between God and Nature that was a reflection of the Creator and at the same time an essence of every object, in which it left a particle of itself. He called it the Absolute. However, he preferred to refer to the Cabbalah than to the Corpus Hermeticum, because, in his view, the former offered a mathematical key to esoteric knowledge. He interpreted it in his own way, however. Thus, he asserted that it did not derive from the Jewish tradition, but an “pan-human” one, and that its traces had been found “in the cultures of Egypt, India and Babylonia, as well as in the religions of the Slavic, Italic and Germanic tribes”. [...] According to Gruzewski, the Jews had absorbed the Kabbalah in Egypt [...], and later, while in the Babylonian captivity, they subjected it to Chaldean influences. Subsequently, they repeatedly lost and reconstructed its essential framework; but since they never managed to return to its primary form, ultimately “from the great synthesis of knowledge, only shards remained”. [...] In Gruzewski’s view, the Kabbalah was the fullest testimony of ancient knowledge. Thus construed, the account of the Kabbalah’s past had little to do with the science of history, but Gruzewski was certain that science would soon reveal this very truth about it. The concept of the Kabbalah as a synthesis of esoteric knowledge was particularly important to him, since with its help he wished to substantiate a method which, as he thought, was to give esotericism a scientific character. He called this method *arithmosophy*; it was to mathematically prove the correctness of the premises of mystic knowledge. (Mikołajko 2013, 5)

Gruzewski’s connection with the circles of Polish esotericists, with the metapsychics at the fore, are confirmed by the reports of the already mentioned Prosper Szmurło, founder of the Polish Society of Parapsychology, from shared spiritist séances conducted in July 1920. These reports were published in 1925, in the periodical *Zagadnienia Metapsychiczne*, whose chief editor was Szmurło. This is what he wrote:

The Polish medium celebrated in Warsaw and Paris, Mr. Marian Gruzewski, whose drawings and paintings created in a trance could be viewed at special exhibitions a few years ago and trance improvisations could be heard in private circles and at a few public lectures, during his séances caused also strong physical sensations, which attests to the universal character of his mediumistic capabilities, [...] and therefore below I give, [...] written personally by me, minutes from séances that took place in my presence in the year 1920, in Wizulany, an estate belonging to Mr. Br[onisław] Korwin-Wróbiewski, in the Vilna region, during my visit there at that time. [...] The séance taking place in absolute darkness, in a windowless cellar of Mr. B. Wróbiewski’s palace, began



at 10:45 in the evening and ended at 11:15, with a break of 8 minutes, so that its first part lasted for 12 minutes and the second for 10 minutes. [...] Standing round a small, round wooden table with four legs, they make a chain of hands, placing them on said table, on which a pencil and paper had also been put. Less than a minute has passed when its levitating movements begin, and discernible touches [are felt] on the medium's closest neighbours. Following Mr. Wróblewski's request to remove a bell from his pocket, he feels attempts to fulfill his request being made by some small hand; the bell moves in the pocket but is not taken out. Clear knockings on the tabletop constitute a request to place the bell on the table, which is done; whereupon the bell rises, rings at the height of the attendees' faces, and then is hurled into the depths of the cellar. The paper placed on the tabletop rises to brush against the attendees' faces twice; then it is hurled to the floor. [...] Outside the circle, knockings on the walls are heard, one of the bottles standing up on the doorway is knocked to the floor, finally everybody hears a clear snapping of fingers at the height of their faces, and at last the table again rises violently and falls, the chain breaks and the séance is terminated, whereas Mr. M. Gruzewski continues in a trance with his eyes closed, from which he awakens by himself a few moments after the light is lit. (Szmurło 1925, 386–387)

On 29 August 1923 at Warsaw University, Szmurło presented Gruzewski's artworks allegedly created during mediumistic trances to a large body of guests from all over the world, who had arrived to Warsaw for the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Congress of Psychical Research. Parisian researchers of paranormal phenomena found them particularly appealing, thanks to which in the late 1923 and early 1924 Gruzewski spent two months in France as a stipendiary of the Société Métapsychique de France (Sołowianiuk 2014, 56–59). In the following years, he took part in many exhibitions; he was the only Polish medium whose paintings were shown abroad (Paris – 1927; Athens – 1929; Rome – 1930) (Grzybowski 1999, 180). In 1928, Gruzewski went to Italy, where he spent nearly two years thanks to the hospitality of his acquaintance, the painter Waclaw Dyzmański. He earned his living by painting portraits commissioned by local aristocrats and churchmen. He returned to Poland in the early 1930s.

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An examination of contemporary press reveals that in 1935, Gruzewski and his brother Ludwik became the protagonists of a celebrated court case related to the brothers' allegedly swindling their relative, the aforementioned



Bronisław Jan Wróblewski, by then deceased, formerly owner of the estate in Wizulany (today Vyžulionys in Lithuania). Several papers, including *Wolnomyśliciel Polski* from Warsaw, a Łódź daily *Ilustrowana Republika* and *Dzień Pomorski* from Toruń, reported on the case. According to *Wolnomyśliciel* based on court documentation, the Gruzewski brothers financially ruined their relative (described as a “local eccentric”) by attempting to induce him to proclaim a “State of the Holy Gospel”. Wróblewski’s heirs tried to convince the court that the owner of the Wizulany manor fell victim to hypnosis. *Wolnomyśliciel* provided further details of the case: “In this ‘State’, Marian Gruzewski, whom Wróblewski adored, held the highest post of the ‘Governor’ (most probably that of Christ), Marian’s brother – the post of ‘Prince Regent’, and Wróblewski himself was ‘Marshal’ and ‘marquis’” (“Światła i cienie” 1936, 92–93). The case concerned the Gruzewski brothers’ attempt – purportedly a successful one – to obtain the rights to the estate by using “mediumistic tricks” on Wróblewski; *Ilustrowana Republika* reported, however:

The brothers Ludwik and Marian Gruzewski were acquitted. The court took the position that Wróblewski joined the organisation when its goals were already known. For fourteen years he lived on a chimaera of a fantastical state. He turned the young, twenty-year-old Marian into a divinity to whom he prayed, and his “cavalier fancy” was that guests from all over Poland would come to his estate of Wiziulany [sic] to witness Marian’s extraordinary mediumistic talents. [...] Wróblewski personally copied the entire ritual of the “State of the Holy Gospel” as dictated to him by the medium and made sure that it was followed. He used Ludwik Gruzewski, a man unprepared to manage an estate, as a plenipotentiary. It is possible that the Gruzewskis had kept a part of Wróblewski’s money, but this has not been proved during the court proceedings. (“Bracia Gruzewscy uniewinnieni” 1935, 7)

In addition, as noted by *Dzień Pomorski*, Wróblewski allegedly exploited his young cousin’s talents: “Also, he believed that he would gain a vast fortune from the paintings that Marian Gruzewski made in a trance” (“Sądowy epilog...” 1935, 11).

During the German occupation of Poland, Gruzewski stayed in Vilna, where he continued to practise painting, until 1941. After the city fell to the Germans, he took refuge in a nearby village, where his brother had a farm. He briefly returned to the city when Vilna was taken by the Soviets in 1944. Repatriated to Poland in May 1945, he settled in Toruń. In September of the same year, following the decision issued by the State Repatriation Office



(Państwowy Urząd Repatriacyjny, PUR), he was assigned a farm in the village of Babiniec (today in Łódź voivodeship). He withdrew from the assignment in June 1946, moving to Łódź; initially he lived in the Repatriation Office dormitory, then he found living quarters in the Rogi district of the city. In 1949, he moved to his pre-war acquaintances, the Greenwood brothers – Stephen and Fred Jr., who lived in a palace formerly owned by Ewald Kern, at 179 Piotrkowska Street.

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Although born in Łódź, the Greenwood brothers were British citizens, grandsons of Stephen Greenwood, who arrived in Łódź in the 1870s together with his son Fred Sr. and decided to invest in an industrial factory; in 1873 he had a total of 150 employees (Dietz 2015, 172). Fred Sr., who married Łucja née Kunkel, a Polish woman from Poznań, continued to invest his money in the city. Acting within the framework of his firm, the General Trading and Industrial Company, he soon owned, among others, a weaving mill, a weaving-tool production factory, an iron foundry, a machine factory and some car workshops (Pytlas 1994, 54; *Podręczny rejestr handlowy* 1926, 303). His fortune grew and in the year 1930 he could afford to buy an imposing palace at Piotrkowska Street; precisely the one where Marian Gruzewski would later live (AIPN 1954–1990a, 98).

Stephen Greenwood was born in Łódź on 21 December 1893. From 1905 he lived in Dresden, where he went to school. He returned to his native Łódź in 1912 and for a year was a trainee in his father’s factory; then he returned to Germany, where he began his studies at the Polytechnic in Köthen (Anhalt). Two years later the First World War broke out and, being a British citizen, he had to evacuate to Norway. Soon after he went to his family in the USA; his brother Howard lived in Lovell, near Boston, Massachusetts. In the States, he obtained the patronage of William Madison Wood (1858–1926), the millionaire owner of the American Woolen Company, and after a year-and-a-half traineeship he became the company’s representative in Brazil, where he spent three years. In 1919, he was promoted to the head of the entire South American branch of the American Woolen Company. Around the year 1921 he returned to Europe as the company’s representative, travelling to Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, as well as Poland, on business. Late in the year he was sent to Canada, again as the company’s representative. He left the American Woolen Company in 1923 and returned to Poland to take over his father’s business. When the trade agreement between Poland and Germany was signed in 1934, he became the representative of the German





company Rheinmetall–Borsig; he continued at this post until the outbreak of the Second World War. In September 1939 he was arrested by the Gestapo as a British citizen and detained in Breslau. After an intervention of the Rheinmetall–Borsig representatives, he was released in early November and decided to return to Łódź (AIPN 1952, 66–71).

His younger brother, Fred Greenwood Jr., was born in Łódź on 12 May 1897. He lived in Łódź until 1905, when the revolution broke out and he was briefly moved to Poznań for safety. After his return to Łódź, he went to the gymnasium (secondary school) until 1910; afterwards he left for Dresden, where he began his studies. After the First World War broke out in 1914, he decided to return to Łódź. From 1917 he was a trainee in his father’s factory; then, together with his brother Stephen, he received shares in the family’s the General Trading and Industrial Company, where he worked until September 1939. After the outbreak of the Second World War he was arrested together with his brother, and released after two months. In 1942 he was arrested again, this time for illegally sending funds to his business partners in Warsaw. He was fined and finally released in 1943 (AIPN 1952, 118–120). During the German occupation of Poland both brothers lived in Łódź; Fred managed the buildings. From June 1945 to April 1949 Stephen travelled abroad on business; then he returned to Poland wishing to help his brother (AIPN 1952, 58). After the war, the Greenwood factories were taken over by the state and the brothers received some compensation for them (AIPN 1952, 98).

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According to the findings of the Regional Military Court made during the court proceedings, initially Marian Gruzewski’s acquaintance with the Greenwood brothers resulted from the fact that they arranged spiritist séances (AIPN 1952–1957, 23). After the war, their activities drew the attention of a Polish group of Catholic activists whom the Department of Security officials preliminarily described as an “anti-Masonic intelligence cell of the Polish Episcopate”. The task of this unit, in operation from 1946 onward, was to gather information regarding the alleged freemasons and occultists active in Poland after the war.<sup>4</sup> The unit was informally financed by Stefan Wyszynski, the

<sup>4</sup> According to the Department of Security investigation, Krasnowolski had over twenty informants. Among them were Adam Stanowski – a soldier of the Home Army, former fighter of the Warsaw Uprising, Stalinist prisoner and opposition activist; Father Leszek Kuc – an academic teacher; Wiesław Chrzanowski – a Labour Faction politician, later founder of the Christian National Union; Waław Auleytnier – a member of the Club of Catholic Intelligence in Warsaw and later, editor of the “Więź” monthly; and even Władysław Bartoszewski, the



bishop of Lublin and later the primate of Poland, and by Michał Klepacz, the bishop of Łódź. Its leader was Jerzy Krasnowolski, a Catholic activist who during the war had been the chairman of the “Odrodzenie” Association of the Catholic Youth of the Academia and a member of the underground; he had fought in the Warsaw Uprising. After the war he became a prominent activist of the PAX Association; he would later become the deputy chairman of the “Dialog” Club of Catholic Intelligentsia in Warsaw. Since 1949 he had been a collaborator of the Ministry of Public Security, codename Stanisław Pielewski, and provided the authorities with information on both the Masonry and Primate Wyszyński. Second in rank among the cell members was Ludwik Tyborowski, also a Catholic activist associated with the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia. During the occupation he had been member of the Cross and Sword (Krzyż i Miecz) organisation and was active in the Catholic organisation Rebirth (Odrodzenie); as a publicist, he would later cooperate with the “Więź” weekly (Krok 2018, 77–93). In the context of Gruzewski, Tyborowski was a very important figure, since he infiltrated the circle surrounding the mediumistic painter. Materials produced by both the “anti-Masonic cell” and the Department of Security were based on materials and information Tyborowski had obtained from Gruzewski.

During the night of 6 May 1952, the Ministry of Public Security agents arrested the “members of the anti-Masonic cell”. Their “participation in creating an illegal group gathering information about Masonry” was cited as the grounds for their arrest. The investigation against them soon came to a standstill because, as was stated in the investigation documents, it proved impossible to find any “compromising materials” (AIPN 1954–1990c, 87). Consequently, in July 1952 the investigation was discontinued and the detainees were released. The cell’s materials were confiscated, however; the author of the minutes from Krasnowolski’s arrest, officer Tadeusz Cibor, stated: “Some of these materials had a considerable operational value. Among others, materials provided by him [Krasnowolski] were used in the ‘Homocratic Centre’ case” (AIPN 1954–1990c, 75).

During an interrogation held in 1952, Tyborowski told a Ministry of Public Security officer that Gruzewski passed on to him “information concerning the ‘Christian Kabbalah’ ideology” that had been the topic of his lectures in 1951; he reported that Gruzewski apprised him of the “measures he had taken

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famous opposition activist, former inmate of KL Auschwitz. Those informants were entered in the cell’s documentation under codenames, which were single letters of the Latin alphabet. Most of them were unaware that the information they shared could be recorded by Krasnowolski or one of his collaborators (Krok 2015, 192).



to institute ‘homocratic’<sup>5</sup> groups in Poland, whose ideology and social system are opposed to the system of the People’s Republic of Poland” (AIPN 1954–1990b, 54). Tyborowski had purportedly met Gruzewski through his informant Wiktorja Grzmielewska,<sup>6</sup> a member of the Theosophical Society, whom he had met at the lectures of another occultist, Jan Zawada.<sup>7</sup> “Grzmielewska gave me Gruzewski’s address and added that I should mention her to him”, stated Tyborowski. “Having obtained these data, I went to Gruzewski, to whom I introduced myself as an occultist attending lectures at Jan Zawada’s Rosicrucian group in Warsaw”. Tyborowski was meeting Gruzewski on a regular basis, every few months, from the mid-1947 to May 1952. Initially, their conversations concerned the Rosicrucian ideology and Włodzimierz Tarło-Maziński.<sup>8</sup> Around the year 1951, Tyborowski began to regularly discuss the homocratic movement with him: “In the first half of 1951 I had a meeting with Gruzewski in his apartment, during which he was to had me a few pages long typescript concerning the ideology of ‘homocracy’ which in its program and as its goal has to oppose the policy and government of the People’s Republic of Poland. [...] I handed these materials to Bishop Klepacz

<sup>5</sup> In Gruzewski’s conception, the word *homocracy* meant “the rule of humans”, its etymology most probably based on the Greek “democracy” (Gr. *dēmos* “people”, *krátos* “rule”); yet it can also be seen as a hybrid of the Latin word *homo* and the Greek *krátos*, since the Greek *homós* means “the same” or “identical”.

<sup>6</sup> Wiktorja Grzmielewska née Jakowicz, b. 17 April 1895, was a pre-war member of the Polish Theosophical Society (1930), the secretary of the Vilna branch of the theosophical circle and secretary of the Vilna branch of the Synarchic Association. She was married to a pre-war army officer Captain Stefan Grzmielewski, who before the war had allegedly been a member of the Ancient Mystical Order Rosae Crucis (AMORC). After the war, Grzmielewski served in the Polish People’s Army until the end of 1946. He left the army in the rank of major. Subsequently he worked as a clerk in the United Drilling Corporation. His wife Wiktorja stayed in Vilna during the occupation and was involved in aiding the local Jews. According to an official note of the Ministry of Internal Affairs dated 1960, in 1951 she had been sentenced by the Regional Military Court in Warsaw for “underground activity”. She was in prison until 1955; cf. AIPN 1952–1978, 199; AIPN 1951–1973, 22, 54; Rybka and Stepan 2006, 304; Kotkowska (Hess) 2020, 565; Wawer 1993, 153).

<sup>7</sup> Jan Zawada (b. 23 December 1891) was a teacher, promoter of the Esperanto language, activist of the cooperative movement, and member of the Rosicrucian Fellowship (Krok 2018, 90, 237; Łagosz 2017, 196).

<sup>8</sup> Włodzimierz Tarło-Maziński (b. 28 April 1889, d. 31 December 1967) engineer, teacher, political and social activist, prewar officer. Tarło-Maziński was a Freemason and Rosicrucian – head of the Polish jurisdiction of The Ancient Mystical Order Rosae Crucis and president of the Society of Lovers of Knowledge and Nature (Towarzystwo Miłośników Wiedzy i Przyrody), which was a branch of AMORC. He was also a co-founder and president of the Polish Synarchic Union (Tomasiewicz and Sieradzan 2019, 206–229; Krok 2019, 124–125, 136–139).



(Michał) and Jerzy Krasnowolski to get acquainted with them. Bishop Klepacz kept a part of those materials for himself” (AIPN 1954–1990b, 63–66).

To Tyborowski’s knowledge, Gruzewski’s trusted men were two British citizens and a certain Kazimierz Grochal, a weaving industry technician from Łódź, also described as an “occultist” (AIPN 1954–1990a, 99). He was born in Łódź on 4 March 1910 as a son of Stanisław Grochal, a shoemaker who had his own workshop and shoe shop. He graduated from the State Weaving Industry School and subsequently worked in the Schleibler factory in Łódź. In 1932 he was summoned to complete his military service, which he did at the Infantry Reserve Officer Training Centre in Zambrów. He was released from the army in 1936. Until the outbreak of the war he worked in Łódź factories. During the occupation he remained in the city, working as a salesman in the shoemaking business managed by his mother. In 1943, the German occupiers assigned him for work in the Hans Still electric equipment production plant, where he stayed until December 1944 (AIPN 1952, 153–154). After the Soviet army entered the city, he was employed in the Łódź United Wool Industry Corporation as a control technician. From 1946 until the time he was arrested in 1951 he worked as a weaving instructor in vocational schools and at courses conducted by the Central Management of Textile Industry (AIPN 1952, 145–146). Tyborowski noted about him: “He visits Gruzewski every day or nearly every day. He is almost at home in his house. He does the shopping for him and walks Gruzewski’s dog. His attitude to Gruzewski is not devoid of some servility or obsequiousness” (AIPN 1952, 8). In Tyborowski’s view, Gruzewski, together with the Greenwood brothers and Grochal, were building an organisation aimed at preparing the ground for implementing the homocratic ideology in Poland (AIPN 1948–1955, 152–153). As to Gruzewski’s other collaborators, the cell’s documentation repeatedly mentioned one Czesław Ciszewicz, a student at the Warsaw School of Rural Economy and Łódź University, who was described as Gruzewski’s “disciple” and dabbled in the cabbala and the tarot (AIPN 1949–1952, 86).

The homocracy mentioned by Tyborowski (from Latin *homo*, “human”, and Greek *krátos*, “rule”) was, in his view, an ideology whose central idea was the conviction that

[...] humanity is present, ontologically and innately, in every individual person. This phenomenon is independent of racial, national, cultural or moral differences. It must be assumed as a principle that this potential lodged in an individual person is in no circumstances whatsoever prone to destruction [...]. The preservation of human dignity and the fullest possible satisfaction of human rights is



achieved when an individual person has the least possible sense of being dependent on other individuals and on the entire society. (AIPN 1954–1990a, 359–361)

The task of the homocratic system was to instil in people the “principles of a proper attitude” to other people by inculcating the fundamental rights of humanity in the society. The means to this end was material satisfaction, which could be achieved only in an economic system that acknowledged “the right to private ownership and the right to financial enrichment, that is, to acquiring resources facilitating personal independence”. This was to be supported by the homocratic ideology, with the proviso that “in the homocratic system, economic life is organised in such a way that an individual can grow rich only while respecting human dignity and human rights” (AIPN 1954–1990a, 359–361).

During a lecture he gave Tyborowski, Gruzewski allegedly told him: “The principle of the homocratic system is to create conditions for a collective life which would guarantee the maximum preservation of dignity, and protection of the rights of humanity, in the given historical moment”. And further on: “At the current stage of humanity’s development, the anti-homocratic elements in the lives of individuals and societies have their origin in the fact that relations between these individuals and societies are developing not with respect to human dignity and human rights, but based on an anti-homocratic egoism”. According to Gruzewski, socialism, which “in practice” did not “lead to anything”, was unable to put a stop to those “anti-homocratic tendencies”. Regarding the system of the people’s democracy, Gruzewski commented:

The subordination of an individual person’s interests to the common good and the society, and in the extreme form – the good of the state, has led to the creation of conditions in which an individual develops one-sidedly and becomes no more than a tool of the society and the state. This state of affairs results in the cancellation of individualism and brings about the mechanisation of [human] personality. That social good to which individuals are subordinated, being an impersonal quality, becomes, in fact, a fictitious value. (AIPN 1954–1990a, 359–361)

Homocracy was to tolerate planned economy only when that economy arose from the “dynamics of economic life, and not from armchair calculations”. This is where Gruzewski sought the origins of the weakness of such solutions: “Planning must be coordinated with economic life in such a way that it does not infringe the very core of that life. Unless we violate some postulates of the planned economy,” he explained, “we shall trammel the course of



economic life” (AIPN 1948–1955, 54). However, Gruzewski did not endorse the capitalist system, as allegedly indicated by an issue he touched upon in one of his lectures: “How to retain private ownership in such a way as to disarm the capitalist system and concurrently satisfy all the social needs of a worker” (AIPN 1948–1955, 44). The fundamental thesis of homocracy was the statement that “a social system must be based on the principle of humanity” (AIPN 1948–1955, 53).

According to Tyborowski’s notes, homocracy viewed Marxism as a doctrine of a “utopian nature” and thus was critical of it: “Its attitude to utopias is critical. This is because these are, in essence, weak works of well-meaning people who created unattainable stuff” (AIPN 1948–1955, 44–45). Homocracy, in contrast to communism, did not endorse “the struggle of class interests isolated from pan-human interests” (AIPN 1948–1955, 49). Gruzewski allegedly stated: “A worker who works for 5 hours and receives a remuneration that assures his living is indifferent to how much the owner of the company earns”; he also claimed that a worker must be certain as to the satisfaction of the minimum range of his needs. The homocratic system stipulated that “at larger factories, the capitalists owning them would have to build houses for the workers, and this before they build palaces for themselves” (AIPN 1948–1955, 62). Gruzewski discussed the issue of the working class in a lecture entitled “The rights of workers in the homocratic system”; there, he purportedly postulated the implementation of a minimal wage that would guarantee “food, living quarters, health protection, satisfaction of cultural needs of the entire family” (AIPN 1948–1955, 72). In addition, Gruzewski stated: “Norms accepted for a worker will be such that he will be able to maintain a few persons” (AIPN 1948–1955, 61). The family was to have a special position in homocracy as the means of sustaining the society.

Interestingly, although Gruzewski was said to have esteemed such esotericists as Max Heindel, founder of the Rosicrucian Fellowship, or Helena Blavatsky, the founder and for many years president of the Theosophical Association, he very strongly stressed that “in homocracy there was to be no place for using esoteric language” (AIPN 1948–1955, 45–47).

Another passage from Tyborowski’s notes read: “The homocratic system is immutable [...]. The homocratic forms, however, may change. For Poland, the stipulated system is the homocratic monarchy, for the reason that the nation is predestined for a great expansion onto the surrounding nations”. Gruzewski envisioned a political entity called the “Homocratic Union of the Peoples of Europe”, encompassing “1. Western European Bloc, 2. Central European Bloc, 3. Central-Eastern European Bloc, 4. Balkan Bloc, 5. Scandinavian Bloc” (AIPN 1948–1955, 50). In addition, he stated:



“Homocracy has a much greater chance of developing among the peoples of the East than among the peoples of the West. It is in the West’s interest to support homocracy in the East. This is because homocracy eliminates the very existence of socialism. And this is important for political reasons” (AIPN 1948–1955, 53).

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Tyborowski described both Fred and Stephen Greenwood as “occultists” (AIPN 1954–1990a, 356) who participated in the works of the “Homocratic Movement”. They supported Gruzewski financially, allowing him to live in the apartment building and acting as patrons with regard to his artistic output. Krasnowolski noted: “After moving to the Greenwoods, there begins a period of prosperity for Gruzewski. The Greenwoods become Gruzewski’s patrons. Gruzewski paints for them and they wholly sponsor him” (AIPN 1948–1955, 151). Stephen Greenwood was allegedly highly intelligent and very well educated; he knew several languages. He lived in Poland from 1945, occasionally visiting England. In Tyborowski’s opinion, he was “extremely negatively disposed towards communism and people’s democracies” (AIPN 1954–1990a, 103).

Notes authored by Tyborowski essentially confirm the contents of materials confiscated at Gruzewski’s apartment after his arrest, namely, such inside documents as *The Manifesto on Homocracy*, *Statute of the International Secret Brotherhood Ecce Homo*, and the *Sanctuary Decree no. 1 of the Legacy of the Most Illustrious Commonwealth of Polish Nations*. The only difference lies in the fact that Tyborowski’s notes and reports omit the numerous elements of, and references to, Christianity (although, it must be noted, with gnostic overtones) present in homocracy. It is possible that this image did not go with the materials gathered by the “anti-Masonic cell”, whose task was, after all, to confirm the anti-Catholic inclinations of the investigated groups. Yet the very preamble to *The Manifesto on Homocracy* proclaimed:

The current era is an era when the ideals of Christianity are implemented in the life of the human race. The essence of Christianity is the highest level of morality in all the manifestations of life, expressing the true ideal of humanity. Thus, Christianity is a lecture in the essential nature of humanity, in the ideal which every individual and the entire human race must strive to attain. Until the birth of Jesus Christ, the human race did not possess an awareness of its humanity; only individuals having a high level of intellect intuited the direction



of the human race’s development and in their teachings put emphasis on moral life. Christianity as a religion understood this ideal theologically, worshipping Jesus Christ as God and perceiving the imitation of Him as a goal. (AIPN 1949–1952, 213–214)

From the theme of the crucial role of the Christian doctrine in the life of the human race, the *Manifesto* smoothly passed to the critique of socialism:

Rejecting the belief in Christ as a God turned Man, the human race propped itself with the principle defining the human being as a creature sinful by nature, an animal possessed of the highest-developed intellectual powers. Yet despite this definition, even contrary to its logical outcome, the human race did not lose its desire to order its life on the basis of principles which would leave no place for hatred, oppression and exploitation of people; principles by which a person could attain the satisfaction of all the needs of his humanity. These were tasks and goals undertaken by socialism; these goals lay at the foundations of the declaration of the rights of man; but these combined the definition of a human being as an animal of a higher order with the necessity of regulating the human life following a doctrine of almost-Christian ideals. The human mind was seeking for an escape from this paradoxical stance; and found it in the following formulation: The human animal attains a level worthy of its humanness in a collective, that is in a society. On this basis it was resolved that serving the society and working to the society’s benefit is the only lever that would raise the human animal to the level of human perfections. This stance least to the emergence of a new form of slavery; an individual becomes a slave to society. Hatred, the exploitation and oppression of people arise again, only assuming new shapes. The class struggle breathes hatred. The value of a human being measured by the worth of his labour for the society’s benefit creates a labour race incommensurate with that human being’s biological powers. The society exploits the individual. When knowing only one goal: serving the collective, the individual discards his personal physical and spiritual needs. Subjected to social coercion, a person is violated in terms of his human rights. (AIPN 1949–1952, 213–214)

As stated in the *Statute of the International Secret Brotherhood Ecce Homo*, another document that had most probably been written by Gruzewski, the above was the reason why homocracy “opposes all systems safeguarding the interests of particular social classes and opposes systems based on the predominance or dictatorship of one class”. In addition, the same document proclaimed: “Homocracy is the sole social stance that is capable of establishing true liberty, equality, peace in the life of the human race, as well as creating





a system in which the individual is not exploited by the society but, on the contrary, the individual is the society’s goal” (AIPN 1949–1952, 201–202).

*The Sanctuary Decree No. 1* from the year 1951 confirmed the anti-communist and, more broadly, anti-Russian tendencies of the “homocratic movement”:

At the current moment, when Europe arrived at the awareness of the problem of Soviet Russia’s imperialism and the relentless struggle between the West and the East carries the threat of a new world war, it is necessary for the nations that defend the culture of Western Europe to understand the historiosophical truth of the necessity of raising Poland to the might of a world power at Russia’s cost, resulting in the latter’s removal away from Europe by its being cut off from the Baltic, and [the necessity] of keeping [Poland’s] frontier at the threshold of the Muscovite Principality by resurrecting the eastern border of the Commonwealth of Poland. (AIPN 1949–1952, 211)

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It must be noted that homocratism was not an original conception even in the hermetic world of Polish esotericists; it bore many similarities to synarchism (from Greek *sýn*, “together”, and *árchein*, “to rule”, “to govern”), a movement originating from the French occultist circles, initiated by Alexandre Saint-Yves d’AlveydreIt was a political conception asserting that the best political system would be a *sui generis* synthesis of liberal ideologies, that is, a fusion of the freedom for individual development with right-wing principles of the unity of the state and of strong authority. When combined, these ideas constituted the synarchic system. In practice, its embodiment would be a synarch, in whom supreme authority would be inalienably vested (Meller 2013, 291–292, 305).

Synarchsim was introduced to Poland by the philosopher Józef Jankowski, a promoter of the Messianist Józef Maria Hoene-Wroński and translator of his works. There, synarchism was promoted in the framework of the Polish Synarchic Association (Polski Związek Synarchiczny), which was officially registered in 1924, four years later changed its name to the Synarchic Association (Związek Synarchiczny) and functioned without a break until 1939.

At the head of the Synarchic Association stood the aforementioned Włodzimierz Tarło-Maziński, a Rosicrucian and chairman of the AMORC agency, the Society of the Enthusiasts of Knowledge and Nature (Towarzystwo Miłośników Wiedzy i Przyrody). Among its chief activists were Gustaw Olechowski – a novelist and essayist, a member of the Ministry of Foreign



Affairs staff and activist of the Maritime and Colonial League in Warsaw, Gustaw Dobrucki – a surgeon, Labour Party senator and Minister of Denominations and Public Enlightenment (1927–1928), Antoni Doerman – chairman of the Polish Directorate for Mutual Insurance, Stanisław Gaszyński – a senator, peasant movement activist and freemason, lieutenant colonel of the reserve Marian Hoff, and Janusz Nadelwicz-Kremky – an entomologist and philosopher. Feliks Sobolewski, an engineer, was responsible for the synarchists’ economic program (Tomaszewski 2006, 240). Members of the Synarchic Association expounded their views in numerous pamphlets and in their periodical *Synarchista. Głos Związku Synarchicznego*, issued irregularly from 1926 until 1939 (Meller 2013, 300).

In his article *Działalność i ideologia Związku Synarchicznego w latach 1924–1939*, Patryk Tomaszewski comments upon the synarchists’ program:

At the foundation of the synarchists’ philosophical program lay the view the idea of goodness and truth on earth can be implemented by means of spiritual betterment, intellectual reasoning and a synthesis of a range of values. The Synarchic Association activists began all their divagations on the subject of Poland’s future political system by pointing out that the first and foremost issue that must be determined was the “goal of the state” which all the reasonable and honest citizens would agree to accept. In the synarchists’ political program, it was formulated as follows: “This goal is to inculcate in the society the highest principles of Truth and Goodness, until their full expression in the deeds of the citizens”. Regrettably, the synarchists never made clear what exactly they understood by “Truth and Goodness”. At the same time, they emphasised that in order for the principles of the “Truth and Goodness” to be attained, rules of moral conduct must be determined. “We understand morality not only in terms of observing prohibitions”, they wrote, “but as an aware and purposeful striving towards inner perfection, which striving is a precondition to social morality”. (Tomaszewski 2006, 235)

Further on, Tomaszewski noted: “As regards religion, the Association activists appreciated the significance of Christianity: ‘The substance of Christianity’ – [a system] which proclaims the divine mission of Man and the equality of human beings, and which transmits the contents of rules and duties to inner life – has an eternal vitality”.

The synarchists, similarly to the homocratic movement, wished to provide every citizen with work and abode by introducing elements of planned economy. They suggested organising labour along the principles of individual property, but with central management provided by the state; this was to



ensure that labour would be organised rationally. However, the synarchists asserted that this system would result in the disappearance of the proletariat as a social group, whereas Gruzewski was of the opinion that homocracy would lead to a decline of the concept of socialism. Both the synarchists and Gruzewski’s homocrats were in favour of an unrestricted and gratuitous access to education (Tomaszewski 2006, 236–244).

Another point shared by the synarchists and the homocrats was their view on federalism. The synarchists wanted to create a Federation of Slavic States, and ultimately a Federation of All Nations; in addition, they insisted on a broader role for the League of Nations. *The Manifesto on Homocracy*, in turn, proclaimed that the homocratic movement

strives to produce such international relations in which the human race, enveloped in the ideology of the homocratic worldview, would create a universal, international homocratic union; to this effect, homocracy strives to form an international coalition of states in the so-called Homocratic Federation of United Nations. (AIPN 1952, 221)

Gruzewski must have been familiar with the synarchists’ program and their writings, because, apart from the synarchists’ relations with the broadly understood esoteric circles, his acquaintance was the already mentioned Wiktoria Grzmielewska, a close collaborator of the chairman of the Synarchic Association, Włodzimierz Tarło-Maziński.

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It is quite certain that an entity known as the “homocratic movement” was wholly and completely Gruzewski’s creation, with roots in the “State of the Holy Gospel”, a body politic described by the press before the war, of which Gruzewski was to be the governor, his brother Ludwik – the prince regent, and their kinsman Wróblewski – the marshal and marquis (“Światła i cienie” 1936, 92–93). Similar titles existed in the “Temporary Homarcho-Royal Government of the Commonwealth of Polish Nations”: there, Gruzewski was to be the king, Stephen Greenwood – the minister of foreign affairs and chancellor of the secret archive, Fred Greenwood – the minister of internal affairs, and Kazimierz Grochal – the minister of propaganda and education (AIPN 1952–1957, 24–25).

It is beyond doubt that Jerzy Krasnowolski, the founder of the “anti-Masonic cell”, was convinced that homocracy as an organised, international movement was an illusion. He could guess, however, that a tale of an international



conspiracy that strove to displace the system of “people’s democracy” in Poland – and, to boot, a conspiracy created by occultists – would titillate both his supervisors in the Church and the security services of the People’s Republic of Poland.

In fact, the security services considered the movement important and interesting enough for the Department II of the Office “C” at the Ministry of Internal Affairs – a unit whose task was to carry out analytic inspections of documents generated at the Ministry’s central office (Piotrowski 2008, 34) – to issue, in 1977, a description entitled “The Temporary Homarcho-Royal Government of the Commonwealth of Polish Nations” prepared by Wiesława Dobkowska, a graduate of the Faculty of History at the University of Warsaw, then employed at the Department II of the Office “C” as a senior analyst.<sup>9</sup> Dobkowska characterised Gruzewski and his collaborators as follows: “They described their activity as homocratic, conducting it in the framework of a Masonic mafia organisation [and] accepting its executive principles. In order to propagate this so-called homocratic movement and implement it in practice, they established an illegal organisation of a political nature” (AIPN 1977, 3). Further on, Dobkowska stated: “Their activity consisted in systematically convening at meetings, to which they occasionally gave the features of spiritist séances. Meetings of the organisation took place once every two weeks in the Greenwood brothers’ apartment. During the meetings, resolutions were passed, statements and instructions were issued, and manifestos, proclamations, as well as leaflets, were prepared” (AIPN 1977, 6).

In her analysis, Dobkowska focused special attention on the international aspirations of the movement created by Gruzewski, writing that homocracy

considered it one of its aims to establish some worldwide homocratic community with a global government at its fore. The first stage thereof was to be the institution of powerful Poland that would unite within its borders all the nations that formed a part of the Commonwealth in the course of its history. Thus, it was planned to incorporate into it Lithuania, Latvia, Belarus, Ukraine and the lands on the River Oder.

<sup>9</sup> As stated in the opinion issued by Col. Jan Zabawski, the then-head of Office “C” at the Ministry of Internal Affairs: “Dobkowska Wiesława is employed at the analytic inspection of operational materials. In this work, she is v[ery] astute, she can review materials correctly and extract the information necessary for analyses” (AIPN 1976–1989, 126–127).



In addition, Dobkowska pointed out that homocracy was naturally anti-Soviet, as well as anti-communist:

The ultimate result was to assume power in the country and introduce the so-called homocratic system. Members of the illegal ‘government’, vilifying the economic, legal, political and social institutions of the Soviet Union and the People’s Poland, proposed private ownership of industrial enterprises and large-area farms, as well as the monarchic-constitutional form of state government, as the foundations of the homocratic system.

And further on:

It was envisaged that power would be assumed by means of a coup, conducted on the basis of cadres specially prepared for the purpose. The expected Third World War was to be among the conditions favourable to undertaking action towards the above end. It was also assumed that all the plans of the ‘government’ would meet with the approval and aid of the Western states, especially the USA and England. After the effectuation of all these plans, Poland, in the opinion of the ‘government’, should become a strong base of attack against the Soviet Union (AIPN 1977, 7).

Gruzewski, the Greenwood brothers and Grochal were investigated in the framework of a case codenamed “Łódź”, instituted on 9 October 1951 by Section IV at Department V of the Ministry of Public Security. The case was conducted by the head of Section VI, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt. Tadeusz Cibor (Ibid., 8). A large part of the documentation pertinent to the “Homocratic Centre” consisted of materials gathered by the “anti-Masonic cell of the Polish Episcopate”, including Tyborowski’s personal notes. Gruzewski and his supporters were arrested in the early May 1952.

On the basis of an investigation conducted against what was termed the “Homocratic Government”, the Regional Military Court in Warsaw charged Marian Gruzewski, Stephen and Fred Greenwood, and Kazimierz Grochal with attempting to forcibly change the political system of the state.

The substantiation for the charge stated that the defendants attempted to forcibly change the political system of the Polish State by means of jointly devising, during meetings held, routinely, twice a month, a comprehensive, systematic and detailed theory regarding the execution of a counter-revolutionary coup, the overthrow of the people’s government, and the transference of power to the bourgeoisie in the form of a new political system under the name of “homocracy”.



by means of creating a secret “homocratic” government where the first of the defendants held the position of the king, the others, of ministers, of vilifying the people’s government, and of expressing pro-war views; whereby each of them committed a crime under Article 86 § 2 of the Polish Army Penal Code: “86 § 2. Whoever attempts to forcibly change the political system of the Polish State, shall be punished by imprisonment for a period not shorter than 5 years or by the death penalty. Decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation dated 23 September 1944”. (Bombicki 1994, 41; Dz. U. z 1944, no. 6, 35)

In addition, when the Greenwood brothers were detained and their apartment searched, weapons were found in the attic: three pistols and two revolvers, plus over a hundred pieces of ammunition for them. Their possession meant that the Greenwood brothers had committed a criminal offence under Article 4 § 1 of the Decree dated 13 June 1946: “Art. 1 § 4. Whoever produces, collects or stores firearms, ammunition, explosive materials or devices, or other objects capable of causing public hazard, without authorization, shall be punished by imprisonment for a period not shorter than 5 years or for life, or by the death penalty”. (Dz. U. z 1946 r., no. 30). In the end, on 4 September 1952 the Regional Military Court sentenced Gruzewski and Stephen Greenwood to seven years, Fred Greenwood – to six years, and Kazimierz Grochal – to five years’ imprisonment. Additionally, the court decreed disenfranchisement and the forfeiture of all their property in favour of the State Treasury (AIPN 1952–1957, 34). During the investigation, the possibility of bringing Tyborowski to account was also considered, since he was

possessed of credible information regarding Marian Gruzewski’s activity in the ‘Homocratic Centre’ illegal organisation and failed to report this to the authorities responsible for prosecuting criminals, for which he can be charged with criminal responsibility under Article 18 of the Small Penal Code 86 § 2: ‘Whoever having received credible information regarding a criminal offence as stated in Article 1, 3, 4, 7, 13 or 14 of the current Decree or Article 85–88 of the Polish Army Penal Code, fails to immediately deliver this information to the authorities responsible for prosecuting criminals, shall be punished by imprisonment for a period of up to 5’ (AIPN 1954–1990c, 86).

The Greenwood brothers and Kazimierz Grochal were released conditionally on 4 March 1955 (AIPN 1952–1957, 201–203). Marian Gruzewski spent five years in prison and was released under an amnesty. He died in obscurity in 1963 (Łagosz 2017, 188).



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